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Translation technique and textual studies in the Old Greek and Theodotion versions of Daniel.

McLay, Robert Timothy

Translation Technique and Textual Studies in the
Old Greek and Theodotion Versions of Daniel

By
Robert Timothy McLay

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Robert Timothy McLay
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Abstract

This thesis focuses on two separate, but related areas: the analysis of translation technique and the Greek texts of Daniel.

Foremost in the research of Translation Technique (TT) in the Septuagint is the need for a model that is appropriate for the analysis of different ancient languages. In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis on the features of literalism in a translation, but it is argued in this thesis that the focus on literalism is inadequate as a methodology for the analysis of TT. The contention of this thesis is that the analysis of TT should incorporate insights from modern linguistic research. Therefore, the main purpose of this thesis is to develop and apply such a model to the Old Greek (OG) and Theodotion (Th) versions of Daniel.

The existence of two complete Greek versions of the book of Daniel that are closely related to the same *Vorlage* (at least in chapters 1-3 and 7-12), furnish ideal examples for the application of the methodology. Unfortunately, it is no straightforward matter to employ the OG of Daniel, because the available critical edition can no longer be regarded as reliable. The most important witness to the OG version of Daniel is Papyrus 967, and large portions of this manuscript have been published since the appearance of the critical edition of the OG of Daniel in 1954. Therefore, in order to analyze and compare the two Greek texts of Daniel, it is necessary to evaluate all of the variants of Papyrus 967 in order to establish a preliminary critical text of OG. Once a critical text is established the proposed methodology for translation technique is applied to selected passages in the OG and Th versions of Daniel.

An analysis and comparison of TT in OG and Th makes it possible to: 1) characterize the TT employed by OG and Th in detail; 2) determine Th's relationship to OG, i.e. is it a revision or independent translation; 3) demonstrate how the Greek texts can be employed effectively for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. On the basis of the analysis of Th's text it is also possible to determine Th's relationship to the body of works, which exhibit a close formal correspondence to the Masoretic text, known as *kaige*-Theodotion.

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Declaration

I confirm that no part of this thesis has been previously submitted by me for a degree at the University of Durham or any other University.

Signed ....

Dated ....

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No project like this can be completed without tremendous support. I would like to take this opportunity to name some of the individuals and groups who have helped me. My teachers and fellow students, past and present, have stimulated my thinking in countless ways and there is not enough space to thank each one individually. However, I have to single out some for their specific contributions. First, it was a privilege to have Dr. Robert Hayward to supervise my research. He listened to the ramblings of an enthusiastic student with unfailing patience and constant encouragement. I thank him for his encouragement and advice; I hope that I can pass on his wisdom to others. Rev. Glenn Wooden, my friend and colleague in Danielic research also made an invaluable contribution. Besides our constant exchange of ideas courtesy of e-mail, he read the first draft of most of my thesis and offered many helpful suggestions. The overall support and congeniality here in the Theology Department on Palace Green made my time of research in Durham one of the most pleasurable experiences of my life.

There are others who have played more of an indirect role in my research. The fellowship at Grange Road Baptist Church in Jarrow offered both personal and financial support, and for this I am thankful. I also received an ORS award from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom, and for this I am most grateful. The Theology Department here in Durham also provided me with a small fellowship.

I would never have made it this far without the constant support of my parents and extended family, but my wife and children have made the greatest sacrifices so that a perpetual student could achieve his goal. In particular, my best friend and lifelong partner, Martha, has put her own aspirations aside, and it is to her that this thesis is dedicated.

Finally, I hope that this thesis will in some way honour Him whose Word is studied here.

Sigla and Abbreviations

A. Journals and Series

AB	Anchor Bible
AASF	Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research
Bib	Biblica
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series
ConBib.OT	Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series
DHL	Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FN	Filologia Neotestamentaria
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBLMS	Journal of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSM	Journal of Semitic Studies, Monographs
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies

KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NAWG,I.phil. – hist. Kl.	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. philologisch-historische Klasse
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
RB	Revue Biblique
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Septuaginta	Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum
TSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TR	Theologische Rundschau
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSupp	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

B. Cited Works and Sources
(See Bibliography for full citations)

BA	Biblical Aramaic
BAG	Bauer, Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
BDF	Blass, Debrunner and Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*
Blud.	Bludau, *Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel*
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*
BH	Biblical Hebrew
CATSS	Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies
Charles	Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*
DA	Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers D'Aquila*
GBA	Rosenthal, *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*
Geissen	Geissen, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 5-12*

Hamm, I-II	Hamm, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel: Kap I-II*
Hamm, III-IV	Hamm, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel: Kap III-IV*
HR	Hatch-Repath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*
Jahn	Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel*
Jeans.	Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation*
KB	Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*
LEH	Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*
LSJ	Liddell-Scott, Jones--*A Greek English Lexicon*
LXX	Septuagint, not necessarily in its oldest recoverable form (according to Rahlfs)
Mayser	Mayser, E. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*
McCrystall	McCrystall, *The Old Greek Translation*
Mont.	Montgomery, *Daniel*
MT	Masoretic Text
OG	Old Greek text of Daniel
Schmitt	Schmitt, *Stammt der sogennante?*
Szpek	Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job*
Th	Theodotion text of Daniel
Thack.	Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*
TCU	Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*
Zieg.	Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*

C. Text Critical and Grammatical Sigla

+	plus
>	minus
{ }	add. of letter/s or word/s
[ ]	omission of letter/s or word/s unattested root
.	alternative reading
1,3,2	different order of words
√	root
?	doubtful reading
a.	active
abs.	absolute

acc.	accusative
add.	addition
adj.	adjective
aor.	aorist
cf.	compare, i.e. for a different view
cj.	conjecture
conj.	conjunction
cons.	construct
dat.	dative
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ha.	haphel
hi.	hiphil
hithpa.	hithpaal
hithpe.	hithpeal
HA	Hebrew/Aramaic
HL	hapax legomenon
homoioarc.	homoioarchton
homoiotel.	homoioteleuton
imp.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
juss.	jussive
m.	masculine
n.	noun
om.	omit, omission
p.	person
part.	participle
pass.	passive
pro.	pronoun
ni.	niphal
pa.	pael
pf.	perfect
pi.	piel
pl.	plural
pu.	pual
q.	qal
s(ing).	singular

SE	stereotyped equivalent
sub.	subject
subj.	subjunctive
suf.	suffix
trans.	transpose(ition)
translit.	transliteration
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
vs.	verse

Introduction

Over the last fifteen years there has been a growing interest in the study of the translation technique (TT) of the various books of the Septuagint (LXX). The impetus for such research is the application of the knowledge gained to the text-critical use of the LXX in Biblical research. It was through my own reading while studying for the Master of Divinity degree that I became convinced that a predominant methodology being employed for the study of TT in the LXX needed correction. This thesis represents an attempt to provide that correction.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to provide a descriptive analysis of the TT employed in the Old Greek (OG) and Theodotion (Th) versions of the Book of Daniel, which will also serve as a paradigm for others wishing to engage in similar research. Although the aim is stated in one sentence, it encompasses three important subjects. The first is the study of TT and how the study of TT can inform the scholar's use of a version for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. The second subject is the Greek texts chosen for the study: the OG and Th versions of Daniel. Finally, we[1] will apply the results of the study of TT in the Greek texts to the textual-criticism of the Masoretic Text (MT).

In the course of this thesis, then, we will begin with the textual criticism and analysis of the TT of the Greek texts of Daniel and follow it through to its ultimate end: textual criticism of MT. There are those who might express reservations about the wisdom of "lone rangers" attempting to combine too many areas of research and manufacturing tendentious "do-it-yourself" methodologies,[2] and,

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[1]The pronoun "we" (or "our") is frequently employed in this thesis to designate myself, the writer, and you, the reader, in order to acknowledge your participation in the investigative process.

[2]For example, see the excellent discussion of the difficulties of employing modern linguistic methods to the analysis of TT by J. De Waard, "La Septante: une Traduction," in *Études sur le Judaïsme Hellénistique*, ed. R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1984), pp. 133-45, especially p. 143.

perhaps, the shortcomings of this thesis will prove their doubts well-founded. On the other hand, though it is more difficult nowadays to employ a multi-disciplinary approach in one's research, the necessity of doing so remains.[3] If one of the main reasons for reconstructing the critical text of the versions is to serve textual criticism of MT and, furthermore, if the primary reason why we analyze TT is also to serve textual criticism of MT, then a study that combines these exercises is in order.

I will comment more fully on the aims of this thesis below. Chapter one (CH 1) is a brief introduction to previous studies in the OG and Th versions of Daniel, and will provide the necessary background for the understanding of the stated goals as well as the methodology employed to achieve them.

Translation Technique and Textual Criticism

Foremost in the research of TT in the OG is the need of a model that is appropriate for the analysis of two very different ancient languages. In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis on the features of literalism in a translation, but it is the contention of this thesis that the focus on literalism is inadequate to describe the TT of any book, particularly a free translation like the OG of Daniel.[4] The emphasis on literalism has been influenced by two scholars who have set forth most clearly the means for defining

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[3]See also the article by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, in which he raises concerns about the increasing specialization and fragmentation within biblical scholarship, in "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth," *JBL* 102 (1983): 365-99.

[4]For studies which focus on the criteria for literalism see, G. Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique," ed. C. Cox *VI Congress of the IOSCS, SCS* 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 405-424; "Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel," *Textus* 13 (1986): 59-84; E. Tov, and B.G. Wright, "Computer Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX," *Textus* 12 (1985): 149-187; B.G. Wright, "The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating 'Literalism' in the LXX," ed. C. Cox. *VI Congress of the IOSCS, SCS* 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 311-335; *No Small Difference, Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text, SCS* 26 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

literalism: James Barr and Emanuel Tov. In separate works, first Barr and then Tov proposed criteria for literalism, which were very similar in content.[5] In this thesis we will focus on Tov's approach, however, because he has been particularly influential in focusing the energy of scholars towards investigating the characteristics of literalism in the books of the LXX. Tov's influence is due to several factors, not the least of which are his voluminous and meticulous writings in the area of TT and the research of the LXX in general.[6] He has also been instrumental in the CATSS[7] project.

The research on the characteristics of literalism has concentrated on generating statistics that measure the degree to which various books formally reproduce the source text in the receptor language. Although these statistics are helpful as a general guide to TT, they are insufficient to describe how the translator understood the text before him in any particular case. Specific criticisms of the focus on literalism for the study of TT are made in CH 3 in order to support the view that it is inadequate as a methodology. Though the methodology of Tov, but, more particularly, its application by Galen Marquis and Benjamin Wright, is criticized, it is my intention that this appraisal is viewed constructively. Our common goal is to refine a methodology for the analysis of TT and apply it to the LXX. This thesis is one more step in that process.

The criticisms of the focus on literalism will also serve to prepare for the presentation of the proposed methodology for TT in CH 4. The contention of this thesis is that the analysis of TT should be informed by the insights of modern linguistic research. The science of linguistics has made great gains in the past century and the last

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[5]Barr, "Typology", p. 294; E. Tov, *TCU*, pp. 54-60.

[6]Besides *TCU*, Tov has published numerous articles dealing with translation technique and the LXX in general (see the bibliography). He has recently published a volume on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible which is already acknowledged to be the standard. See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

[7]CATSS = Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies. The CATSS project is based at the University of Pennsylvania and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and is under the co-direction of Robert Kraft and Emanuel Tov.

30 years of Biblical scholarship reveal the growing influence of linguistics in biblical studies.[8] Though some scholars have used linguistic principles in their research of TT in the LXX (notably Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen and his students Raija Sollamo and Anneli Aejmelaeus[9]), they have confined their investigations to specific areas of syntax and applied them to numerous books of the LXX rather than attempting to describe the TT of a particular book. However, there has been one recent publication that appeared during the course of this research that does offer a TT analysis of a biblical book employing a linguistic approach.[10] H. Szpek offers a very thorough model for the analysis of TT; and we will be in dialogue with it at numerous points in this thesis. A theoretical foundation and linguistic model for the TT analysis of the individual units/books of the LXX will be presented in chapter four, and it will be applied to the OG and Th versions of Daniel in CH 5.

The existence of two Greek versions of the book of Daniel, which are closely related to the same *Vorlage* (at least in chapters 1-3 and 7-12), furnishes us with ideal examples for the demonstration of our methodology. The two versions are particularly appropriate because they manifest important differences in how each rendered its parent text. It has become common to conceptualize these differences by referring to the OG version as a "free" translation, whereas Th's translation is described as "literal."[11] These characterizations,

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[8]James Barr justly deserves much of the credit for putting Biblical scholars on the right track in his book, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, (Oxford: University Press, 1961).

[9]See I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965); R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, DHL 19. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979); A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, DHL 31 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982).

[10]H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job: A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job*, SBLDS 137 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). See also J. De Waard, "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Ruth," *Bib* 54 (1973): 499-515; "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Amos," *Bib* 59 (1978): 339-50.

[11]Thack., pp. 12-13; H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, rev. by R.R. Ottley, (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), pp. 43, 310.

however, have tended to cast more shadow than light on the subject. In fact, the majority of the books of the LXX were translated very literally; and the differences between "literal" and "free" translations have sometimes been overemphasized without due attention to features that they have in common. James Barr draws attention to this very point when he states: "truly 'free' translation in the sense in which this might be understood by the modern literary public, scarcely existed in the world of the LXX, or indeed of much of ancient biblical translation in general."[12]

It has already been mentioned that the primary reason for the analysis of TT arises from the crucial role it plays in textual criticism.[13] Since the aim is to develop an approach to the analysis of TT that also serves the practical needs of the textual critic, selected readings from Daniel will also be examined in CH 5 in order to illustrate how the results from TT can be applied to textual criticism of the Hebrew text.

The Book of Daniel

The content of Daniel may be divided into two parts: chapters one to six consist of court-tales narrated from the perspective of a third person,[14] and chapters seven to twelve in which the character Daniel relates in the first person four visions he received. In the semitic text the book may also be divided on the basis of language. Chapters 1:1-2:4a and 8-12 are written in Hebrew, while 2:4b-7:28 are written in Aramaic. The obvious difficulty is the changes in content

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[12]J. Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," *NAWG*, I. phil.-hist. Kl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), p. 281.

[13]See L. Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 21-29.

[14]A scholarly consensus has recently developed, led by John J. Collins that the court-tales originate from the background of "manticism" and that Daniel is positively portrayed as a wise courtier. However, this view has been subjected to serious criticism by R.G. Wooden who is completing his doctoral work at St. Andrews University. See J.J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *JBL* 94 (1975): 218-234; W.L. Humphreys, "A Lifestyle for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973): 211-223.

and the perspective from which the events are narrated do not coincide with the changes from Hebrew-Aramaic-Hebrew.[15]

Not only are there linguistic and literary anomalies preserved in the HA version of Daniel, but the textual tradition of Daniel preserved in the LXX and the other ancient versions is very different from the Masoretic Text (MT). Daniel is ordered among the prophets in the LXX (as in the Protestant canon), while in the Hebrew canon it is placed with the Writings.[16] The LXX also has three additions to the book:[17] "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men," "Susanna," and "Bel and the Dragon."[18] One final anomaly concerns the fact that during the course of the development of the LXX the OG translation of Daniel was supplanted by the so-called Th version.

The co-existence of the OG and Th versions of Daniel inevitably leads to a discussion of how the two are related to one another. The third aim of this investigation is to determine whether Th is a translation or a recension of the OG and, if it is a recension, is it

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[15]The recent thesis by Pablo David is a detailed investigation of the bilingual character of the book as it relates to its literary growth. See P. S. David, "The Composition and Structure of the Book of Daniel: A Synchronic and Diachronic Reading," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Katholicke Universiteit, Leuven, 1991).

[16]For an excellent discussion of the issues involved see Klaus Koch, "Is Daniel Also Among the Prophets?" *Int* 39 (1985): 117-130.

[17]The Roman Catholic church at the council of Trent in 1546 upheld their authority and declared them to be "deuterocanonical," i.e. of the second canon. Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, AB 44 (New York: Doubleday, 1977), p. 3.

[18]For background to the order of appearance of the additions in the Greek versions and for the influence of the Greek versions on the other ancient versions, see Mont. pp. 5-7, 24-57. The presence of these additions and the existence of manuscript fragments of these and other Daniel stories found at Qumran has led many scholars to conclude the MT of Daniel (particularly chs. 1-6) was compiled from a wider cycle of existing stories. See, Moore, *Additions*, p. 29. This strengthens the earlier views of scholars such as Mont., p. 90 and C.C. Torrey that the Aramaic chs. 2-6 were enlarged later with ch. 7 in Aramaic and chs. 1 and 8-12 in Hebrew. See C. C. Torrey, "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 15 (1909): 250.

part of the *kaige* tradition?[19] Most scholars would affirm that Th is a recension (or revision) of the OG,[20] but such an assessment has to be grounded in a detailed analysis. Previous research on the recensions have been limited primarily to lexical studies,[21] whereas this investigation of TT offers the opportunity of providing a more complete description of the activity of Th. There have been two criteria proposed to determine whether a text is a revision of another text: 1) there must be a sufficient number of distinctive agreements between the texts to prove that one used the other as its basis; 2) that the revisor worked in a certain way, i.e., in our case, towards the proto-MT.[22] The first criterion is more important than the second

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[19]The best recent introductions to the text of the Septuagint and the recensions have been written by E. Tov and O. Munnich. See Tov, "Die griechischen Bibelübersetzungen," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1986): 121-89; G. Dorival, M. Harl, and O. Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante*, (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1988), pp. 129-200. See also S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968). The terminology *kaige* tradition rather than recension is employed because there is no justification for treating the texts identified with *kaige* as a monolithic group. See J. W. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 33-34. See also the recent exhaustive treatment of the revisor of Job by Peter Gentry, "An Analysis of the Revisor's Text of the Greek Job" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1994), pp. 411-484, 488.

[20]DA, pp. 43-44; 66-67; J.R. Busto Saiz, "El Texto Teodocionico de Daniel y la Traduccion de Simaco," *Sef* 40 (1980): 41-55; Tov, "Bibelübersetzungen," 177-178. A. Schmitt agrees Th is a recension, but believes it is not part of *kaige*. See Schmitt, p. 112.

[21]DA; K.G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus*, HSM 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); E. Tov, *Jeremiah and Baruch*; W. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges*, HSM 23 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980); L.J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*, HSM 28 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). A notable exception to the above studies is the recent thesis by Gentry. Although his approach is slightly different from the methodology that is presented in CH 4, he provides an exhaustive analysis of the Theodotionic material in the text of Job. Besides the lexical equivalency of all nouns in Theodotion Job, Gentry separately examines proper nouns, common nouns, differences in number, bound phrases, attributive phrases, and articulation. He then treats the translation of all pronouns, verbal forms, particles, prepositions, and conjunctions in separate categories.

[22]E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch*, HSM 8 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), p. 43; J.W. Wevers, "An Apologia for Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 18 (1985): 29-33; L. J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity*, SCS, 18

for two reasons. If a text is closer to the MT, it may be that a translator just worked that way. Therefore, a sufficient number of distinctive agreements are required in order to prove dependence.

Unfortunately, even the criterion of distinctive agreements has to be applied cautiously, because agreements may be explained as later corruptions during the transmission of the texts. Therefore, we have to add a third criterion to our list: distinctive disagreements. Distinctive disagreements are not mere inconsistencies found in the work of the (presumed) revisor, but renditions which are totally independent of the text (presumably) being revised. In other words, distinctive disagreements are features that indicate the work of an independent translator. In a comparison of the texts of Th and OG in Daniel we will have to weigh very carefully evidence of agreements and disagreements in order to give us a balanced perspective of Th's text, especially when our witnesses to the text of the OG are so sparse. Even with the advent of 967 as a witness to the OG we will discover that there remains significant evidence that the text of OG has been corrupted through harmonization to MT and Th. Therefore, determining the relationship that existed between the texts in their original composition is a complex question, and requires that the original OG text be disentangled as much as possible from the later corrupted form. In some passages this task is impossible. However, the analysis of the texts in CH 5 will provide the reader with an opportunity to draw his/her own conclusion regarding this issue. The analysis of CH 5 will also inform the analysis of Th's relationship to the *kaige* tradition in CH 6.

Texts and Witnesses Consulted

The HA text for this study is the fourth edition of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), which is based on the Leningrad Codex of the Masoretic Text.[23] Reference is also made to the manuscript

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(Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 132-133.

[23]K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977).

fragments from Qumran, particularly 4QDan[a,b,c].[24] The fragments from caves 1 and 6 do not witness any significant variants from MT, though 1QDan[a] does have the beginning of the Aramaic section in 2:4b.[25]

The main text for the Th version of Daniel is the critical text by Ziegler.[26] The situation is more complicated with respect to OG because the Th version supplanted it at an early date and the majority of manuscripts we possess witness to this later Th version. There are only two extant witnesses to the complete text of OG, and only one of them is in Greek. The Chisian (Chigi) manuscript, numbered 88 by Rahlfs and Ziegler,[27] is dated in the 9-11th centuries C.E. The other manuscript is the Syro-Hexapla (Syh) which was completed by Paul of Tella in 615-617 C.E. The Syh is an extremely literal translation of Origen's Hexapla into Syriac.[28] One notable feature of 88 and Syh is the extent of their agreement. Ziegler refers to them as "sister manuscripts."[29]

The only extant pre-hexaplaric manuscript of Daniel is papyrus 967 which was discovered in 1931 and required 46 years and four editors before it was fully published.[30] Unfortunately, Ziegler was only able to make use of the texts published by Kenyon, so the

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[24]Eugene Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan[a]," *BASOR* 268 (1987): 17-37; "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 2: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan[b] and 4QDan[c]," *BASOR* 274 (1989): 3-26.

[25]Jeans., p. 6, fn. 3.

[26]J. Ziegler, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco, Septuaginta* 16:2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954).

[27]A. Rahlfs, ed, *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX Intepretes*, 2 vols., (Stuttgart: Privilegierte württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935); Zieg. Incorrectly numbered as 87 by H.B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, 3 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897).

[28]A. Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla*, (Wetteren: Cultura, 1971), pp. 55-57.

[29]Zieg., p. 13.

[30]Sir F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Fasc. VIII Ezekiel, Daniel. Esther (Plates and Text)*, (London: Emery Walker, 1937-38); Geissen in 1968; Hamm, I-II, in 1969; Hamm, III-IV in 1977; R. Roca-Puig, "Daniel: Dos Semifogli del Codex 967," *Aegyptus* 56 (1976): 3-18.

Göttingen critical edition of OG is lacking the readings of 967 in the editions published by Hamm, Geissen, and Roca-Puig. The necessity of reconstructing the OG for these sections is made obvious by the number of variants between 967 and Ziegler's text. For example, in chs. 1-2 alone there are approximately 350 variants between 967 and Ziegler's text! There is also no doubt that 967 is the more faithful witness to the original OG text.[31] Therefore, all the variant readings from the aforementioned editions of 967 have been collated and evaluated against Ziegler's critical text in CH 2.[32] Obviously, it would have been more practical to have analyzed an established critical text, and if a revised edition of Ziegler's text were not already in preparation by O. Munnich, the OG text of Daniel would have been worthy of a thesis in its own right.[33] On the other hand, the OG and Th texts of Daniel were ideal for the purposes of this thesis, so by establishing a preliminary critical text we should be able to achieve reasonably accurate results. Furthermore, the editors of 967 and other scholars like Jeansonne and Albertz have already evaluated variant readings in the papyrus. In many cases they have provided more than adequate reason to adopt a reading as OG, and the reader is frequently directed to one of their volumes for more detailed discussions. This is not to say that any text-critical decisions were made lightly or without thorough examination of each and every reading. It only recognizes that the discussion of the variants and the reasons for some decisions are not as full as they might be otherwise.

Occasional reference is also made to the standard critical

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[31]See Zieg., pp. 19-21; Hamm, I-II, pp. 19-55. Due to the limited number of witnesses to the OG we also have to recognize the provisional nature of any critical reconstruction of the text. Given the obvious superiority of 967 it is odd that in a recent thesis T. Meadowcroft characterizes Ziegler's text as "biased" toward 967. See "A Literary Critical Comparison of the Masoretic Text and Septuagint of Daniel 2-7," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1993), p. 22.

[32]A modified form of a collation of the variants has been used to supplement the variant files for Daniel in the CATSS project.

[33]The revised edition of Ziegler's text by O. Munnich is due for completion in the next few years.

editions of the Peshitta and Vulgate versions of Daniel.[34]

Computers and the Analysis of TT

It is important to acknowledge the significance that modern technology played in the completion of this research. I am grateful to Dr. Robert A. Kraft who made available the Daniel files from the CATSS project for use in this thesis. There are three main parts to the CATSS database.[35] First, there is the morphological analysis of the LXX/OG.[36] Second, there is a parallel alignment of the LXX/OG and MT. Third, there are the textual variants for the LXX/OG.[37] All of the Daniel files proved useful in the present research, though the morphologically analyzed OG along with the morphologically analyzed MT were of prime importance.[38] These texts were searched in order to isolate specific words, morphemes, or syntactical constructions for purposes of comparison. The programs LBASE and Bible Windows[39] were used to read, search, and retrieve the data from the Biblical texts.

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[34]T. Sprey and The Peshitta Institute, eds., *The Old Testament According to the Peshitta Version: Daniel and Bel and the Dragon*, (Leiden: Brill, 1980); R. Weber et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

[35]For a discussion of the philosophy behind the database and the apparatus used see J.R. Abercrombie et al, *Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies: Volume 1, Ruth*, SCS 20 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984). For the most recent progress report on the project and a bibliography of published studies which have used the database, see E. Tov, "The CATSS Project: A Progress Report", ed. C. Cox, *VII Congress of the IOSCS*, SCS 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 157-163.

[36]It should be noted that we use LXX/OG because critical editions of the OG for each book of the LXX have not yet been written. The text of Rahlfs' has been adopted for the data in such cases, but the database itself is continually updated with advances in research.

[37]See B. A. Taylor, "The CATSS Variant Database: An Evaluation," *BIOSCS* 25 (1992): 28-37.

[38]The morphologically tagged MT is distributed by Westminister Theological Seminary.

[39]Developed by John Baima and distributed through Silver Mountain Software, Texas.

WinGreek[40] was also helpful to read the data and was used in conjunction with the wordprocessor in CH 2 to display the texts in the original languages. Neither LBASE or WinGreek could use the parallel alignment and morphological files interactively,[41] so the actual comparison and analysis of the data was done manually.

A Note on the Citation of the Texts of Daniel

Most readers are familiar with the fact that the chapter and verse divisions are different in MT and the critical edition of the Greek texts in Ziegler. However, these discrepancies are confined primarily to chs. 3, 4, and 6. In an effort to be as inclusive as possible, passages in Daniel will be cited as follows. In CH 2 citations will always follow Ziegler because our focus is the critical text of OG, and Ziegler's edition is the established critical text. Apart from CH 2 the cited text will always be MT in the first instance, while any deviations will follow in round ( ) brackets. For example, the passage corresponding to 3:24 in MT is 3:91 in OG and Th, so it will be cited as 3:24(91). The basic rule is that there is a difference of three verses in ch. 4 and one verse in ch. 6.

Furthermore, the differences between the HA and Greek texts of Daniel means that in many cases OG has a plus or minus when compared to MT. Therefore, in our discussion of translation equivalents it will be noted when there is no corresponding *Vorlage* (eg. OG=0).

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[40]A shareware program developed by Dr. Peter Gentry and Andrew Fountain.

[41]Compare the software developed for a different computer system by G. Marquis in G. Marquis, "Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint and Bible Study for ALL—Transcript of a Demonstration," ed. C. Cox, *VII Congress of the IOSCS, SCS* 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 165-203; the procedure of Wright, *Differences*, pp. 259-260.

Chapter I

Previous Research into
the OG and Th Versions of Daniel

A thorough history of research into the OG and Th versions of
Daniel up to 1980 is available elsewhere.[1] Therefore, we are only
required to note the main lines of investigation in previous studies
and to expand the discussion on occasions necessary for the aims of
this research. An arbitrary division has been imposed between studies
prior to and following Barthélemy's publication of *Les Devanciers*
D'Aquila in 1963 because of the impact of this work on subsequent LXX
research.

I. *Early Investigations of the OG and (Ur)Theodotion*

The most extensive early examination of OG was by A. Bludau in
1897. Unfortunately, Bludau laboured prior to the discovery of
papyrus 967. His evaluation of OG was therefore of necessity only
partial, and renders some of his data invalid.[2] Although a pre-
Hexaplaric witness to the OG might have altered Bludau's assessment of
the text somewhat, it would not have affected his basic premise that
the *Vorlage* of the OG was MT. On the assumption that the OG had the
equivalent of MT as a *Vorlage*, Bludau invariably concluded that any
differences between the two resulted from intentional changes
introduced by the translator.[3] This assumption also led Bludau to
investigate chs. 1-3, 7-12 separately from 4-6, which he characterized

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[1]McCrystall, pp. 1-67.

[2]For example, the picture Bludau (pp. 46-57) provides of
additions and omissions in OG is completely changed when one accounts
for the witness of 967. Bludau was aware of these difficulties, as he
notes, "Bei alle dem bleibt der LXX-Text des Buches Daniel noch immer
an vielen Stellen unsicher," p. 28.

[3]This methodology is well attested in his 27 page analysis of
9:24-27. See Blud., pp. 104-130; see the criticisms of Jeans., pp.
125-130.

as "Paraskeuase, Epitome, Paraphrase."[4]

Regarding the translation of chs. 1-3, 7-12 Bludau stated, "It was faithfully and carefully done on the whole, however, the translation was produced more according to the sense [of the *Vorlage*] than according to literalness."[5] It should also be pointed out that Bludau made a further distinction in the quality of the translation. He applied the above assessment mainly to chs. 1,2, and 7, whereas he regarded parts of chs. 8-12, especially ch. 11, as incomprehensible apart from retroversion. At this point, it is sufficient to note that Bludau notes a discrepency in the TT employed in Daniel and suggests that it is worthy of further investigation.[6]

The first section of Bludau's study included an examination of sources, which betrayed influence by the OG and Th of Daniel, and he observed that there were already quotations and allusions to Th in the NT. The relationship of Th to the OG received some attention by Bludau, but the problem of Ur-Theodotion received more complete treatment in other quarters.[7]

The "problem" of Ur-Theodotion is that the NT documents that reveal dependence on Th were written prior to the period when the

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[4]Blud., p. 143 and see also p. 31 where Bludau includes ch. 3 in this assessment. See also A.A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1892), p. 46. That chs. 4-6 are paraphrase has been the view of the majority of scholars, as we shall note below.

[5]Blud., p. 34, "Sie ist im ganzen treu und sorgfältig gearbeitet, jedoch ist mehr dem Sinn als dem Buchstaben Rechnung getragen."

[6]Blud., pp. 34-35, suggests that the reason for the discrepancy lies in the translator's deficient knowledge of Hebrew as compared to Aramaic since the Hebrew language was dead or dying. As regards chs. (3)4-6, he also offered the conclusion that the translator adopted a previously written revision into his work (p. 218).

[7]Blud., p. 24, does venture to suggest that a major reason for the decline of OG was that the translator had given new expression to the prophecy in 9:24-27 which "ganz ungeeignet war für eine Deutung auf die Zeit, in welcher der Messias erschienen war." He also thought Th was a translation rather than a revision of OG. Cf. Bevan (*Daniel*, p. 2) who considered Th a revision of OG.

historical Theodotion is believed to have lived.[8] The most reliable reference to Theodotion is by Irenaeus in his treatise *Against Heresies*, iii. 24, in which he refers to Theodotion as an Ephesian and a Jewish proselyte. Since Irenaeus mentions Theodotion prior to Aquila some scholars have taken this to mean that Theodotion preceded Aquila.[9] Although another reference to Theodotion by Epiphanius is unreliable for the purpose of dating,[10] it appears to be further early confirmation that such a figure did exist.[11] However, A. Salvesen has examined Epiphanius' testimony about Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion and notes the use of stereotyped descriptions of each. She concludes that Epiphanius was attempting to discredit the three and his "account should be treated with caution." Furthermore, Salvesen states, "It is interesting that Theodotion . . . is not subjected to the same vilification as Aquila and Symmachus. This may be because there was no such translator, and Epiphanius therefore had only a hazy notion of his biography."[12]

A very good summary and early discussion of the problem of Ur-Th

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[8]For a survey of the evidence of citations and allusions to OG and Th Daniel in NT and patristic authors, see P. Grelot, "Les versions grecques de Daniel," *Bib* 47 (1966): 381-402; F.C. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, Texts and Studies IV.3 (Cambridge, 1896).

[9]Contrary to the order of the appearance of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, in the Hexapla. Mont., p. 47; Jellicoe, *Septuagint*, pp. 83-94.

[10]Mont., pp. 46-50; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 42-43. Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 17, places Theodotion under Commodus (c. 180). This is obviously contradicted by Irenaeus' reference in *Ag. Her.* which was written 180-189.

[11]If this Theodotion was in any way responsible for any revision/translation work in the LXX he would have done this work between 130-180. Mont. suggests an early dating whereas Jellicoe (*Septuagint*, p. 92) places him "towards the end of the second century A.D."

[12]See A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, JSSM, 15 (Manchester: University Press, 1991), pp. 287-289. See also DA, pp. 146-147 and the discussion of Jerome's uncertain identification of Theodotion: "And Theodotion, at any rate, was an unbeliever subsequent to the advent of Christ, although some assert that he was an Ebionite, which is another variety of Jew."

is provided in an article by J. Gwynn.[13] Gwynn dates the historical
Theodotion prior to Aquila, around 180, and explains the Theodotionic
citations in NT as follows:

> . . . side by side with the Chisian LXX, there was current
> among the Jews, from pre-Christian times, another version
> of Daniel, more deserving of the name, claiming to belong
> to the LXX collection and similar in general character to
> the LXX.[14]

Thus, according to Gwynn, Theodotion made only minor revisions to a
prior Greek version which was held in high authority by the church and
pre-dated the Chisian LXX preserved from the fifth column of the
Hexapla.[15] Since the publication of DA scholars have devoted more
time to discussion of the recensional characteristics of *kaige*-
Theodotion,[16] and it has become generally accepted that a second
century Theodotion did not participate in any way in the recension
that bears his name.[17]

Returning to the discussion of OG and chs. 4-6, we note that not
everyone accepted the view that chs. 4-6 were paraphrastic. In
contrast to Bludau, G. Jahn, following the lead of P. Riessler,
adopted the Hexaplaric text as the most original and attempted to
reconstruct the original Hebrew by retroversion.[18] The same procedure

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[13]J. Gwynn, "Theodotion," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*,
ed. W. Smith and H. Wace (London: John Murray, 1897), IV: 970-979.

[14]Gwynn, "Theodotion," p. 976.

[15]On this basis Gwynn could explain the early citations of the
Chisian LXX, as well as why the church would accept a revision by a
Jewish proselyte.

[16]*kaige*-Theodotion appears to have been coined by Tov in
"Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old
Testament," *Textus* 8 (1973): 78-92.

[17]Jellicoe (*Septuagint*, p. 92) had given qualified acceptance of
Theodotion's later input, whereas Barthélemy in DA had rejected his
involvement altogether. Others, such as Shenkl (*Chronology*, p. 17),
O'Connell (*Exodus*, p. 5), and Tov (*Hebrew Bible*, p. 145) allow for the
later use or revision of the recension by Theodotion.

[18]P. Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel*, (Stuttgart: Roth'sche, 1899), 28-
44; G. Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt*,
(Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1904). C. Kuhl also worked on the addition to ch.
3 which he believed was based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. C. Kuhl, *Die Drei
Männer im Feuer*, BZAW, 55 (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann), 1930.

was embraced by R.H. Charles in his commentary (1929), who argued the "LXX makes its greatest contribution to the recovery of the original text over against the late redacted text of the MT, particularly in chapter 4 and to a less extent in 5."[19] Charles recognized that the OG of Daniel had to be reconstructed, but, like Jahn, he has been justly criticized for his excessive preference for the OG against MT.[20] His text-critical judgments were not always guided as much by an analysis of TT of the OG as they were by literary criteria. For example, according to Charles, "which are four" (די אנין ארבע) in 7:17 should be omitted with the LXX because, "the seer knows perfectly well the number of the kingdoms."[21] On the other hand, his and Jahn's hypothetical reconstructions of the *Vorlage* in chs. 4-6 are very valuable and support the case that the OG represents an early translation. Charles also allowed for activity by the historical Theodotion, but Ur-Th, though based on an Aramaic *Vorlage*,[22] was later in date, and "borrowed its renderings largely from the LXX."[23]

The arguments for an alternative *Vorlage* did not impress J.A. Montgomery, whose commentary (1927) remains an indispensable tool for the study of the textual history of the book of Daniel. Despite writing prior to the discovery of papyrus 967, Montgomery recognized that many of the obscure and inaccurate translations in the original LXX (his terminology) resulted from "the presence of genuine glosses, both primary and secondary, which may occur lines away from their proper designation, . . . and also of doublet translations."[24] He also believed there was "considerable evidence" that the expanded text

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[19]Charles, p. lvii.

[20]We will return to the question of the history of transmission of Daniel and which version is more "original" at the end of this chapter.

[21]Ibid., p. 189.

[22]Charles, xxxvii-l, argues Daniel was originally written completely in Aramaic and was followed in this by Zimmerman. See F. Zimmerman, "The Aramaic Original of Daniel 8-12," *JBL* 57 (1938): 255-72; "Some Verses in the Light of a Translation Hypothesis," *JBL* 58 (1939): 349-54.

[23]Ibid., pp. cxviii, lxix.

[24]Mont., p. 36.

of chs. 4-6 was based on a semitic *Vorlage*, but dismissed the feasibility of using the OG to correct the HA.

> The very ingenuity of the translator must put us on guard against accepting his facile translations as representing a better text than HA. The lists assembled by the writer for cases where OG may be used against HA yield a small modicum of positive betterments, many of them hanging in a balance.[25]

With regard to Ur-Th, Montgomery posited that a written source was not necessary, and suggested that the historical Theodotion may have drawn upon a Hellenistic oral Targum.[26]

J.M. Rife and A.P. Wikgren did Ph.D. dissertations using the OG of Daniel at the University of Chicago a few years later, but their aim was to show that the semitic character of the gospels could not be traced to semitic sources.[27] The work of later scholars in the Greek texts of Daniel would be influenced significantly by two factors: the initial discovery (1931) and partial publication of Papyrus 967 (1937), and the publication of DA in 1963.

II. *LXX Research Since Barthélemy*

The publication of DA in 1963 is justly recognized as a watershed in present LXX research.[28] In DA Barthélemy presented a translation of the Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets, which is dated

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[25]Ibid., p. 37 and see notes on pp. 247-249, 267, 280-281. Cf. the judgment of Charles (below) and earlier by Bevan (*Daniel*, pp. 53f.) who stated: "The very fact that the Greek translator often missed the sense where it is perfectly plain to us, and where his text evidently agreed with the Masoretic, renders it highly improbable that he was capable of making plausible emendations."

[26]Mont., p. 50.

[27]A.P. Wikgren, "A Comparative Study of the Theodotionic and Septuagint Translations of Daniel," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1932); J.M. Rife, "Some Translation Phenomena in the Greek Versions of Daniel," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1931); "The Mechanics of Translation Greek," *JBL* 52 (1933): 244-252. Wikgren's thesis is limited to chs. 1:2-2:4 and 8, but it contains useful insights.

[28]Wevers, "Barthélemy," pp. 23-34.

to the middle of the first century C.E.[29] More importantly, Barthél-
emy isolated revisionary techniques that the Minor Prophet Scroll had
in common with other Greek translations[30] and argued that they were
the product of a group or school of translators located in Palestine
that culminated in the work of Aquila. The main characteristics of
the group is the translation of בם by καίγε (hence the name *kaige*
recension) coupled with the non-translation of את by σύν.[31]
Barthélemy suggested the recension was completed between 30-50 C.E.
and identified the translator with Jonathan ben 'Uzziel who has
traditionally been associated with the authorship of an Aramaic Targum
in the mid-first century C.E.[32] Barthélemy included Th within *kaige*,
and subsequent research has been devoted to isolating further
characteristics of the recension and its members.[33] His location of the
recension in Palestine has never attained widespread support, and O.
Munnich has cogently demonstrated that the links between *kaige* and
Rabbinic exegesis are tenuous.[34]

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[29]DA, pp. 167-168; F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and
Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Westport: Greenwood, 1958), p. 171,
fn. 13. The scroll has now been published in the *DJD* series. See E.
Tov, R.A. Kraft, P.J. Parsons, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from
Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*, *DJD VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

[30]The texts he identified as belonging to this recension are
Lamentations, Ruth, Cantica, βγ and γδ of Kings, the B text of Judges,
the Theodotionic additions to Job and Jeremiah, Th Daniel, the sixth
column of the Hexapla and the Quinta of the Psalter. (DA, p. 47).

[31]Ibid., pp. 15-46. Barthélemy added eight more characteristics
as well, pp. 48-80.

[32]Ibid., pp. 144-157.

[33]Research on recensional characteristics has been carried out
predominately at Harvard University. Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 270-273
lists 96 characteristics of Kaige which have been identified mainly by
Barthélemy, Bodine, O'Connell and Shenkl. However, many of these
characteristics are dubious at best, while others should be discarded.
See the analysis in CH 6.

[34]Grelot accepts Barthélemy's conclusions in his article "Les
versions grecques," pp. 393-396. Jellicoe follows the suggestion of
Thackeray and argues for Ephesus in "Some Reflections on the KAIΓE
Recension," *VT* 23 (1973): 15-24. For a thorough critique of the
putative Palestinian influence see, O. Munnich, "Contribution à l'étude
de la première révision de la Septante," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1986): 190-220.

Three years after the publication of DA, A. Schmitt's thesis was published in which he asked the question, "Stammt der sogennante θ' Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?"[35] Schmitt was following up the suggestion made by Ziegler that, "Our text probably has nothing to do with Theodotion, or the entire book was only superficially revised by him."[36] Schmitt attempted to prove Ziegler's thesis by subjecting Th and the remainder of the readings of Theodotion as witnessed in the sixth column of the hexapla to a thorough comparative analysis.

Schmitt's analysis has been questioned, however, because we must ask whether "the so-called θ-readings outside Daniel which are adduced by Armin Schmitt for comparison really stem from Theodotion?"[37] Jellicoe's question is certainly valid, particularly when Schmitt omits the Theodotion readings of both 2 Ki. 11:2-3 Ki. 2:11 and the minor prophets from his analysis on the basis of Barthélemy's view that these sections were not to be identified with *kaige*-Theodotion.[38] Barthélemy also has responded to Schmitt's thesis with some specific criticisms of his own.[39] The substance of Barthélemy's criticisms is that Schmitt uses singular instances where Th witnesses to a translation equivalent of the Hebrew, which is not found in Theodotion elsewhere, as proof that Th is not to be identified with *kaige*-Theodotion. Barthélemy cites seven of Schmitt's examples and points out that in the vast majority of cases in each of Schmitt's examples Th does in fact use the same equivalent as Theodotion. Barthélemy

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See also L. Grabbe, "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis," *JSS* 33 (1982): 527-36.

[35]Schmitt, *Stammt der sogennante θ' Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion? NAWG*, I. phil.-hist. Kl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

[36]Ziegler, *Daniel*, p. 28f. fn. 1, "Wahrscheinlich hat unser Text mit Theodotion überhaupt nichts zu tun, oder er ist nur ganz oberflächlich von ihm überarbeitet." See also, J. W. Wevers, "Septuaginta Forschungen," *TR* 33 (1968): 31.

[37]Jellicoe, "Reflections," p. 22.

[38]Schmitt, *Theodotion*, p. 16.

[39]D. Barthélemy, "Notes critiques sur quelqeus points d'histoire du texte," in *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, OBO, 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 289-303.

concludes that the unique translations which Schmitt adduces are better explained as later "contaminations" or by the "incomplete nature of the recension."[40]

Barthélemy's criticisms of Schmitt are not compelling, however, and Schmitt himself has recently offered a response.[41] It is instructive for the purposes of this thesis to enumerate Schmitt's response in some detail. First of all, Schmitt argues that the cases of the translation of vocabulary where the translation equivalent in Th normally agrees with Theodotion does not prove affinity with *kaige*-Theodotion if the equivalent is OG. Since *kaige*-Theodotion generally corrects anomalous readings in the OG and chooses a more common translation, one has to explain the unusual translations in Th, which are not witnessed elsewhere in Theodotion, other than by resorting to later contaminations and an incomplete recension.[42] For example, Barthélemy ("Notes," p. 298) refers to Schmitt (p. 42), where Schmitt states the translation of בינה by ἐπιστήμη in 1:20 is unique to Th. Barthélemy points out that in 3 other instances Th follows the normal rendering of בינה in Theodotion by translating it with σύνεσις and suggests that 1:20 is an example of a later contamination. However, the usual translation of בינה by σύνεσις in Th is not that remarkable, because it is the most frequent translation equivalent (18x) for בינה in the LXX. On the other hand, Th's singular translation in 1:20 is significant because Th employs no less than four HL for the book to translate wisdom vocabulary that are not found in the OG of Daniel! Th's treatment of wisdom terminology as a whole reveals that he is working to his own agenda.[43] Second, Schmitt asks why Barthélemy does not even consider his more substantial arguments concerning the syntax of Th. In his thesis, Schmitt compared minute details of syntax (eg. the partitive gen., enclitic pers. pro., infin. cons., temporal dat.) and showed, on the one hand, there is a narrow connection of Th to

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[40]Barthélemy, "Notes," pp. 298-299.

[41]A. Schmitt, "Die griechischen Danieltexte (<<θ>> und ό) und das Theodotionproblem," *BZ* 36 (1992): 1-29.

[42]Schmitt, "Danieltexte," pp. 7-9.

[43]See the more complete discussion in CH 4.III.1.iii.

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the HA, while on the other, Th has constant departures from the HA *Vorlage* in favour of idiomatic Greek.[44] Third, Schmitt argues that there are minuses in Th against MT that are not found in the OG, as well as pluses in Th which have no equivalent in MT: these result from accommodation to Greek style. These phenomena are contrary to the general pattern of Theodotion in other books, for Theodotion usually follows MT very closely. He finds it surprising that Barthélemy does not attempt to account for these pluses and minuses, especially when the manuscripts from Qumran generally support the fact that the *Vorlage* of Th must have been very similar to MT.[45]

The significance of Schmitt's reply to Barthélemy is that it offers some very telling criticisms of *kaige* research. First and foremost, there has developed a kind of *kaige*-fad where scholars have attempted to identify more and more characteristics of the recension; but the research has been far too one-sided in its approach. The characteristics that have been adduced for *kaige* are not shared consistently by all the so-called members of the recension, nor has there been any significant recognition of the differences between them. If one's methodology is exclusively guided by concerns to isolate evidence for the inclusion of a text within *kaige*, then significant differences, which may suggest that a text may not belong to the *kaige* group, are liable to be ignored.[46] Second, shared lexical equivalencies are not the strongest foundation upon which to prove a relationship. Obviously, there is strength in numbers, but the numbers may not be that significant if the *kaige*-Theodotion reading actually reflects OG. This criticism certainly applies to Barthélemy's

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[44]Ibid., p. 12; see *Stammt*, pp. 62-100.

[45]Schmitt, pp. 19-25; "Danieltexte," p. 13. The number of omissions is evident throughout Th, but is particularly acute in chs. 4-6.

[46]A. Pietersma, "Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues", *VT* 35 (1985): 304-305; Schmitt, "Danieltexte," p. 15. See the thorough evaluation of the *Kaige* characteristics and Theodotion Job by Gentry, pp. 406-410. Gentry concludes that "While R [Theodotion Job] is related somehow to the *kaige* group, the differences are by no means insignificant and should not be ignored in a blind attempt to connect R to a so-called Kaige Recension," p. 410.

review of Schmitt, but also to *kaige* research in general.[47] As Schmitt emphasizes, syntactical evidence is particularly useful for establishing the degree to which two texts share a common basis. The analysis of TT in CH 5 and the *kaige* characteristics in CH 6 will enable us to evaluate Th's relationship to the *kaige* group more adequately.

The same year that Schmitt's thesis became available P. Grelot had an article published in which he agrees with the view of Barthélemy that Th is part of the *kaige* recension.[48] Grelot does add his own refinements to the basic view of Barthélemy by suggesting that a comparison of the two Greek versions indicates that the text of "Jonathan-Theodotion" is better described as a translation "entièrement refaite." He cites the differences in vocabulary, but particularly the distinctive semitic *Grundschrift* in chapters 4-6 as evidence for this view, though he does not make clear how this is different from describing Th as a recension.[49] In two later articles Grelot argued that the OG chs. 4 and 5 were translated from a Hebrew version which had been secondarily adapted from the Aramaic.[50]

Grelot also argues that "Theodotion" wanted to provide a translation of the Scriptures which adhered closely to the Jews' "*textus receptus*" because of the growing controversy between the

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[47]Of the seven specific vocabulary items that Barthélemy ("Notes," pp. 298-299) brings against Schmitt as evidence that Th maintains *kaige*–Theodotion vocabulary in the majority of readings, four are the main equivalent of the OG throughout the LXX—σύνεσις, καιρός, συντέλεια, ὅτι. See Schmitt, pp. 42, 40, 34, 90. See also Pietersma's ("Plea," pp. 305-306) comments regarding Bodine's work in Judges. Bodine attempted to delineate the recensional characteristics of the B text in Judges without first establishing the OG text.

[48]Grelot, "versions," pp. 381-402.

[49]Ibid., p. 395. More recently, P.M. Bogaert has offered the opinion that "l'œuvre de «Théodotion» apparaît tantôt comme une nouvelle traduction, tantôt comme une révision attentive de l'œuvre de son prédécesseur." See P. M. Bogaert, "Relecture et refonte historicisantes du livre de Daniel attestées par la première version Grecque (Papyrus 967)," in *Études sur le Judaïsme Hellénistique*, ed. R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1984), p. 202. Also, L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB, 23 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), p. 82.

[50]P. Grelot, "La Septante de Daniel iv et son substrat sémitique," *RB* 81 (1974): 1-23; "Le Chapitre v de Daniel dans la Septante," *Semitica* 24 (1974): 45-66. Argued earlier by Charles and Zimmerman.

Jewish and Christian communities over the interpretation of scripture. However, this view results in a predicament for which he can offer very little by way of solution. Since Grelot believes that Theodotion represents a translation toward the proto-MT, then this presupposes that there was a semitic text with the deutero-canonical additions current in 30-50. Why has no evidence for this semitic text been preserved? The available evidence from Qumran retains the transitions from Hebrew to Aramaic in 2:4 and Aramaic to Hebrew in 8:1 and does not give a semitic text for the additions. On the other hand, Grelot does raise an important question. How do we explain the retention of the additions in Th if it was based on the proto-MT? Do the OG, Th, and MT represent three different stages in the literary development of the book?

While not always addressing the question of separate editions of Daniel, the research in the OG and Th versions of Daniel in the past 25 years has been focused on the *Vorlage* to chs. 4-6 and the deutero-canonical additions. A consensus is building that the translator did indeed have a semitic *Vorlage.* W. Hamm, in his careful study and editing of papyrus 967, has given the opinion that ch. 4 of OG and the addition to ch. 3 is based on a semitic Vorlage.[51] A similar stance is taken by Wills and Wenthe whose views we will examine later, but the claim for a semitic *Vorlage* for chs. 4-6 and the additions has not gone unchallenged.

The point of departure for J.R Busto Saiz' investigation of the deutero-canonical additions was Schmitt's conclusion that the proto- and deutero-canonical parts of the text of Theodotion are not by the same author.[52] Busto Saiz has examined the relation between the text of Th to OG in the prose sections of ch. 3 (vss. 24-25, 46-51) and the first five verses of Bel and the Dragon and maintains that the differences in ch. 3 are due to the revisions of the OG by Th. He describes Th as a free revision of the Septuagintal text, which "avoids unnecessary repetitions and orders the text in a more harmonious

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[51]Hamm, III-IV, pp. 55-57, 281-289. Hamm states that the *Vorlage* for the additions to ch. 3 is Hebrew and offers the names of Bludau and Schmitt among others in support. While Blud., p. 159 clearly advocates a Hebrew *Vorlage*, Schmitt, p. 101 is not decisive.

[52]Busto Saiz, p. 42.

way."[53] As to whether the revisor of these verses is different from the revisor in the proto-MT section, Busto Saiz suggests that the lack of a Hebrew *Vorlage* for the deutero-canonical part explains why there seem to be different hands at work.[54]

Doubts about a semitic *Vorlage* underlying the alternative text of chs. 4-6 in the OG have also been expressed. Instead, it has been argued, following the lead of Bludau, that the translator was paraphrasing or engaging in a type of midrashic exegesis.[55] This approach is adopted by F.F. Bruce in several articles and his suggestions have been pursued in greater detail in a thesis by A. McCrystall.[56]

McCrystall's research of the Old Greek translation of Daniel is the first extensive examination of the OG since that of A. Bludau in 1897, and the first chapter offers an excellent summary of the history of the investigation of the Old Greek of Daniel.[57] He contends that the Book of Daniel underwent extensive revision at the hands of OG and McCrystall seeks to expose this revision, particularly as it relates to dream terminology and to the translator's knowledge of history.

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[53]Ibid., p. 45, "evitando repeticiones innecesarias y ordenando el texto de manera más armónica." J. Schüpphaus has also argued in detail that the deutero-canonical additions in Th are a revision of the OG, but he does not address the question whether they are based on a semitic *Vorlage*. See "Das Verhältnis von LXX- und Theodotion-Text in den apokryphen Zusätzen zum Danielbuch," *ZAW* 83 (1971): 49-72. Klaus Koch thoroughly investigates the issue of the semitic *Vorlage* for the additions in *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch*, AOAT, 38, 2 vols. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987).

[54]Busto Saiz, p. 48; cf. Schmitt's response, "Danieltexte," pp. 16-18.

[55]A. Szörényi, "Das Buch Daniel, ein kanonisierter Pescher?" *VTSupp* 15 (1966): 278-294; T.R. Ashley, "A Philological, Literary, Theological Study of Some Problems in Daniel Chapters I-VI; with Special Reference to the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint and Medieval Rabbinic Exegesis of Selected passages," (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1975), pp. 213-288.

[56]See A. McCrystall, "Studies in the Old Greek Translation of Daniel," D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1980. For F.F. Bruce, see "The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation," *OTS* 17 (1972): 37-52; "The Oldest Greek Version of Daniel," *OTS* 20 (1977): 22-40; "Prophetic Interpretation in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 12 (1979): 17-26.

[57]McCrystall, pp. 1-68.

The former is examined in his fourth chapter while the latter is the subject of chapters 5-6.[58] We will examine his thesis in closer detail, because it is an extensive investigation of OG and his research purports to be based on an analysis of the TT in OG.[59]

The fundamental weakness in McCrystall's work is his analysis of TT. His whole thesis is grounded in one premise, which can be summarized by his quotation of James Barr's statement, "A free translator is bound to a much greater extent to show what he himself thinks to be the meaning of the text."[60] It is important to observe that it is misleading for McCrystall to quote Barr in this way, because Barr's study is chiefly concerned to propose a typology of literalism; and he does not discuss in detail the difference between free/dynamic translation and the type of theological *Tendenz* advocated by McCrystall.[61] For example, Barr also states, "There are enormous differences in the *degree* to which a translator interprets,"[62] (*italics* mine). The ability to discern whether and to what extent there is theological *Tendenz* in OG (or any text) is dependent upon the ability of the scholar to distinguish between *formal* vs. *dynamic* equivalence on the one hand, and *dynamic equivalence* vs. *theological Tendenz* on the other.[63] Unfortunately, McCrystall tends to equate a *dynamic* translation with *Tendenz.*

The inadequacy of McCrystall's analysis of TT can be illustrated with several types of examples. First, there is the tendency to confuse the intentions of the translator and the meaning of the OG with MT. For example, in his third chapter McCrystall examines the terms of the OG in Daniel chapters one and three that refer to the educational system, the lists of officials, and groups of people. He

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[58]Ibid., pp. 150-184; 218-386.

[59]Jeans. (pp. 116-123), has already offered some criticisms of McCrystall, particularly with respect to his analysis of ch. 11, but she does not deal with all of his major arguments or specifically with his understanding of TT.

[60]Barr, "Typology," 292-293 quoted by McCrystall, pp 79-80.

[61]Ibid., pp. 284-294.

[62]Barr, "Typology," 290.

[63]Jeans., p. 60, makes a similar point. See also CH 4.II.4.

concludes that the Greek terms used are Hellenistic even though OG "purports to describe Babylonian society."[64] We need only observe that the translator's use of terms from the Hellenistic world has absolutely no relevance to the question whether the book of Daniel portrays Babylonian society correctly. The translator is exactly that—a translator! It was natural for him to select the Greek terms that he felt would best convey the meaning intended by the source text from which he worked. McCrystall's findings could be useful for locating the origin or date of the OG translation if it could be proved that certain Greek terms were restricted to a particular geographical area or chronological period, but whether Babylonian society is depicted accurately is a question for the *Vorlage*.[65]

An example related to the above is found in McCrystall's discussion of differences of vocabulary in OG compared with words normally used in the Septuagint. He illustrates this point with seven terms in Daniel chapter nine and concludes that, since OG employed unusual renditions,[66] the translator exhibits little desire to maintain the "spirit" of the Hebrew of the MT.[67] The logic of this argument is difficult to follow. The decision of the translator to translate the vocabulary in the LXX with rare Septuagintal words or in unique ways has no relevance in determining whether the translator was faithful to the "spirit" of the *Vorlage*. McCrystall somehow equates the use of "normal" Septuagint renderings with fidelity to the Hebrew text. If the renderings translate the meaning of the text (or can be shown to be based on an error), then the translator has retained the "spirit" of the *Vorlage* to the best of his ability.

In his discussion of TT, McCrystall's fifth point is that free

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[64]McCrystall, p. iv.

[65]In fact, McCrystall's (pp. 96-149) discussion of the vocabulary of OG demonstrates that at many points it betrays the social world of the Seleucid-Ptolemic empire.

[66]Examples he gives are δυνάστης for שׂר in 9:8 (only here); πρόσταγμα for דבר passim (rare in LXX, but it actually occurs 9x: 4 are in the Pentateuch while 3 are in Esther); δεσπότης for אדני 3x (only 4x elsewhere).

[67]Ibid., p. 79.

translations in Daniel reveal theological *Tendenz*.[68] He attempts to prove this with five examples, which we will examine at various points throughout our thesis.[69] Of the five specific examples McCrystall provides of supposed theological *Tendenz* only one or two can be considered dynamic translations, and both retain the basic meaning of MT. However, even five examples are not enough to characterize a whole translation. The only proper way to analyze TT is to do a detailed examination of large sections (or the whole) of the translation in order to determine how the translator generally treated the text.[70] Then specific cases where the translation seems to deviate from the source can be investigated and an attempt made to determine how this difference originated.

Finally, we will examine one example that constituted one of McCrystall's most important proofs of theological *Tendenz* in the OG of Daniel. In his fourth chapter McCrystall engages in an extensive argument that the OG translator's choice of ὅραμα for ἐνύπνιον in seven out of twenty-five instances reflects the fact that ἐνύπνιον had the connotation of "illusion;" in these instances the translator is updating the terminology in order to make it more acceptable to both Jews and Gentiles.[71] The argument is based on the fact that Philo, who has adopted the classification of dreams by Stoic philosophers, describes ἐνύπνιον to be "what is illusory." However, the contrast between ἐνύπνιον and ὅραμα is grounded in the classification of dreams in Artemedorus of Daldis (latter half of the second century C.E.!) who distinguished between ὄνειρος and ἐνύπνιον. McCrystall believes this distinction in dream terminology is also reflected in Josephus who only uses ἐνύπνιον when quoting others. It is found six times in *Antiquities* where Josephus recounts the book of Daniel, five times in *Against Apion* (i. 207, 211, 294, 298, 312), but nowhere in *Jewish War.*

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[68]Ibid., pp. 79-88.

[69]See the discussion of κληροδοσία (11:21), 32, 34 and ἀποσταθήσεται (11:4) in CH 4.II.2, εἴδωλον (3:12) in CH 3.II.2.i and 2:5, 12:7, 10(9) in CH 5.III,VI.

[70]Aejmelaeus, "Connectors," p. 362; Jeans., p. 2, make the same point.

[71]McCrystall, pp. 152-184.

Before we consider some of the details there are two obvious objections that are fatal to McCrystall's argument. First, if the translator really wanted to "update" the terminology, why did he use ἐνύπνιον at all? Second, the argument rests on the attempt to read back the much later dream classification of Artemedorus into OG. Furthermore, Artemedorus distinguished between ἐνύπνιον and ὄνειρος, and though ὅραμα was regarded as a type of the latter, the difference in terminology is significant. We also note that the argument from Josephus rests on the five quotations (three different writers) in *Ag. Ap.*, but McCrystall offers no evidence that the people quoted made any distinction between types of dreams and visions. For example, the most negative statement by Agatharchides (i. 211) suggests that the condemnation of ἐνύπνιον has everything to do with incredulity that one should rely on such "hocus-pocus" (i.e. visions), but there is no concern for what term is employed. If his analysis has not already proved troublesome, we can consider McCrystall's presentation of the evidence concerning the use of the terms in the papyri, which are contemporary with the writing of OG. He finds that there is no evidence that ἐνύπνιον and ὅραμα were distinguished in the papyri and even admits that the evidence suggests that the two were used as synonyms![72]

McCrystall's discussion of the dream terminology and how it is employed in the LXX is illuminating because it is directly related to our investigation of TT. He notes that ἐνύπνιον is used 10 times in chapters 2 and 4 (for חלם, Hebrew-חלום, 5x) of Daniel and elsewhere only in 1:17 and 8:2. It is found 61 other times in the LXX; and McCrystall divides these uses into three categories. The first are those in which there is no hostility shown towards ἐνύπνιον, and is represented most frequently in Gen. 37-42 (24x in the Joseph story), though there are 16 other instances scattered through seven other books. The second category concerns those instances where there is hostility shown towards ἐνύπνιον. This use is found 16 times in six books, most frequently in Jeremiah (6x). The third category exhibits a cautious scepticism towards ἐνύπνιον and is represented by the five

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[72]Ibid.. pp. 162, 168.

occurrences in Sirach.[73] As for ὅραμα, it is found 25 times in the Old Greek of Daniel, and in seven[74] of those cases (ch. 2-5 times; ch. 7:1 twice) it translates חלם. Elsewhere in the LXX ὅραμα is found 19 times and in none of these does it translate חלם. Based on these statistics and his analysis of the use of ἐνύπνιον, McCrystall concludes that ἐνύπνια were the focus of prophetic attacks, particularly in Jeremiah, while the "authentic" nature of the ὅραμα is revealed in texts like Jer. 39 (32):21; Gen. 15:1, 46:2; Num. 12:6; Is. 21:2.[75] Therefore, the OG translator incorporated ὅραμα into the translation because of its positive connotations. Can this interpretation be sustained?

Once again, McCrystall confuses the translation with the *Vorlage*, because in all but three of its uses where ἐνύπνιον translates a *Vorlage* in the LXX the semitic term is חלום (חלם),[76] while ὅραμα translates various terms. In other words, ἐνύπνιον was employed as a stereotyped equivalent (SE) for חלם; therefore, any so-called classification of the uses of ἐνύπνιον cannot be proved from the distribution of the term, because it was universally employed to render חלום (חלם). Whether or not the semitic writers/editors used חלום in a pejorative way is a totally different question and best pursued elsewhere. We might also note that חלם/ὅραμα and [חזו]/ἐνύπνιον occur together in 2:28 (see also 1:17 and 2:1) where there is no discernible difference in meaning (חלמך וחזוי ראשך), so the translator could easily have employed the Greek terms as alternative equivalents.

It is quite clear that McCrystall has attempted to read a second century dream classification into the OG text of Daniel. However, there may be a possible explanation for the translation technique that resulted in the seven anomalous uses of ὅραμα in Daniel (2:7, 9, 26, 36, 45; 7:1 *bis*). The four cases in ch. 2 could be viewed merely as an attempt to vary the style due to the frequency of חלם (15 times). For example, חלם (חלום) occurs ten times in the first nine verses and two

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[73]Ibid., pp. 151-152.

[74]Both ἐνύπνιον and ὅραμα occur in 2:1 to render חלם חלמות. The difference may involve an alternative *Vorlage*, but just as easily could have originated from a touch of hyperbole from the translator.

[75]McCrystall, p. 164.

[76]The exceptions are Gen. 41:1; Mic. 3:7; Is. 29:8?.

substitutions of ὅραμα for ἐνύπνιον occur in verses 7 and 9.[77] However, the rendering of חזו by ὅραμα in vs. 19 may provide the key to understanding why the translator used ὅραμα for ἐνύπνιον--because חזו= ὅραμα is a favourite rendering in Daniel.[78] The third time the translator replaced ἐνύπνιον with ὅραμα is in verse 26. The choice in verse 26 can be explained not only as a stylistic variation, but also by the fact that when the translator was confronted with rendering חלמא די־חזית, there was no etymologically related verb for ὅραμα to render חזית. Instead, he was able to preserve his preference for ὅραμα rendering חזו by substituting the noun for חלמא in place of ἐνύπνιον and still provide a good translation--τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδον. Having established the two terms as alternative equivalents by the previous substitutions and their use as synonymous terms in verse 28, the translator had no hesitation in substituting ὅραμα in verses 36 and 45 (although חזית also occurs in the latter). There is further support for this suggestion from 967 where the text in 2:9 (the second case of substitution) contains the plus ὃ εἶδον τὴν νύκτα. The whole phrase would be retroverted as חלמא די־חזית (עם)ליליא. It is probable that the OG had this in its *Vorlage*, and די־חזית (עם)ליליא may have been omitted from MT through parablepsis.[79]

The text in Dan. 7:1-2a is notoriously difficult and there are some indications that this difficulty is due to an editorial splicing

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[77]See also N. Leiter, "Assimilation and Dissimilation Techniques in the LXX of the Book of Balaam," *Textus* 12 (1985): 79-95, who describes the process of using one word and then another to translate the same Hebrew term as dissimilation.

[78]In 6/9 occurrences OG translates חזו with ὅραμα: 2:19, 28; 7:1, 7, 13, 15. In 4:2(5), 6(9), 7(10)? OG=0. The places where the rendering does not occur are 4:10(13); 7:2, 20. In 7:20 חזו is used with the meaning of "appearance" so OG employs a different term covering that semantic range. 4:10(13) and 7:2 are rendered differently because of a different concern of the translator. The Aramaic reads חזה הוית הי במזוי (also 7:7, 13 where OG has ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι) and in these two places OG employs ὕπνος for חזוי. The use of the same phraseology in 4:10(13) and 7:2 is evidence against Albertz' thesis that 4-6 stem from a different translator (see p. 38, below).

[79]See the discussion of this variant in the section on 2:1-10 in CH 5.

together of chs. 6 and 7.[80] The Greek witnesses exhibit difficulties as well, not all of which can be addressed here. However, at this point, we would suggest that the motivation for using ὅραμα twice in 7:1 may be explained similarly to 2:26. The first occurrence of "dream" is in the phrase חלם חזה. The translator did not have an etymologically related verb for ὅραμα which he preferred for חזה, so he rendered the participle with εἶδεν and חלם with ὅραμα. The remainder of the verse does not follow the Aramaic word order though the elements are represented. The texts run thus:

MT: וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי בֵּאדַיִן חֶלְמָא

OG: παρὰ κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ τότε Δανιηλ τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν

The main difference is that παρὰ appears in place of וחזוי and OG seems to add ὃ εἶδεν. Some of the difference can be explained, however, if we grant that the translator read וחזוי with חלמא in order to produce τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν on the same basis as 2:9, 26 (45?) and earlier in 7:1. What the translator actually read in the *Vorlage* and whether he read the plural noun as the participle can not be known. However, this proposal does explain both the lexical choice of the translator as well as some of the textual differences.

Not every reader may find the above explanation convincing. The discussion, however, was intended to demonstrate the complex factors that influenced the choices of the LXX translator and to indicate that the analysis of TT requires detailed examination of the texts. However, even though it is an overstatement to characterize the OG translator as engaging in wholesale theological manipulation of the text, it is also an overstatement for Jeansonne to claim that OG does not engage in any *Tendenz*.[81]

In response to the claims of Bruce and McCrystall, Jeansonne has already made an extensive analysis of the texts of OG 7-12 and demonstrated that the OG translator "attempted to translate accurately

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[80]See J. E. Miller, "The Redaction of Daniel," *JSOT* 52 (1991): 115-24. However, there is no evidence to support his contention that there was a Hebrew version of ch. 2.

[81]Jeans., pp. 132-133.

the *Vorlage* available of the day."[82] Not only was the OG translator faithful to the *Vorlage*, Jeansonne believes the *Vorlage* was not equivalent to MT. A third conclusion is that Th is a systematic revision of the OG towards MT. Jeansonne's thesis is cited extensively in the secondary sources so there is little need to summarize her findings here.[83]

Jeansonne's work not only provides necessary corrections to the inadequate methodology of previous investigations: it is supported by very careful text-critical analysis, and she bases her understanding of TT in her second chapter on a running text. In this way, she is able to achieve a realistic understanding of how the translator approached the task of translating. However, the fact that she has not examined the TT of the OG in detail leads her to unwarranted conclusions about what the *Vorlage* may have read. This is especially true in those instances having to do with differences in number, suffixes, and prepositions.[84] She also frequently appeals to an alternative *Vorlage* as the explanation for various, though usually minor, variants. Some of these cases may indeed reflect an alternative *Vorlage*, but the conclusion has to be based on an examination of how these features are treated throughout Daniel; and even then a decision may not be possible.[85]

Jeansonne's conclusion that Th is a revision of the OG towards MT is also questionable because it rests on insufficient evidence.

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[82]Jeans., p. 132.

[83]Or see L. Greenspoon's review, "Sharon Pace Jeansonne, The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12," *JBL* 108 (1989): 700-702.

[84]See her analysis of 8:1-10, pp. 52-53 #34, 38, 43, as well as her discussion of 9:21 and 10:20 on p. 67 and 7:8 on p. 68.

[85]It is ironic that Jeansonne appeals so strenuously for an alternative *Vorlage* throughout her investigation, yet in her treatment of the extremely corrupt 9:24-27 (pp. 125-130) she attempts to reconstruct a text that is faithful to MT! On the other hand, the arguments that the LXX is either: 1. a tendentious reworking of the MT (Blud., pp. 104-130; McCrystall, pp. 250-258); or 2. witnesses to a very different *Vorlage* which was earlier (David, "Composition," pp. 280-335) or later (Bogaert, "Relecture," pp. 212-216) than MT are not convincing either. Given the temporal proximity between the writing of the semitic original and the Greek translation and the events to which they are directed, it is not surprising that someone engaged in historicizing of the text.

Jeansonne notes from her passage (8:1-10) that in 40% of the readings (69x) Th retains the OG, and in 18% (30x), it is dependent upon the OG.[86] Without discussing the adequacy of her sample for statistical purposes we should note that the statistics themselves are misleading. In and of themselves agreements prove nothing (especially when 42% or 72 readings of Th are distinct), and she does not define exactly what she means by the readings of Th which are dependent on OG. Are these distinctive agreements which can not be explained by recourse to MT? She examines six words in which Th uses standard equivalents where OG displays diversity, and then offers further cases "to exemplify the differences in translation of Daniel OG and θ'," but never provides evidence that she has systematically analyzed agreements and disagreements of Th and OG.[87] A more detailed study of the texts is required to attempt to confirm whether Th is in fact a recension of the OG.[88]

Support for an alternative *Vorlage* of chs. 4-6 has also come from other recent studies. R. Albertz and L. Wills carried out independent form-, source-, and redaction-critical investigations of chapters 4-6 in the MT and OG and concluded that the OG reflects an older Aramaic *Vorlage*.[89] Wills' examination of the OG of these chapters is part of his larger attempt to define the "wisdom court legend" genre. He has convincingly argued that chs. 4-6 of OG originally circulated independently and were redacted at a later point into the larger framework of the court legends in Daniel. Therefore, Wills agrees with Jahn, Charles, Grelot and Jeansonne that the *Vorlage* of OG of these chapters is earlier and "may be a better witness than the

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[86]Ibid., p. 57.

[87]Ibid., pp. 58-69.

[88]In CH 5 we will re-examine 8:1-10 with a view to determining the relationship between OG and Th.

[89]Albertz, pp. 175-177. We will consider Albertz' work in more detail below. Wills does not give the date when his dissertation was completed, but evidently he did not have access to Albertz's work which was published in 1988. See L.M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990), pp. 88-152. Haag also did a source-critical analysis of chs. 4-6, but he did not consider OG. See E. Haag, *Die Errettung Daniels aus der Löwengrube*, *SBS* 10 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983).

MT" to the original version.[90]

The same judgment concerning the priority (hence "superiority") of the OG text is made in two other recent theses by D. Wenthe and P.S. David. Wenthe argues that OG demonstrates a "flexible, but faithful fidelity" to its *Vorlage* in chs. 1-3; therefore, it is reasonable to conclude the same care is shown in chs. 4-6.[91] Unfortunately, there are serious shortcomings with the thesis that detract from the positive contributions. For example, Wenthe basically accepts Ziegler's text as representing OG in chapters 1-6 and only rarely refers to the reading of 967.[92] Furthermore, with respect to TT, Wenthe states it is essential to have a "precise and nuanced description" in order to evaluate properly the source and parent text. We agree, but his description amounts to no more than an evaluation of translation equivalents for a limited number of words.[93] While a discussion of translation equivalents is useful, Wenthe rarely indicates how the OG could be retroverted into Aramaic.

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[90]Wills, pp. 87, 144.

[91]D.O. Wenthe, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 1-6," (Ph.D. diss, University of Notre Dame, 1991).

[92]For example, Wenthe (pp. 55, 260-261) accepts as OG the texts of 1:20-21 as they are found in Ziegler and believes the pluses stem from an alternative *Vorlage*; but the text of 967 is very different. Wenthe also makes numerous references to Th's revision towards MT (pp. 54, 57, 61 *passim*), but does not evidence any careful analysis of the question.

[93]See Wenthe, pp. 251-256. Unfortunately, even Wenthe's analysis of vocabulary is of limited value. He gives the frequency of 20 HA lexemes and their translation equivalents, but rarely provides any specific references for where they occur. In some instances he does note where the OG leaves a word untranslated, but in other cases he omits the information. For example, in the cases of דנה 23x (15 untranslated in OG), אדין 22x (2), באדין 17x (3), להן 9x (2), הן 5x (2), ראש 13x (2) he does not even indicate where the OG leaves the text untranslated! In other cases his numbers do not even add up correctly. For example, he states that אב 9x is usually translated by πατήρ 12x. He also indicates that OG has 2 additional occurrences of πατήρ in ch. 3, but leaves אב untranslated in 5:13, 18. Anyway you look at these numbers they do not add up, but Wenthe does not explain why. Using Ziegler's text, he suggests incorrectly that the OG uses θεός (57x) for אלהים, אלה (73x) and leaves it untranslated 23x. 57+23=80.

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P.S. David's thesis is basically a restatement of the views of Hölscher, Sellin, and Ginsberg; though there are a few other points of interest.[94] For example, he includes a separate investigation of the OG of 9:24-27 in which he argues that the doublets reveal that there were two forms of the same text and that these were combined in the transmission of the OG. In its reconstructed form the OG of 9:24-27 supposedly envisaged a restored temple along with the vindication of the legitimate Zadokite priesthood.[95] We do not have the space to treat his arguments in detail, but one of the crucial points is his interpretation of ἀποσταθήσεται in 9:26 as a reference to the removal of Jason. David supports his interpretation of ἀποσταθήσεται with the suggestion that the reading of χρῖσμα in OG should be emended to χριστός, because it is the usual equivalent for משיח. Here David is arguing for the priority of the OG against MT, but wants to establish this earlier reading based on MT rather than the text of the OG! Clearly there are no means of falsifying such a thesis.[96] David also suggests that papyrus 967 preserves the original ordering of the OG text, but does not offer an adequate account for this displacement in his reconstruction of the literary growth of the book.[97] On the other

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[94]G. Hölscher, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," *TSK* 92 (1919): 113-38; E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923); H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948). See also the recent article by A. S. van der Woude, "Erwägungen zur Doppelsprachigkeit des Buches Daniel," in *Scripta Signa Vocis*, ed. H. L. J. Vanstiphout et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), pp. 305-16.

[95]See David, pp. 283-356.

[96]However, we also give good reason to question his interpretation of ἀποσταθήσεται on p. 134.

[97]See his diachronic reading of Daniel, pp. 207-267. There are other disturbing and/or unsupported statements in his thesis. For example, on p. 103, he states, "The fact nevertheless remains that the denial of the unity of Dn 7 continues to be a majority opinion of critical scholars." Considering the fact that he can only cite four authors since 1970 who have ventured this opinion (Coppens, Weimar, Kvanvig, van der Woude), yet can also cite Collins, Raabe, Zevit, Ferch, and Casey as not holding this view makes his statement absurd. We could also add P. Porter (1983), S. Niditch (1980), and J. Goldingay (1989) as recent proponents of the unity of ch. 7. Another example is p. 284, where David offers definitions of diplomatic and eclectic texts, but mistakes the meaning of the terms. He cites Ziegler as an example of a diplomatic text!

hand, David has advanced valuable insights on the development of the book of Daniel and does isolate possible doublets in 9:24-27 and 8:11-14.[98]

One of the major weaknesses in the works of Wenthe, Wills and David is the sweeping assumption that a different or older *Vorlage* of the OG is therefore "superior" to MT. There are at least three very distinct issues at stake in the evaluation of the text of the OG as it compares with MT. The first issue is to settle the question whether chs. 4-6 of the OG are a faithful translation of a semitic *Vorlage* alternative to MT. Although there should always remain a residue of doubt concerning this question, the cumulative work of Jahn, Charles, Grelot, Albertz, Wills and Wenthe makes it highly probable that such a text did in fact exist. Once we accept that there was an alternative text for chs. 4-6 we have to decide, secondly, about the possibility of a double literary tradition for Daniel such as that found in Jeremiah. In such cases it is nonsense to speak of a "superior" text, because we are dealing with two quite separate and distinct literary texts.[99] Third, it is all the more remarkable that Wills can refer to the text of the OG as superior to MT when he argues that the OG is a better witness to the tales as they were *when they circulated independently.*[100] If the OG somehow preserves the tales of 4-6 in a form in which they existed prior to their redaction into a larger framework (or as a later expansion), then we cannot speak of two literary traditions of the semitic text of Daniel. It would have to be reasonably demonstrated that chs. 4-6 of the OG exhibit the same TT as the remainder of the book and that they faithfully reproduce a semitic *Vorlage* in order to justify the conclusion that Daniel does represent a double literary tradition.

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[98]David, pp. 289-335, 370-380. For our part, we believe it to be impossible to reconstruct the OG reading of 9:24-27 because of the corrupt state of the texts; therefore, any theory based on a rereading of the Greek or Hebrew text is pure fiction.

[99]See Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, pp. 347-349. The debate then becomes which edition do we attempt to reconstruct as the more original text. Tov argues that it should be that text which was received and preserved in the Hebrew canon. See E. Tov, "The Original Shape of the Biblical Text," *VTSupp* 43 (1991): 345-59.

[100]Wills, pp. 87-88.

It is with respect to the *Vorlage* of OG 4-6 and the consequences for the transmission history and textual criticism of the Hebrew version of Daniel that Albertz' work has significant implications. Albertz argues that chs. 4-6 exhibit a different TT from the remainder of the book and that the OG of chs. 4-6 reflects an early form of the tales before they were redacted into the larger framework of chs. (1)2-7 and, ultimately, 1-12. This conclusion is based on a comparison of the Greek vocabulary employed between chs. 4-6 and the remainder of the book.[101] In his view, the early form of the tales was employed for chs. 4-6[102] when the completed Aramaic book of Daniel was translated into Greek for two reasons: 1. The older version was probably more popular; 2. the older version served the theological interests of the translator because it emphasized monotheism (eg. 4:34c) and the theme of conversion.[103] Obviously, it is difficult to falsify either of these claims. However, the significance of Albertz's work lies in the argument that chs. 4-6 of OG derive from a different translator.[104]

III. *Summary*

Our brief foray into Danielic literature reveals a mixture of consensus in some issues and diversity in others. The biggest consensus, which was shared by most scholars who ventured a opinion, apart from slight vacillation on the part of Grelot and Bogaert, is

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[101]Albertz, pp. 159-163. This is the same conclusion which Blud., p. 218 had reached. There is also a fundamental weakness in Albertz' argument. He has not sufficiently considered the question whether these variations in vocabulary reflect the use of different translation equivalents for the target text (see CH 4.II.5). Ulrich is clearly of the opinion that chs. 4-6 do exhibit the same TT as the rest of the book, but he has not offered any evidence to support this view. E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Sha'arei Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), p. 285.

[102]It should also be noted that Albertz (p. 178) is undecided about whether chs. 4-6 are actually a translation from a semitic *Vorlage*.

[103]Albertz, p. 164.

[104]Cf. Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, pp. 177, 178, 317(fn. 3) who gives the opinion that Th is midrashic and later than MT.

that Th is a revision of the OG. On the other hand, no one has actually studied the relationship between the two in any detail. The OG has received the greater attention of the two texts, but there are several contentious issues. First, there is the question of TT. The early analysis by Bludau was affected by two different factors: 1. Bludau did not have the benefit of the best textual witness to the OG, papyrus 967; 2. Bludau assumed that the *Vorlage* of the OG was MT. McCrystall has recently attempted a new examination of the TT, but we have demonstrated that there are serious deficiencies in his methodology. Jeansonne has also shown that McCrystall's arguments for theological *Tendenz* in the OG are, for the most part, without foundation. Wenthe has attempted to utilize insights from TT in his study as well, but he does not operate with any clearly defined methodology. Both Wenthe and McCrystall exemplify that the main difficulty with investigations of TT is that there has been no clearly defined methodology for the analysis of the TT in a book of the LXX. Second, this lack of methodology for TT has had consequences in the evaluation of the OG as a witness to the MT. Where Montgomery, Bludau, and McCrystall find *Tendenz*, Jahn, Charles, Jeansonne, and Wenthe discover a superior text. In the third place, there is the specific question of the *Vorlage* of chs. 4-6 and whether a retroverted text of the OG can be considered superior to MT. Finally, most of these recent investigations of the OG of Daniel have not been carried out with a clearly defined text of the OG! The major exceptions to this are Albertz, who does reconstruct the text of chs. 4-6; and Jeansonne, who almost always considers the readings of 967.[105] However, the eclectic nature of Jeansonne's analysis makes it very difficult to acquire a perspective of the difference that 967 makes to the evaluation of the OG text.

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[105]That is, except in her examination of 7:13 (pp. 96-98) where she refers to the edition of Ziegler, but does not discuss the fact that 967 stands very close to 88-Syh. It cannot be that she does not know the text of 967. Rather, it would seem that she avoided it because it did not support Ziegler's reconstruction and her argument! As K. Cathcart has recently noted, there are other examples of scholars publishing on the text of OG, apparently without knowledge that 967 was available to consult. See K. Cathcart, "Daniel, especially the Additions, and Chester Beatty-Cologne Papyrus 967," *IBA* 15 (1992): 37-41.

The following chapters will attempt to introduce some necessary corrections to the deficiencies that have been noted. The primary concern is to establish a methodology for the analysis of TT in the LXX and apply it to the OG and Th texts of Daniel. This will involve four steps. First of all, a critical text of OG which provides the basis for the analysis of TT has to be established. It is folly to analyze TT and to use the OG for text-critical judgments about MT without first establishing the OG text. Second, it is necessary to offer a critical examination of the current methodology of TT which focuses on the features of literalism. Third, a methodology for TT based on linguistic principles will be proposed. In the fourth stage, the proposed methodology for TT will be applied to the OG and Th texts of Daniel. The primary concern in this analysis will be the text of the OG, but the relationship of Th to OG will be considered in order to determine whether Th is a recension of OG. Matters of textual differences between the Greek texts and MT will also be addressed as they appear.

Unfortunately, the limits of space imposed by the critical reconstruction of the OG in CH 2 and the establishing of a methodology for the analysis of TT in CHs 3 and 4 will not allow the opportunity to investigate the TT of the OG as completely as one otherwise might like. For this reason, the analysis of TT of the OG in chs. 4-6 will remain on the periphery and our treatment of chapters 1-3 and 7-12 will be selective. However, by providing detailed examination of selected texts we will have a good foundation to draw conclusions concerning the TT as a whole and to refine the work on the texts of Daniel done previously. It would require a textual commentary on the OG and Th of Daniel in order to apply the methodology completely.

Excursus

Translation Technique and Textual Criticism

A good place to begin the discussion of TT and textual criticism
is with a quote by E. Tov, which will put some perspective on our
remarks concerning the intention of the translators (see CH
3.II.2.i.).

> In other words, if the translator took care to render most
> elements of the Hebrew faithfully, it is not likely that
> he would have added or omitted other elements . . .
> Reversely, if a translation unit may be considered free,
> the translator should be held responsible for extensive
> pluses or minuses.[1]

In my opinion, only the first half of that statement is correct. The
second half assumes that only those translators who reproduced their
source text primarily with formal equivalents were concerned to
translate the text faithfully. The above quotation of Tov clearly
contradicts a principle of textual criticism that he himself has
stated elsewhere:

> . . . all Hebrew and retroverted variants are compared
> with MT, and in the case of reconstructed evidence one
> must forget for a moment that one is dealing with variants
> which are "merely" retroverted from non-Hebrew sources.
> In principle, *the evaluation of hebrew and retroverted
> variants is identical*, as long as the retroversion is
> reliable.[2]

Generally speaking, MT readings are preferred, "but this
statistical information should not influence decisions in individual
instances, because the exceptions to this situation are not
predictable."[3] It is difficult to refrain from bias towards MT and

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[1] E. Tov, "The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of
the LXX in the Past and Present," *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, *SCS* 23
(Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 352.

[2] *TCU*, p. 278 and repeated in his new volume, *Hebrew Bible*, p.
298.

[3] Tov, *Hebrew Bible*. p. 299.

demonstrate reasonable balance in the practice of textual criticism. However, if LXX pluses can be retroverted reliably, regardless of how formal or dynamic the translation is, then there is no reason *a priori* to characterize them as expansions by the translator. Obviously, we have to treat each book individually—there is a world of difference between OG in Daniel and the OG of Proverbs[4]—but only a thorough study of the individual book and the specific passages can hope to distinguish between dynamic equivalence, which is an expansion by the translator or a later scribe, and an original reading.[5]

Textual criticism involves two steps: first, the collection of variants and, second, the evaluation of the variants. However, the evaluation of the LXX as a source of variant readings for the proto-MT is complicated for three reasons. First, the LXX is a translation and one must attempt to reconstruct the hypothetical *Vorlage* of the Greek text by retroversion before one can assess the value of the OG as a witness. However, as Goshen-Gottstein warns, "there is no retroversion without a residue of doubt, and what seems self-evident to one scholar may look like a house of cards to his fellow."[6] In the second place, the process of retroversion is itself complicated in many instances because the original OG text must first be established before attempting to retrovert the semitic text from which it was translated. In essence, one must collect and evaluate the variant readings from the witnesses to the OG text of a book before one can evaluate the retroverted reading of the OG as a witness to the original semitic text.[7] There are then two stages of textual

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[4]But see some interesting corrections to the view that LXX Proverbs reflects the Hellenistic background of the translator by R.L. Giese, "Qualifying Wealth in the Septuagint of Proverbs," *JBL* 111 (1992): 409-425.

[5]Aejmelaeus makes the same point in "What Can We Know About the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?" *ZAW* 99 (1981): 68-71; "Connectors," p. 378. See also M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism," *Textus* 3 (1963): 130-158.

[6]M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory," p. 132.

[7]*TCU* by E. Tov is by far the best introduction to this process. The Göttingen editions are indispensable for this task and it can only be hoped that the work on the remaining books will be accomplished as soon as possible.

criticism in the use of an ancient version like the LXX for the textual criticism of the MT, and the exhaustive analysis of the TT in a given unit/book is essential for its text-critical use at both of these levels.

The importance of TT at the second level is generally recognized. For example, A. Pietersma writes that a thorough analysis of the TT:

> . . . might be called the quest for the Archimedean point, because only from this vantage point can the text-critic sit in judgment over the fidelity with which the manuscripts have preserved the original text, and hence determine the quality of individual texts.[8]

However, even if we were to possess the autograph of the OG text of the Book of Daniel it would be comparatively useless for text-critical purposes without the requisite knowledge of the TT employed in the book. The study of TT provides the means to understand how the translator rendered the parent text; therefore, it helps in determining whether a particular substitution, omission, or addition in the translation reflects a variant text or is an exegetical rendering based on the theological concerns of the translator.

Acquaintance with the TT is, therefore, valuable for the reconstruction of the OG and understanding the history of the transmission of the OG text.[9] For example, מה די להוא occurs four times in ch. 2:28, 29(2), 45. Th renders it in each instance with ἅ(τι) δεῖ γενέσθαι. OG uses ἅ δεῖ γενέσθαι in 2:28 and τὰ ἐσόμενα in 2:45, while the textual witnesses have variant readings for the two occurrences of the phrase in 2:29. The first occurrence in 2:29 is omitted in 88 due to homoioteleuton, and so Ziegler reconstructs πάντα ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι from Syh; whereas 967 reads ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι. In the second, Ziegler again reads ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι while 967 has ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι. Given the reading in 2:45 and the greater probability that the OG readings in 2:29 are represented by 967 which offers a variety of translation equivalents for the Aramaic מה די להוא, the readings of 88-Syh would be due to later scribal harmonization to the first

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[8]Pietersma, "Plea," p. 299.

[9]The importance of understanding the TT in a particular book has been emphasized in J.W. Wevers' work on the Göttingen Pentateuch. See p. 116, above.

reading in 2:28 or, more likely, Th influence.[10] When evaluating a variant reading on the basis of TT the critic must be sensitive to the text and to his/her own prejudices, however, because the temptation would be to allow the understanding of TT to dictate text-critical decisions (or the reverse). There is nothing to be gained from constructing a circular argument.

Once the OG text is established and the textual critic encounters a passage which, when retroverted, witnesses to a variant reading against MT, it has to be evaluated. There are three basic options: 1) Does the OG reflect a different *Vorlage* or a misunderstanding of the *Vorlage*?[11] 2) Is the reading merely a dynamic rendering or does it in some way reflect the TT of the translator? 3) Is there evidence of theological *Tendenz* on the part of the translator, which motivated the rendering? Only with a balanced assessment of the TT of the whole book/unit in question can the text-critic begin to evaluate each possible variant and whether it originates from a differing *Vorlage*. As Talshir states, "The scholar finds himself in a vicious circle of evaluating the character of the translator's source on the one hand, and his translation technique on the other."[12]

There is an important caveat to be added to our cursory introduction to the process of evaluating texts, which is the third difficulty of using the LXX for textual criticism. The *Vorlage* from

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[10]See also 8:19; cf. the remarks of F.F. Bruce ("Oldest," p. 24) who states that the use of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι (presupposing Ziegler's text) is an implicit "emphasis on apocalyptic necessity." Even if the text did read as Bruce supposes, it would not justify his interpretation because the OG employs a variety of equivalents for the same Aramaic. It is Th who employs ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι consistently. In fact, given the Th influence on the 2 uses in 2:29--which would remain unknown without 967--it is possible that the reading of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι in vs. 28 also stems from Th.

[11]Obviously, if a reading in the OG can be explained by the fact that the translator possibly misread (*metathesis, parablepsis*) or misunderstood the *Vorlage* in any way, then the OG does not witness to a variant at all.

[12]Z. Talshir, "Linguistic Development and the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the Septuagint," *Scripta* 31 (1986): 301; J. H. Sailhamer, "The Translational Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1981), pp. 6-7.

which an OG translation was made was not always the same as the majority text which eventually emerged as MT.[13] In fact, the discoveries from Qumran prove that in some cases they were very different.[14] There are several theories to account for these discrepancies, but it is impossible to evaluate the merits of these theories here.[15] However, it is also impossible to avoid the issue of the *Vorlage* for OG because of chapters 4-6.

The presence of an alternative *Vorlage* in the OG of chs. 4-6 is assumed for the analysis of TT in CH 5.[16] However, it need not follow from the existence of an alternative *Vorlage* in chapters 4-6 that the *Vorlage* in chs. 1-3, and 7-12 also differed significantly from MT. Not only is this premise logical, but there are two additional factors to consider. First, and this anticipates the conclusions of CH 5, the analysis of TT in OG supports Albertz' conclusion that chs. 4-6

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[13]See *TCU* or *Hebrew Bible* by Tov, or any of several articles for brief introductions to some of the problems of using the LXX for textual criticism: Tov, "The Nature of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Septuagint. A Survey of the Problems," *JSOT* 7 (1978): 53-68; "The Original Shape of the Biblical Text," *VTSupp* 43 (1991): 345-59; J. W. Wevers, "The Use of the Versions for Text Criticism: The Septuagint," in *La Septuaginta en la Investigacion Contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)*, ed. N. F. Marcos (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1985), 15-24; N. Fernández Marcos, "The Use of the Septuagint in the Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," *Sef* 47 (1987): 60-72. For an introduction to specific textual problems using the *DSS* and LXX see, J. H. Tigay, ed., *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

[14]See for example, E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, *HSM*, 19 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1978); J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, *HSM*, 6 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973). S. Soderlund has attempted to overthrow Janzen's results in his work, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah*, *JSOT*, 47 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 193-248; but see Janzen's review, "A Critique of Sven Soderlund's *The Greek Text of Jeremiah*," *BIOSCS* 22 (1989): 16-47.

[15]See F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds. *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975). For a good discussion and evaluation of the issues, see E. Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls," *HUCA* 53 (1983): 11-27; *Hebrew Bible*, pp. 155-197. See also the recent discussion between Tov and Cross, as well as the articles by E. Ulrich and B. Chiesa in J. T. Barrera and L. V. Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

[16]See the discussion on p. 37.

originate from a different translator. Second, in the main, the OG text itself and the extant manuscripts from Qumran are very close to MT.[17] As Collins states in the latest commentary on Daniel, "On the whole, the Qumran discoveries provide powerful evidence of the antiquity of the textual tradition of the MT."[18] For this reason, although the view that the OG translator was engaging in a type of wholesale theological reinterpretation of the text envisaged by McCrystall ought to be rejected, we cannot automatically assume that every difference between OG and MT necessarily points to an alternative *Vorlage*. The latter error is committed by Wenthe. It is true that the Dead Sea Scrolls have confirmed many retroverted readings and the existence of alternative literary editions. However, each variant has to be evaluated individually. We have to consider the corrupt condition of the OG text and then attempt to discern the TT as best as we are able in order to use this understanding for textual criticism of MT. Therefore, the working hypothesis adopted for this thesis is that the *Vorlage* of OG was very close to MT except in chs. 4-6 and the end of ch. 3 where OG has differences due to the long addition in the text.

Given the working hypothesis we will approach the variant readings in OG and Th Daniel with the required understanding of the TT employed and by the judicious application of two general rules of thumb. First, if the translation can be explained from a text corresponding to MT, it has no significance for textual criticism, i.e. there is a "built-in prejudice towards the MT."[19] The first rule is balanced by the second, which is that any deviations in the translation, particularly pluses and minuses, may reflect an alternative *Vorlage*; because any scholar who:

> . . . wishes to attribute deliberate changes, harmoniz-
> ations, completion of details and new accents to the
> translator is under the obligation to prove his thesis

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[17]See also Ulrich, "Canonical Process," pp. 284-285. See the preliminary edition of the Qumran fragments of Daniel from cave four by Ulrich, "Part 1;" "Part 2."

[18]J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), p. 3.

[19]Wevers, "Apologia," p. 29; Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew *Vorlage*," pp. 66.

with weighty arguments and also to show why the
divergences cannot have originated with the *Vorlage*.[20]

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[20]Ibid., p. 71.

Chapter 2
A Critical Evaluation of Papyrus 967

The first and most basic step of the investigation of TT in the book of Daniel is to establish the OG text in order to ensure accuracy in the analysis of TT and for the use of the OG in textual-criticism of MT. For this reason, the present chapter offers a collation and critical evaluation of all the variant readings from 967 in the editions of Geissen, Hamm, and Roca-Puig against the critical text of Ziegler.[1] However, it must be acknowledged that this critical text is only a preliminary one for two reasons. First, it only evaluates the variants from the editions of 967 to which Ziegler did not have access when he published his text in 1954. It is possible that the evaluation of some variants could change in the remainder of Ziegler's text in the light of 967's witness elsewhere.[2] Second, it is possible that different decisions might have been made for some readings if more time had been devoted to the analysis. A more sustained investigation could not be justified when O. Munnich has undertaken the task of preparing a complete revision of Ziegler's text. Therefore, it is highly improbable that the reconstructed text presented here will be the same as Munnich's, but, hopefully, his work will agree quite closely with it. So, although a detailed presentation of 967's text is somewhat premature, a thorough presentation of the evidence still offers the best leverage from which to evaluate the evidence.

The evaluation of 967 will be divided into two main sections. The first section will treat orthographical and other minor variants and will classify them according to type. The majority of these variants are insignificant as regards the content of the OG and the evaluation of TT. The second section will treat the more substantial types of variants--minuses, pluses, substitutions, transpositions--and will proceed verse by verse.

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[1]The reader is directed to the editions of Ziegler, Hamm, and Geissen for more detailed discussion of the contents of the papyrus and some of its more salient features. The production of this collation was aided through the use of the variant files of Daniel from the CATSS project (co-directed by Robert A. Kraft and Emanuel Tov) and I am most grateful for the assistance of Dr. Kraft and Jay Treat of CCAT at the University of Pennsylvania. An electronic version of this collation has been made available for inclusion in the CATSS database.

[2]In fact, there will be occasions during the analysis of TT in CH 5 that corrections are suggested for other readings in Zieg.

The second section, then, will provide an additional critical apparatus of major variants to be used in conjunction with Ziegler's text.

The division of variants into the categories "minor" as opposed to "major" is, admittedly, rather arbitrary. All the orthographical variants are included in the first section as well as those variants restricted to differences in number and case for nouns, and person, number, tense, mood, and voice for verbs. Therefore, a variant between a finite vb. and a participle is not in the first section if it also impinges on syntax (eg. 1:2). All additions, omissions, or substitutions of articles that can be handled without reference to their governing noun or preposition are listed in the first section as well. Any other additions, omissions, substitutions or transpositions are listed in the verse-by-verse analysis in the second section. This grouping of variants according to type serves to remove the "clutter" from the main apparatus and a general acquaintance with the characteristics of the manuscript can be extremely valuable for the assessment of more important variants.[3] A reason for almost every decision will be provided in the second section. In the case of some recurrent variants it is assumed that the evaluation of the reading is obvious to the reader. In the first section it is often possible to evaluate the variants as a group. Where an adequate judgement regarding the originality of a reading has been given elsewhere, that discussion is usually cited. An asterisk in the left margin indicates that the reading is deemed to be original.

The point of reference for the readings of 967 is always Ziegler's text; therefore, it is assumed throughout this chapter that the reader has a copy of Ziegler's edition in hand. The remainder of this thesis will presuppose the critically reconstructed text of the OG.

Prior to the evaluation of its readings there is a brief introduction to the papyrus. The chapter will conclude with a statistical summary.

I. *Introduction to Papyrus 967*

The best evidence that 967 is the closest witness we have to the OG text of Daniel is that 967 almost never has the asterisked additions of 88-Syh, and in many additional cases 967 still has a shorter text.[4] Other significant indicators of 967's

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[3]Of course, many of the variants that remain in the "major" section are relatively insignificant, but a line had to be drawn somewhere.

[4]See O. Munnich, "Origène, éditeur de la *Septante* de *Daniel,*" in *Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren, MSU,* 20, ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. Wevers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 187-218. In almost all of these cases Ziegler has correctly reconstructed the original text. Actually, the papyrus has confirmed that 88-Syh managed to preserve the OG quite faithfully, but there remain significant differences.

importance as a witness to the OG are some of the lexical variants and occasions where 967 offers the more likely Greek reading (eg. the combination of art., adj., noun as opposed to art. + noun, art. + adj. in 88-Syh).[5] At the same time, the variants in 967 demonstrate that the papyrus and/or it's parent text had still undergone considerable influence from Th as well as correction toward MT.

Papyrus 967 is also notable because it preserves yet another anomaly about the book of Daniel. In 967, chapters 7-8 intervene between ch. 4 and 5. The different order of chapters has also been found in a Latin manuscript, so Bogaert is correct that 967 is no longer a "meteor."[6] However, the variant order is best attributed to a scribe attempting to "fix" the chronology of the book. By placing chs. 7-8 after ch. 4 the events and visions relating to Belshazzar are kept together (chs. 7-8, 5) and precede those relating to Darius (chs. 6, 9). 967 also reverses the order of chapters 38-39 in Ezekiel, so the change in Daniel is not unique. Although, P.S. David argues that we should accept 967's order as original, the difference in content between OG and MT in chs. 4-6 is an insurmountable obstacle to any hypothetical restructuring of the book. Furthermore, R. Albertz has produced strong evidence that chs. 4-6 of OG originate from a separate translator, and, in our examination of TT in CH 5, we will adduce further evidence in support of Albertz' thesis.[7]

Perhaps the greatest tragedy surrounding 967 is that we do not possess the entire text of Daniel. It is particularly lamentable that the most damaged portions of the papyrus and large lacunae are in chs. 10-12, especially ch. 11, where the OG text exhibits the highest degree of confusion as to the meaning of MT. In order to appreciate the extent of the damage and to clarify where the witness of 967 is unavailable a more precise description of the lacunae of the papyrus is given here.[8] Take heed that the place where I note the ms. is broken is only approximate, i.e. there may be a few letters extant from a following line or two where the ms. is broken and usually only about half of the preceding dozen words are extant.

Generally speaking, minimal reconstruction is required for the first eight chs. of Daniel, even where it was ripped. Chapters 9-12, Sus and Bel are in worse shape, though the top part of the leaves of the whole papyrus are well preserved. Most of Dan

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[5]See Zieg., pp. 19-21; Hamm, I-II, pp. 19-44 for evaluations of readings and the judgment that 967 best preserves the OG.

[6]P. M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante. Ézéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Bib* 59 (1978): 387.

[7]See David, pp. 87-94; Albertz, pp. 159-163.

[8]Geissen's (pp. 12-16) description is not so precise.

10:11, 18; 11:2, 3 and almost all of 10:4 and 10:17 are missing. Still larger lacunae are as follows: 11:8 from ἀποισουσι to κατασύρων in vs. 10, though the ms. is in bad shape from the beginning of vs. 8. 11:15 from στήσονται (967 reads σ]τεσε[) to θελή]σεως in 11:16, though most of vss. 14 and 15 are not extant. 11:20 from [βασι]λείας εἰ[to [συνταγέν]τος μετ' in 11:23. 11:26 to end of 11:28, though portions of two words are extant from 11:26. 11:32 to end of 11:34. 11:38 from κ{ε}ινησει to πολλοῖς in 11:40. 11:45 καὶ ο[ὐκ to [ὀνει]δισμόν in 12:2. 12:6]ν καὶ κα[θαρισμον to τίς ἡ in 12:8. 12:13 ἐ[πι τὴν to end.

II. *Primarily Orthographical Variants*

In this section are categorised most of the minor variants from the corpus of papyrus 967. In many cases we can only make educated guesses in the evaluation of readings. In the case of OG, where the textual evidence is so sparse, decisions have to be based on our understanding of the writing practices of the time and what reading is more likely to reflect the period from which it emerged. After all, perhaps the original translator did not spell very well. So, although Ziegler is correct that the orthography of 967 was not carefully done compared to 88,[9] there are instances where 967 probably preserves the more accurate spelling.

Key to Sigla:

* = accepted as an original reading

> = omission in 967

+ = longer reading in 967

· = alternative reading in 967

trans. = transposed, transposition

2,1,3 = the order of words in 967

[ ] = letter/s or word/s in brackets omitted in 967

{ } = letter/s or word/s in brackets added in 967

- - = orthog. difference in 967 Always limited to one letter in the apparatus.

Indented + or > means the word is added or omitted in 967 following the previously noted variant.

II.1. *Corrections by Later Hands*   14x

αὐτο‘υ’   2:15 υ added by 2 corrector.

συνετε`αί'ροις   2:17 Delete ε, add αι by 2nd corr.

ἐσήμη‘α'νας 2:23 Deleted η and added α by 2nd corr. Thack. §24, p. 284.

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[9]Zieg., p. 21.

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πα‘ε’δίῳ 3:1 Delete α, add ε by 1 corr.

προσκ. ἐμβαλ.· προσκυνε˙ι'νϐαλοῦσιν Add ι by 2 corr. *OG= προσκυνῇ ἐνϐαλ.

προσεκύνησαν· προσεκύνου ‘ν’ 3:7 ν added by 1 corr. Th influence.

πρόσταγ. τοῦ +πυρός 3:22 Deleted by 1 corr.

δεδοξασμένον˙ς' 3:56 Delete ν, add ς by 1 corr.

ἔσπευσ-δ-ε‘ν’ 5:6 ο or δ emended to ν by 1 corr.

εἶπε˙α'ν 6:5(6) Emended by 2 corr.

ελ˙ρρ'ιψας 6:22(23) Emended by 2 corr.

ὄνε˙υ'χες 7:19 Geissen does not note type or hand of corrector.

ἐξέπα˙ε'σαν 7:20 Emended by 1 corr.

σ‘μ’ου 9:17 Emended by 1 corr.

II.2. *Errors* 55x

These errors were due mainly to carelessness in transcription.

ἐπιλέκτων· ἐπιλε 1:3

{νεα} νεανίσκους 1:13 dittog.

ὀσπρίων· σιτοσπορίων 1:16 Hamm, I-II, p. 115.

[εἰσ]ήχθησαν +σαν 1:18 dittog.

ἕως· νεος 1:21

γαζαρηνῶν· γαραδηνῶν 2:27; 5:7

σοι· μοι 2:29

αὐτά· αὐτό 2:34 Hamm, I-II, p. 239.

>τότε 2:35

>καὶ τὴν κρίσιν δὲ 2:36 Accidently omitted. Hamm, I-II, p. 245.

ἐν·ε 2:38

ἐλάττω[ν] 2:39 Missing line over ω to indicate ν.

ἡγούμενον + μενον 2:48 dittog.

βασιλεῦ{ς} 3:10

κύριος· κύριε   3:17   κε written for κς

ἐμβληθῆναι· ἐμβληναι 3:24

κύριε· κυρίος   3:26 κς for κε

σ[τ]ιππύον 3:46

{ει} εἰς   3:55 dittog.

πνεύματα· πνα with line over top=πνεῦμα 3:65 read πνεύματα

ο[ὐ]ρανου 3:80

ἰδο[ὺ] 3:92(25)

>λατρε. μηδὲ 3:95(28)

πληροῦν{τα} 4:8(11) dittog.

πᾶσαν 4:8(11) twice by dittog.

σού· ου 4:30c

ἔ{ν}θνεσι{ν} 4:34b 1st ν is an err.

πάντων τῶν των 4:34c dittog.

περιέθ. αὐτῷ +καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ 5:29 dittog.

ὤρθ[ρ]{ε}ισε{ν} 6:19(20) ρ omitted by err.

ἐκάλ[εσ]ε{ν} 6:20(21) εσ omitted by err.

ἀπὸ +ἀπὸ 6:22(23) dittog.

τὸ θηρίον 7:11 dittog.

ἐκεῖνο +ὅ 7:20 dittog.

δοθεῖσα{ν} 8:13

ἐν νηστείαις· ἐνηστείαις 9:3 haplog.

ἡμῖν· ἡμῶν 9:7

διεσ-ρ-κό[ρ]πισας 9:7

κατὰ· κακά 9:13

τοὺς +τους 9:18 dittog.

τὴν ἐρήμωσιν· ἠρημωσιν 9:18

ἑβδομήκοντα· εν θ (with a line over it) 9:24 ο mistaken for θ and εν for ἐννέα as a gloss?

+ἔτι 9:24 for ἐπὶ (1st), but then corr.

εἴκοσι· .]ε (with a line over it) 10:13 967 has κε? misunderstood from κ = 20? Geissen, p. 233.

καὶ εἶπε{ν} dittog? 10:20 There is enough space on the previous line for this to have been written.

σοι· μοι 10:21 Change in pronoun to harmonize with the change in person of the vb.

πρῶτα +τὰ 10:21 haplog. or dittog.?

ἀνθεστήκασιν: 11:2 dittog.? Uncertain.

ἀποστ[αθ]ήσεται 11:4 S. ἐμβληθῆναι in 3:24.

οὐ στήσει· συστήσει 11:6

χώρ[αν] 11:19

ἐξ[ώσ]ουσιν 11:30 err. due to previous ἥξουσι{ν}.

εἰς τὸ καθα +εἰς τὸ 11:35 dittog.

εἶπα· ἐπάν 12:6

ἂν ἀποσταθῇ· ἀνασταθῇ 12:11

II.3. *Interchange of Vowels*

II.3.i. αν/ε, ε/αι Thack. §6.11 45x

αν/ε 4x

ἐκπεδεῦσαι 1:5; συνεταῖροι 5:6; εὔξηται 6:5(6); βοηθῆσαί 10:13;

ε/αι 41x

ἀναγγεῖλε 2:2; ἀπ-ν-αγγείλητε 2:5; δοξασθήσεσθε 2:6; ἀν-π-αγγείλητε 2:6; συνείπασθε 2:9; δηλώσετε 2:9; ἐμβληθήσεσθε 3:15; ἐπέταξε 3:19; ὑμνεῖτε 3:57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71; ὑπερυψοῦτε 3:57, 58, 59, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 79; εὐλογεῖτε 3:58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71; σε 5:16.

II.3.ii. ν/ει, ε/ι, ε/ε Thack. §6.24-26. 115x + 20x listed with Proper Nouns

ν/ει 85x

βασιλ«ε»ικῆς 1:5, π«ε»ίνει 1:5, 8; ἀλ«ε»ισθῇ 1:8; «ε»ἵνα 1:10; ἡμ«ε»ῖν 1:12, 3:27, 30; 9:12, 13; ὄψ«ε»ις 1:13; ὡμ«ε»ίλησεν 1:19; ἐκ«ε»ινήθη 2:3; 11:38; ἀποκρ«ε»ιθεὶς 2:5; καθ«ε»ιστῶν 2:21; γ«ε»ινώσκων 2:22, 3:15; βραχ«ε»ίονε 2:32; 9:15; 10:6; 11:6, 15, 31; ἐρ[ρ]ίπ«ε»ισεν 2:35; ἀφαν«ε»ίσει 2:44; ἐγ-ν-καιν«ε»ισμὸν 3:2; εἰκόν«ε»ι 3:5, 14; κάμ«ε»ινον 3:6, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22(2), 23, 24, 25, 46, 47, 48, 49(2), 51, 79; π«ε»ίπτοντα 3:7; συν«ε»ιδὼν 3:14; αὔθωρ«ε»ὶ 3:15; ὁλοκαύτωσ«ε»ις 3:38; κρ«ε»ιῶν 3:40; π«ε»ιόνων 3:40; ἐξ«ε»ιλάσαι 3:40; ἐξετ«ε»ίναξε«ν» 3:49; ῥ«ε»ῖγος 3:67; ᾖσθ«ε»ιον 4:30a; ὑψ«ε»ίστῳ 4:30c; δισχ«ε»ιλίους 5 preface; ἔπ«ε»ιπτεν 6:10(11); τρ«ε»ὶς 6:10(11), 11(12); ὤρθ[ρ]«ε»ισε«ν» 6:19(20); ἀπετυμπαν«ε»ίσθη 7:11; δισχ«ε»ίλιαι 8:14; πᾶσ«ε»ι 9:16; «ε»ἱλάτευσον 9:18; χρον«ε»ίσῃς 9:19; Σ«ε»ιων 9:19, 24; χρ«ε»ῖσμα 9:26; κατ«ε»ισχύσει 11:5, 6; ἐπ«ε»ι«συ»στρέψει 11:10; ἐξάπ«ε»ινα 11:24; ἐρεθ«ε»ισθήσεται 11:25; λ«ε»ίαν 11:25; ἐγ-ν-κατέλ«ε»ιπον 11:30; μ«ε»ιανοῦσι«ν» 11:31; καθαρ«ε»ίσαι 11:35; ἀφαν«ε»ίσαι 11:44; συν«ε»ιέντες 12:3; χ«ε»ιλίας 12:11, 12.

ε/ι 27x

ὑδροποτ[ε]ῖν 1:12; κρ[ε]ίσσων 1:15; ἐμπεσ[ε]ῖν 2:1; ἐξαγαγ[ε]ῖν 2:14; σκοτ[ε]ινὰ 2:22; σκότ[ε]ι 2:22; ἀποκτ[ε]ῖναι 2:24; γνώσ[ε]ι 2:30; κυριεύ[ε]ιν 2:38; ἀπέδ[ε]ιξεν 2:48; πόλ[ε]ις 3:1; χρ[ε]ίαν 3:16; ἤπ«ε»ιγε«ν» 3:22; κρίσ[ε]ις 3:27, 31; ἐνετ[ε]ίλω 3:30; εὑρ[ε]ῖν 3:38; προσδεχθ[ε]ίημ 3:39; ἐνδ[ε]ικνύμενοι 3:44; τ[ε]ιχῶν 4:26(29); ὑποδ[ε]ῖξαι 5:16; 10:14; 11: ἀπέκτ[ε]ιναν 6:24(25); θεωρ[ε]ῖν 8:15; δεήσ[ε]ις 9:17; ἐρημώσ[ε]ι 11:24.

ε/ε 3x

καταλε[ι]φθῆναι 2:35
καταφθε[ί]ρα-ε-τε 4:11(14)
γινώσκε[ι]ς 10:20

II.3.iii. *Omission of* ι 7x

*ἔσθ[ι]οντας 1:13; 7:7 κατεσθ[ί]οντες 7:19 Thack. §19.3.
ἐπ[ι]είκειάν 3:42
ὑπέκα[ι]ον 3:46
δ[ι]αθήκη 9:13
ἐπιθυμ[ι]ῶν 10:3

II.3.iv. α/ε, ε/α Thack. §6.2,3 5x

ἄνε-α-μος 2:35
ἐπ'· ἀπ' 3:2
ὑπολαβόντε-α-ς 3:9
καταφθε[ί]ρα-ε-τε 4:11(14)
καθα-ε-ρι-ε-[σ]θήσεται 8:14

II.3.v. ο/υ Thack. §6.41 4x

ἤνοιξεν· ἤνυξεν 6:10(11); 10:16
σοι· συ 2:23; 9:7

II.4. *Non-Elision* Thack. §9.10 6x

*ἀλλ'· ἀλλα 2:28, 30; 3:39, 95(28); 10:21
*παρ'· παρὰ 3:19

II.5. ἐάν *for* ἄν Mayser, II.1. 267; Thack. §5.4 8x

3:6, 10, 11, 96(29), 4:34a; 5:7; 9:14; 11:3

II.6. ἕως and ὡς 3x

{ἕ}ὡς 2:43

[ἕ]ως 4:30(33)

[ἕ]ως 7:13

There are three occasions where 967 has confused the writing of ἕως or ὡς. The most celebrated instance is in 7:13 where F.F. Bruce has argued that the OG makes an "astonishing" claim that the one like a son of man came *as* (the) Ancient of Days.[10] Zieg. had reconstructed the text to read ἕως, but 967 does support 88-Syh in reading ὡς and J. Lust has suggested that the "so-called 'erroneous' reading . . . is not to be 'corrected' in an edition of the text of the LXX."[11] Jeansonne has argued for the integrity of Zieg.'s reconstruction and she does note the parallel variants in 2:43 and 4:30(33), but she does not note that 967 actually supports the reading of 88-Syh in this particular case.[12] However, there is no doubt that Zieg.'s text is correct.

In both the OG and Th ἕως is a SE for עַד. ἕως appears 43x in OG, but 14x MT =0.[13] In the remaining 29 instances ἕως renders עַד in all but two passages.[14] In 4:8(11) it is a good equivalent for לְ in the sense "unto" and in 9:20 ἕως translates עוּד, which is obviously an error of sight or hearing. We encounter the same equivalence when examining MT. עַד appears 47x in MT, so there are 20x when ἕως=עַד does not occur. 8x OG=0.[15] Textual differences also explain the non-equivalence for עַד in five other cases.[16] while TT accounts for the omissions in 2:20;

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[10]Bruce, "Oldest Version," p. 25.

[11]J. Lust, "Daniel VII and the Septuagint," *ETL* 54 (1978): 63. Bogaert ("Relecture," p. 206) supports Lust's judgment.

[12]See Jeans., pp. 96-98.

[13]3:1, 4:11(14), 14(17), 18(21), 28(31), 30(33); 6:6(5), 17; 7:25; 8:11; 9:27(2); 12:4, 7 (secondary addition). The second occurrence in 7:25 is also difficult to judge because of the textual differences.

[14]See 1:21; 2:9, 34; 6:8(7), 13(12), 15(14), 27(26); 7:4, 9, 12, 18(2), 22, 25, 26, 28(27); 8:10, 11, 13, 14; 9:26; 10:3; 11:35, 36; 12:1, 4, 9. The second occurrence of ἕως in 7:18 of Zieg.'s text is probably not original.

[15]4:5(8), 14(17), 20(23), 22(25), 29(32), 30(33); 5:21; 6:25(24).

[16]7:11; 9:25; 11:24, 25; 12:6. In 7:11 it could be an omission of a redundant expression.

8:8 and 11:25.[17] There remain four other passages. In 8:6 and 11:10 OG translates with ἔπι, while in 11:45 it has ὥρα. As in the case of 9:20 above, OG has probably misread עַל in 8:6, 11:10 and עֵת in 11:45. Not only is the direct equivalence between ἕως and עַד established, but there is no other instance in OG or Th where ὡς translates עַד.

In 2:43, 967 may have read עַד (see BHS) where it employs ἕως for ὡς.

II.7. *Consonants*

II.7.i. *Addition of* ς   5x

*οὕτω{ς} 1:13; 3:40 Thack. §9.9, Mayser I, 1. p. 214
*ἤχου{ς} 3:7(?), 10, 15. Thack. §10.29

II.7.ii. *Omission of* ς   6x

νεανίσκου[ς] 1:4
δεκαπλασίω[ς] 1:20
ἑπταπλασίω[ς] 3:46
βασιλεὺ[ς] 4:30a
*λύχνου[ς]   5 preface   S. Geissen, p. 141.
καθα-ε-ρι-ε-[σ]θήσεται 8:14

II.7.iii. *Doubled Consonants*   Thack. §7.39, 40, 42   5x
967 often writes only one consonant of a pair.

ἐρ[ρ]ίπ{ε}ισεν 2:35 .
ἐμβάλ[λ]οντες 3:46
ἐρ[ρ]ύσατο 3:88
ἐ[ρ]ρίφησαν 6:24(25)
πρόσ[σ]χες 9:18

II.7.iv. *Interchange of* λ/ρ   Thack. §7.20   3x
Thack. notes that the tendency was for ρ to replace λ, but he also states that "instances occur, also, of the reverse change in the κοινή where no consonant follows."

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[17]In 2:20 (cf. 7:18) OG omits the latter half of מִן-עָלְמָא וְעַד-עָלְמָא, while in 8:8, 11:25 OG translates עַד-מְאֹד with σφόδρα.

The fact that λ was mistakenly written for ρ during the transmission of Daniel is exemplified in 6:22(23), which was later corrected; 11:25 where the addition of παραλογισθήσεται is a corruption from the earlier variant παροργισθήσεται (Geissen, p. 259, see 11:25); and the reading of θάλασσης in 10:6. 967 tends to substitute λ for ρ which suggests that it is a phonetic error. It also means that we should consider the possibility that 967 has the correct reading in 3:96(29).

διαμελ-ρ-ισθήσεται 3:96(29) This orthographic variant is quite interesting because διαμελίζω "dissect" is usually interpreted as a neologism (so LEH, p. 106), which Mont., p. 148, reconstructed on the basis of an analogy to μέλη ποιήσαντες in 2 Macc. 1:16. LSJ only has διαμελίζω attested in Plutarch. However, even without 967, we should consider the possibility of reading the far more common διαμερίζω "divide." The problem in reading διαμελίζω is that it would mean OG knew the meaning of the *Vorlage* here, but not in 2:5. On the other hand, the more common διαμερίζω would fit the pattern of orthographic change in OG and would also represent an adequate contextual guess. At some early stage of its transmission the λ could have been substituted for the ρ, and διαμελίζω may have been accepted into the language later. S. the discussion in CH 5.III.

ελ`ρρ'ιψας 6:22(23) Emended by 2 corr.
θαρσις· θάλασσης 10:6 967=88-Syh but does not make sense. It could derive from an early transcription mistake of λ for ρ.

II.7.v. *Non-Assimilation of* ν Thack. §9.3-6. 15x

*συμ-ν-μολυνθῇ 1:8
*συμ-ν-μιγεῖς 2:43
*συγ-ν-κραθῆναι 2:43
*ἐγ-ν-καιν«ε»ισμὸν 3:2
*συμ-ν-ποδίσαντας 3:20
ἐμ-ν-πυρισμόν 3:95(28)
ἐγ-ν-κύκλιον 4:34b
*ἐγ-ν-καινισμοῦ 5 preface
*σύγ-ν-κριμα 5:7(2), 16, 30
ἐγ-ν-κατέλιπε«ν» 9:11; 11:30
ἐμ-ν-μένων 12:12 S. 6:12a where Zieg. should be emended to read with the compound.

II.7.vi. νῦ-ἐφελκυστικόν Thack. §9.7 125x

As far as verbs are concerned, 967 consistently employs the variable ᵗ consonant ᵗ and there is only one occurrence in 967 in which the ν is omitted against 88. There are 13x where 967 has the final ν on nouns and adjectives against 88 as well. Since the ν dropped out before consonants in later usage, it is more probable that we should retain it in all cases where it is attested.

II.7.vi.a. *Verbs* 112x

Addition of ν in 967   111x

ἠχίωσεν 1:8; ἔδωκεν 1:9; εἶπεν 1:11, 2:5, 14, 26, 27, 3:91, 6:14(15), 16(17), 21(22); 10:11, 12, 14, 20; 11:1; 12:9; ἐζήτησεν 1:20; κρινοῦσιν 2:7; ἐστιν 2:11(2), 20, 27, 28, 3:17(2), 4:27(30), 34(37), 34c; 5 preface; 6:26(27), 8:20, 21; εἰσῆλθεν 2:16; ὑπεδειξεν 2:17; παρήγγειλεν 2:18; ἐκδοθῶσιν 2:18; εὐλόγησεν 2:19; εἰσήγαγεν 2:25; ἐδήλωσεν 2:28, 29; ἐπάταξεν 2:34, 35, 3:20; συνηλόησεν 2:45; ἐσήμανεν? 2:45; προσεκύνησεν 2:46; ἐπέταξεν 2:46; ἠξίωσεν 2:49; ἐκήρυξεν 3:4; ἔστησεν 3:5, 7, 6:14(15); εἰσὶν 3:12; ἦπ{ε}ιγεν 3:22; ἐνεπύρισεν 3:23; διεξώδευσεν 3:48; εὗρεν 3:48; ἐξετ{ε}ίναξεν 3:49; ἐποίησεν 3:50; ἐλύπησεν 3:50; ἐθαύμασεν 3:91; ἀπέστειλεν 3:95(28); ἔσωσεν 3:95(28); προσκυνήσωσιν 3:95(28); ἐφώνησεν 4:11(14); ὑπεδειξέν 4:15(18); συνετήρησεν 4:25(28); ἔγραψεν 4:34b; ἐπήνεσεν 5 preface; εἶδεν 5:5; ἐφώνησεν 5:7; ἐξέθηκεν 5:7; ἐνέδυσεν 5:29; ἐπῆλθεν 5:30, 10:13; παρέλαβεν 5:31(6:1), 19(20), 28(29); ἡττήσωσιν 6:5(6); ἔστησεν 6:9(10), 10(11); ὤρθ{ρ}{ε}ισεν 6:19(20); σέσωκέν 6:20(21), 21(22); ἐπήκουσεν 6:21(22); εἶδεν 7:1; εἶχεν 7:7; ἀπέστησεν 7:12; ὑπερέφερεν 7:20; ἀπολοῦσιν 7:26; ἤθελεν 8:4; ἔδραμεν 8:6; ἐπάταξεν 8:7; συνέτριψεν 8:7; ἀγαπῶσιν 9:4; ἐγ-ν-κατέλιπεν 9:11; ἠγρύπνησεν 9:14; προσῆλθεν 9:22; ἐλάλησεν 9:22; ἐξῆλθεν 9:23; κατίσχυσα-ε-ν 10:8; προσήγαγέν 10:10; κατίσχυσέν 10:18; ἐνίσχυσέν 10:19; ἥξουσιν 11:30; μ{ε}ιανοῦσιν 11:31; ἀποστήσουσιν 11:31; δώσουσιν 11:31; πειρασθῶσιν 12:9; ἁγιασθῶσιν 12:9

Omission of ν in 967   1x
κατατρέχουσι[ν] 4:21(24)

II.7.vi.b. *Nouns and Adjectives* 13x
Addition of ν in 967   13x

παισίν 1:13, 2:4; 3:29(2); 4:34b, 34c.
ὕδασιν 3:79

ἔ(ν)θνεσιν 4:34b, 34c,

λέουσιν 6:24(25)

ποσὶν 7:7, 19

χρήμασιν 11:13

II.8. *Number* 17x

II.8.i. *Nouns* 9x

II.8.i.a. *Singular for Plural* 5x

*τὰ πρόσ. ὑμ. διατ. ἀσθ.· τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν διατετραμμένον ἀσθενές 1:10
Given the predominant use of (ם)ינפ in idioms and semi-prepositions it is not
unexpected that OG always has the sing. elsewhere in Daniel where it is rendered by
προσώπου,[18] but OG also employs προσώπον in all other cases as well.[19] This is the
only instance in Daniel where a plural would be suitable in Greek, but s. 1:13, 15 where
OG has the sing. ὄψις.

*εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος 2:44 Syh=sg. S. also 2:44(2); 3:9; 6:27(26)
where OG has the singular for plural in MT. The only time OG retains the plural of
MT for ם לֲﬠ is in 7:18 according to Zieg., but the formal correspondence to MT is
unlikely there. S. CH 5.III.

ἐσχάτων· ἐσχάτου 2:45 967=MT In 2:28 and 2:29 OG has ἐπ ἐσχάτων τῶν
ἡμερῶν where MT has אימוי תירחאב (vs. 28) and הנד ירחא (vs. 29) respectively.
2:45 follows the same pattern. S. below.

*τὰ σώματα· τό σῶμα 3:95(28) 967=Syh The variant probably stems from
alternative *Vorlagen* because there is a K-Q difference. The Peshitta also offers a sing.
while Th and the Vulgate have the pl.

τῶν χειρῶν· τῆς χειρός 6:14(15) Here MT =0, but MT only has the pl. of די 3x
(2:34, 45; 3:15) and each time OG retains the plural. Otherwise OG prefers the plural
even where MT is sg. The pl. renders a sg. in 1:2; 2:38; 3:17; 7:25; 8:4, 25; 11:11, 16;
12:7.

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[18]8:5, 17, 18, 23; 9:3, 7, 8, 13, 17; 10:6, 9, 15; 11:17, 18, 19, 22.

[19]3:19, 41; 4:19(22), 30(33); 6:10(11), 12(13), 13(14); 7:10; 10:12.

II.8.i.b. *Plural for Singular* 3x

ἄγγελος οὖ· ἀγγέλων ὧν   2:11 967=MT; s. Hamm, I-II, p. 181, 183.

*ἐσχάτου· ἐσχατῶν 8:23; 10:14   The plural follows 8:19 and the pattern in 2:28, 29, 45.

τοῦ λόγου τούτου· τῶν λόγῶν τουτῶν 12:8 MT has אחרית אלה. λόγος appears 15x in OG. In every case except 2:9 OG follows the number of MT, though in 3/4 cases where MT=0 the pl. is used.[20] The OG rendering probably stems from a misunderstanding of MT. OG has the sing. for אחרית while the pl. in 967 resulted from later harmonization to the demonstrative adj.

II.8.ii. *Verbs* 8x

II.8.ii.a. *Singular for Plural* 2x

συνήχθη[σαν] 6:23(24) Elsewhere OG has the pl. S. 3:7; 4:9(12); 7:27; 8:4; 12:10.
στήσονται· στέσεται ? 11:15 967 identifies "king of Egypt" as the subject.

II.8.ii.b. *Plural for Singular* 6x

ἐδογματίσθη[σαν} 2:13 Secondary harmonization to following verb. Hamm, I-II, p. 185.

*ἐζητήθη δὲ· καὶ ἐζητήθησαν 2:13 The only grammatical parallel is in 2:18 where OG has the pl. 88-Syh has secondary harmonization to previous vb. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 187, who reads the s. for both vbs.

ἐγένετο· ἐγένοντο 2:35 γίνομαι occurs twice more in the s. in 2:35. The 3 pl. of γίνομαι is unusual, but there is one other passage where it is employed in OG (12:1).[21] However, there are a diversity of uses of the vb. in ch. 2, and the vb. in MT is pl. If we consider the occurrences of the nt. pl. sub. with a finite vb. where OG has a *Vorlage*,

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[20]λόγος in the s. for a s. in MT are 1:20; 2:11; 4:28(31); 6:12(13); 7:28. Pl. for pl. in 7:1, 11, 16; 12:3. MT=0 in 4:24(27)*bis*, 25(28)*bis*.

[21]The singular occurs in 2:1, 35(3); 3:30, 40, 91(24), 92(25); 4:24(27); 8:11, 12, 15; 9:2, 12(2); 10:4; 11:36; 12:1. Other occurrences are inf. in 2:11, 12, 28, 29(2); 4:30b; imv. in 3:40; part. in 4:34c.

there are 27.[22] The cases where the pl. are employed conform to Soisalon-Soininen's suggestion that it is used when the parts of the whole are emphasized.[23] In this instance the subject is viewed collectively, so it is most probably sing. while 967 has been corrected toward MT.

ἐρημωθήσεται· .σονται 8:13 OG transforms the n. into a vb. and provides a dynamic translation, and the nt. pl. sub. (τὰ ἅγια) is viewed collectively.

ἐπιτελεσθήσεται· .θήσονται 11:16 The vb. stems from reading כלה as if it were a pu. 3.m.s., but the sing. vb. would conform to OG's usage.

διανοηθήσονται· διανοηθήσεται 11:35 967 has the prep. ἐκ changed to ἐν, so perhaps 967 read ἐν as ἕν which led to the change in person of the vb.

II.9. *Miscellaneous Orthographical Variants* 9x

This section includes variants in spelling (1:5; 3:55) as well as common orthographical variants that could not be classified elsewhere.

*ἐκ-χ-θεσιν 1:5 Thack. §7.9.　　　　　　ἀπ-ν-αγγείλητέ 2:5

*οὔτε· οὐδὲ 2:43 Hamm, I-II, p. 265.　　ἀν-π-αγγείλητε 2:6

σαμβύκη-ο-ς 3:5

κάμι-ε-νος 3:46 Thack. §6.22.

χερουβιμ-ν 3:55 Thack. §4., p. 33.

ἰδοὺ· ἴδον 10:8

οὐθ-δ-είς 10:21

II.10. *Proper Nouns* 70x

Most of the variants dealing with proper nouns have to do with common orthographical differences, though a few involve different names. A few important variants are treated in the main apparatus.

Ιωακ«ε»ιμ 1:1, 2

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[22]Neuter plural subjects with a plural verb occur in 3:7, 94(27); 4:9(12)*bis*; 6:27(28); 7:3, 8, 17; 8:4. Singular verbs occur in 2:5, 28, 29(2), 30; 5:3; 4:19(22), 30(33); 7:4, 5, 25; 8:8, 19; 9:12(2), 13; 11:37; 12: 7.

[23]See I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Konstruction des Verbs bei einem Neutrum Plural im griechischen Pentateuch." *VT* 29 (1979): 189-99. See also A. Pietersma, "The Greek Psalter. A question of methodology and syntax," *VT* 26 (1976): 60-69.

Ναβουχοδονο-ε-σορ 1:1, 18; 2:1, 28, 46, 48; 3:1, 2(2), 5, 7, 13, 14, 16, 19, 91, 95; 4:28, 30, 30a, 34b.

Ιερουσαλημ· Ιεροσολυμα 1:1 Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 81.

*Βαβυλῶνα· Βαβυλωνίαν 1:2 Hamm, I-II, pp. 83, 213, 215.

      Βαβυλωνίας· Βαβυλῶνος 2:24 Hamm, I-II, pp. 213, 215.

        *{τῆς] Βαβυλωνίας· Βαβυλῶνος 2:24 S. previous.

      *Βαβυλωνίας· Βαβυλωνος 2:48 Hamm, I-II, p. 215.

Αβιεσδρι· Ασπανες 1:3 967=Th

Αναν{ε}ίας 1:6, Αναν{ε}ίαν 1:11

Μ{ε}ισαηλ 1:6, 7, 11, 19 (σ/ζ); 2:17; 3:24

Σεδραχ -κ- 1:7; 2:49; 3:12, 13, 14, 16, 95(28), 96(29)

Μ{ε}ισαχ-κ- 1:7; 2:49; 3:12, 13, 14, 16, 95(28), 96(29)

*’Αριώχ{η] 2:14; *’Αριώχ{ης] 2:15 Thack. §11.1.

Ισα{α]κ 3:35

Δανι{η]λ 6:27(28); 10:7

Βαλτασαρ{ου} 7:1 Thack. §11.1.

τ‘Δ’ανιηλ 7:1 superscript by 1 corr.

   +ός Δανιηλος? 7:1(2x), 28

Ιε-η-ρεμίαν 9:2

*Μωση· Μωυσέως 9:10(?), 11, 13 Tha. §11.1.

Σ{ε}ιων 9:19, 24

Ισραηλ· ’Ιερουσαλήμ 9:19 Originated as a gloss to Σιων. S. Geissen, p. 211.

II.11. *Articles* 60x

      In this section are listed additions, omissions, and subtitutions of articles that can be treated without reference to their governing preposition or noun.

*[τὸν] βασιλέα 1:2 Hamm, I-II, p. 81.

*[τῆς] Ιουδαίας 1:2

*εἰς +τὴν 1:2

*τῷ· τὸν 1:9 Hamm, I-II, p. 95.

βασιλέα +τὸν 1:18 Hamm, I-II, p. 125.

*[τῷ] Δαν. 1:19 967=Th Hamm, I-II, p. 127.

{τῷ} Αναν. 1:19

[τοὺς] φαρμάκους 2:2 Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 147. OG tends to employ only one article in a series, but it is included before both the previous elements.

   >τῶν S. 3:48; 9:1 and DJD, I, p. 150.

{ὁ} βασιλεὺς 2:10

*[ὀ] Δανιηλ 2:13 Hamm, I-II, p. 187.

*καὶ +τῷ 2:17 Hamm, I-II, p. 197.

  *Μ«ε»ισαηλ +τῷ cj. by Hamm, I-II, p. 197.

*[τὰ] βαθέα 2:22 Hamm, I-II, p. 207.

*καὶ [τὰ] ε.τ. φωτί 2:22 S. discussion of 2:22 in III.

πρὸς >τὸν 2:24 Prep. + art. preceding names of people in 1:11; 6:4(5), 14(15); 8:16; Bel 18, 28, 42; but cf. Bel 34. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 213.

*[τῆς] Βαβυλωνίας 2:24

*δὲ >ὀ 2:27 Hamm, I-II, p. 221.

«τοὺς» ὀστρακ. 2:34 Hamm, I-II, p. 133.

*[τὴν] ἰσχὺν 2:37 S. Hamm, I-II, p. 137, but reference to 2:37 has been omitted.

*[τὴν] τιμὴν 2:37

*[τὴν] δόξαν 2:37

*[τῶν] ἰχθύων 2:38 Hamm, I-II, p. 133.

    >τῆς

*[τὸν] χαλκὸν 2:45

*[τὸν] ἄργυρον 2:45

*[τὸν] χρυσόν 2:45

πάντων >τῶν 2:48 haplog.

*ἐν +τῷ 3:1 S. 1:3, 6; 2:25; 10:20.

>ὀ 3:2 Hamm, III-IV, p. 147.

πάντα >τὰ? 3:7 haplog.? S. 2:10; 3:2, 37; 4:(37)34c; 7:14; but 2:30, 48.

«ὀ» θεὸς 3:17

* +ὀ =Syh Hamm, III-IV, p. 215.

Μισ. +τὸν 3:13

περὶ >τὸν 3:49 S. 3:23.

αὐτῶν +τὸ 3:50 Hamm, III-IV, p.331.

>ὀ 3:55 S. 2:29; 12:12; cf. 9:4. BDF §412.5.

*>τοῦ 3:57 Hamm, III-IV, p. 351.

εὐλογ. +τὰ 3:81

ὑμνεῖτε καὶ + τὰ 3:81

ἐστι«ν» +ὀ 4:34(37) S. 2:47.

«ὀ» Ναβου. 4:34c Cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 525.

πατρός σου >τοῦ 5:12

*>τῶν 6:1(2) S. Geissen, p. 161.

>ὂ 7:1 Omitted in 967 due to the previous reading of a rel. pro. (Δανιηλ +ὅς Δανιηλος?).

*>τὸν 7:22 S. 7:9, 13.

>αἱ 7:27

*[ὁ] ἰσχυρὸς 9:4 OG tends to omit articles in a series.

*καὶ [ὁ?] φοβερὸς 9:4

παιδὸς >τοῦ 9:11

κυρίου +τοῦ 9:13 967 =Th.

ἀφαιρεθ. >ἡ 9:27

*>τῷ 10:1

στρατηγοῦ >τοῦ 10:13

τῶν· τῷ 11:35

*αὐτῇ +ὁ 11:42 Cf. Th and MT. More likely that the art. was dropped later.

*{ἡ} ἀκοὴ 11:44 Cf. Th and MT. More likely that 88-Syh dropped the art. Cf. Geissen, p. 65.

*ὡς +οἱ 12:3 88-Syh=MT, but the article might have been added because it is better Greek.

*>οἱ 12:4 OG never adds the art. elsewhere to πολλοὶ (s. 8:25, 11:10, 18, 26, 34, 44; 12:9[10]) and does not translate the art. when the *Vorlage* is definite (s. 9:18, 27; 11:33, 39; 12:3).

>ὁ 12:6

II.12. *Reflexive Pronouns* Thack. §14.2 8x

The reflexive pronoun was used more at the time of Daniel's composition, so it is more likely that the reflexive was dropped during the course of transmission than it was added by 967. There are several places where 88 and 967 are agreed in the use (1:3, 11:7; 4:9[12] 967 +), which supports the view that we should read it elsewhere.

*{ἑ}αυτοῦ 1:20, 2:17, 6:10(11); 7:1; 11:7

*{ἑ}αυτῶν 3:21, 95(28)

[ἑ]αυτοὺς 11:35

II.13. *Miscellaneous Nouns* 24x

Included below are variants in nouns that are primarily differences in case.

*ὁ ἄργυρος· τὸ ἀργυρίον 2:35 88=Th Hamm, p. 241.

πετεινῶν· πετηνῶν 2:38

*χαλκῆ· χαλκοῦ 2:39 Hamm, I-II, p. 255.

τὰ[ς] τιάρα[ς] 3:21 S. Ezek. 23:15.

αἰνετὸν· αἰνετός 3:26 S. 3:55.

*τ. δούλοις· τῶν δούλων 3:33 967=88

*τ. σεβομένοις· τῶν σεβομένων 3:33 967=88

*τ. ἄμμον τ.· ἡ ἄμμος ἡ 3:36 Hamm, III-IV, p. 291, 293.

νάφθα[ν] 3:46

πετεινὰ· πετηνά 3:80 S. 2:38.

φωνὴ[ν] 4:28(31) Hamm, III-IV, p. 479.

*τὴν βασιλ.· τῆς βασιλείας 4:29(32) 967=88

πάσης τῆς βασιλείας· πάσῃ τ. β. 6:4(5)

*κεφαλὴν-ς- 7:1 Geissen, p. 97.

παλαιοῦ· παλαιός 7:13 S. Jeans., pp. 96-98.

βασιλέω-υ-ς 10:13

κυρ[ιε]ίας? 11:3 Not extant but probable based on space and v. 4

ἀλκὴν· ὀλκὴν 11:4 Tha. §6.9.

κυρ[ιε]ίαν 11:4

δυνα[σ]τῶν 11:5 Om. due to 11:3?

δυναστεία{ν} μεγάλη{ν} 11:5 967 misunderstood syntax.

διάνοιαι{ν} 11:14 967 read as acc.

βασιλέ{ι}α 11:25 Thack. §6.18

προστάγμα[τα] 12:4

II.14. *Verbs* 59x

II.14.i. *1st and 2nd Aorist* Thack. §17.1,2. BDF §81 3x

*εἶπον· εἶπαν 3:9; 6:12a.

εἶπαν· εἶπον 3:16.

*ἐνέτυχο-α-ν 6:12(13) Thack. §17.2.

II.14.ii. *Verbs Terminating in* οσαν Thack. §17.2; Mayser, I.2., pp. 83-84. 3x

ἐνεβάλοσαν· ἐνέβαλον 3:22

ἐνεβάλοσαν· ἐνέβαλον 3:46

*ἐξῆλθον · ἐξήλθοσαν 5 preface

II.14.iii. *The Temporal Augment* Thack. §16.4-6; BDF §67, 69. 20x

*ἑό-ω-ρακα 2:3, 10, 27, 29, 31, 34, 41, 45

προση-ε-ύξατο 3:24 S. 3:25.

ἐξω-ο-μολογεῖτο 3:25 S. 1:19; 6:12(13); 7:11; 12:7.

παρη-ε-νώχλησεν   3:50   παρηνό‵ω‘χλησαν 6:23(24)   superscript by 1 corr.

*ε-η-ὑλόγουν 3:51

ᾤκουν· οἴκουν 4:8(11)

*ἐξε-η-ρήμωσας 4:19(22)

*ἀφῄρηται· ἀφείρηται 4:28(31)

*ἀπο-ε-κατεστάθη 4:33(36) S. vs. 34b.

εὑω-ο-δώθη 8:12 S. 3:25.

*παρο-ω-ξυνθήσεται 11:10

συν{ε}τελεσθῇ 11:36   Incorrectly added ε on a subjunctive.

II.14.iv. *Miscellaneous Verbs* 33x

Below are listed minor variants in verbal forms primarily due to differences in person, tense, voice, and mood. 1:20; 2:11, 24, 31; 3:25; 10:7; 11:24 reflect orthographical differences.

*ἀν-π-έδειξεν 1:20   Hamm, I-II, p. 101.

*ζῆθι· ζήσῃ 2:4, 28 88-Syh=Th Hamm, I-II, p. 151.

*οἴει· οἴῃ 2:11 Thack. §17.12.

*ἔσται· ἔστω 2:20 Hamm, I-II, p. 203.

Δυνήσῃ· Δύνασαι 2:26 967=Th Hamm, I-II, p. 219.

*ἑ{ι}στήκει 2:31 Thack. §16.5

*τμηθῆναι· τμηθέντα 2:45 Hamm, I-II, p. 267

προσεκύνησαν· προσκυνοῦσιν 3:12   967 influenced by Th. S. vs. 7.

εἶπα-ε-ν 3:25   S. the emendation in 6:5(6) and Zieg. for 6:13(14)

πονηροτάτῳ-ῃ- 3:32

πληθῦ-η-ναι 3:36 Thack. §6.46.2.

εὐλογεῖτε-ω- 3:64 Cf. 3:74.

ἐλπίσαντας· ἐλπίζοντας 3:95(28) Hamm, III-IV, p. 409.

ἐφώτιζον· ἐφώτισαν 4:8(11)

ἤκουσε· ἠκούσθη 4:28(31) Hamm, III-IV, p. 479.

*δήσουσιν· δήσωσιν 4:29(32) Future forms in context.

ἐπέγραψα-ε-ν 5 Preface

ἔσπευσ-δ-εν 5:6 967 harmonized to previous imperfect.

*ἐξῆρται· ἐξήρθη 5:30 Geissen, p. 159.

ἔστησε-α-{ν} 6:10(11), 9:12

*συνιστά{νο}μενον 7:21 Thack. §23.3.

ἔδωκε-α- 7:27

*ἠγνοήκ-σ-αμεν 9:15 Geissen, p. 205.

ἐπάκουσον· .κουσα 9:17 Geissen, p. 207.

ἐπ-ν-έπεσεν 10:7 Vb. only 3x in OG, s. 4:2, 30c. Only here in Th.

κατίσχυσα-ε-{ν} 10:8

ὑπαντήσεται· .τησει 10:14 (1-7) S. Sir. 12:17, 15:2 for middle.

κατισχύσῃ· κατ{ε}ισχύσει 11:6 BDF §365

ἐπιστρέψει· ἐπιστρέψω 11:18 S. Geissen, p. 255.

διανοηθη-έ-σεται 11:24

*σφράγισαι· σφράγισον 12:4 Goes with previous imperative.

III. Minuses, Pluses, Substitutions, Transpositions

1:1
Ιωακ{ε}ιμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας 2,3,1

1:2
*ἀπήνεγκεν· ἀπενέγκας Hamm, I-II, p. 83.

*Βαβυλωνίαν >καὶ Depends on vb. vs. part. above.

*ἀπηρείσατο >αὐτὰ Hamm, I-II, p. 85; Blud., p. 54.

1:3
*ἀγαγεῖν > αὐτῷ Hamm, I-II, p. 85.

1;4
*γραμματικούς > καὶ συνετούς doub. Hamm, I-II, p. 87.

>ὥστε A decision here is quite difficult. Hamm. (I-II, p. 87) suggests it is a hexaplaric addition to render the ל (see also 1:12), but one would expect this more frequently. ὥστε is relatively infrequent in the LXX as a whole, but is found fairly frequently in the Maccabean books and sporadically in the remainder of the apocrypha. ὥστε is witnessed by all three major mss. in 2:35 and does not appear in Th at all. There are no compelling reasons why ὥστε should have been chosen as an addition, and it does occur at least one other place in the book. Therefore, it is most probably OG.

*στῆναι· εἶναι =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Zieg., p. 93. S. 1:19.

1:5
*ἐκ · παρὰ

*>τοῦ οἴκου Syh=ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου παρὰ τοῦ   Although ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου in 88 sounds
better (s. Hamm, I-II, p. 89), Syh preserves both readings and it is more likely that the
awkward reading of 967 was fixed by harmonization with the preceding vs. in 88..

*ἡμέραν >καὶ Hamm, I-II, p. 89.

*καὶ [ἀπὸ] τοῦ οἴνου Hamm, I-II, p. 89.

*στῆναι· στῆσαι =88 vs. cj. by Katz, s. Zieg. pp., 93-94.

1:6

*ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Ιουδαίας

    967 ἐκ τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν   τῆς ᾿Ιουδαίας Hamm, I-II, p. 91.

1:7

[ὀνόματα] τῷ [μὲν] 1. err. 2. Hamm, I-II, p. 93, but it is difficult.

{καὶ} τῷ [δὲ] ᾿Ανα. Hamm, I-II, p. 93.

1:8

*ἀλισγηθῇ· ἀλ{ε}ισθῇ 88-Syh=Th Munnich, "Origène," pp. 187-188, points out that
OG stems from ἀλίζω as a military metaphor and that Daniel did not want to be
"recruited" into the king's service. See also CH 5.II. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 92.

1:9

*Δανιηλ +εἰς Hamm, I-II, p. 95.

1:10

*πόσιν >ὑμῶν Hamm, I-II, p. 97.

*μὴ +ἐὰν Hamm, I-II, p. 97. Read ἂν, s. 3:6.

*νεανίας· νεανίσκους 1:10 See the analysis of 1:1-10 in CH 5. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p.
99 who prefers 88. His judgement presupposes the "freer" rendering is original. Here
it is unwarranted, but the decision is difficult.

ἀλλογενῶν >καὶ This variant is not noted or discussed by Hamm (see pp. 98-99), but
does not seem to be a printing error.

1:11

*Αβιεσδρι· Σολομάρῳ Hamm, I-II, p. 101.

*ἀναδειχθέντι· ἀποδειχθέντι S. 1:20; 2:48; 4:34c; Sus. 5. Hamm, I-II, p. 101.

1:12

*ὀσπρίων· σπορίμων Hamm, I-II, pp. 103, 105.

*>τῆς γῆς Hamm, I-II, p. 105.

>ὥστε See 1:4; cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 105.

*κάπτειν· ἐσθείειν Hamm, I-II, p.105; Mont. p. 37.

1:13

*διατετραμμένη· διαφανής Hamm, I-II, p. 107.

*ἀπό· ἐκ Hamm, I-II, p. 109.

*θέλης· θεωρῆς S. 8:15. Hamm, I-II, p. 109.

1:15

*αὐτῶν >καλή Hamm, I-II, p. 111

1:16

ἦν Αβιεσδρι· ἐδοκείμασεν err. Based on 1:11 we should emend to Σολομάρ(ος). Hamm, I-II, p. 113.

*ἀντεδίδου >αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Hamm, I-II, pp. 113, 115.

1:17

σύνεσιν + φρονήσεως (καὶ φρόνησιν 88-Syh) Hamm, I-II, p. 117.

>τέχνη

*Δανιηλ > ἔδωκε Hamm, I-II, p. 121.

*[ὁ]ρήματι =Tert. +καὶ ὁράματι 88-Syh. Zieg. cj. not verified by 967. One would expect the cj., but the evidence is too strong against. 88-Syh adds a later correction.

* cj. >καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Hamm, I-II, pp. 121, 123.

1:18

*[εἰσ]αγαγεῖν S. 3:13. Hamm, I-II, p. 123.

*[εἰσ]ήχθησαν S. previous.

*ἀπό· ὑπό Hamm, I-II, p. 123.

πρός· ἐπί (εἰσ)αγαγεῖν + πρός in 2:24,25; 3:13; 5:13. Cf. Hamm, I-II, pp. 123, 125.

1:19

*ἔστησαν· ἦσαν =88-Syh, vs. Zieg. cj., p. 97.

1:20

(καὶ) κατέλαβεν Apodictic 1 is untranslated. Hamm, I-II, p. 127; Charles, p. 8.

*cj. >σοφωτέρους Hamm, I-II, p. 129.

*ὑπὲρ τοὺς σοφιστάς· ὑπερφέροντας τῶν σοφιστῶν Hamm, I-II, p. 129.

* καὶ >τοὺς Hamm, I-II, p. 131.

φιλοσόφους τοὺς· φιλολόγων τῶν S. previous.

*βασιλείᾳ >αὐτοῦ Blud. p. 54; Hamm, I-II, p. 133.

*>καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας doub. Hamm, I-II, p. 135.

*ἀν-π-έδειξεν >αὐτοὺς σοφοὺς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ Hamm, I-II, p. 137.

*>τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν doub. Hamm, I-II, p. 137.

*τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ· τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλ. Pre-positive attributive.

1:21

*βασιλείας Κύρου trans. Hamm, I-II, p. 139.

*>βασιλέως Περσῶν S. previous.

2:1

*ἔτει τῷ δευτέρῳ· δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει 1. 967 syntax correct, Hamm, I-II, p. 141. 2. The dating to the 12th year is probably based on a confusion from Judith 1:1, though it also fixes the chronological difficulties between chs. 1 and 2.[24]

*τὸν βασιλέα· αὐτόν Hamm, I-II, p. 143.

*ἐνυπνίῳ· ὕπνῳ Hamm, I-II, p. 145.

*>αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ doub. from Th. S. Hamm, I-II, p. 145. This is a good example of how great the Th influence on OG actually was. If not for the previous variant (ἐνυπνίῳ· ὕπνῳ) it could easily have been concluded that 967 was missing this portion due to homiotel.

2:2

εἰσενεχθῆναι· καλέσαι =Th Hamm, I-II, p. 147.

2:3

ἐπιγνῶναι >οὖν θέλω Hamm, I-II, p. 149 regards 88-Syh as original, but the main reason he gives is because it represents a more dynamic translation. On the other hand, the words could have been added to smooth out the syntax. Perhaps it is best to bracket them to indicate that they are of doubtful authority, but s. the discussion in CH 5.III.

2:4

*πρὸς τὸν· ἐπὶ τοῦ Blud. p. 133; Hamm, I-II, p. 149.

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[24]McCrystall, p. 275.

Κύριε βασιλεῦ trans.

*ἐνύπνιόν>σου Hamm, I-II, p. 153.

ἡμεῖς >σοι

*τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ· αὐτό Hamm, I-II, p. 153.

2:5

*ὅτι· διότι =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Rahlfs, s. Zieg. p. 99. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 157 who adds ※ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη as original. S. CH 5.III.[25]

*σύγκρισιν· κρίσιν 88=Th S. Hamm, I-II, p. 157.

*δηλώσητέ>μοι Hamm, I-II, p. 157.

ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπαρ. 2,3,1 Wifstrand, p. 49 does not note this example.

2:6

*σύγκρισιν· κρίσιν 88=Th

*δηλώσατέ>μοι Hamm, I-II, p. 157.

* + οὖν S. 2:3; 3:23. Hamm, I-II, p. 161.

2:7

*καὶ οἱ· οἱ δὲ 2:7 Hamm, I-II, p. 93.

2:8

*>οἶδα ὅτι =Th Hamm, I-II, p. 161.

*>ὑμεῖς =Th

*>καθάπερ ἑοράκατε ὅτι ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα The text is very difficult here. Hamm, I-II, pp. 163, 165 argues this is omitted by homoioarc., but compare our discussion of 2:1-10 in CH 5.III.

καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα >οὕτως ἔσται

2:9

ἐὰν μὴ +ἀπόδωτέ μοι OG employs δηλόω as a favourite equivalent for the ha. of ידע (s. 2:1-10 in CH 5). 967 has a later addition. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 165.

*>ἀπαγγείλητε μοι ἐπ' ἀληθείας S. Hamm, I-II, p. 167.

*σύγκρισιν· κρίσιν S. 2:5.

*τὸ ὅραμα εἴπητε 3,1,2 Zieg.'s cj. of ὅραμα correct.

*>μοι Hamm, I-II, p. 169.

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[25]Aejmelaeus, "OTI," p. 123, also notes that "διότι is often corrected to ὅτι in the later transmission of the text." S. 3:29(96) for another example of the correction.

*{εἶδον} τὴν νύκτα >ἑόρακα S. CH 5 on 2:1-10.

*>τότε Hamm, I-II, p. 171.

2:10

[τῆς] γῆς haplog.

*δ· ἅ Hamm, I-II, p. 173.

σὺ >ἐρωτᾷς

*[πᾶς] δυνάστης Hamm, I-II, p. 175.

τοιοῦτο· τοῦτο τό   Hamm, I-II, p. 177, suggests 967 is an error, but s. the discussion of this variant in CH 5.III.

*ἐπερωτᾷ· ἐρωτᾷ   See prior retention of vb. above. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 177.

2:11

ὃν ζητεῖς βασιλεῦ· ὃν ζητεῖ ὁ βασιλεύς Hamm, I-II, p. 177.

*ταῦτα >τῷ βασιλεῖ Hamm, I-II, p. 181.

2:12

*στυγνὸς· σύννους =Syh

*γενόμενος καὶ περίλυπος: 2,3,1 =Syh

*σοφοὺς· σοφιστάς Hamm, I-II, p. 185.

2:13

ἐζητήθη δὲ· καὶ ἔζη. Hamm, I-II, p. 187.

2:14

*γνώμην· γνῶσιν Hamm, I-II, p. 189.

>ἦν εἶχεν OG employs the verb more frequently by ratio than any book of the LXX (21x).[26] It is more likely that 967 has omitted it by conformity to MT. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 191.

προσέταξεν· προσετάγη פקד appears also in 2:13; 3:26(93)bis; 5:2, 3, 5; 7:10. Each time it is rendered with a verb and in 3:26(93) OG uses the same verb for both occurrences (aor. of ἐξέρχομαι, also 5:5) while in 5:2, 3 it uses ἠνέχθη for both. προσέταξεν appears for אמר in 2:12 and assuming that OG uses the verb in 2:14 the

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[26]See I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Der Gebrauch des Verbes 'ÉXEIN in der Septuaginta," *VT* 28 (1978): 92-99.

clauses in which they are used would be almost exactly the same even though the *Vorlage* is different. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 191.

2:15

*πρόσταγμα· [πρᾶγμα] Missing in ms. but not enough room for πρόσταγμα.
Hamm, I-II, p. 193 suggests πρᾶγμα (s. 6:12a), but given the variety of equivalents employed by OG in ch. 2 it is impossible to know (s. CH 5.III.).

2:16

*εἰσῆλθε{ν} ταχέως trans. Hamm, I-II, p. 197.
*>παρὰ τοῦ βασιέως doub. Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 195 who deletes πρὸς τ. βασ.

2:17

ἀπελθὼν Δανιηλ: trans.
*{ε}αὐτοῦ +ὑπεδειξεν ἔκαστα Hamm, I-II, pp. 197, 199.
συνετε῾αί'ροις +αὐτοῦ
>ὑπέδειξε πάντα trans. to above

2:19

Z=88-Syh- τότε τ. Δαν. ἐν ὁράμ. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸ μυστ. τοῦ βασ. ἐξεφάνθη
　　967- τότε τὸ μυστ. τοῦ βασ. τ. Δαν. ἐδηλώθη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ὁράμ. τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξεφάνη
* cj.- τότε τ. Δαν. τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ὁράμ. τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξεφάνη
See Hamm, I-II, pages 201-203. This reconstruction is similar to his. There are differences in word order as well as doublets in 967 between ἐδηλώθη and ἐξεφάνη as well as between πρᾶγμα and μυστήριον τοῦ βασιλ.. The difference between my cj. and Hamm is in the evaluation of μυστήριον. Although μυστήριον is the expected equivalent for רזה because it renders it 7/7 elsewhere,[27] there would be no reasonable explanation for the origin of πρᾶγμα unless it is OG.
[ἐκ]φωνήσας cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 203 who prefers 967 on the basis that it is more free.

2:20

εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἀπὸ αἰῶνος ἕως αἰῶνος =MT, Th Hamm, I-II, p. 205.
*μεγαλωσύνη· μεγαλειότης Hamm, I-II, p. 205, 207.

2:21

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[27] 2:18; 27, 28, 29, 30, 47(2). In 4:6 OG=0. Th employs μυστήριον 9/9.

σοφοῖς σοφίαν trans.

2:22

{καὶ} ἀνακαλ.

σκοτ[ε]ινὰ >καὶ =Th

*κατάλυσις· καταλύει

The Aramaic reads: ונהרא עמה שׁרה.

Hamm, I-II, p. 209 suggests that we read καὶ τὸ φῶς παρ' αὐτῷ καταλύει.
However, this reading is based on the assumption that the original translator did
understand the syntax of his *Vorlage,* i.e. there is no parallelism with the preceding
clause. This is not evidenced in 967, 88-Syh, or Th which offers a general translation
of שׁרה (Th=τὸ φῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστι, contextual guess?). Cf. 3:92(25); 5:6, 12, 16
where the verb also occurs (only other use is Ezra 5:2) and Th translates correctly
(omitting 5:16, homoiotel?), but only seems to have been part of the *Vorlage* of OG in
3:92(25). Therefore, the reading of 967 is probably original. 88-Syh represents a later
attempt to strengthen the parallel between darkness and light by adding the article
(which was not the meaning of the *Vorlage*), and makes καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατάλυσις
into a nominal clause either in error or in harmony with the preceding phrases due to
anacoluthon.

2:23

κύριε +θεέ doub. Hamm, I-II, p. 211.

*>μοί Hamm, I-II, p. 213.

2:24

>πάντας Hamm, I-II, p. 213.

2:25

*εἰσήγαγε{ν} τὸν Δαν. 2,3,1

κ. {οὕτως} εἶπεν 88-Syh=Th

ἐκ· ἀπό 88=Th S. 5:10.

2:26

ἀποκρ. >δὲ Hamm, I-II, p. 219.

*ἐπικαλ. >δὲ

*δηλῶσαί μοι trans. Hamm, I-II, p. 219.

*σύγκρισιν· κρίσιν S. 2:5.

2:27

>το μυστήριον Hamm, I-II, p. 221 is uncertain, but more likely omitted by err.

*φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν trans. S. 2:2; 5:7, 8. Hamm, I-II, p. 223.

2:28

*θεὸς· κύριος Hamm, I-II, p. 117.

*ἀνακαλύπτων· φωτίζων Hamm, I-II, p. 225.

*ὅς ἐδήλωσε· καὶ ἐδήλ. 88-Syh reads ־ר for ־ן? Hamm, I-II, p. 227.

2:28-29

>τοῦτό ἐστι . . . κλίνης σου homoiotel. A larger portion of these verses is missing from 88, so Zieg. had reproduced his text mainly from Syh.

2:29

*πάντα ἃ· ὅσα Zieg.=Syh

*ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι· ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι S. vss. 28, 45. OG uses variety.

2:30

*παρὰ· κατά S. equivalent translations in 1:5; 2:25; 7:2; 8:16, 22; 11:4, 40; 12:1.

πάντας >τοὺς S. 4:19(22). Hamm, I-II, p. 233.

μυστήριον +μοι Hamm, I-II, p. 233.

ἐξεφάνθη· ἀπεκαλύφθη =Th Hamm, I-II, p. 233.

2:31

καὶ >ἦν S. vs. 32.

2:32

*κεφαλὴ >αὐτῆς Hamm, I-II, p.235.

>ἀπὸ S. vss. 33, 39, 41. Hamm, I-II, p. 235.

2:33

σιδήρου{ν} 967=Th Hamm, I-II, p. 237.

*ὀστράκινον· ὀστράκου 88=Th S. previous.

2:34

*{καὶ} ἑό-ω-ρακας S. vss. 41, 43 where OG adds the conj.

*κατήλεσεν· κατηλόησεν Hamm, I-II, pp. 237, 239.

2:35

[καὶ] ὁ χαλκ. Hamm, I-II, p. 241.

ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἐν αὐτοῖς Hamm, I-II, p. 243.

{εἰς} ὄρος 88-Syh=Th

2:37

βασιλεῦ >βασιλεὺς haplog.

*σοὶ +ἔδωκεν Hamm, I-II, p. 245.

*>τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ doub.

>ἔδωκεν 88-Syh =MT

2:38

ὑπὸ· εἰς Hamm, I-II, p. 249.

*ἡ κεφαλὴ ἡ χρυσῆ 1,4,2

2:39

*[ἀνα]στήσεται S. 2:31, 44; 3:3, 91(24); 7:16, 24(2).

*βασιλ. +ἄλλη Cf. variant below. Hamm, I-II, pp. 251, 253 reads without ἄλλη in either, but it is unlikely to have been introduced incorrectly in both 967 and 88-Syh. Therefore, 967 is probably correct.

* cj.>τρίτη doub. S. Hamm, I-II, p. 253 who suggests 967 reads without numerals (s. 1:17).

*ἄλλη· ἑτέρα S. above.

2:40

*καὶ {ἑτέρα} βασιλ. Hamm, I-II, p. 253.

* >τετάρτη

* +ἔσται S. vss. 41(2x), 42(2x). Cf. Hamm, I-II, p. 255.

*δαμάζων· πρίζων Hamm, I-II, p. 257.

2:41

*ὀστράκ{ιν}ου κεραμικοῦ μέρος δέ τι σιδήρου{ν}: 6,3,4,5,1,2 OG follows the same order of elements (s. 2:27) regardless of the Vorlage. Cf. Hamm, I-II, pp. 259, 261. S. 2:33 for "earthenware" and "iron."

*ἔσται +καὶ This variant and the following are omitted by homoiotel. in 88.

*τῆς ῥίζης τῆς σιδηρᾶς: 1,4,2

*ἀναμεμειγμένον [ἅμα]· συνμεμιγμένω επ. μενον 88=Th Hamm, I-II, p. 263.

2:42

*>καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοι . . . ὀστράκινον Hamm, I-II, p. 263.

2:43

*ἀναμεμειγμένον [ἅμα]· παραμεμιγμένῳ err. μενον S. 2:41
>δὲ Hamm, I-II, p. 265.
σίδηρος +οὐ Later interpretive error?

2:45

*τὸ ὄστρακον τὸν σίδηρον: trans. and coordinate with καὶ   The decision is difficult
to make, but OG has the order σιδ.-ὄστ. in vss. 33, 34, 41, 43.
ἄργυρον καὶ [τὸν] χρυσόν trans. the nouns=MT
τούτου κρίσις trans. S. 2:6, 9(2), 26.

2:46

Ναβ. ὁ βασιλεὺς: 2,3,1 S. 3:14; 6:16(17) The usual order in BA is name-title, while
the common Greek order is title-name.[28] Here MT has title-name. It is possible that
88-Syh reflects a *Vorlage* with the different order (Hamm, I-II, p. 273), but hardly
necessary. OG probably follows the usual order, whereas 967 has been harmonized to
MT.

χαμαὶ· ἐπὶ πρόσωπον 88 reads both. Read Syh with Zieg.
προσεκύνησε{ν} τῷ Δαν. 2,3,1 Hamm, I-II, p. 275.
*ποιῆσαι· ἐπιτελέσαι 88-Syh has changed the unusual reading of OG.

2:47

>ὑμῶν θεὸς homoioarc.
θεῶν καὶ +κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ Scribal flourish?

2:48

δωρεὰς +αὐτῷ

2:49

τῆς +βασιλείας doub.?

3:1

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[28]See Talshir, "Linguistic," pp. 311-313; Charles, p. 60.

>βασιλεὺς S. 3:2; 6:1(2); 11:1, but here the text is part of an OG plus.

*>ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Hamm, III-IV, pp. 131, 133; cf. Jahn, p. 26; Char., p. 60.

*Αἰθιοπ + καὶ Hamm, III-IV, pp. 133, 135.

ἕξ· δώδεκα Hamm, III-IV, p. 135 believes the reading leads to a better *Vorlage* because the proportions of the statue would be better, but for that reason it is probably a correction.[29] Perhaps it stems from the same corrector who transposed chs. 7-8 before ch. 5.

3:2

*γλώσσας>σατράπας στρατηγούς trans. after διοικητὰς and insert καί. Retain 88-Syh order, but include the conj. Hamm, III-IV, p. 143.

ἥν· ἧς S. 3:5, 7, 14, 18; cf. 1:5, 8; 3:12, 15, 27; 4:28(31).

*ἔστησε· ἐστήρισεν 88-Syh harmonize to 3:1, 5, 7, 12, 14, 18.

3:3

*+τότε συνήχθησαν S. also 3:94(27); 6:23(24). Blud., p. 58; Mont., p. 201; Hamm, III-IV, p. 147.

*καὶ ἔστη. οἱ προγεγ. 3,4,1,2 =Syh

3:4

παραγγέλλεται· ἀπαγγέλλω The secondary character of 967 is betrayed by the change in voice and number. S. also the discussion of ἀπ(ν)αγγέλλω in CH 5.III.1.iii.

*>καὶ χῶραι doub. Blud., p. 49; Jahn, p. 29

3:5

*σύριγγος>καὶ Later harmonization to Th.

*σαμβύκη-ο-ς >καὶ

*ψαλτηρίου +καὶ

*συμφωνίας>καὶ 88-Syh would understand συμφωνίας as individual instruments (with MT?), whereas 967 reads it as the music produced when the instruments are played together. Hamm, III-IV, pp. 155, 157 wants to eliminate συμφωνίας as a doub., which is possible but not necessary. S. CH 5.IV.

3:6

*>τὴν καιομένην S. 3:17, 21.

3:7

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[29]Collins, *Daniel*, p. 181.

*>τῆς φωνῆς S. 3:10, 15.

*>κατέναντι τούτου Aram. is insertion. Jahn, p. 28; Hamm, III-IV, p. 173; Bentzen, p. 28.

3:10

*>τῆς φωνῆς S. 3:7.

μουσικ. +γένους doub.

3:11

*>πεσὼν Omitted as redundant. Not based on a different *Vorlage*, cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 183.

3:13

*οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἤχθησαν 3,1,2 Hamm, III-IV, pp. 191, 193.

3:14

Ναβ. ὁ βασιλ. 2,3,1 S. 2:46 and 6:16(17). MT has no title here. The same situation occurs in 3:95(28) and 4:30(33), and in those cases the order is name-title.

αὐτοῖς >διὰ τί

Αβεδ. + ἐπ' ἀληθείας

3:15

ἑτοίμως +ὅπως Hamm, III-IV, p. 201.

>τῇ χρυσῇ Harmonized with vs. 14.

ᾗ· ἥν S. 3:2.

>γε haplog.?

ποῖος· τίς 967=Th. Hamm, III-IV, p. 205.

3:16

*>ἡμεῖς S. 2:8; 6:(21)20.

*ἐπὶ τ. ἐπιτ. τ. ἀποκ. σοι 5,6,1,2,3,4 88-Syh = MT

3:17

οὐρανοῖς >εἷς S. 4:34c.

3:19

*ἠλλοιώθη + ἐπ' αὐτούς S. 3:20, 23.

3:20

τὸν Σεδ. Μι. Αβεδ· τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν The decision here is difficult. 967 has a more dynamic rendering which is also found in 3:23. However, there is good reason to believe that 3:20-30(97) have been freely edited in order to accomodate the insertion of the additions to the chapter. 967's reading emphasizes Ἀζαρία which ties it to the insertion. Cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 225.

3:21

*{ἐν}ἐβλήθησαν OG prefers compounds.

*κάμ{ε}ινον +τοῦ πυρός =Syh Asterisk follows in Syh, cf. Zieg., p. 229.

3:23

>οὖν Hamm, III-IV, p. 235.

ἐξελθοῦσα· ἐκκαεῖσα Hamm, III-IV, p. 235 prefers 967 primarily because the vb. occurs in the preceding vs., but for that reason it could be the result of harmonization. See also the discussion of the compositional history of OG in CH 5.IV.2.

3:24

*προσέταξεν· ἐπέταξεν A decision is difficult since OG uses both compounds. See Hamm, III-IV, p. 243.

3:25

στὰς δὲ· καὶ στάς

3:27

αἱ ὁδοί σου εὐθ. 4,1,2,3=Th Hamm, III-IV, p. 251.

ἀληθιναί· ἀλήθειαι Hamm, III-IV, p. 253.

3:28

πατέρων >ἡμῶν S. 3:32, 52; 9:6, 8, 16.

*πάντα ταῦτα: trans. S. 4:30(33); but 4:14a; 7:16; 12:7.

3:29

*ὅτι· διότι Thack. §9.12; BDF §456.1. S. vss. 27, 28, 37, 40.

3:31

>καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησας ἡμῖν homoioarc. Cf. Hamm, III-IV, pp. 263, 265, 267.

ἀληθιναί· ἀλήθειαι S. 3:27
  +καί

3:32
ἐχθίστων +καί Hamm, III-IV, p. 271.

3:34
σου τὴν διαθ. 2,3,1 =Th

3:35
*[διὰ] Ισα[α]κ OG tends not to repeat prep.
ἅγιόν· λαόν

3:36
*λέγων +πολύ   =88-Syh S. Hamm, III-IV, pp., 281-284.
*τοῦ οὐρ. +τῷ πλήθει   =88-Syh

3:38
*οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος· καὶ ἡγού. =Th The titles should be connected.

3:39
[συν]τετριμμένῃ Simple form never in LXX, compound 11x. S. Ps. 50(51):19.

3:40
ὁλοκαυτώμασι· ὁλοκαυτώσει 3:40 967=Th S. vs. 38.
*καὶ >ὡς ἐν Hamm, III-IV, p. 299.
ἡμῶν ἡ θυσία· θυσ. ἡμῶν =Th
>ὄπισθέν σου
ὄπισθέν >σου

3:41
*καρδίᾳ +ἡμῶν =88-Syh

3:42
ἡμῶν +ἔλεος Hamm, III-IV, p. 307.

3:43
>κύριε Hamm, III-IV, p. 309.

3:44

*ἀπὸ· ὑπό S. 1:18

3:45

>εἶ Hamm, III-IV, p. 311.
*>ὁ θεὸς Hamm, III-IV, p. 313.

3:46

>μὲν
*>αὑτοὺς Hamm, III-IV, p. 321.
>ἦσαν
*ὑποκάτω[θεν] S. 4:9(12), 8(11). Hamm, III-IV, p. 323.
*σ[τ]ιππύον καὶ πίσσαν· 3,2,1 Hamm, III-IV, p. 325, 327.

3:51

ἀναλαβ. δὲ· τότε =Th

3:52

ὄνομα +σου

3:53-54

967-εὐλογ. εἶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς δόξης τῆς βασιλ. σου καὶ ὑπερυμ. καὶ ὑπερέν. εἰς τ. αἰῶν
err. Hamm, III-IV, p. 341, 343.

3:55

εὐλογητὸς· εὐλογημένος=Th
>καὶ αἰνετὸς
δεδοξασμένος· ὑπερυψωμένος S. 3:26, 52, 54.

3:58

*>κυρίου S. 3:61, 84.

3:61

*>κυρίου 3:59, 84.

3:62-63 trans. after vs. 78 in 967. Hamm, III-IV, pp. 355, 357.

3:69

πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος· πάγη κ. ψύχη Hamm, III-IV, p. 361.

3:70
*πάχναι κ. χιόνες trans. S. 3:72.

3:78 + Vss. 62-63

3:81
τετρά +καὶ τὰ κτήνη Conflation, Hamm, III-IV, p. 371.

3:88
*ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς· 4,5,1,2,3 88-Syh=Th

3:90
*σεβόμενοι+τὸν κύριον =88-Syh Hamm, III-IV, p. 383, om. art.
>ὑμνεῖτε err.

3:92(25)
*ὁρῶ· θεωρῶ 88-Syh=Th

3:95(28)
Μεισ. +καὶ S. 2:49, 3:12, 13, 14, 16, 93(26), 97(30).
ἀλλ' >ἦ S. 6:12(13); 10:21.

3:96(29)
*φυλαὶ κ. >πᾶσαι OG tends to omit repeated elements.
κύριον >τὸν Hamm, III-IV, p. 415
*οἰκία· οὐσία 88-Syh=MT Hamm, III-IV, p. 417.

4:9(12)
*ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ·3,4,5,6,1,2 Hamm, III-IV, p. 437
*ἐνόσσ. +τὰς νοσσιὰς ἑαυτῶν Hamm, III-IV, p. 437.

4:8(11)
μεγάλη +καὶ Hamm, III-IV, p. 441.

4:10(13)
μου >καὶ S. καὶ ἰδού 4:7(10); 7:2, 13, 15.
*ἀπεστάλη ἐν ἰσχύι 2,3,1 Cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 443.

4:11(14)
*εἶπεν >αὐτῷ

4:14a
παρεδόθη >καὶ Hamm, III-IV, p. 455.
*πέδαις καὶ >ἐν

4:15(18)
κρινόντων +αὐτῷ

4:16(19)
*ἐθαύμασεν· θαυμάσας 88 simplifies to finite verb. S. 1:2.
*κατέσπευδεν αὐτόν· κατασπευθείς Same as above.

4:19(22)
*καρδία +ἐν? S. Th 4:34(37); Sir. 48:18, 2 Macc. 1:28; 3 Macc.2:17.
*ὤφθη· ὑψώθη Hamm, III-IV, p. 464.

4:20(23)
*τὸ δένδρον καὶ ἐκκόψαι· 3,4,1,2 88-Syh = MT

4:26(29)
*μῆνας δώδεκα· trans.

4:27(30)
*καὶ οἰκ. βασιλ. μου ἐν ἰσχ. κρατ. μου· 5,6,7,8,1,2,3,4 88-Syh = MT
>εἰς τιμὴν τῆς δόξης μου   Hamm, III-IV, pp. 477, 479. Bracket.

4:28(31)
συντελεία-ς- =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Zieg. but cj. probably correct.

4:29(32)
*τὴν βασιλ. (τ. βασιλείας) >σου

4:30(33)
*{ἐπι}τελεσθήσεται S. 11:16. Simple form of vb. never in Daniel.
*πάντων τούτων· trans. =Syh

4:30a

ἐπεδήθην· ἐδόθην Hamm, III-IV, p. 493.

{ἐπ}έδωκα Harmonized with previous vb. Cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 493.

4:33(36)

ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ· ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ S. 3:7, 8. (καιρός for זמנא) Cf. Hamm, III-IV, p. 501, who looks to 12:1; but 3:7, 8 are the obvious parallels.

4:34(37)

*βασιλεὺς· κύριος S. 2:47. Hamm, III-IV, p. 505.

4:34a

λαός μου +καὶ

χῶραί >μου

εἰς >τὸν θεὸν τοῦ err.

*καταλημ. λαλ. τι· λαλήσωσιν Hamm, III-IV, p. 513.

4:34b

*γλώσσαις >πάσαις Hamm, III-IV, pp. 517, 519.

*χώραις >ἐν =88

4:34c

βασίλειον αὐτοῦ >βασίλειον err.

Daniel 5 Preface

*θεοὺς >τῶν ἐθνῶν

*τόπῳ · πότῳ = cj. by Segaar, s. Zieg., p. 148.

αὐτῇ τῇ trans. Geissen, p. 69.

5:6

*ἠλλοιώθη >καὶ φόβοι The evaluation of this variant depends on several factors. If 967 is correct, then the OG may render רעיני יבהלונה similar to 4:16(19), where it also appears. καὶ φόβοι or its 'Vorlage might then be a later harmonization to 4:16(19) where it could be argued that καὶ φοβηθεὶς τρόμου λαβόντος αὐτὸν is a later correction. The same two terms are collocated in 5:10 (omitted/different 'Vorlage?) and 7:28 (dynamic rendering or contextual guess?) This view is supported in 2:29, 30 where the translator has clearly guessed at the meaning of רעיני.

συνεταῖροι +αὐτοῦ S. Geissen, p. 56.

5:7

καὶ >φαρμακοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ homoiotel.

*γραφῆς>καὶ εἰσεπ. ε. θεω. ἰδεῖν τ. γραφ. κ. τ. σύγκ. τ. γραφ homoiotel. according to Geissen, p. 147, but it is probably a later expansion. Without this addition the reading is still longer than MT, and we should not be overly biased in accepting great differences between OG and MT because that is what we have in chs. 4-6. Remember that 967 proves itself considerably shorter than 88-Syh elsewhere. The καὶ is probably original while the remainder is composed of doublets from 5:7-8.

*πᾶς>ἀνήρ 88-Syh=MT

5:13
*εἰσήχθη· εἰσηνέχθη 88-Syh=Th

5:29
βασιλεὺς+Βαλτασαρ

5:30
βασίλειον+αὐτοῦ Geissen, p. 56.

5:31(6:1)
*[Ἀρτα]ξέρξης S. 9:1.
*Μήδων +βασιλεὺς S. Syh^mg

6:5(6)
οὐκ ἀξιώσει· οὐ καταξιώσει S. 6:7, 12.

6:10(11)
*ἐποίει+ ἔτι=Syh Improbable addition.

6:12(13)
οὗτοι οἱ ἀνθ 2,3,1 =MT
*οὐχ· οὐχι Geissen, p. 171.

6:14(15)
αὐτοῦ· αὐτῶν
    +ὁ βασιλεὺς
*ἐφοβήθη· ἐβοήθει =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Katz, s. Zieg., p. 161.
    +ἕως

6:16(17)

Δαρεῖος ὁ βασ. 2,3,1 S. 2:46 and 3:14. Here MT has no name, but the usual order is to be preferred.

6:21(22)

τότε· τόν

6:22(23)

*θεὸς· κύριος

>αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐναντίον homoiotel.

βασιλεῖς >καὶ

6:25(26)

+καὶ Δανιηλ κατεστάθη ἐπὶ πασῆς τῆς βασιλ. Δαρείου Misplaced from 6:28. It is probably best explained as an addition that accompanies the change in the order of the chapters in 967, and so its position was not fixed.[30]

6:26(27)

μένων καὶ ζῶν: trans.

6:27(28)

>τοῦ Δανιηλ homoiot.

6:28(29)

*τὸ γένος· τους πατερας =Syh[mg] S. Geissen, p. 191.

αὐτοῦ >καὶ Δαν. . . βασιλ. Δαρείου S. 6:25.

7:7

καταπατοῦν +καὶ =MT, Th

7:8

>καὶ ἰδου ἐν κ. . . κέρασιν αὐτοῦ homoiotel.

*τ. κερ. τ. πρώτων: 1,4,2

*ἐξήρθησαν Confirms Nestle's cj. S. Zieg. p. 167. Cf. Blud., p. 63.

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[30]Munnich, "Origène," pp. 209-210 suggests that this text has the obelisk in 6:28 because Origen "recourt, pour placer les signes critiques, à un modèle grec identique à 967."

7:12

χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ: trans. =Iust. Both זמן and ן עדּ are translated by καιρός, but the latter is never rendered by χρόνος elsewhere (2:8, 9, 7:25[3x]; and particularly 2:12) while the former is in 2:16, 21.

7:13

*ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρ. ἤρχετο· 4,1,2,3
αὐτόν· αὐτῷ S. above.

7:14

*ἐξουσία +βασιλικη S. Jeans., p. 80; cf. Giessen, p. 109.

7:19

διαφ{θ}έ{ι}ροντος =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Zieg., p. 172. S. Jeans. p. 94.

7:20

ἑνὸς τοῦ (+ἄλλου τοῦ 88-Syh) +λαλοῦντος καὶ 967 The addition of 88-Syh is regarded by Zieg., p. 172 as a gloss, and 967 is then explained by Jeans., p. 86 as an err. on the gloss.
τρία· τρεῖς Geissen, p. 115.

7:25

ἕως >καιροῦ καὶ homoiotel.
>ἕως = Iust., Dial.32:3, Th S. Roca-Puig, p. 22.
ἡμίσους· ἥμισυ =Th

7:26

>καθίσεται homoioarc.

7:27

τ. βασιλ. καὶ τ. ἐξου. trans.
αὐτῶν· παντῶν
*αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσονται trans. =Iust., s. Zieg., p. 174.

8:5

>καὶ οὐχ ἥπτετο τῆς γῆς homoiotel.
*>αὐτοῦ 88-Syh = MT.

8:6

*πρὸς· ἐν

πρὸς· ἐπ᾽ 967 may have read עליו. S. Jeans., p. 52.

8:7

*>ἰσχὺς ἐν τῷ κριῷ· 2,3,4,1

ἐσπάραξεν· ἔρραξεν   ἐσπαρ. is (1-4), while ἐρρ. (2-8) is also in 8:10, 11 (8:11=Th).

8:13

*ἕτερος >τῷ φελμουνι τῷ λαλοῦντι 88-Syh=MT, Th

ἐρημώσεως· ἐρημωθήσεται   S. Geissen, p. 51.

8:14

καθα-ε-ρι-ε-[σ]θήσεται   Contrary to Geissen, p. 129, 967 probably does reflect a variant reading from καθαρεύω whereas 88=Th.

9:1

οἳ· ὅσοι

9:2

*ταῖς βίβλοις· τοῖς βιβλίοις   OG employs both forms (s. 7:10; 12:1), so read with 967 as the better witness.

*ἐτῶν· ἡμερῶν   S. Geissen, p. 191.

*τῇ γῇ· κυρίου   S. Mont., p. 361.

9:3

κ. σάκκῳ κ. σποδῷ· κ. ἐν σπο. κ. σάκ.   967's order is against MT, but it is also an unusual order. The prep. was a later add.

9:4

ἰδοὺ κύριε trans.

  +ὁ κύριος

9:5

*ἠδικήσαμεν ἠσεβήσαμεν: trans.   A decision is impossible. Both Greek words are HL in OG. [העה] is a HL in Daniel. [רשע] as a vb. is 4x (9:15; 11:32; 12:10) and as a adj. 2x (12:10). 967 by default.

*ἀπέστημεν κ. παρέβημεν trans. ἀφίστημιis one of OG's favourite words (12x)[31] and is used to translate both [מרד] (9:9) and סור (9:11; 11:31; 12:11) in the only other places where they occur. παραβαίνω is a HL in the book, so as in the above there is no way to decide. 967 by default.

+καὶ παρήλθομεν

9:6
*βασιλεῖς >ἡμῶν 88-Syh =MT, Th

9:7
*Ιουδα >καὶ

9:11
«ἐν»γεγραμμένος Compound not found in LXX.

9:12
*ἐπαγ. >ἐφ ἡμᾶς OG omits as unnecessary.

9:13
κακά +καὶ

[ἐξ]εζητήσαμεν 967 harmon. to more common simple form. HL in Dan OG.

9:14
*>ἡμῶν

πάν[τα] ὅ[σα] ὅσα is quite common in OG (11x).

9:16
θυμός σου +ἀφ᾽ἡμῶν Add. vs. MT, Th. Not from *Vorlage*, s. Geissen, p. 205, but a later addition for clarification.

*ἁγίου >σου

>καὶ ἐν τ. ἁγν. τ. πατ. ἡμῶν homoiotel.

9:17
δέσποτα +κύριε doub.

*σ᾽μ᾽ου >καὶ S. Geissen, p. 207.

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[31]See CH 4.II.2.

9:18

[ἐπ]άκουσόν

>μου   Add. vs. MT, Th.

*κύριε+ἐλέησον ἐπάκουσον τοῦ λαοῦ σου δέσποτα   Geissen, p. 209. Presumably, this was omitted from 88-Syh through homoiotel.

+κύριε doub. to δέσποτα

9:19

κύριε+σὺ Harmon. with previous. Cf. Geissen, p. 209.

9:20 Very poor shape in 967.

>μου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας homoiotel

9:21

λαλοῦντός «ἐ»μου trans. 967=MT, Th. S. 10:12.

9:24

*ἑβδομάδες>ἐκρίθησαν

*λαόν σου +ἐκρίθησαν

πόλιν+σου =MT

9:25

+ῆ Beginning of vs.

*ἀποκριθῆναι· διανοηθῆναι=Syr^mg. Has 967 harmonized to earlier appearance of διανοηθήσῃ or does 88-Syh betray Th influence? Th influence is fairly extensive in 967 and in OG as well. Finally, OG probably read להשיב (s. also 11:24, 25).

9:26 Very poor shape in 967

*μετὰ +τάς

ἀποσταθήσεται· ἐξολεθρευθήσεται=Th. Cf. Geissen, p. 48.

*βασιλεία· βασιλεὺς There is no *Vorlage*, but a king of the nations makes better sense. «δια»φθερεῖ? Only the last two letters are visible, but there is room on the line for add. letters. S. Geissen, p. 215.

9:27

*ῆ διαθ. εἰς πολλ 3,4,1,2 88-Syh=MT, Th

*μετὰ +ἐτῶν

ἑβδομήκοντα >καιροὺς

   >καὶ ἑξήκοντα homoiotel.

ἔτη· καιροὺς

ἐρήμωσις +καὶ

τέλει· ἡμείσει =MT, Th.

συντελειάς +καιροῦ

10:1

*ἐνιαυτῷ· ἔτει S. Giessen, p. 50.

*ἐδείχθη· ἐδόθη ἐδείχθη would be a HL in OG (never in Th) and would render the meaning. However, the choice would not conform to OG's TT. In six other occurrences of הלג OG employs ἐκφαίνω or ἀνακαλύπτω (2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47). Also OG uses compounds of δεικνύω in 17 other places.[32] Therefore, if OG were going to employ δεικνύω, it would more likely appear in the compound ὑποδεικνύω. 967 has the OG which employed a favourite vb. (over 40x). to render the meaning of the *Vorlage* (s. analysis of 1:1-10 in CH 5.II.). This was later revised closer to MT by the changing of a few letters, on the assumption of scribal error. Presumably, OG employed the more general term as an adequate equivalent.

10:2

*ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις: 3,1,2 88-Syh=MT

*>τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας S. 10:3, below.

10:3

*ἄρτον· ἄρτων OG makes MT explicit.

*κρέας >καὶ

*τοῦ συντελ. με· ἐγώ? συντελέσω 88-Syh=MT

*cj. >τρεῖς Only the vb. συντελέσω is complete on this li. of the ms. and the next line begins δας, which is the ending of ἑβδομάδας. The problem is that the ms. averages around 18-20 letters per line. Geissen's reconstruction following Syh-88, which reads τρεῖς would require space for 23 letters (συντελεσω τας τρεις εβδομα). Of the approximately 25 (out of 44) lines completely or almost completely preserved on this leaf, there are only 2 with as many as 22 letters (s. Geissen, pp. 222, 224, 226). Only 2 others have 21, and there is only one li. following this one with as many as 20 letters. Most have 18 or fewer. Therefore, we suggest that τρεις is omitted in 967 and is OG.

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[32]ἀποδεικνύω in 1:11, 20: 2:48; 4:34c; ἐνδεικνύω in 3:44; ὑποδεικνύω in 2:17; 4:15(18), 34c; 5:7, 9, 12, 16; 9:22, 23; 10:14, 21; 11:2.

10:4 Almost completely missing.

10:5

[εἶδον This is Geissen's reconstruction. However, the previous li. of the ms. would read ηρα [τ]ους οφθ[αλμους μου και and ιδον begins the next line. Geissen's reconstruction following Syh-88 means the previous line would have 22 letters (S. 10:3). Furthermore, it is not characteristic of 967 to omit the ε for εἶδον. Therefore, we suggest that either μου or καὶ was omitted in the previous line, and that the ε was present at the end. That would bring the total number of letters on the line to 20.

*cj. >μου OG often omits suf.

*βυσσίνῳ (2nd): χρυσίον 88-Syh harmon. to earlier.

*φας· φως =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Katz, s. Zieg., p. 193.

10:6

*σῶμα confirms Riessler's cj. S. Zieg., p. 193.

10:7

>οὐκ Om. to give reason for the fear.

*ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς· αὐτοῖς 88-Syh=Th, MT

10:8

*καὶ ἐγὼ· κἀγώ Crasis. Thack. §9.11.

*οὐκ ἐ<γ>κατελείφθη: οὐ κατελείφθη

ἐπεστράφη· ἀποστραφέν S. 10:16.

10:9

*>ὡς cj. from Schleusner, s. Zieg., p. 195. 88-Syh have οὐκ.

μου +καὶ S. Geissen, p. 231.

10:10

χεῖρ{α}? 967=88-Syh vs. cj. by Katz, s. Zieg., p. 195. Uncertain, but there is room for the ms. to read with 88-Syh. S. Geissen, pp. 230-231.

10:12

{ἐ}με S. 9:21.

*τὸ πρόσωπόν· τὴν διάνοιαν Like Th (15/15), OG (8/10, 5x OG=0) usually employs καρδία (s. also 11:27) as a SE for לבב, לב. 967 offers the better rendering here.

>καὶ ταπεινωθῆναι homoiotel.

κυρίου τ. θεοῦ: 2,1,3

*cj. >τοῦ θεοῦ OG prefers κύριος. τοῦ θεοῦ is a later add.

*σου +καὶ Add. vs. MT, Th Cf. Geissen, p. 233.

>κ. ἐγὼ εἰσῆλ. ἐν τ. ῥήμ. σου homoiotel.

10:13

στρατηγὸς· στ...ος ? Not enough room, perhaps στρατός? Geissen, p. 233.

ἡμέραν >καὶ

>Μιχαηλ

πρώτων +ἥ Introduces the gloss, below

+εἰς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων.

10:14

{ὁ}τί

ὅρασις· ὥρα =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Mont. and Ralfs, s. Zieg., p. 196. Shows the antiquity of the reading. However, like 10:5, it is difficult to accept as original and can be explained as a later corruption.

10:15

*>κατὰ =88-Syh, vs. Zieg.'s cj., p. 196.

10:16

κυριε + καὶ =88-Syh Om. is cj. by Katz, s. Zieg., p. 197. 967 is uncertain, but there is room for about 9-10 letters following μου. The last letter is o because the following li. reads ρασις. κε would allow for 6-7 letters, so καὶ is probably present in 967.

10:17 Almost missing.

*ἔστη· ἔστιν? =88-Syh, uncertain in 967 but, based on 1:4, 5, vs. Zieg. cj.

10:18 Most is missing.

10:19

ὑγίαινε +καὶ S. Geissen, p. 62.

*λαλῇ. αὐτ. μετ' ἐμοῦ: 2,3,4,1 S. 10:15.

10:21

μάλα +καὶ

ὑποδείξω· δεῖξαι leg. ε Later error based on misunderstanding of the person. OG prefers the compound (12x). S. 10:1.

ἀλλ’ >ἦ S. Hamm, II-IV, p. 413.

*cj. >ὁ ἄγγελος Either this reading or the following + is OG. In favour of ἄγγελος is the similar use in 12:1. However, στρατηγὸς renders שר 3/4 in this chapter (10:13, 20[2]; cf. once in 10:13, but it may be Th. Also employed in 3:2), so ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ δυνατός has a strong claim to being original, whereas ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἑστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ is a harmonizing addition from 12:1.[33] ὁ ἄγγελος was placed first because of 12:1 and the explanatory nature of the two other titles. The hexaplaric text resulted from later harmonization to MT.

*+ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ δυνατός This reading has a strong claim as OG, but should perhaps be bracketed in order to indicate that there is some doubt.

+ὁ ἑστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ

11:1

*>καὶ S. 3:1; 4:1; 7:1; 8:1; 9:1; cf. 2:1.

11:2 Most is missing.

>παντὶ βασιλεῖ ἑλλήνων κ. στήσεται homoiot.

11:3 Most is missing.

11:4

τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· τῆς γῆς S. 7:2; 8:8.

{ἐν}ἐδυνάστευσεν S. 9:27; 11:5 (3-15, never in TH).

11:5

*βασιλεὺς· βασιλείαν =88-Syh vs. cj. by Katz. S. Zieg., p. 199.

11:6

εἰσ{εξ}ελεύσεται Conflation. OG uses both prep. in compounds, but not together.

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[33]Cf. P. David, pp. 254-255, who argues that 967 represents an alternative *Vorlage* and forms an inclusio with 12:1. It is more likely that the similarity prompted the addition, and the parallel remains regardless.

ἰσχύν +καὶ ὁ βραχίων αὐτοῦ οὐ συστήσει ἰσχύν   corr. of previous added fr. mg

11:7

ἑαυτό[ν]?   Only αυτο is extant.

δύναμιν· ἐνέργιαν?   Only last 4 letters of ἐνέργιαν are extant   S. 3:20 for same equivalent; 3:61; 6:23(24).

11:10

ἐπ«ε»ι«συ»στρέψει   Geissen, p. 251.

11:11

*«παρ»ὀργισθήσεται   Simple in 11:30, compound in 11:36.   Neither in Th.   Cf. Geissen, p. 251.

Αἰγύπτου >καὶ πολεμήσει

11:13

αὐτήν +ῇ   Introduces ἐπ' αὐτήν (which Zieg., p. 201, has in brackets) as a variant to the previous εἰς αὐτήν.   S. 10:13.

*cj.   >ἐπ' αὐτήν   doub.

11:15

>οὐ   =88-Syh, vs. Mont., p. 440, s. Zieg., p. 202, but the cj. is no doubt correct.

11:17

αὐτη-ὀ-ν   Difficult to know.

*πείσεται· στήσεται   Already a cj. by Schleusner, s. Zieg., p. 202.

11:18

ὅρκῳ· οἴκῳ   err.?   S. Geissen, p. 255, Bevan, pp. 184-185.

11:23

ὀλιγοστῷ· ὀλίγῳ τῷ   S. Th.

11:24

μάτην· ἀμαρτίαν   S. Geissen, p. 257.

11:25

Αἰγύπτου >ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου   homoiotel.

ἐρεθ{ε}ισθήσεται +παραλογισθήσεται Geissen, p. 259, suggests the add. is a corruption from παρογισθήσεται (s. 11:11) which was a variant to ἐρεθ.

ὄχλῳ +πολλῷ καὶ From the portion om. by homoiotel.

11:29
ἐσχάται +καὶ ἐλεύσεται Add. from earlier?

11:35
ἐκ· ἐν

συνιέντων· συνείτων Change here by err. led to change of prep. above.

11:36
*>καὶ at beginning. Om. vs. MT, Th

συν{ε}τελεσθῇ >ἡ haplog.

11:37
>καὶ ἐν . . . προνοηθῇ homoiotel.? There are obvious textual problems for vss. 37-42, so it is difficult to judge these omissions and the plus.

>ὅτι Due to previous om.

ὑψωθήσεται +καὶ θυμωθησεται? ἐπ᾽ αὐτους?

11:40
καὶ ἐν ἵπποις πολλοῖς: >καὶ ἐν πλοίοις πολλοῖς homoiotel? 967 begins here so it is difficult to judge the variants.

11:41 om. in 967, homoioarc.?

11:45
*τὴν +τιμήν Difficult to explain why it would be there, but equally as difficult to explain why it would be added. If original, it would easily have been omitted later.

12:3
κατίσχ{υ}οντες =88-Syh, vs. cj. by Katz, s. Zieg., p. 210, but cj. probably correct.

12:6
τῷ ἐπάνω· ὦ ὦ κύριε Later interpolation.

μοι +ποιήσις (ποιήσεις) Dependent upon previous.

12:8

*τίνες· τί Syh (88=τίνος by error) exhibits correction for grammatical agreement.

12:9

κατακεκαλυμμένα >καὶ ἐσφραγισμένα homoiotel.
>ἂν S. 2:9; 12:4.

12:10

>καὶ οὐ μὴ διανοηθῶσι πάντες οἱ ἀμαρτωλοί homoiotel.

12:12

*καὶ· ὅτι 88-Syh=MT

συνόψ-ξ-ει =88-Syh vs. cj., s. Zieg., p. 213. The reading is not impossible but it is more likely the result of a later orthographical err.

*>εἰς 88-Syh=MT.

12:13

*ἀναπαύου· ἀπώθου 88-Syh harmon. to following vb. and/or Th influence.

IV. *Summary*

In Section II there are 668 variants. The statistics are as follows:

Orthográhical	548	(168 accepted as original)
Substitutions	62	(30)
Minuses	38	(22)
Pluses	20	(7)
Total	668	(227)

In Section III there are 501 variants. The statistics are as follows:

Substitutions	182	(98)
Minuses	172	(90)
Pluses	89	(31)
Transpositions	60	(37)
Total	502	(256)

The totals for the variants are then:

Orthographical	548	(168)
Substituitions	244	(128)

Minuses	210	(112)
Pluses	109	(38)
Transpositions	60	(37)
Total	1171	(483)

In summary, if we discount the orthographical variants, then just about half (311/622)[34] of the other readings have been accepted as OG. The substitutions and minuses are the most significant types of variant readings in 967 for the reconstruction of OG,[35] though there are a few important pluses as well.[36] There are two other conclusions that are worthy of note. First, there are a number of occasions where the Syh or its marginal reading agrees with 967 against 88 in giving the original reading.[37] This confirms the accuracy and the reliability of Syh.[38] Second, on the one hand, the original readings of 967 demonstrate the amount of Th/MT influence on 88-Syh,[39] while on the other, 967 also betrays significant corruption from Th and correction toward MT.[40]

On the basis of this evaluation we are in a better position to analyze the TT of OG as well as the relationship between OG and Th in CH 5. However, prior to that evaluation it is necessary in CH 3 and 4 to establish the methodology that will be employed for the analysis of TT.

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[34]Three additional readings have been accepted as original that are purely conjectural: 1:17, 20; 10:21.

[35]For example, see the important readings in 1:8, 13(2), 20(3!); 2:1, 8, 28, 29(2); 4:16(19); 9:2; 10:12; 12:13.

[36]3:3; 9:18; 10:21?.

[37]2:12(2), 44; 3:3, 21, 95(28); 4:30(33); 5:31(6:1); 6:10(11), 28(29); 9:25.

[38]See also, Zieg., p. 13.

[39]For example, 1:8, 2:10?, 25, 29, 35, 40, 41, 43; 3:2, 7, 10; 4:20(23); 5:7, 13; 8:14; 9:6, 27; 10:2; 12:3, 12.

[40]For example, 2:2, 8(2), 11, 20, 33, 45; 3:27, 34, 51; 6:12(13); 7:7; 9:24; 12:12.

Chapter 3

TT and the Focus on Literalism

The purpose of this chapter is to examine critically those
studies that have focused on literalism as the means to describe TT.[1]
In order to make the criticisms more intelligible there is an
introductory section on defining a literal approach, followed by a
section explicating the criteria for literalism.

I. *Defining a Literal Approach*

Scholars generally use the term literal to refer to a
translation which mechanically reproduces each and every element of
the source text while following the same word order and employing
lexical equivalents consistently (stereotyping). Clarity to the
definition of the term is given by Galen Marquis who defines a
perfectly literal translation as one in which "it would be possible to
retranslate from the Greek the original Hebrew [and Aramaic,
presumably] words of the source."[2] In the traditional sense used in
this discussion, then, literal is an adjective that describes a
translation exhibiting *formal equivalence* to the source text from
which it was translated. According to Eugene Nida, a translation that
exhibits formal equivalence "is basically source-oriented; that is, it
is designed to reveal as much as possible of the form and content of

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[1]After this chapter was written certain works came to the
attention of this writer that express some of the same criticisms of
literalism. The principle articles are A. Aejmelaeus, "Translation
Technique and the Intention of the Translator," in *VII Congress of the
IOSCS*, SCS, 31, ed. C. Cox (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 23-36; I.
Soisalon-Soininen, "Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage," in *Studien zur
Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*, MSU, 20, ed. D. Fraenkel, U.
Quast, and J. Wevers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 35-51.
At the same time, the influence of these scholars' earlier works on
the formulation of this writer's thoughts can hardly be denied.

[2]G. Marquis, "Lexical Equivalents," p. 407; a similar meaning is
assumed by Tov and Wright, "Criteria," 149-187; and again by Wright in
Difference, p. 29.

the original message."[3] This sense of literal is to be distinguished
from that which would understand literal to mean a translation that
has successfully transferred the meaning and intention of the source
text into the target language.[4] This latter type of translation is
commonly described as one which exhibits *dynamic equivalence*. Nida
describes a *dynamic equivalent* translation as one in which:

> . . . the focus of attention is directed not so much
> toward the source message, as toward the receptor
> response. A dynamic-equivalence (or D-E) translation may
> be described as one concerning which a bilingual and
> bicultural person can justifiably say, "That is just the
> way we would say it." It is important to realize,
> however, that a D-E translation . . . is a translation,
> and as such must clearly reflect the meaning and intent of
> the source.[5]

As Nida emphasizes, even if a translator uses the method of dynamic
equivalence in his/her translation, the translation is intended to
render the *meaning* of the parent text. The translator is just not so
concerned to have a one-to-one, word-for-word relation between the
Vorlage and the target language (see CH 4.II.4.). We should also note
that the description of a translation in the LXX as "literal" or
"free" is only a general characterization. As Barr has already
pointed out, the study of TT "has to concern itself much of the time
with variations within a basically literal approach."[6] Likewise, a
generally literal translation will often exhibit good idiomatic renderings.[7]

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[3]E. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill,
1964), p. 165. In the words of S.P. Brock, a literal translation
"acts, as it were, as Aristotle's unmoved mover, and the psychological
effect is to bring the reader to the original." See S. P. Brock,
"Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and
Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979): 73.

[4]B.G. Wright also makes this distinction in "Quantitative
Representation," p. 312.

[5]Nida, *Science*, p. 166. Nida's discussion of formal vs. dynamic
equivalence (pp. 22-26; 166-176) is set within the context of the
approach to contemporary translation work, but it is well worth
reading.

[6]Barr, "Typology," p. 281.

[7]It is for this reason that Soisalon-Soininen prefers to
distinguish between "slavish" (literal) renditions and "idiomatic"
(free) ones. See, "Hebraismenfrage," pp. 37-38.

A good example of the difference between formal and dynamic
equivalence is provided by the opening adverbial phrase in Dan. 1:1:

Th= Ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Ιωακιμ βασιλέως Ιουδα

MT= בשנת שלוש למלכות יהויקים מלך־יהודה

OG= Ἐπὶ βασιλέως Ιωακιμ τῆς Ιουδαίας ἔτους τρίτου

Th adheres to the word order of the Hebrew exactly and, with one
exception, renders every morphological element as well. The one
morphological change occurs with the translation of למלכות. למלכות
consists of three morphemes: ל is an inseparable preposition (bound
morpheme) that specifies the particular third year, i.e. of
Jehoiakim's reign. מלכות is the stem (free morpheme) meaning
kingdom/reign. Finally, מלכות is also in the construct state with the
attributive genitive יהויקים, and the relation in this instance is
marked by a zero morpheme. In this example, the ל and the construct
both serve to specify the particular reign to which is being referred;
so the Greek genitive is sufficient to signal the same relationship.
It would have been unnatural Greek to have added another element
because of the word order in any case. In contrast to Th, the OG
rearranges the word order of the Hebrew and this enables the
translator to omit βασιλείας as redundant. However, despite the fairly
substantial difference between the two translations, both render the
meaning of the *Vorlage*.[8]

Since literalism focuses on those aspects of the translation
that mirror the formal aspects of the source text, a literal
translation is viewed very positively and as more trustworthy than
freedom in translation. Dynamic equivalent translations are viewed
more suspiciously than literal ones because freedom in translation is
frequently, but incorrectly, associated with the notion that the
translator took liberties with the source text. This will become

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[8]The above example is quite typical of what we will encounter
when comparing the translations of OG and Th. Th uses a method of
formal equivalence but makes minor adjustments in the translation in
order not to commit grievous grammatical errors. OG writes more in
keeping with Greek idiom. However, our example is atypical in the
sense that OG does not depart from the style of the *Vorlage* nearly so
often as it could. Although we prefer the use of the designations
formal vs. dynamic equivalence in this discussion, we will continue to
use literal vs. free for stylistic variation.

apparent in our analysis in CH 5.[9]

It must be admitted, however, that the analysis of what is meant by a literal or free translation takes literalism as the more natural starting point because the majority of the LXX books are "more or less" literal.[10] The basically literal approach of the translators means that we can see that the LXX follows its *Vorlage* so closely that it can be loosely characterized as Hebrew written in Greek characters. Therefore, studies focusing on formal equivalence are helpful if for no other reason than the fact that they reveal the degree to which the different translators followed their *Vorlage*. With the advent of computers and the CATSS data base the process of examining the features of literalism has been greatly simplified, and we can even express statistically the degree of literalness/formal equivalence in specific features of the individual translations.[11]

II. *The Criteria for Literalism*

In *TCU*, Tov proposes five criteria for literalness in a translation: consistent representation of terms in translation ("stereotyping"), segmentation and representation of the constituent elements of the Hebrew words, word order, quantitative representation, and availability and adequacy of lexical choices.[12] All of the aforementioned criteria save the last are capable of being measured relative to how consistently they formally reproduce the elements in the source text as the primary means of determining the literalness of a translation.[13] The primary tool that facilitates the analysis of the formal features of the LXX is the CATSS database. Indeed, the focus on formal criteria for analysing TT has been greatly influenced

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[9]See also the review of McCrystall beginning p. 26, above.

[10]Ibid., p. 281; Tov, *TCU*, p. 53; I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax," ed. C. Cox, *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, *SCS* 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 428.

[11]See the recent volume by B.G. Wright for a classification of books in the LXX according to four criteria for literalism, *Difference*, pp. 19-118.

[12]*TCU*, pp. 54-60.

[13]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 27, 30-31.

in the work of Wright and Marquis by the actual format of the CATSS database, because the parallel alignment file presupposes a formal relationship between the OG and MT.[14]

In order to understand the criteria for literalism and the criticisms that we will make of the methodology it is useful to provide a brief overview of how these criteria are generally defined. Stereotyping[15] describes the tendency of translators to use consistently the same Greek term to render a term in the HA,[16] though there is some disagreement regarding the degree to which the Greek term must be employed as an equivalent in order to qualify as a "stereotyped" rendition (SE). Sollamo suggests that if a term is used to render the same word in 50% of its occurrences in a book, then it should be considered a SE.[17] Marquis, on the other hand, regards any term rendered more than once by the same Greek word as a consistent translation.[18] Marquis' use of terminology robs the use of "consistent" of any meaning, and even Sollamo's arbitrary choice of 50% does not seem quite high enough. Wright chooses 75% which seems more reasonable,[19] though statistics are always relative. The fact that one word is employed in three of the four places where the same

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[14]See the Introduction, fn. 35. Such an alignment is understandable and useful for comparing the texts, but it leads, as we later argue, to an inappropriate methodology for the study of TT.

[15]The term was first coined by M. Flashar in "Exegetische Studien zum LXX-Psalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 105. Other terminology employed has been "verbal linkage" by Rabin and "systematic representation" by Rife. See C. Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968): 8; J.M. Rife, "The Mechanics of Translation Greek," *JBL* 52 (1933): 244-252.

[16]*TCU*, p. 54.

[17]Sollamo, *Semiprepositions*, p. 13.

[18]G. Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation technique," ed. C. Cox, *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, *SCS* 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 410.

[19]Wright, *Difference*, p. 105. Since Wright attempts to reconstruct the Hebrew from the Greek he also starts from the Greek usage rather than the Hebrew (p. 92). This leads to its own set of problems. For example, when he counts how many times a Greek term renders a given Hebrew word he fails to take into account the fact that the one Greek term may be used as the equivalent for more than one Hebrew term.

Hebrew term is should be regarded differently than a word that is used 30 times out of 40.

There is no doubt that translators often chose to translate a word in the *Vorlage* with the same Greek word. Rabin suggests that a stimulus-response reaction took place as the translators would tend to render words or phrases with the words they used first.[20] Tov has also demonstrated that the later translators consulted the Pentateuch as an aid to their work.[21] At the same time, we must be cautious about the significance of statistics concerning the use of SE since in many instances the choice of a translator was an obvious one.[22] Amongst other things, Olofsson has emphasized the significance of a SE being "doubly consistent"[23] and the role of semantics in the translators choice.[24]

The difference between segmentation and quantitative representation is not clearly defined either by Tov or Barr. Barr, who actually employs the term segmentation, defines it as the division of the Hebrew text into elements or segments. He then goes on to discuss the quantitative addition or subtraction of elements from the

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[20]Rabin, "Process," p. 7. We find his suggestion that the translators had a primitive word list which they used as a lexicon less compelling (p. 21), though it is accepted by Marquis, "Lexical," p. 409 and Wright, *Difference*, p. 92 and 279 fn. 80. The belief that the translators worked from some kind of word list is rooted in Bickerman's suggestion that the translators may have borrowed the techniques of the Aramaic dragomen. See E. J. Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," *PAAJR* 28 (1959): 16-23.

[21]E. Tov, "The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books," ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel and A. Schenker, *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, *OBO* 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), pp. 577-92; P. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint, Its Corruptions and Their Emendation*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), pp. 150ff.

[22]Barr, "Typology," p. 306.

[23]That is, it is more significant when a Greek term is used consistently for only one semitic word and the semitic word is rendered by only the one Greek term. See Olofsson, *LXX*, pp. 18-19; Barr, "Typology," p. 311.

[24]Olofsson points out various difficulties in analysing stereotyping as a criterion for consistency in "Consistency as a Translation Technique," *SJOT* 6 (1992): 14-30.

Hebrew text as something different.[25] There is a lack of clarity here, for we could say that the same elements which are added or subtracted from the Hebrew are the ones which are segmented. In practise, Barr uses quantitative addition to refer to the addition of elements by the translator for the purpose of clarity (eg. making the subject explicit) or exegetical comment.[26] In his examination of segmentation he is far more interested in the ways the translators handled the division of words into their constituent (morphological) elements. For example, Barr notes that the translation of idioms posed special difficulties for a translator who was striving for a one-to-one correspondence with the source text.[27] In *TCU*, Tov explains "the representation of the constituents of Hebrew words by individual Greek equivalents," (segmentation) as the translators' tendency "to segment Hebrew words into meaningful elements, which were then represented by their individual Greek equivalents."[28] Yet, on the very next page, he defines quantitative representation with the words "literal translators did their utmost to represent each individual element in MT by one equivalent element in the translation."[29] Since Tov only entertains a brief discussion of his criteria, it is difficult to know how he would differentiate between the two.

Wright notes the ambiguities in the work of Barr and Tov,[30] so

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[25]Barr, "Typology," pp. 295-303.

[26]Barr's discussion of quantitative addition and subtraction dwells mainly on Targummic material (pp. 303-305). However, the kind of interpretive comment we find in the Targums is not characteristic of the LXX. The only example he gives of omissions is the Greek text of Job (p. 304).

[27]Ibid., pp. 297-300. The translation of idioms is ultimately a problem best viewed as a semantic one, which Barr recognizes. Furthermore, an idiom should be treated as one linguistic unit since its meaning is derived from the specific combination of the words rather than the sum of their parts. Barr's discussion of segmentation below the word level (pp. 300-303) also reveals a concern for semantic problems.

[28]*TCU*, p. 57.

[29]Ibid., p. 58.

[30]B.G. Wright, "Evaluating 'Literalism,'" p. 314.

he restricts the usage of the term segmentation to "the translator's technique of dividing Hebrew <u>words</u> into their constituent parts in order to represent each part in the Greek translation."[31] Quantitative representation, on the other hand, "concerns the one-to-one representation (or lack of it) of multi-word Hebrew <u>phrases</u>, <u>clauses</u> and <u>sentences</u>."[32] On this basis Wright is able to analyze a target text at both the word and multi-word level for how well it formally reproduces its source.[33] On the other hand, his system does not take into account the subtle semantic aspects of translation which Barr examines.

Adherence to word order[34] can reveal the extent to which the translators followed their *Vorlage* because there are certain aspects of Hebrew word order which are fixed. For example, adjectives and demonstrative pronouns follow substantives and genitives follow their constructs.[35] Since the Greek allows for great freedom in word order it could reconstruct HA syntax quite easily though it would not necessarily yield typical Greek usage. As Wright points out, "Variations in Greek from these must be stylistic in nature," though that in itself does not remove the necessity of examining the differences to see if there are other factors involved as well.[36]

The one grammatical feature of Greek that would always introduce a change in the word order of HA is the use of postpositive conjunctions. In fact, it is generally agreed that this accounts for the relatively infrequent appearance of postpositives in the LXX.[37]

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[31]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 55-56.

[32]Ibid., p. 56.

[33]For his discussion and statistics see, *Difference*, pp. 55-91.

[34]G. Marquis, "Word Order," pp. 59-84; Wright, *Difference*, 35-54.

[35]See J.M. Rife, "The Mechanics of Translation Greek," *JBL* 52 (1933): 244-252.

[36]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 37-38.

[37]Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," pp. 364-369; A.P. Wikgren, "Comparative Study," p. 8. Raymond Martin uses the frequency of δέ as one of his criteria to distinguish translation Greek from original composition. R.A. Martin, *Syntactical Evidences of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, SCS 3 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974).

On the surface, the evaluation of word order would appear to be the easiest of the criteria of formal equivalence for which to determine statistics. However, the very fact that Marquis and Wright produce different results in their statistics using the same database reveals that even a seemingly straightforward analysis of word order presents difficulties.[38]

III. *Reservations Concerning the Focus on Literalism*

Although there is much to be gained from the investigation of the features of literalism in the LXX, serious questions can be raised about the adequacy of the methodology as a means to describe TT.[39] Some of these difficulties were touched on in the previous section. In the following, rather than selecting specific instances where the presentation of material or statistics to do with literalism has been inaccurate or misleading,[40] we will concentrate on the methodology as a whole. The criticisms will be balanced by the presentation of the proposed methodology in the fourth chapter.

III.1. *The Assumption of Literal Intentions*

The basic difficulty of the literal approach has been the assumption that the translator *intended* to produce a literal

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[38]See Marquis, "Word Order," pp. 63-66 and cf. Wright's comments, *Difference*, pp. 41-44 and 53.

[39]So also A. van der Kooj, "The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS, 33, ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 202-205.

[40]Specific criticisms of the use of some of the statistics as well as other concerns which overlap to some degree with our own have been expressed elsewhere by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen and his former student, Anneli Aejmelaeus (see fn. 1). See Soisalon-Soininen, "Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax," ed. C. Cox, *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 425-444; "Hebraismenfrage," pp. 46-51; and Aejmelaeus in, "The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint," ed. C. Cox, *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 361-380; "Intention," pp. 23-36. See also Olofsson, "Consistency," pp. 14-30; A. Lübbe, "Describing the Translation Process of 11QtgJob: A Question of Method." *RQ* 52 (1988): 583-93.

translation.[41] This assumption is clear in the following comment by B.G. Wright:

> . . . a translation could be described as "literal" if the translator has attempted to reproduce in a rigid way in Greek the actual form of the various elements of the parent text.[42]

In books which are extremely literal such an approach may be very helpful. However, and one cannot emphasize this point enough, the fact that a translation reproduces a great deal of the formal features of the source text does not mean that the translator *intended* that the reader could retranslate back from the Greek to the Hebrew. The translators' reverence for the text is evident in the desire to follow the word order and represent the various elements of the words in the source, but they were able to do this while faithfully attempting to translate the *meaning* of the text as they understood it.[43] In many cases this attempt led to very unusual Greek usage, but the majority of these Hebraisms do not violate Greek grammar.[44] On the other hand, Hebraisms illustrate the tension which existed for the individual translators between using formal (i.e. faithfulness to the language of their literary source) vs. more dynamic (i.e. faithfulness to their own language) expressions. It was only at a later period, partly due to the debates over the use of scripture between Christians and Jews and partly due to the belief of the inspiration of scripture, that literalism became more of a conscious methodology.[45] For example,

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[41]See also the recent article by Aejmelaeus ("Intention") in the seventh congress volume of the IOSCS.

[42]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 29, 32 and 36.

[43]H.M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," *HUCA* 46 (1975): 89-114. That the translators regarded the LXX as authoritative; therefore, they were concerned with accuracy is discussed in J. W. Wevers, "A Study in the Narrative Portions of the Greek Exodus," in *Scripta Signa Vocis*, ed. H. L. J. Vanstiphout et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), pp. 295-303.

[44]See Soisalon-Soininen's discussion of what constitutes a Hebraism and the importance of determining Hebraizing tendencies in the analysis of TT in "Hebraismenfrage," pp. 39-43.

[45]Barr, "Typology," p. 324; Tov also notes that "Jer-R's revision is remote from the slavish literalness of *kaige*-Th and Aquila," (*Jeremiah and Baruch*, p. 167). Aejmelaeus ("Intention," p. 25)

even though Th exhibits a high degree of formal equivalence to his parent text, he does not leave the impression that he intended to provide, or expected someone else to look for, a one-to-one equivalence between his translation and his parent text.[46]

If the translators did not strive for literalism then why are the translations generally literal? Barr, referring to the fact of how the LXX frequently follows the semitic word order, gave the answer to this question when he stated that it was "probably to be attributed to habit and the quest for an easy technique rather than to any literalist policy."[47] The translators were concerned to render the meaning of the text and chose those constructions which seemed to them to express that meaning adequately. In other words, the translators worked instinctively by choosing in an *ad hoc* manner the rendering which they believed suited the context best.[48]

Since the translators were not intentionally striving for literal translations, then we must question the validity of using this gauge to measure how well they achieved the standard. It does not matter if it is alleged that a value judgment is not placed on how well a translator formally reproduced the text. The fact is the focus on literalism is foreign to what the translators were doing. The following criticisms will place the preceding comments in better perspective.

III.2. *Literalism Offers an Incomplete Description of TT*

Since the translators were not practising a policy of literalism, but were guided by their own instincts of what would constitute a suitable rendering in the context we come naturally to a

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emphasizes that the translators "had no conscious method or philosophy of translation." For the developing trend toward literalism, see S.P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *OTS* 17 (1972): 20-27; "To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS, 33, ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 301-38.

[46]See the conclusions in CH 5 VII.

[47]Barr, "Typology," p. 26.

[48]Soisalon-Soininen, "Hebraismenfrage," p. 36; Aejmelaeus, "Intention," pp. 25-26; Bickerman, pp. 30-39.

second criticism. That is, literalism fails in most important aspects as a means to offer a complete analysis of TT. This is best understood by considering two different but closely related points.

III.2.i. *The focus on literalism fails to account for dynamic features of translation.*

Since all of the books of the LXX are more or less literal, there is more to be learned about the individual translators from those instances in which the translation departs from the technique of formal equivalence. Why did a particular translator forsake a formal correspondence in favour of a more idiomatic Greek expression only with certain constructions or only in some of the instances of a given construction? In linguistic terminology, why is it that the translator departed from his normal or "unmarked" usage to employ a different or "marked" rendering? Does the translator use favourite terms to render the *Vorlage* when he is uncertain about the meaning? The answer to these kinds of questions are crucial to understanding how the translator went about his work. At the very least, we realize that focusing on features of formal equivalence neglects significant features of translation. This point is seemingly self-evident.

A very different kind of analysis and description of TT emerges if we turn the focus on literal features upon its head. In other words, if it is the features of dynamic equivalence which reveal the most important tendencies of the translator, then we can state the axiom: *it is the type and frequency of non-literal renderings in the translation units which provide the most distinguishing characteristics of TT.*[49] A relatively minor lexical example is provided in Dan. 3:12 in which McCrystall has argued that τῷ εἰδώλῳ is used instead of τοῖς θεοῖς because of the translator's concern to identify the statue as an effigy of Nebuchadnezzar.[50] However, the

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[49]Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," p. 362. Aejmelaeus states, "Free renderings are like fingerprints that the translators have left behind them."

[50]McCrystall, pp. 5-6. He also notes (following Delcor) the addition of the personal pronoun σου after εἰκόνι as further evidence that the OG changes the meaning of the MT. See M. Delcor, "Un cas de traduction 'Targumique' de la LXX à propos de la statue en or de Dan. III," *Textus* 7 (1969): 30-35.

rendering of אלוה (אלוהים) by εἴδωλον is not without precedent in the LXX.[51] Furthermore, εἴδωλον is employed in four other passages by OG to designate idols in contrast to the one true God of Israel and renders אלוה (אלוהים) in every case.[52] In 3:12 and 3:18 OG employs εἴδωλον when the three refer to Nebuchadnezer's "idol," whereas in 3:14 OG has θεοῖς when the king commands them to serve his "gods." OG's translation preserves a nice distinction between the two parties and their conception of what the statue represents. If OG's translation were intended to carry the significance discerned by McCrystall, then we would also expect OG to use the first person pronoun in 3:14 when the king asks, "Why do you not worship my image which I set up?"

III.2.ii. *The focus on literalism can not account for the detailed aspects of translation.*

It is not just the type and frequency of dynamic translations which illuminate the TT of the individual translators. In a similar fashion, we have to consider favourite renditions and syntactical constructions employed by the translator in his work. For example, one translator may employ a formally equivalent expression to render his Vorlage, but it may be different from the way any other translator reproduced the same expression.[53] Up to this time, the studies concentrating on particular criteria for literalism have revealed the inherent difficulties of the methodology for offering an adequate analysis of TT. The point is that one should begin from a perspective which is more amenable to the analysis of language as a whole, though one of the major problems of the literal method has been the lack of detailed analysis.

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[51]Num. 25:2 bis; 3 Kings 11:2, 8, 33; Ps. 37:19.

[52]3:18; 5:4, 23. 6:28(27) where MT=0, is the exception. εἴδωλείῳ (1-5) is also used the same way in 1:2.

[53]See Soisalon-Soininen, "Fragen," pp. 431-432 where he criticises Tov and Wright's use of consistency as the means to indicate literalness. Wright (*Difference*, pp. 31-32) has responded by stating that it is the "mechanicalness or woodenness of representation combined with the consistency of that mechanical approach [which is] a major exponent of literalness." Unfortunately, Wright fails to deal with the heart of Soisalon-Soininen's criticism, i.e. the inadequacy of the purely formal approach when comparing OG to MT.

A good example of the lack of attention to details is Wright's volume, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parent Text*. Wright's text was chosen because it is the most extensive published treatment examining the criteria for literalism. The inability to treat details adequately is evident in several places where Wright includes references to the possibility of investigating the types of deviations from literalism more closely, and in his discussions concerning which elements have to be excluded from his data.[54] For example, it is true that the inclusion of the postpositive δέ in the data for word order makes a difference in the statistics for literalism.[55] However, it is not so much the frequency with which the conjunction is used that is significant for TT (though that is important), but the different ways and the extent to which δέ and the other conjunctions are used as alternatives for καί by the different translators.[56]

One might argue that it is unfair to criticize Wright in this way since he was not strictly concerned to examine the differences in details. We would respond by noting that the matter under dispute is the most appropriate methodology to describe TT. Furthermore, there is also reason to be concerned about the way in which deviations from formal equivalence are actually examined in practice by Wright. For example, Wright provides a list of types of quantitatively longer and shorter translations,[57] but tends to treat them universally. He states:

> Only when the data for segmentation and quantitative representation are fully analyzed can one effectively determine whether or not quantitatively longer elements are likely to represent elements in the translator's parent text, and thus, constitute an equally segmented Hebrew.[58]

However, the global statistics for a translation will only provide a

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[54]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 41-43; 59-63; 71-72; 79-82; 103.

[55]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 41-42.

[56]See Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," pp. 369-370. For an example of a thorough examination of the treatment of δέ, see *Parataxis*, pp. 34-46.

[57]Wright, *Difference*, pp. 72-74, 82-85; "Quantitative Representation," pp. 321-329.

[58]Wright, *Difference*, p. 78.

general indication of what the translator might have done in any
specific instance. In order to achieve a clear understanding of any
particular variant we must group the various types of longer elements
in the OG and compare them to the instances in which the same types
of renderings faithfully reflect the source. Factors such as the
context of each individual variant and the possible motivation for a
change must also be considered.

Wright offers a perfect illustration of the importance of the
methodology for the analysis of longer (or any difference in reading
for that matter) texts when he states:

> There is no way <u>a priori</u> to tell whether or not כל in Sir
> 3:17 was in the translator's Hebrew. Only an analysis
> based on principles of formal equivalence will give an
> indication of the probability that כל was or was not in the
> grandson's Hebrew text.[59]

If, by this statement, Wright means that we must investigate every
instance of כל and πᾶς in Sir. in order to understand the relationship
between the two terms as well as examine the other ways the Hebrew
was (not) rendered in the Greek or Greek was (not) added to the
Hebrew in order to determine whether there were any similar
constructions to compare to Sir. 3:17, then we agree. What he seems
to mean, based on our reading of his text, is that if πᾶς represents כל
in X% of its occurrences, then it probably does so here.[60] Wright's
statistical probability is only of use if there are no other means
available to help explain the reading of the OG. The problem is his
lack of attention to details.

The ability to isolate the individual traits of the translator
within his overall approach to translating presupposes a thorough
analysis of both the source and target texts. In most cases where we
examine the idiosyncratic traits that characterize a translator we are
dealing with a small percentage of the actual renderings for a given
HA expression. Therefore, by grouping the various ways in which a
construction has been translated we can examine the differences in
usage. Then we can both attempt to explain the deviations which

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[59]Ibid., p. 80.

[60]We have no way of knowing what he does mean of course, but our
representation is faithful to the argument of his text.

might stem from the TT of the translator and discern the characteristics which differentiate the individual translators.[61] Indeed, it may be that there is no apparent reason for the change(s) other than stylistic variation, but often there is.[62] Therefore, to expand upon the previously stated axiom, we must say that *it is the idiosyncrasies of the individual translators that provide the most distinguishing features of TT.*

A good example of the subtle distinctions made by translators is given by J.W. Wevers in a recent article. He notes that the phrase "sons of Israel" occurs 53 times in Exodus in the nominative, dative, and accusative, and has the article in every case. However, in 12 of 35 cases in the genitive (τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ) the article is omitted. The difference in the twelve cases is that the phrase is used in the context to modify "assembly" (i.e. συναγωγὴ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ).[63]

If we were only concerned to measure literalness according to a strict set of criteria, then we might fail to take sufficient note of why the translator of Exodus omitted the article for the construct-genitive in 12 cases and why the translator of Daniel rendered אלוה (אלוהים) by εἴδωλον. To borrow from a well known expression, the focus on literalism for the analysis of TT is like counting the fir and pine trees in order to describe the forest in which they grow.

III.3. *The Inadequacy of Literalism's Statistics for Textual Criticism*

The primary reason for the research of the LXX and the attempt to reconstruct the OG of each book has been text-critical.[64] We have also noted already that it is the understanding of the TT in the individual book/unit that is essential for the critic to attempt to

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[61]See Soisalon-Soininen, "Fragen," p. 435-443 which expands on the introduction to his volume on *Die Infinitif in der Septuaginta*, pp. 5-16. This type of methodology is evident in the work of Aejmelaeus and Sollamo.

[62]This will be illustrated from the OG and Th versions of Daniel in chapters four and five.

[63]J.W. Wevers, "The Göttingen Pentateuch: Some Post-Partem Reflections," ed. C. Cox, *VII Congress of the IOSCS*, SCS 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), p. 56.

[64]See the excursus following CH 1.

reconstruct the HA *Vorlage* of the OG. Since the statistics produced by those focusing on formal correspondence measure literalism, then by definition these statistics are chiefly concerned with quantifying *the degree to which the translation faithfully reproduces the Vorlage.* In other words, the majority of the cases where the translation is literal is useless for text-criticism because it reads with the MT! Now, it may be helpful to know as a general rule that one translator used formal equivalents more often than another, but the use of the LXX for textual research primarily concerns those instances when it does not literally reproduce its *Vorlage.*[65]

A good illustration of the above principle can be provided from Galen Marquis' article on the consistency of lexical equivalents.[66] According to Marquis:

> The percentage of singular translations which reflect the source text faithfully can be taken to be approximately the same as the percentage of consistent translations, which by virtue of their consistency, reveal a faithful reflection of the source.[67]

On this basis he suggests that the remaining percentage indicates singular translations which may reveal deviations from the source text. As an example, Marquis looks at the rendering of עבר in section α of LXX Ezekiel. It is translated in five cases by διέπχομαι and twice by διοδεύων, παραδός, ἐπάγω, and διάγω. Four of the seventeen equivalents for עבר occur as singular translations: διαπορεύομαι, πορεύομαι, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι, and ἀφορισμος. The percentage of singular translations for עבר is then 23% (4 of 17) while consistent translations make up 77% of the renditions (13 of 17). The percentage of singular translations which reflect the source text would be equal to the percentage of consistent translations of the whole translation. So, by multiplying 77% of 23% one gets 18%. Marquis then adds 18% to 77% in order to calculate the percentage of all renderings that faithfully reflect the *Vorlage*, i.e. 95%. The percentage of possible free renderings or those

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[65]For the present purpose we put aside the fact that in some cases (Jer., Josh., Job, Sam.) the OG witnesses to a much shorter *Vorlage*, while in Dan. 4 we have a substantially longer text and in ch. 5 a shorter text.

[66]Marquis, "Lexical Equivalents," pp. 405-424.

[67]Ibid., p. 412.

which may reflect a variant *Vorlage* is 5%, or one word (from the singular translations).[68]

There is a seductive logic to Marquis' basic premise that the percentage of singular translations faithfully reflecting the source is equal to the percentage of consistent translations. However, as Wright points out, on what basis can Marquis conclude that the percentage of singular translations that faithfully render the source text is about the same as the percentage of consistent translations?[69] Our examination of vocabulary in Daniel will reveal that the use of singular translations has far more to do with the translator's use of variety in translation than differences in the *Vorlage*.[70] Furthermore, Marquis' view that every consistent rendering accurately reflects the source text by virtue of the fact that it is used more than once to render a word is questionable. The relationship between the use of words in one language and how they are used to translate words in another language is a complex matter and cannot be reduced to simple mathematical formulas.

Language is a means of communication, which "consists of words (or other units) which are organized, according to 'the rules of grammar' into particular types of combinations."[71] The symbols (words) of a language which a speaker uses in a given situation depend both on the type of situation, (we would not employ the same vocabulary writing to our auto mechanic as we would to a politician), as well as the particular speech event, including among other factors the whole discourse, the paragraph, the clause, and the preceding and following words, i.e. context.[72] So, in a discourse our choice of words is limited by the subject about which we are writing. However, there

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[68]Ibid., p. 414.

[69]See Wright, *Difference*, pp. 97-98 for his criticisms of Marquis; Soisalon-Soininen, "Hebraismenfrage," p. 50.

[70]Greenspahn also notes that HL "consistently comprise one-third to one-half of the vocabulary in any given body of linguistic material." See F. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*, *SBLDS*, 74 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), p. 32.

[71]Nida, *Science*, p. 30.

[72]Ibid., pp. 37-43; M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1983), pp. 137-148.

are still an infinite number of ways in which we can combine these remaining words to communicate our message. The choice of a particular word by a particular writer in a particular context is the result of a complex series of competing choices in that particular speech event, which in turn is influenced by prior experiences of the speaker/writer. We will "flesh out" the preceding comments in more detail later (CH 4.II.4). For the present, we will consider two words from Daniel and how they are rendered by OG and Th as an illustration.

Two words from the semantic domain of mercy/compassion are employed in 1:9: חסד and רחמים. חסד appears 2x in Daniel, 1:9 and 9:4. OG's choice of τιμήν in 1:9 is unusual and involves some innovation regarding how Daniel was viewed by the chief steward (honourably, as opposed to mercifully), but the overall sense of the passage is conveyed. In 9:4 OG employs ἔλεος which offers a closer formal correspondence (Th uses ἔλεος on both occasions). √רחם is found 4x in Daniel. Once again, OG's choice of χάριν in 1:9 is dynamic and OG also has a very free rendition of the term in 2:18, though the overall meaning is transferred.[73] In 9:9 and 18 OG uses a word whose range of meaning is closer--ἔλεος. So, OG can use ἔλεος to translate both the words found in 1:9, but it does not use them for either in this particular context. Th's οἰκτιρμός for רחמים is a SE (4/4). Unfortunately, in this instance, we cannot discern an apparent motive to explain why the OG translator did not use ἔλεος for either term in 1:9, other than to regard his choice as a reflection of his understanding of the meaning of the semitic text.

However, in order to appreciate their vocabulary choices better and to demonstrate the inadequacy of merely counting word frequencies, it is helpful to examine how OG and Th use the four Greek words we have encountered in vs. 1:9. For example, OG has χάριν 2x (s. the dynamic use in 2:13), but Th never uses it. On the other hand, οἰκτιρμός is never found in OG, while Th uses it on one other occasion (4:24) to give a good dynamic rendering for one of the 2x that the vb.

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[73]In 2:18 the translator offers a good example of how the same message can be communicated by choosing alternative words and combining them differently.

√חנן occurs (s. also 6:12).[74] Besides 9:9, 18, OG has ἔλεος 8x. In 9:3 it is a dynamic translation of תחנונים (1/4) and 9:4=Th for חסד; 6x MT=0.[75] Th uses ἔλεος only 8x in total: 1:9, 9:4=OG, and 9:20 for תחנוני; 5x MT=0.[76] OG employs τιμή only 3x (s. also 2:37 and 4:27[30] =Th) while in Th it is a SE (7/8) for יקר.[77] However, we should note that in 11:38 OG employs the vb. τιμήσει for יכבד and gives a dynamic rendition of the clause. The non-translation of יקר in this vs. seems to be due to the fact that OG did not know the meaning of יכבד and so offers a contextual translation (motivated by the connection of τιμή for יקר) with the vb. τιμήσει. The only other occurrence of יכבד in MT is earlier in 11:38 where OG's contextual guess is not quite so successful.

To investigate these relationships even further we note that OG renders תחנון with ἔλεος in 9:3 (1/4) while Th employs ἔλεος to render תחנה (1/1) in 9:20. The translations of 9:3 and 9:20 are both good dynamic renderings, but the Hebrew terms come from the semantic sub-domain of prayer terminology. On the other occasions where OG meets these words it translates with Greek words from the domain of prayer. In the case of תחנון, OG has δέησις–9:17, 23 and προσευχαῖς– 9:18. In 9:20 OG translates ומפיל תחנוני with δεόμενος ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς. The choice of δέησις on the two occasions is actually quite interesting because the word is only found 4x in OG. In one of the other two passages MT=0 (4:30a), and δέησις is used in 2:18 where OG offers the dynamic translation of רחמין. Th uses δέησις only 3x, but it is as a SE (3/4) for תחנון. The one vs. where Th employs an alternative is 9:18 where Th crosses semantic domains once again with the use of οἰκτιρμόν.

In the above example we considered every occurrence of חסד, √רחם, תחנון, תחנה, √כבד, ἔλεος, χάριν, τιμή, τιμήσει, δέησις and οἰκτιρμός,

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[74]Th uses the n. 6x in total. The remaining instance is 9:18, see below.

[75]3:35, 38, 42, 43, 89, 90.

[76]3:35, 38, 42, 89, 90=OG.

[77]See also 2:6; 7:14; 11:38. 4:33(36); 5:18, 20, OG=0. 7:14 may involve a textual variant. On one occasion Th uses ἔντιμον (2:37).

and their inter-relations.[78] We have glimpsed the complex network of relationships that exist in the use of vocabulary, and, of all the texts considered, there is a question of a textual variant only in OG 7:14 where קי is omitted. As we have seen, it is hardly possible to examine the relationship between the vocabulary of the source text and the translation on the basis of a formal one-to-one correspondence and use the statistics for textual criticism. This is especially the case with OG, but even a translation like Th is very complex.

In a paper read to the IOSCS several years ago which discussed the methodological approach for the research of TT, Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen expressed the extent of his concern about the mechanical approach to the analysis of TT when he suggested that the use of computers in this way was "a great loss for the research into the syntax of the Septuagint."[79] We have to agree with his concerns about methodology; hence the present thesis. However, it is not the use of computers *per se*, but the manner of their employment that is the problem. Computers are a great asset to the scholar because they can search machine readable texts and present the results far more quickly and more accurately than one can do manually. However, whether the results are of any practical value depends on the adequacy of the researcher's methodology.

IV. *Summary*

The examination of the focus on literalism as a methodology for the study of TT has found serious difficulties with the approach. First, the focus on literalism presumes that every translator intended to produce a formally equivalent translation at all times even though this is a trait of the later recensionists. Second, the focus on literalism fails to account for the most salient features of a translation, which are those instances in which the translation departs from the technique of formal equivalence. The features of dynamic equivalence reveal the most important tendencies of the translator because they reveal the distinguishing characteristics of how the translator

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[78]The semantic relationship shared by terminology from the sub-domains of wisdom or prayer would be even more complicated.

[79]Soisalon-Soininen, "Fragen," p. 438, "ein grosser Verlust für die Forschung der Septuaginta-Syntax."

rendered particular words and phrases. In a similar fashion, we have to consider favourite renditions and syntactical constructions employed by the translator in his/her work which may be literal, but may be different in some way from other translators. We have summarized the importance of analysing the unique features of a given translation by stating the axiom *it is the idiosyncrasies of the individual translators that provide the most distinguishing features of TT*. They bear the signature of the individual translator. Third, we have noted that the focus on literalism is inadequate as a methodology for analysis of TT for the purpose of using an ancient version for the textual-criticism of the Hebrew Bible. It is on the basis of an analysis of the finer points of the translation that the critic's judgement rests on the surest grounds.

The contention of this thesis is that a linguistic approach in which the source and target texts are compared while considering the contrasting structures of the two languages is the way forward for the analysis of TT. The soundness of this approach is demonstrated in the work of I. Soisalon-Soininen and his students, as well as by H. Szpek. In the following chapter a linguistic methodology for the analysis of TT will be presented. At the same time the usefulness of the model will be demonstrated by working with the OG and Th texts of Daniel in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

A Methodology for the Analysis of Translation Technique

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a theoretical basis for
a methodology for the analysis of TT that incorporates linguistic
principles.[1] This is necessary in order to justify the preceding
criticisms of the methodology that focuses on the characteristics of
literalism. A theoretical basis is also required in order to support
the contention that a linguistic approach is the way forward for the
analysis of TT. As previously mentioned, H. Szpek has recently
offered a linguistic model for TT, and we agree with much of her
presentation. However, Szpek does not discuss in any detail the basis
for adopting a linguistic approach, nor does she locate her discussion
within the context of contemporary research in TT. Though TT has not
received the attention of scholars that other areas of biblical
studies have, there have been a number of articles and monographs
published that are directly or indirectly related to the field. Since
this thesis is concerned to argue for a specific methodology, then it
is important to account for previous studies and offer some evaluation
of what is helpful for someone engaging in TT research.[2] The
presentation of the theory behind the methodology is also necessary as
background to the textual criticism of MT.

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[1]For another introduction to basic linguistic concepts and
terminology, see S. E. Porter, "Studying Ancient Languages from a
Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology," *FN* 2
(1989): 147-72.

[2]Some works have already been mentioned in the previous chapter
and the reader is also directed to the bibliography. For an excellent
overall resource for what has been written, see S. Olofsson *The LXX
Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*,
ConBib.OT, 30 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990). The title is
something of a misnomer because the volume does not offer a
methodology for the analysis of TT nor does it offer much critical
evaluation of what has been written about TT. On the other hand, the
companion volume is an excellent investigation of TT in the Psalms.
See *God is My Rock*, *ConBib.OT*, 31 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell,
1990). Tov also includes an excellent bibliography as an index to his
article "Nature and Study," pp. 354-359.

The qualification that this is a "preliminary" methodology has to be employed for two reasons. First, the science of linguistics is relatively young, so there is little scholarly consensus in some branches within its study; and the ongoing research will bring changes in methodology. Second, the study of TT of the ancient versions in biblical studies is itself barely out of its infancy stage,[3] so there will be continued refinements in this discipline as linguistic principles are applied to TT research. In recognition of these two limitations it follows that this chapter is an attempt to isolate the most significant areas of linguistic study for the analysis of TT.[4]

The discussion will proceed in the following order. First, a definition of TT is given in order to clarify what it is that we are studying. Second, five basic concepts that are presupposed for the analysis of TT will be introduced and some of the implications of these concepts will be discussed. Third, the model itself is introduced. It should be noted that neutral terms like translator, source text, and target language will frequently be employed in this discussion because of the general applicability of the model to the analysis of texts. Examples will be drawn from the translation of the LXX, specifically the OG and Th versions of Daniel, in order to illustrate the principles being discussed. The reader is also encouraged to consult the works which are cited in the notes.

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[3]This despite the fact that the foundations were laid 150 years ago in Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841).

[4]For a basic introduction to linguistics see, G. Yule, *The Study of Language*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1985). A very concise, clearly written introduction to linguistics is also provided in F. Parker, *Linguistics for Non-Linguists*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1986). The volume by E. Nida (*Toward a Science of Translating*) remains an important resource for Biblical studies and translation theory. W. Bodine has edited and D.A. Black has written the best introductions to linguistic concepts directly applied to the biblical languages. See W. Bodine, ed., *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992); D. A. Black, *Linguistics for Students of New Testament Greek*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988). Other valuable monographs include M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983); T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985); A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).

I. *Definition of Translation Technique*

The purpose of the study of TT of the LXX is to describe how individual translators engaged in the task of translating a unit of scripture for a community. There are five aspects of this definition that require comment. First of all, the definition is stated in terms of the translator's approach to the source text as a whole, but it is not meant to exclude employing the phraseology TT as a description of how the translator treated individual elements. Second, analysis of TT has to concern itself primarily with individual *units of scripture* rather than the entire corpus of the LXX.[5] Since various books and portions of scripture were translated by different individuals it only makes sense to treat the units separately. For example, our knowledge of how OG renders infinitive absolutes is not going to tell us how the OG translator of Micah approached them. An analysis of OG will provide possible renditions, but we have to examine Micah in order to know how the translator approached infinitive absolutes in that book. A *unit of scripture* accounts for a translator who was responsible for more than one book and also for the situation where two or more translators worked on separate sections of the same book.[6] Third, the reference to the *community* of the translator recognizes that these translations were not carried out in a sociological and historical vacuum. A translation of the Bible, whether the LXX or a modern day version, is intended to meet the needs of a constituency. Therefore, it is the needs of the intended audience that will determine the kind of translation produced. For example, the later recensions of the LXX tended to be revised toward MT, though Symmachus is a notable exception.[7] It is also to be expected that some of the terminology and expressions employed will reflect the cultural background of the translator and the community in which s/he lives. In fact, in some

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[5]See Aejmelaeus, "Connectors", p. 377; Pietersma, "Septuagint Research," p. 298.

[6]H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, (Oxford: University Press, 1920), 16-39; "The Bisection of Books in Primitive Septuagint MSS," *JTS* 9 (1907): 88-98. Tov, *Jeremiah*.

[7]For a discussion of the different translation practices of the Greek translators within the context of ancient translation practices, see Brock, "Aspects," pp. 69-87; "Phenomenon," pp. 13-36. For examples of Sym. style see Salvesen, *Symmachus*, pp. 220-254.

cases of the ancient versions we are dealing with the community's understanding of scripture in the translation.[8] Fourth, we speak of the attempt to describe *how* the translator engaged in his task. It could be said that the study of TT attempts to expose the translator's discourse analysis of the parent text.[9] Our task is not to do a discourse analysis ourselves, but the analysis of TT ought to illuminate how the translator understood the *Vorlage*.[10] Finally, we refer to *individual translators* out of the belief that individuals worked alone on the task of translation. This view seems to be supported by the characteristic features evident throughout individual units. However, the methodology could be usefully employed in the analysis and description of a recension involving more than one editor or with any texts sharing a reciprocal relationship.

It hardly needs to be stated, but the whole process of analysing TT must assume that a direct relationship exists between the receptor text being analyzed and the source text to which it is being compared. The investigation of the TT of the ancient versions is complicated by corruptions which have entered the text of the source and receptor

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[8]See Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice," pp. 139-162; Salvesen, pp. 177-193; J. Weingreen, "Rabbinic-Type Commentary in the LXX Version of Proverbs," in *Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. A. Shinan (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1977), 407-15; also the more subtle examples of variant reading traditions witnessed to by the vocalization of the MT in E. J. Revell, "LXX and MT: Aspects of Relationship," in *De Septuaginta*, ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox (Mississauga: Benben, 1984), pp. 41-51. Barr has also recently restated his argument, that some variant readings are the result of translators working from unvocalized texts and without access to the reading tradition. See J. Barr, "'Guessing' in the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*, MSU, 20, ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. Wevers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 19-34; J. Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators," *VTSupp* 16 (1967): 1-11.

[9]That the translators of the LXX worked mainly with fairly small units of text (phrase and clause) and did not consider larger units is fairly obvious from the texts. See the excellent discussion in I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Beobachtungen zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer," in *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume*, ed. A. Rofé and Y. Zakovitch (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), pp. 319-29.

[10]Aejmelaeus ("Connectors", p. 362) speaks in a similar vein when she writes that the analysis of translation technique is an attempt "to see the translator behind it [the translation] and to appreciate his work." See also Barr, "Typology," p. 288.

languages in the course of transmission. However, in most books of the LXX and in the other ancient versions the correspondence between the source and receptor texts is so close that we are justified in assuming that a direct relationship does in fact exist.[11] It is on this basis that we are able to use the LXX for textual criticism of MT and to help reconstruct the complicated textual history of the Hebrew text.[12]

II. *Five Presuppositions for Translation Technique*

There are five concepts that are presupposed here as fundamental to TT analysis. The first four derive from the study of linguistics proper while the last is specific to TT. There is some overlap in the discussion of these five presuppositions because they are interdependent.

II.1. *TT is Descriptive.*

By descriptive is meant that the analysis of TT is concerned with *describing* how a translator rendered the source text into the receptor language as opposed to *evaluating* the grammatical correctness of the translation.[13] There is no point in depicting a particular rendition as "barbaric" or otherwise, because these "barbarisms" arose chiefly due to the competing demands of remaining faithful to the message of the source while making that same message intelligible in the receptor language. The difficulties, which beset the translators in their task, and how they responded, are well stated by Aejmelaeus:

With the source language and the target language differing

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[11]R. Hanhart, "Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Septuagintaforschung," in *De Septuaginta*, ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox (Mississauga: Benben, 1984), pp. 8-9.

[12]See the Excursus to CH 1.

[13]Linguists describe how language is used as opposed to *prescribing* how it ought to be used. For example, in North America one frequently hears statements like, "He did good." Traditional grammars teach that the adjective "good" is incorrect in this position whereas the adverb "well" would be proper English. Another example would be the so-called split infinitive. See H. A. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, Rev. ed. (London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), 195-209; J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1981), pp. 46-54.

as greatly from one another, particularly with regard to
their syntactical structures, as Hebrew and Greek, a
Semitic and an Indo-European language, the translators
must have often faced a conflict between two requirements,
the requirement of rendering the contents of the
Scriptures in intelligible and fluent Greek and the
requirement of following the original as closely as
possible. Some of the translators more than others have
yielded to the former by use of various free renderings,
whereas literal and even Hebraistic renderings are the
result of the latter. The study of the translation
techniques aims at describing the translators exactly from
this point of view and finding criteria by which to
measure their freedom or literalness.[14]

Unless a grammatical anomaly may have resulted from the translator's

misunderstanding of the *Vorlage* (due to textual difficulty, error or

ignorance), it does not matter that it exists in the target text

because the objective of TT is to describe what the translator has

done.

II.2. *TT is Primarily Synchronic.*

"Synchronic linguistics investigates the way people speak in a

given speech community at a given point of time,"[15] as opposed to

diachronic linguistics which focuses on the change of language through

time.[16] The primary implication of this principle for TT is that TT

is a description of a particular written communication given at a

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[14]Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew *Vorlage*," p. 63; Soisalon-Soininen, " . . .
der Character der Übersetzung wird von zwei ganz verschiedenen
Faktoren bestimmt: erstens vom Stil des hebräischen Urtextes, der in
den verschiedenen Büchern des ATs sehr unterschiedlich ist, zweitens
von der unterschiedlichen Arbeitsweise der Übersetzer," see,
"Methodologische Fragen," p. 426.

[15]J. Lyons, ed., *New Horizons in Linguistics*, (Middlesex: Penguin,
1970), p. 14. Descriptive and synchronic are often used
interchangeably, but for our purposes it is useful to distinguish
between them.

[16]The distinction between the two approaches and the primacy of
the synchronic approach traces itself to the father of modern
linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure. See F. de Saussure, *Cours de
linguistique générale* (ed. Ch. Bally and A. Sechehaye), 5th ed.
(Paris: Payot, 1955), pp. 79-81. There is an English translation by
Wade Baskin, *Course in General Linguistics*, (New York: Philosophical
Library, 1960). See also S. Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics*,
(Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co., 1951), pp. 50-62; Lyons, *Language*, pp.
54-58.

particular time. The orthography, morphology, lexical choices, and (to a lesser degree) the syntax of the translation will reflect the conventions of the language in the time and place in which it was produced.[17] At the semantic level, the meaning of the translation for its intended audience is determined by the context, both the linguistic context and the historical context, as far as it can be reasonably reconstructed.[18]

There are two consequences of a synchronic description when it comes to the evaluation of the meaning of the translation. From the perspective of the reader of the target language there is no difference in meaning (though s/he may at times be confused), because this reader has no direct access to the source text. In our case, the LXX was usually read and understood by Greek speaking Jews and Christians without reference to the Hebrew.[19] However, the perspective of the translator and the evaluator of the translation is different from the intended/presumed reader because both have access to the source text. The translator may have intended to give a synonymous translation or to clarify the meaning of the source text when it was ambiguous or confusing; but from the perspective of the

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[17]See our criticism of McCrystall, p. 26.

[18]Context is everything when it comes to determining meaning. Understanding the meaning of a given communication involves far more than determining linguistic reference, however. Referential (eg., the identity of the little horn in Dan. 7) and emotive (eg., the reaction to so-called "four letter words") meaning is determined by understanding the historical context. See S. Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 60-82; Nida, *Science*, pp. 37-43, 57-144; the detailed treatments by A. Lehrer, *Semantic Fields and Lexical Structures* (London: North-Holland, 1974); J. Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1977). In Biblical Studies the work of Barr (*Semantics*) is a classic; see also Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp. 137-169; E. Nida and J. P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

[19]It would be a worthy project to produce complete commentaries on the books of the LXX because of the effect that the translation process had on the biblical books and the authoritative status of the LXX amongst both Jews and Christians at the turn of the common era. The literary critical comparison of Daniel 2-7 in the MT and LXX by Meadowcroft (1993) offers a good example of the fruitfulness of examining the meaning of the Greek text in its own right, though his decision to use Rahlfs' edition as representative of the OG text is hardly defensible.

evaluator the translation may actually be confusing, have a different meaning or even impart the exact opposite sense of the *Vorlage*.[20] The possibility that a variant reading stems from an alternative *Vorlage* must always be considered, but there are cases when questions about the text from which a particular translation equivalent was derived are unwarranted. Besides the types of corruptions that can enter the text during its transmission and the various ways that the translators could have misread the text they translated,[21] many renderings, which at first appear to be inexplicable, can be explained when we consider the synchronic and diachronic nature of language. A synchronic view of language ensures that we are aware that some puzzling translation equivalents are present in the translation, because the translators encountered words or concepts for which there was no adequate translation equivalent in the source language.[22] In

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[20]Szpek, pp. 59-60. Most discussions of the meaning of the LXX have taken problems of lexicography as their point of departure. See T. Muraoka, ed., *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, *SCS*, 28 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); "Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography," in *VII Congress of the IOSCS*, ed. C. Cox (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 205-22; J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, *SCS*, 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). Muraoka ("Hapax," p. 217) concludes, "What a given Greek word or phrase means can mostly be worked out, or should be able to be worked out, from within the Greek." E. Tov has been the main proponent of the view that the Hebrew meaning of words sometimes has to be considered in Septuagint Lexicography. See E. Tov, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words," *RB* 83 (1976): 529-44. In a recent article J. Lust acknowledges that the majority of readers of the LXX had no knowledge of the semitic original (p. 112). However, Lust insists that a LXX lexicon should "refer to the semitic original, at least in those cases where the deviations between a Greek word and its semitic equivalent can be explained on the level of word forms, but also when the Greek words are incomprehensible because they are transliterations or because they adopted the meaning of the underlying Hebrew or Aramaic." See J. Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," *JSOT* 59 (1993): 120 and the introduction to LEH, pp. VIII-XV.

[21]The following discussion assumes that the reader is well acquainted with the nature and causes of textual corruptions. See *TCU*, or any standard introduction to textual criticism.

[22]Cultural differences are particularly fertile ground for these kinds of differences because "a particular language will reflect in its vocabulary the culture of the society for which it is the medium of expression." See J. Lyons, *Structural Semantics*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), pp. 40-41; E. Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures*,

such cases the translators could attempt to restate or paraphrase the meaning of the source text or resort to one of three options: loan translation, shifts in application, or transliteration. The process of loan translation is one way of introducing a change in a language because it involves coining new words (neologisms). For example, the compound ἀρχιευνοῦχος (Dan. 1:3, *passim*) comes from combining the Greek translations for the individual Hebrew words רב and סרים.[23] Since Greek is a highly inflected language it lent itself to the combining of words and affixes in this way.[24] Loan-translations should not present any difficulty for the evaluation of variant readings, but a "shift in application" may be more challenging. By a "shift in application" we mean that the translator used a familiar word in an innovative way and, thereby, added a new sense to the lexeme.[25] The difficulty for the textual-critic is deciding whether the translator has merely extended the meaning of a word as a translation equivalent for a term in the *Vorlage*,[26] or whether that word is employed because the *Vorlage* of the translation was different. Finally, the

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(Munich: Fink, 1975), pp. 66-78, 121-124.

[23]For a discussion of the phenomenon, see Silva, *Biblical Words*, p. 87. For examples, see Thack., pp. 34-36; E. Tov, "Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words," *Bib* 58 (1977): 189-212; Lee, *Lexical Study*, pp. 113-118; P. W. Coxon, "Greek Loan-Words and Alleged Greek Loan Translations in the Book of Daniel," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 25 (1973-74): 24-40.

[24]It need hardly be explained that this practice is related to "etymological" renderings.

[25]Such "shifts in application" occur mainly through metonymy or metaphor and may result in polysemy. See Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 114-125. Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp. 82-85, 92-94. For examples, see the extensive list by Thack., pp. 39-55; also those noted by Tov for the translation of causatives in E. Tov, "The Representation of the Causative Aspects of the *Hiph'il* in the LXX. A Study in Translation Technique," *Bib* 63 (1982): 421.

[26]Silva notes that metaphor is by far the most common cause of semantic change in his study of the vocabulary of the NT. He also warns that since these changes involve slight extensions of meaning, it is always possible that the semantic development was already present within the native language. This is just as true for the LXX as the NT. See M. Silva, "Semantic Change and Semitic Influence in the Greek Bible: With a Study of the Semantic Field of Mind," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Manchester, 1972), pp. 103-134.

translators sometimes chose to transliterate, particularly in the case of technical terms or proper names.[27]

The diachronic nature of language also has bearing on the analysis of TT and has corresponding implications for textual-criticism, because the temporal distance of the translator from the environment in which the source text was produced may have been the cause of confusion or misunderstanding. Lexical items in a language are continually being added and deleted, or their semantic range is changing. Therefore, a translator who knows the source language very well at a given point in time may not have access to the meaning of a word which has been dropped from usage. The obstacles presented by vocabulary are particularly acute when it comes to translating *hapax legomena* (HL) or vocabulary that occurs only rarely. In the case of Daniel, the problem is exacerbated by the bilingual nature of the source text and the high degree of borrowing between the two semitic languages.[28] There were three main ways that the translators of the LXX resolved the difficulties presented by unknown lexemes. At times they merely transliterated a word into Greek characters[29] or omitted to translate the word altogether. For example, OG leaves גוא untranslated not only in 7:15 where it occurs in the difficult phrase בגוא נדנה, but all 10x that it appears in Daniel.[30] On other occasions

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[27]Thack., pp. 31-33; E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *Textus* 8 (1973): 78-82. "Loan-words, Homophony, and Transliterations in the Septuagint," *Bib* 60 (1979): 216-36.

[28]Thus Charles (pp. xlvi-xlvii), Zimmerman, and Ginsberg argued that the whole of Daniel was originally written in Aramaic, while Grelot believes that chs. 4-5 of the OG were translated from a Hebrew revision of the Aramaic. See F. Zimmerman, "Aramaic," pp. 255-72; "Some Verses," pp. 349-54; Grelot, "Daniel iv," pp. 1-23; "Chapitre v," pp. 45-66; H.L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948), pp. 41-61. Cf. this view with that of Jahn (pp. iv-vi) and Lust ("Daniel VII," p. 66) who argue that the Septuagint is a translation of a Hebrew text.

[29]E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *Textus* 8 (1973): 78-92.

[30]S. 3:6, 11, 15, 21, 23, 24(91), 25(92), 26(93); 4:7(10). See also E. Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?," in *De Septuaginta*, ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox (Mississauga: Benben, 1984), pp. 55-56.

they attempted to determine the meaning by some means of contextual guess, and we can distinguish four distinct types of conjecture: exegetical, etymological, generic renderings, or contextual "changes."[31]

Exegetical renderings refer to the attempts of the translators to render a difficult term on the basis of their exegesis of the context.[32] Etymological renditions refer to cases where the translators guessed at the meaning of the word based on its etymology.[33] For example, OG uses κληροδοσία to translate בחלקלקות in 11:21, 34 and בחלקת in 11:32. κληροδοσία only appears in three other passages in the LXX [Ps. 77(78):55; Ecc. 7:12(11); 1Macc. 10:89], and never for חלק which is usually rendered by μερίζω, μερίς. However, κληροδοσία is related to the nouns κληρονομία and κλῆρος and the verbs κληρονομέω and κληρόω whose semantic domain overlaps with that of μερίζω, μερίς. It also happens that the semantic domains of two of the main Hebrew terms which these Greek words translate also overlap: נחלה, meaning in various contexts "possession," "portion," or "inheritance;"[34] חלק meaning "portion," "share," "possession."[35] In 11:21, 34 (32?) the translator incorrectly guessed that בחלקלקת "flatteries" was derived from חלק

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[31]Tov's ("Did the Translators," pp. 53-70) terminology has been borrowed, but the categories are organized differently. Tov includes renditions based on parallelism as a separate category.

[32]See the example, τιμήσει on p. 120 above.

[33]See *TCU*, pp. 241-250. The volume by X. Jacques is an important aid for identifying etymological roots. See *List of Septuagint Words Sharing Common Elements*, (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972). In his article "Did the Translators," pp. 67-69, Tov distinguishes two types of etymological renditions. The other type of etymological rendering involves instances where the translators recognized the root of the word in their *Vorlage* and employed a Greek equivalent from a word group which rendered the semitic root elsewhere. Of course, not all of those instances constitute a guess because sometimes the translation conformed to Greek usage. The examples given below illustrates both ways that the translators employed etymology in their translations.

[34]BDB, p. 635.

[35]BDB, pp. 323-324.

and chose to translate with κληροδοσία.[36]

The third means of conjecture open to the translator was to use a general term whose meaning seemed to fit from the context. For example, in 9:26 the translator employed ἀποσταθήσεται for יכרת (niphal imperfect, HL in Daniel). The MT is usually interpreted as a reference to the killing of Onias.[37] McCrystall argues that the LXX rendition is a case of *Tendenz* and that the translator intends the passage to be a reference to the deposition of Jason rather than the killing of Onias III.[38] Although McCrystall does not discuss how it is that ἀποσταθήσεται is better understood as a "deposition," we would understand him to mean that the general sense of the verb in the context is "to be removed." In contrast to McCrystall, P. David argues that there was "probably" a different verb in the *Vorlage* which referred to the removal of a high priest. Apparently, however, David does not feel it is necessary to justify this argument by indicating what verb this might have been.[39] Either suggestion is possible, of course, but it is more likely that the translator was attempting to reproduce his *Vorlage* in Greek to the best of his ability and used a favourite verb in this context. The likelihood that the translator resorted to a favourite "generic" translation equivalent is indicated by the frequency of occurrence and the variety of words rendered by

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[36]Other instances where a cognate of κληροδοσία translates √חלק are Jos. 12:7; Ps. 15(16):5, 53:12; Hos. 5:7; Is. 53:12. Cf. McCrystall (pp. 86-88) who characterizes κληροδοσία as an example of *Tendenz* because it is not a "normal" Septuagint translation. The fact is OG decided not to render חלק with μερίς, and OG never uses μερίς at all.

[37]Mont., p. 381.

[38]McCrystall, pp. 252-253, sees 9:26 as an historicizing of the prophecy and argues that the 139 years add up to the deposition of Jason.

[39]David, p. 311, suggests Jason as a possibility, but apparently is unaware of McCrystall's work. David argues that the earlier *Vorlage* which can be reconstructed from the LXX envisaged the restoration of the temple and the vindication of the High Priest. His interpretation in vs. 26 depends on the "probability" of the different verb as well as the dubious emendation of χρίσμα to χριστος based on the reading of משיה (vs. משח) in MT (pp. 296-297, 312-313). How can there be any controls on methodology if he wants to propose a *Vorlage* for the LXX but prefers a reading of MT in order to justify it?

ἀφίστημι. Even a glance at HR under ἀφιστᾶν, ἀφιστάναι, ἀφιστάνειν would reveal there are twelve occurrences of ἀφίστημι for five semitic verbs in OG.[40] In OG, and the rest of the LXX, the verb is most often employed in the sense "turn away, depart"--whether it is ἀπέστημεν ἀπὸ σοῦ (i.e. God, Dan. 9:9) or ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (Dan. 9:13)[41]-- and "remove, withdraw."[42] This latter sense overlaps with the meaning of the Hebrew יכרת "will be cut off," so the OG translator employed one of his favourite words in the general sense of "will be removed."[43] This explanation is confirmed by the very similar situation in 11:4 where the OG uses ἀποσταθήσεται to translate תנתש (a niphal imperfect of a verb which is a HL in Daniel!).[44] Confronted by an unfamiliar verb in the niphal imperfect, and a context in which it could be guessed that the meaning of the verb in 11:4 was something like "will be removed/destroyed," the translator opted for the exact same form of a favourite verb which had been employed earlier.

Finally, the last type of contextual guess refers to times when the translators seem to have read the consonantal text differently in order to produce their translation. That is, their reading is based on an adjustment of one or more letters in the consonantal text. For

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[40]צדה: 7:12 (aph.); מרד: 9:9; סור: 9:5, 11 (q.), 11:31 (hi.), 12:11 (ho.). 11:4 is also problematic (HR marks with a dagger) and is discussed below. 3:29, 35; 4:15-MT=0; 2:5, 8 are hexaplaric. The vb. is only 7 times in Th.

[41]See Jer. 40(33):8; Sir. 2:3; 1 Ki. 16:14.

[42]See Dan. 3:35; Jer. 14:19; Jud. 13:14; 1 Ki. 6:3.

[43]See also the similar use in Prov. 23:18. An examination of the renderings for כרה in the LXX also reveals that the translators employed various equivalents. See the list of equivalents in E. C. Dos Santos, ed., *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint.* (Baptist House, Jerusalem: Dugith, n.d.), 95.

[44]McCrystall, pp. 90-91, argues for the future middle in 11:4 (ἀποστήσεται) which is attested in 967, though he never explains the importance of the point. In our view it is *at least* as likely that 967 omitted αθ from the future passive and produced the middle form due to *parablepsis* or phonetic error as it is that the letters were added to an original future middle (See also 3:24 in CH 2.II.2). The fact that the future middle would be a *hapax legomenon* casts further doubt on the probability of the reading.

example, in Dan. 8:25 the MT has the difficult reading, וּבְאַפֶס יָד
"without hand," which OG renders with καὶ ποιήσει συναγωγὴν χειρός "and
[then] he will make/cause a gathering by [his] hand." However we
construe the Greek, the reading seems to be derived from the
translator having read בְאַפֶס as a hiphil perfect of אסף (וְהֶאֱסִיף).[45]
The argument that the translator has reread the consonantal text is
based on the fact that the addition of the auxiliary verb ποιέω was one
of the means of the translator's to render causatives[46] and συνάγω
frequently renders אסף. In effect, the translator read a ה for ב,
transposed the letters פס, and read the changed letters as a hifil
perfect with ו consecutive. The motivation for this change was that
the translator did not know the meaning of the HL בְאַפֶס. Now, it may
be that a variant had already arisen in the text before the
translator, but given the evidence it is more likely that the
translator adjusted the text so that he could make sense out of it.
As Tov suggests, the translator may have assumed (or at least
justified his approach in his own mind) that a scribe had made a
transcriptional error.[47]

II.3. *Langue and Parole.*

Another distinction made by Saussure was that between *langue* and
parole (there are no generally accepted translation equivalents in
English). *Langue* refers to language as an abstract system, which is
common to all speakers of a language community, while *parole* refers to
the actual discourse of individuals within the community.[48] Both of
these aspects of language play an important role in the study of TT.
In the act of translation the original translator has to read the

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[45]A similar reading of the verb occurs in Th, but towards a very
different interpretation. See R. Hanhart, "The Translation of the
Septuagint in Light of Earlier Tradition and Subsequent Influences,"
in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS, 33, ed. G. J. Brooke
and B. Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 364. Note also
that Hanhart continuously refers to Th as a translation.

[46]See E. Tov, "The Representation of the Causative Aspects of the
Hiph'il in the LXX. A Study in Translation Technique," *Bib* 63 (1982):
422-23.

[47]Tov, "Did the Translators," pp. 61-64.

[48]Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 239.

source text (which as a written document is an example of *parole*), and attempts to decode the meaning of that text on the basis of his/her knowledge of the grammar of the source language (*langue*). The translator then has to encode the message of the source text in the receptor language (*parole*) based on his/her knowledge of the grammar of that language (*langue*). These are minimum requirements for what the translator does though we cannot be absolutely sure how the neurological process takes place.[49]

TT analyzes language as it is employed in the receptor text, so it is an investigation of the *parole* of that particular unit of translation. The basis for the comparison is the source text (see II.5 below), but TT is an analysis of how the translator chose to render the source text in the target language. Another word to refer to the choices made by an author in speech or writing is *style*.[50] Since style is at the very essence of TT we cannot agree with Szpek who regards style as one of the four main elements of a translation (along with grammar, syntax, and semantics) to be analyzed. She defines style as "elements of choice which an author can impart to a text for aesthetic reasons," and limits the investigation of stylistic elements to three areas: sentence type, figurative language, and idiom.[51] The analysis of style could be limited in the way that Szpek does, but it tends to foster ambiguity because there are a multitude of features in a discourse that contribute to the aesthetic quality (and meaning) of the text. Even though the content of the translation is highly influenced by the source text, the translator still chooses particular words (sometimes based on phonology), syntax, and rhetorical devices in the creation of the translation.[52] The elements

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[49]Chomsky has argued that the faculty for language is genetically encoded in the brain; but, even if this is true, we do not know how the process takes place. See N. Chomsky, *Rules and Representations*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), pp. 3-87, 185-216; Lyons provides a useful overview in *Language*, pp. 248-257.

[50]See Ullmann, *Style*, pp. 101-242.

[51]Szpek, pp. 24, 201-257.

[52]For an excellent volume on style and discourse as it relates to biblical studies, see Nida et al, *Style and Discourse: With Special Reference to the Greek New Testament*, (Cape Town: United Bible Societies, 1983). A full discourse analysis of the translation is

that Szpek treats as aspects of style are readily treated under other categories (see III.1.i.).

While TT is a description of the *parole* in a particular translation unit, it is important to recognize that the translator's interpretation of the source text is based on his/her understanding of the *langue* of the source language as it is applied to that particular text.[53] It is for this reason that we can say that the study of TT will expose the translator's discourse analysis of the parent text.[54] Another way of describing the process of translation and the perspective of the one engaged in the study of TT is to visualize it as we have it in Figure 1.
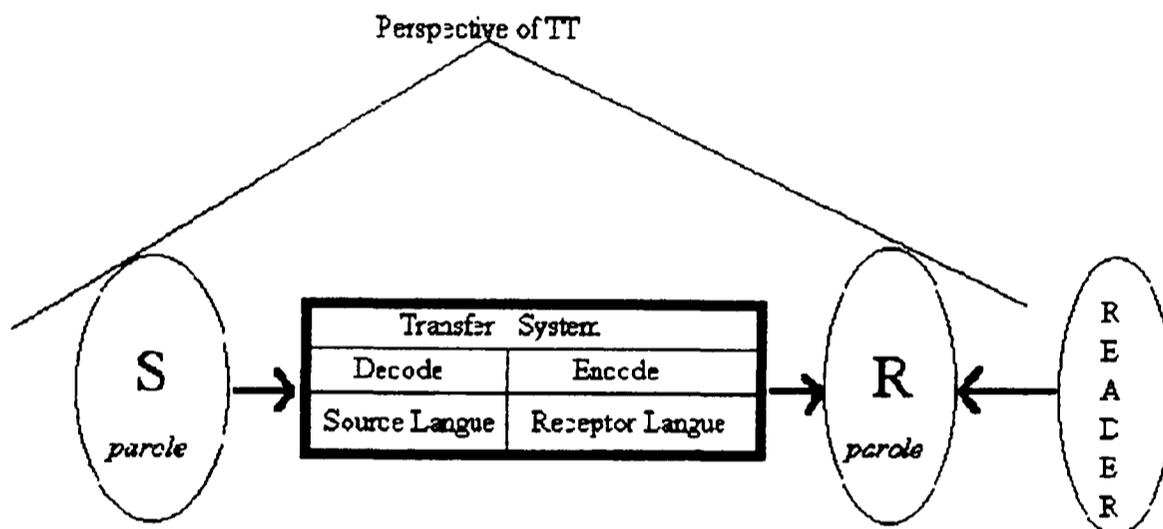
Figure 1

In Figure 1 the S stands for the source text while the R stands for the receptor text. The Transfer System is the translator. There

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beyond the parameters of TT because of its concern to compare the translation with its *Vorlage*.

[53]Two recent grammars written from the perspective of modern linguistics to aid the study of TT in the LXX are B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990); S.E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, (JSOT: Sheffield, 1992).

[54]Whether the translator renders words or phrases more or less in isolation from the larger context, or attempts to bear in mind the larger context as s/he treats the smaller units, s/he is grappling with the structure of the discourse. Furthermore, the fact that a translator makes a more or less word-for-word formally equivalent translation does not necessarily entail that s/he did not consider the larger context. See Barr, "Typology," p. 297; Soisalon-Soininen, "Methodologische Fragen," p. 431.

are other factors which enter into the process of decoding the meaning of the source text such as the translator's knowledge of vocabulary and cultural differences, but the present focus is the interplay of *langue* and *parole* for the translator who acts as the medium of transferring the source text into the target language. As a point of interest the reader of the receptor text has been included in the diagram in order to point out that s/he has no access to the original text or the translation process. The diagram also makes clear that the analyst of TT stands above the source and receptor texts, able to view both simultaneously and, therefore, is in a position to describe how the translator (Transfer System) went about the task of translation. Ideally, the analyst of TT would be omniscient regarding the language, time and place in which both texts were produced and would have both texts in their original form.

It is obvious from the discussion thus far that we are far from the ideal position to an analysis of TT of the LXX. However, despite the deficiencies in our knowledge regarding the production and copying of both the MT and LXX, the task is not impossible. We can never attain absolute certainty in our results but we can achieve a high degree of probability.

II.4. *TT is an Analysis of Structure.*

The emphasis on *structuralism* in linguistics once again originates with Saussure. The thesis of structuralism is:

> . . . that every language is a unique relational structure, or system, and that the units which we identify, or postulate as theoretical constructs, in analysing the sentence of a particular language (sounds, words, meanings, etc.) derive both their essence and their existence from their relationships with other units in the same language-system. We cannot first identify the units and then, at a subsequent stage of the analysis, enquire what combinatorial or other relations hold between them: we simultaneously identify both the units and their interrelations.[55]

We can illustrate this thesis at any level of language. For example, at the level of phonology the *b* in *big* is said to be syntagmatically related to *i* and *g*. If the *b* were combined syntagmatically with the

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[55]Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 231-232.

letters *a* and *r* a different word would result, *bar.* At the same time the *b* is paradigmatically related to *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *p*, *r*, *t* (*tig* is a children's game in England which is called *tag* in North America), *w*, and *z*. Linguists use minimal pairs such as *big pig tig* etc. in order to determine the abstract system of sounds (phonemes) in a language, which distinguish meaning in the actual sounds that we hear and say.[56] The same principles are employed when the word *big* is examined as part of the sequence *the big dog.* In this phrase *big* is said to be in syntagmatic relation with *the* and *dog.* We could also substitute the paradigmatically related words *brown*, *shaggy*, or *small* for *big* and still have a grammatically correct and semantically acceptable phrase (or syntagm), though its meaning would be different. Just as the selection and combination of different phonemes to create different words reflects the structure of the phonological system, the selection and combination of different words reflects the lexical structure. "The theoretically important point is that the structure of the language-system depends at every level upon the complementary principles of selection and combination."[57]

The selection and combination of different units also affects the semantic information of the message.[58] This is most obvious at the paradigmatic level. For example, the words *the big dog* do not convey the same meaning as *the brown dog* where colour, and not size, is the point of emphasis even though the referent is the same. The role of syntagmatic relations (context) in determining meaning can be illustrated by comparing *the big poodle* with *the big German Shepherd.* A better example would be to contrast *the big man* (fat or person in charge) with *the big brother* (older or guardian). A more extensive discussion of the structural relations between the senses of words is given below (III.1.iii.).

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[56]See Gleason, *Linguistics*, 14-26; Yule, *Language*, pp. 44-48.

[57]Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 241; Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp. 108-112. The same principles apply to the morphological and syntactical structure. Syntax will be discussed below. For an example of this approach applied to the morphology of the Hebrew verb, see Gleason, *Linguistics*, pp. 67-73.

[58]Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 241-242; Nida, *Science*, pp. 99-101. For a good discussion of the theory of semantic fields, see Lehrer, *Semantic Fields*, pp. 15-43.

The connection between the structure of the language system and semantic information conveyed is critical for the analysis of TT, because the structure of two different languages will inevitably reveal differences. In the process of translating the translator is immediately confronted with the clash between structure and meaning. That is, if the translator attempts to render the source text using the same surface structures in the target language (*formal equivalence*), then there is liable to be some loss of meaning. Loss of meaning occurs because the surface structures of the target language do not convey meaning in the same way as the surface structures of the source language. Conversely, the decision to render the meaning of the *Vorlage* will often require the choice of different surface structures in the target language (*dynamic equivalence*).[59] In the LXX the translators were able to reproduce the formal structure of their semitic *Vorlage* largely because of the freedom allowed in Greek word order. This ability to mimic the semitic text resulted in unusual, but rarely "grammatically incorrect" Greek. More often is the case that grammatically correct Greek is found, but certain constructions occur with unusual frequency; and/or typical Greek idioms are not encountered as frequently as would otherwise be expected. However, as the criticisms in the third chapter revealed, in the midst of the basically formal approach there is relevance in the variations that we do find. At this point it is best to offer some examples to illustrate the differences between the linguistic structure of Hebrew and Greek, and how they relate to TT.

One area where significant differences in the structures of two

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[59]Nida, *Science*, pp. 159-176. For the most part we only have to be concerned with the surface (as opposed to deep) structure of grammar because the LXX translators reproduced so much of the formal structure of their source. However, occasions where the translators made additions to the text to make an element explicit that was only implicit in the source text, or made transformations (eg. changed an active verb to a passive) do reflect their understanding of deep structure. For explanations of deep structure (transformational) grammar, see J. Lyons, *Chomsky*, (London: Fontana, 1970); A. Radford, *Transformational Syntax: A student's guide to extended standard theory*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1981).

languages will appear is syntax,[60] and one subject within syntax to study is how clauses are connected to one another through the use of conjunctions. Conjunctions do not have referential meaning but function on the syntactic level to indicate the logical relationship between two or more clauses. For this reason they are referred to as functional or grammatical morphemes.[61] Since clause connectors indicate the relationship between clauses, their translation in any given instance depends on the connection between the clauses in which they appear. In theory, a translation would express in the appropriate style and syntax of the target language the logical relationship of the two clauses in the source language. The process of reproducing these logical relationships from one language into another presents certain challenges, because no two languages use conjunctions in the same way. For example, the extensive use of ‎ו in HA means that discourse is chiefly paratactic in style; whereas Greek tends to prefer elaborate subordinate clauses and participial constructions. Due to the different means of expressing the relationships between clauses in HA and Greek, and the fact that Greek has such a variety of conjunctions and syntactical possibilities at its disposal, there are often a number of possible ways for the Greek to express the meaning of the HA. However, despite the options available the LXX more often than not renders the ‎ו with καί. καί has a high rate of occurrence throughout the LXX, while δέ appears relatively seldom. In original Greek the situation is reversed.[62] As Aejmelaeus has so cogently argued, the significance of the translation of ‎ו for TT is not so much the use of καί (since that was the formal equivalent),

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[60]Syntactical criteria for the analysis of TT have been the focus of Soisalon-Soininen, Aejmelaeus, and Sollamo in their investigations of the Septuagint. Besides the works previously mentioned see the bibliography. A handy compendium of I. Soisalon-Soininen's work has been published as *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, *AASF*, B, 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987).

[61]Yule, *Language*, p. 61; Ullmann, *Principles*, p. 59.

[62]This was noted to be the case in the OG and Th versions of Daniel by Wikgren, "Comparative Study," pp. 18, 25; see also R. A. Martin, "Some Syntactical Criteria of Translation Greek," *VT* 10 (1960): 295-310. Aejmelaeus ("Clause Connectors," pp. 368-371) finds that γάρ and οὖν are also comparatively infrequent in the LXX.

but the type and frequency of alternative renditions.[63] Different patterns of usage may also indicate different translators of scriptural units or later recensionists.[64] Depending on the consistency of TT, a particular usage may be valuable for textual criticism as well.

Other ways that syntactical differences between languages affect TT have to do primarily with how the translator fills the required positions of the source language in the target text. These categories are commonly referred to as "slot and filler." Here we have to do with paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations on the syntactic level. For example, the clause *He barks* consists of a noun phrase (subject) and a verb phrase (predicate). We could replace the noun phrase with any number of different options such as *Lassie*, *The ferocious dog*, or *The ferocious one*. We could also expand the noun phrase by adding some kind of qualifier such as, The dog *on the porch*, or The dog *who is on the porch*, etc. It will be noticed that it is possible to add slots in various positions on the syntagmatic level, but that only certain classes of structures can fill (are paradigmatically related) particular positions. *Ferocious* and *on the porch* cannot fill one another's slots, while *on the porch* and *who is on the porch* are interchangeable but are composed of different structures.

The point of all this discussion for TT is that differing languages, such as Hebrew and Greek, not only arrange their slots differently; they also can fill them differently.[65] When transferring

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[63]Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," pp. 369-370. See particularly her criticism of McGregor (*Ezekiel*, pp. 51-54) who describes the statistical differences in how ו is rendered in the Pentateuch as meaningless.

[64]This type of comparison is the basis of several investigations, such as those by Thackeray, Tov, and McGregor. See H. St. J. Thackeray, "Bisection," pp. 88-98; "Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the LXX," *JTS* 9 (1908): 597-601; the works of Barthélemy (1963), Shenkel (1968), Tov (1976), Bodine (1980), Greenspoon (1983), and McGregor (1985).

[65]See Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 286-297. For an examination of word order in Biblical Hebrew see T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words*, pp. 1-46; E. J. Revell, "The Conditioning of Word Order in Verbless Clauses in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS* 34 (1989): 1-24. There have been several studies on syntax and/or word order in Daniel. See W. F. Stinespring, "The Active Infinitive with Passive Meaning in Biblical Aramaic," *JBL*

a message from one language to another the translator first has to
decode the syntactic structure of the source text and then has to
choose appropriate structures in the source language to encode the
translation.[66] A translator following a model of formal
correspondence attempts to fill each slot in the target text with the
same structure and in the same order as the source text. However,
there are often other options available for the translator to employ.
For example, in Dan. 1:5 the Hebrew reads: מִפַּת־בַּג הַמֶּלֶךְ. OG
substitutes an adjective in the attributive position for the definite
noun in the genitive and translates with ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης. The
Greek language allowed the translator to choose a structure which can
fill a different slot in order to convey the same meaning. Compare Th
who translates with ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης βασιλέως.

Structural divergences and the ability to choose alternative
renderings can result in various types of changes in the formal
structure of the target text when compared to the source text. The
example in the previous paragraph illustrated a change in word order
as well as in word class (morphology). The addition or omission of
articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns in a translation is
also common due to differing linguistic structures.[67] What is
required in one language is redundant in another.[68] The number of
changes will be affected by the degree to which the translator
attempts to adhere to the formal structure of the source text, but

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81 (1962): 391-94; H. B. Rosén, "On the Use of the Tenses in the
Aramaic of Daniel," *JSS* 6 (1961): 183-203; J. G. Williams, "A Critical
Note on the Aramaic Indefinite Plural of the Verb," *JBL* 83 (1964):
180-82; Ashley, pp. 48-54; P. W. Coxon, "The Syntax of the Aramaic of
Daniel," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 107-22; E. M. Cook, "Word Order in the
Aramaic of Daniel," Afroasiatic Linguistics 9 (1986): 1-16; W. R.
Garr, "On the Alternation Between Construct and *DI* Phrase in Biblical
Aramaic," *JSS* 35 (1990): 213-31.

[66]This is the emphasis of J. Heller's investigation in which he
states, "Man muß also gleich . . . die Frage stellen, inwieweit die
Abweichungen des LXX von ihrer Vorlage durch die sprachlichen
Möchlichkeiten des Griechischen bedingt wurden." See "Grenzen
sprachlicher Entsprechung der LXX," *MIO* 5 (1969): 234.

[67]See the analysis and application of case theory to the Greek
case system in S. Wong, "What Case is This Case? An Application of
Semantic Case in Biblical Exegesis," *Jian Dao* 1 (1994): 75-107.

[68]See Nida, *Science*, pp. 226-238.

even in Th there are times when additions or omissions occur. Some of these changes may at times reflect a formal rendering of a text that was slightly different from MT, but extreme care and judicious arguments must guide any argument in a specific text.[69] A slightly different cause of a change can be a structure which is ambiguous in the source text. In the choice of a specific rendering the translator may have to resolve the ambiguity. On the other hand, the translator may not have perceived any ambiguity at all. For example, in 4:24(27) MT has אַרְכָה לִשְׁלֵוְתָךְ, which could be translated as "length of your prosperity." However, Th has μακρόθυμος τοῖς παραπτώμασί σου "forbearance toward your sin" by reading the pointing of MT as אֲרֻכָה לִשְׁלוּתָךְ. It is easy to see how ארוכה "healing" and ארכה "lengthening" (the marker of the vowel ו may not have been written), and שלו "neglect, error" and שלוה "ease, prosperity" (with the addition of the pronominal suffix they were written identically in a consonantal text, שלותך) could be confused. The decisive reason why the pointing of MT is accepted as correct by commentators is the fact that the adjective שלה "at ease" appears in 4:1.[70]

We will explore the significance of the morphological and lexical structure of language for TT in further detail below (see III.1.i,iii), but our discussion has demonstrated that TT has to be concerned with the detailed analysis of structure. Structure and meaning--or form and content--are integrally related in a language and no two languages are exactly alike. Therefore, in the process of translating from one language into another the ancient translator had to resolve the tension of reproducing the meaning of the *Vorlage* in an acceptable form in the target language. The overwhelming preference in the LXX was to encode that meaning in the target language using similar structures as the source language, but this was not always practical

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[69]See the discussion of non-variants in *TCU*, pp. 217-228; Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know?" pp. 58-89; Wevers, "Versions," pp. 15-24.

[70]See Mont., p. 243 and Goldingay, p. 81. Meadowcroft, p. 309, incorrectly suggests that "while this translation could owe something to a broadening semantic range of the Aramaic, it also, has a theological point to it." It is true that the resulting text of Th has a different theological slant, but the difference is based in a different reading of the consonantal text and was not due to any interpretive activity.

or desirable. Different translators departed from formal equivalence for divergent reasons. For this reason, the analysis of TT is based on the detailed study of the structure of a translation unit--word by word, phrase by phrase, clause by clause--by comparing and contrasting how the translator made a particular rendition in a specific context with all other renditions of the same element.

II.5. *TT takes the Source Language as its Point of Departure.*

Considering what we have already written about the translation process, there should be little need to establish this last point. As we have emphasized, the aim of TT is to describe how a translator rendered the source text; therefore, the point of comparison for the renderings in the target language is always going to be the parent text.[71] This methodological presupposition was clearly established in the work of Frankel in 1841, and was followed in the later work of Thackeray and Wifstrand.[72] During the recent resurgence of studies in the field of TT this principle has been taken for granted.[73] However, there have been several works that have not followed this principle and must be used with great care.[74] There is little gained as far as TT is concerned if the investigator compares the use and frequency of a certain Greek construction in the LXX without investigating the HA from which the uses were derived.

Emphasizing that TT analyses how the translator rendered the

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[71]Soisalon-Soininen, "Methodologische Fragen," pp. 426-428; Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," pp. 362-369.

[72]Thackeray, "Renderings;" "Bisection;" A. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta," *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1 (1949-50): 44-70.

[73]Other studies worthy of note which have not yet been mentioned include C. Rabin, "The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject," *Textus* 2 (1962): 60-76; D. Weissert, "Alexandrian Word-Analysis and Septuagint Translation Techniques," *Textus* 8 (1973): 31-44; J. A. L. Lee, "Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings in the LXX," *RB* 87 (1980): 104-17.

[74]This is particularly true of M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta*, (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1925); *Der Gebrauch der Kasus in der Septuaginta*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Berlin 1910). The same can be said of Rife's investigations ("Mechanics" and "Daniel"), though at the time he was concerned with the question of whether the gospels were translations of semitic originals.

source text does not mean that the target language is ignored, because the significance of the renderings employed for a specific construction are better understood when compared to contemporary writings in the source language.[75] Such a comparison yields information concerning the degree to which the translators conformed to contemporary usage of the target language, or, on the other hand, the influence of the source language.[76] In the case of the LXX, the pervasive influence of the LXX on the NT and the appearance of Septuagintisms (eg. καὶ ἐγένετο) at one time engendered fierce debates about the semitic character of the gospels.[77] Ideally, we would compare every element in the translation to its use in contemporary literature. This procedure is feasible when only one feature of translation is examined, but impractical when studying a whole translation.[78] For this reason we will have to limit detailed analysis to selected features.

In conclusion, the description of the TT of a unit of translation requires the comparison of the translation equivalents of the unit with the elements of the source text from which they were derived. The comparison of the translation equivalents with their

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[75]Sollamo, "Improper prepositions," pp. 473-475; *Semiprepositions*, pp. 3-10.

[76]Aejmelaeus ("Clause Connectors," p. 363) notes that the degree of difficulty involved in the source text is another factor to consider in the analysis of TT.

[77]A. Deissman was the leading exponent of the view that the language of the NT was not a Jewish Greek dialect although the NT does contain semitisms which were mediated through the LXX. See A. Deissmann, *The Philology of the Greek Bible: Its Present and Future*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), p. 65; A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901). Silva gives a very lucid analysis of this debate from the perspective of the distinction between *langue* and *parole* in "Bilingualism," pp. 198-219. See also Rife ("Mechanics" and "Daniel"), Wikgren ("Comparative Study"), and Martin ("Syntactical Criteria" and *Semitic Evidences*) for discussions of the characteristics of translation vs. original Greek.

[78]One of the strengths of the work of Soisalon-Soininen, Aejmelaeus, and, particularly, Sollamo is their comparison of the translation equivalents of the LXX to the standard usage of those equivalents in a selection of writings from the large corpus of extant Greek literature.

usage in contemporaneous texts of the target language will also illuminate the degree to which the translation adheres to the standard of usage in the target language. On this basis we are able to:

1. Describe the general character of the TT employed.
2. Describe in detail any feature in the translation.
3. Determine the idiosyncrasies or features of the translation and thereby isolate the distinguishing characteristics of the individual translator or recensionist.
4. Apply the knowledge gained from TT to textual criticism.

III. *A Model for Translation Technique*

Having established some presuppositions and discussed their implications for the analysis of TT, we can now present the model for analysing a text. As previously mentioned, the approach presented here has been anticipated in many respects by Heidi Szpek's recent examination of the Peshitta to Job. For this reason, it is appropriate to employ her terminology and categories as much as possible in order to promote standardization. However, there are significant differences in the approach presented here that will be explained in due course. First, there are some introductory comments on the model.

It will be recalled from our diagram in Sec. II.3. that the act of translation requires the use of a transfer system (a translator) to decode the message of the source text and encode that message in the target language. To break down that picture even further we would say that the translator has to first decode individual structural elements of the source text. The translator then has to encode that message in the target language, but s/he must make adjustments in the formal structure of the message due to the different linguistic structures of the two languages. The number of adjustments will largely depend upon the inherent differences in the two languages and how closely the translator attempts to maintain formal correspondence with the source text. There are of course other reasons why adjustments were made in the case of the ancient versions (eg. textual difficulties, errors by the translator). Finally, we have to do with the actual translated element in the target text. What is the effect on the meaning of the

structure which has passed through the transfer system? Is it basically synonymous, or has some alteration taken place? Viewed in this way the "act of translation can be conceptualized as a systematic process involving four interconnected components."[79] To adopt the terminology of Szpek, the names of these four components are: 1. Element of Translation; 2. Adjustment; 3. Motivation; 4. Effect on Meaning.

As the diagram in Sec. II.3. makes clear, the analyst of TT stands above the translation process and seeks to describe what happened. Therefore, if the translation process involves four steps as outlined above, then we can utilize the same four categories to analyze an existing text. Each of the four main components can be broken down into various subcategories as depicted below in Figure 2. The diagram is based on the one provided by Szpek except for changes introduced to account for the results of our research.[80]

In the remainder of this section each of the four main components of translation will be discussed in order to clarify any significant issues and to indicate where our approach differs from Szpek. There is no necessity to define and give examples for every subcategory individually because Szpek has already done so.[81] We have also discussed many of the subcategories in Sec. II. above, and they will be amply illustrated in the analysis in the following chapter. The majority of space is given to the treatment of the first main category for two reasons. First, the most significant differences between Szpek and myself are in how to subdivide the structure of the text. Second, the discussion concerning the elements of translation will entail some remarks about the other categories because the latter presuppose the former.

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[79]Szpek, p. 13. As previously mentioned, we do not know exactly how this occurs as a neurological function. The division of the translation process into four components is merely an aid for organization and explanation.

[80]See Szpek, p. 15. The additions made to her diagram are indicated by bold lettering, while omissions are separated from their column and placed in brackets.

[81]Szpek, pp. 16-59.

Model of Translation Technique

Element of Translation	Adjustment			Motivation	Effect on Meaning		
	Universally Oriented	Syntactically Oriented	Lexically Oriented		Reader	Translator	Evaluator
Morphology	Addition	Transposition	Generalization	Language Difference	∅		Clarity
Syntax	Omission	Redivision	Specification	Linguistic Interference			Confusion
Lexicology	Substitution		Contextual Translation	Implicit to Explicit			Synonymy
			Interpretation	Ideology			Antithesis
			Lexical Levelling	Ambiguity			Innovation
			Transliteration	Redundancy			
				Error			
				Textual Difficulty			
				Phonology			
				Harmonization			
				Literary Technique			
				Versional Influence/Parallel			

Linguistics

[Style
Semantics]

[Harmonization
Clarification]

[Intra-Verse Influence
Inter-Verse Influence
Parallel Verse Influence]

Figure 2

III.1. *Element of Translation*

The analysis of TT is based on the presupposition that we first have to define what the translator has done before we can begin to answer how and why s/he did it. In order to explain this distinction it is helpful to recall the diagram in Sec. II.3. and the discussion in the introduction to this section. If "the translator has to first decode individual structural elements of the source text [before s/he] encode[s] that message in the target language," then the analyst of TT begins by comparing the similarities and differences between the structural elements in the source and receptor texts. It is by means of this formal comparison that differences are discovered that were introduced by the transfer system (the translator). Therefore, it is only after this initial comparison that the analyst can begin to formulate answers to the questions about the transfer system, i.e. how the translator made changes (Adjustment), why the changes were made (Motivation), and finally the effect that these changes had on meaning.

According to the TT model the elements of translation can be classified under three subcategories: Morphology, Syntax, and Lexicology. Since these translational elements are the basis for the investigation of TT; we will examine each of them individually. First, however, we will discuss the differences between Szpek's approach and the one proposed here.

The classification proposed here is different from Szpek's in three areas. The first is very trivial. Where Szpek uses the term Grammar we use Morphology. Many linguists and the vast majority of biblical scholars would understand the study of grammar to include both morphology and syntax; therefore, this distinction should be kept in the model to avoid confusion. The exclusion of Style and the substitution of Lexicology for Semantics as categories are more substantive changes.

Style is excluded because it cuts across all linguistic categories so that each choice is to some degree representative of style; therefore, a separate category to mark so-called aesthetic

features of style is arbitrary.[82] Szpek lists three topics under Style: figurative language, idiom, and sentence type. Changes due to the use of figurative language (simile, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche), and differences in sentence type are readily described as adjustments at the lexical and syntactic level involving substitution. Idiomatic expressions pose a difficulty not only for translators but also for our classification. However, they can be considered as additions, omissions, or substitutions at the lexical level.[83]

The third difference between our model and Szpek's is the inclusion of the category Lexicology as opposed to Semantics. By introducing Semantics—which by definition has to do with meaning—at the initial stage, Szpek presents two sources of possible confusion. First, lexicology is a more appropriate term for the analysis of vocabulary because the analysis of words for TT is not strictly a matter of meaning. We could say that Lexicology is a more neutral term than Semantics. This point is illustrated by occasions where the translators utilized a SE to translate a word in the *Vorlage* without regard to the semantic range of the SE as an adequate choice for those particular contexts.[84] Furthermore, TT is primarily concerned to describe what the translator did regardless of why it was done or the effect of the adjustments on the meaning of the text. Meaning is important for the determination of how the translator understood the text, and, therefore, the translation equivalents that s/he chooses to render the *Vorlage*. However, if we are going to conceptualize translation as a process, then it is more appropriate to isolate

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[82]See Sec. II.3. above for the discussion of style. Szpek, herself, speaks of stylistic preference with regard to word order on pp. 108-109.

[83]Idiomatic phrases can be treated as single semantic units because the meaning of the whole is not derived from the individual meanings of the parts (eg. *hit the ceiling, in the doghouse, up the creek*). See especially, W. L. Chafe, *Meaning and the Structure of Language*, (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1970), pp. 44-50; also E. Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning*, (Paris: Mouton, 1975), pp. 113-115; Nida and Louw, *Semantics*, p. 7.

[84]It is for this reason Tov ("Three Dimensions, pp. 535-538) argues that Greek words became, more or less, "mere symbols representing Hebrew words," (p. 535) and that the description of the meaning of such words in the LXX could be dependent on the meaning of its Hebrew equivalent.

semantic considerations of the actual choice of renderings to the transfer system. This distinction between the encoding process in the transfer system and the formal surface structure chosen to be employed in the translation is based on the recognition of a clear distinction between the meaning (semantic structure) one is attempting to communicate and how that meaning is converted into a surface structure.[85]

Second, Lexicology is more appropriate as a subcategory because it is more definitive with regard to the subject of study: words. As it happens, the majority of Szpek's discussion of Semantics is devoted to problems of lexical semantics.[86] However, semantics is not limited to the meaning of words, but includes the phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse as well. To use Szpek's method consistently the analyst of TT would have to examine the semantics of the phrase, clause, and sentence in addition to and separately from the formal syntactic devices (word order, inflection, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) employed by language for the conveying of linguistic relations. The fact that Szpek was working with two semitic languages in her analysis meant that the syntactic systems were very close; therefore, her inclusion of semantics did not pose particular difficulties. However, there is little point in examining the formal structures of syntax in isolation from the meaning of these structures, because there is no linguistic basis to expect the morphology of the syntactic systems of two languages to agree.[87] The semitic languages and Greek are prime examples of this fact. That is why we have argued that TT should begin with a formal description of the Morphology, Lexicology, and Syntax of the translation as compared to the source text before considering how the meaning has been affected. In this way all the elements of the translation can be classified consistently and systematically analyzed as to how they

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[85]See Chafe, pp. 15-91.

[86]Szpek, pp. 133-199.

[87]See Ullmann's (*Principles*, pp. 24-40) discussion of the distinction between the formal signals of lexical and syntactic morphology on the one hand, and their meaning on the other. This conclusion is also borne out by the early attempts of generative grammar to treat syntax apart from semantics.

have been employed to translate the elements of the source text.

The difference in our classification may be illustrated from two of Szpek's examples. Szpek refers to a participle in Job 1:12 as an adjustment at the phrase level of semantics and states, "P[eshitta] adds the participle . . . 'is delivered', implicit in the Heb. . . Thus, in this example it is through addition that P adjusts the semantics of the Heb. phrase to the translator's explicit style of expression."[88] Szpek is correct. However, we propose to classify it initially as an addition at the phrase level of syntax. There is very little difference in the two methods until we compare the addition of the participle in 1:12 to the addition of the dative "to him" in 1:14. Szpek describes the addition of the dative as an addition at the phrase level of syntax,[89] but there is no formal distinction between the addition of the participle in 1:12 and the dative "to him" in 1:14. Therefore, our model would treat them both as variations in syntax. Ultimately, the difference in methodology is similar to the objection to the use of the Style criterion. Every syntactic choice reflects the translator's understanding of the meaning of the source text; the difference between those structures which convey a synonymous (or nearly so) reading and those which do not is only a matter of degree.[90]

By postponing the treatment of Semantic issues and treating Lexicology and Syntax as separate entities it is possible to provide a clear and comprehensive formal comparative description of the source and receptor texts.[91] In the end, every relationship between two texts, both the similarities and differences, can be described as additions, omissions, or substitutions in the forms of the words, the choice of particular words, or in how the words are put together to form larger meaningful units of discourse. We will now examine these

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[88]Szpek, pp. 23-24. Note the use of style in the sense of choice in this example as well.

[89]Szpek, p. 21.

[90]Here we are assuming that the translator is attempting to convey the basic semantic content of the text and is not adding material due to theological *Tendenz*. See also Barr, "Typology," pp. 290-291.

[91]So also Sollamo, "Prepositions," p. 775, who refers to "vocabulary, morphology, and syntax."

subcategories in more detail.

III.1.i. *Morphology*

As a working definition a *morpheme* could be described as "a minimal unit of meaning or grammatical function."[92] For example, the phrase *the old players* consists of three words but five morphemes. *The* and *old* are both free morphemes because they can stand alone, but the former is regarded as a functional morpheme since it does not have meaning by itself. The word *players* has three morphemes. *Play* like *old* is a lexical (it has meaning) morpheme, and, like many other free morphemes, *play* can serve as the basic building block (stem) for other words. Words are constructed through the addition of bound morphemes such as *er* (meaning "person who does something") and *s* (indicating plural) to a stem. There are two types of bound morphemes: *derivational* and *inflectional*. *Inflectional* morphemes like *s* are used to grammaticalize (represent a meaning through the choice of a specific form) number, tense, mood, etc. *Derivational* morphemes like *er* are used to form new words and often the new word is part of a different grammatical category. For example, the addition of *ly* to the adjective *quick* makes the adverb *quickly*. Finally, it is necessary to point out that the same morpheme can be realized in more than one form (referred to as *allomorphs*), and, conversely, there are phonemically similar morphemes. To illustrate *allomorphs* we can contrast the plural indicator *s* in *players* with the infix *e* in *men*. For an example of phonemically similar morphemes, contrast that same *s* indicating plural with the *s* in the clause *he walks*, which indicates third person singular.

It has already been established that the semitic languages Hebrew and Aramaic have a morphological structure which differs from the Indo-European Greek language. Therefore, for the purposes of TT it is important to identify the morphemes in the source text and compare how the morphemes are represented in the translation, while

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[92]Yule, p. 60. For a good introduction to morphology and Biblical Hebrew see W. R. Garr, "The Linguistic Study of Morphology," in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. W. Bodine (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 49-64; or see the technical description in E. Nida, *Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Meaning*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949), pp. 1-106.

bearing in mind the differences in morphological structure between the two languages. The morphological elements identified by Szpek for the Peshitta to Job are number, gender, person, word class, pronoun, suffix, tense, and voice.[93] She also notes that mood might be another category to investigate, and we would add definiteness to this list as well.[94] Different languages grammaticalize for different aspects of language and communication, but these categories should be sufficient for the TT of the LXX, Peshitta, Targums, and Latin versions.

All of the aforementioned morphological categories require attention for the analysis of the LXX. Generally speaking, functional and bound morphemes tend to be particularly numerous and diverse in their usage in all languages, so it is not surprising that they pose particular difficulties for the TT of the LXX.[95] For example, the fact that the bound morpheme ל has diverse functions in Hebrew (as a preposition used spatially, temporally; with the inf. cons.; marker of dative, apposition, idiom with שׁ denoting possession, etc.)[96] means that a mere percentage indicating how often the morpheme is formally represented by a distinct preposition or article in the Greek text would be useless. The function of the morpheme in each case has to be determined in order to compare how it is translated in all passages where it has a similar grammatical function. For example, in Dan. 2:2 the ל is bound to an infinitive construct to form להגיד, but the aorist active infinitive ἀναγγεῖλαι is all the OG requires for

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[93]Szpek, pp. 16-20. Interchanges of active/passive, noun/verb, and noun/adjective in the source text and the translation are transformations involving the deep structure of grammar. For a discussion, see Nida, *Science*, pp. 195-201, 228; for examples, see Rabin, "Indefinite Subject," pp. 60-76.

[94]See the discussion of definiteness in Hebrew in J. Barr, "Determination and the Definite Article in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS* 34 (1989): 307-35.

[95]Tov classifies many of these morphological differences as non-variants (*TCU*, 219-228) for the purposes of textual criticism because it is so difficult to determine whether the addition or omission of these morphemes in the LXX reflects the actual reading of the *Vorlage*.

[96]See Waltke and O'Connor, pp. 602-610 for uses with inf. cons. and 205-212 as a preposition.

translation.[97] Likewise, in 2:24 the ל marking the dative and the
emphatic state of the noun marked by א in the word לטללכא are both
represented in the Greek texts by the article τῷ.[98]

Very important morphological differences between HA and Greek
also exist in the nominal and verbal systems.[99] For example,
aspect/tense and mood are far more distinctive in the morphological
structure of Greek than in HA.[100] Therefore, when the translators of
the LXX had to grammaticalize a verb in the translation, they had to
impose features of tense and mood which were not part of the formal
structure of the HA text. On the other hand, the system of verbal
stems of HA makes different distinctions in *Aktionsart* than does
Greek.[101] These distinctions are partially compensated for in Greek
through the grammaticalization of voice, but in certain cases
(causatives, intensives) the translators could only convey the meaning

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[97]Compare Th which has the pleonastic article τοῦ.

[98]In Rife's examination of Daniel 1:1-2:16 he continuously makes
reference to the non translation of ל as significant when it is simply
a marker of the dative or is used with the inf.

[99]See the discussion by Wevers, *Use of Versions*, pp. 16-19, where
he remarks on the differences in the verbal and nominal structure of
Greek and Hebrew. Eg., Greek inflects nouns in five cases, three
genders, and two numbers whereas Hebrew has three numbers (dual), two
genders, and no case system, though it does inflect for state. Works
specifically treating the translation of verbs include J. Barr,
"Translators' Handling of Verbs in Semantically Ambiguous Contexts,"
in *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, ed. C. Cox (Atlanta: Scholars Press,
1986), 381-403; Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive*; "Neutrum Plural," pp.
189-199; Sollamo, "Paronymous Finite Verb," 101-113; Aejmelaeus,
"*Participium Coniunctum*," pp. 385-393. See the detailed analysis of
the translation of the verb in Theodotion Job by P. Gentry, pp. 170-
241.

[100]The function of the Greek tense forms has been the subject of
intense debate over the years. For an excellent review of the
discussion and forceful arguments that aspect (how the action was
perceived to unfold) was the key function of the verb, see S. E.
Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT, with Reference to Tense
and Mood*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 1-109; B. M. Fanning,
Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp.
8-125.

[101]See the general discussion of the Hebrew verb in Waltke and
O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew*, pp. 343-350 and the discussion of the
stems, pp. 351-452.

through their lexical choices.[102] These examples indicate that TT has to be concerned with how the morphological features of the source text (MT) were conveyed in the target text (LXX).

III.1.ii. *Syntax*

Syntax is the study of the structure and ordering of morphemes and groups of morphemes (i.e. words) in meaningful combinations. We have already dealt with the nature of syntactic combinations and their relevance for TT in the discussion of structure in Sec. II.4. Syntagmatic or paradigmatic concerns may contribute to differences at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level of the translation. We need only add that the choice of Greek conjunctions can entail differences in word-order (eg. γάρ, δέ, οὖν) or require a particular grammaticalization of the verb (eg. ἵνα, ὅπως + subjunctive).

III.1.iii. *Lexicology*

Lexicology is concerned with the analysis of individual lexemes (words) as translation equivalents for the vocabulary of the source text. As with Morphology and Syntax, the analysis of vocabulary for TT essentially involves a comparison of contrasting lexical structures. Gleason illustrates this principle when he contrasts how speakers of various languages classify the colours of the rainbow. While English classifies the colours in six categories (*purple, blue,*

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[102]Wevers, *Use of Versions*, p. 19. See also E. Tov, "Causative Aspects," pp. 417-424. Tov analyzes how verbs occurring in the *Hiph'il* are represented in the LXX. He groups them in four categories: 1. Verbs which bear no special features; 2. Causative Suffixes; 3. Use of auxiliary verbs; 4. Reversal of the causative action.

The first category is the most frequent and represents causative forms which could be adequately represented by a Greek verb already expressing the semantic meaning of the causative. The second group comprises those verbs which were expressed through the use of the so-called Greek causative suffixes (-οω, -εω, -αω, -υω, -ιζω, -αζω, -ανω, -αινω, -υνω, -ευω). The auxiliary verb of the third category is usually ποιεω (with adj./adv./verb/noun) although other verbs are used as well (pp. 422-423). In the fourth category are a few examples of places where the causative action of the verb was reversed in the translation.

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green, yellow, orange, red), Shona uses four and Bassa only two.[103]
Clearly there is no difference in the denotational field described, it
is the languages which make different types of distinctions.[104] The
fact that English (and by extension the English speaker) makes more
distinctions between the colours does not make it "better" nor more
"advanced." Every language has the capacity to refer to all aspects
of human experience, they just do so differently.[105] This example
also helps to demonstrate that the meaning of each colour term in each
language is to a certain extent determined by its relation to the
other terms on the colour continuum.[106] The same principle of
structural relations applies to the use of most vocabulary. This is
not to deny that there are some words with a very high denotational
value (eg. technical terms), but "the vast majority of words have at
least *some* significant relational value and, . . . this relational
value is of more basic importance than denotation."[107]

Linguists refer to the analysis of a conceptual field, such as
colour in the preceding paragraph, as an example of a "semantic
field." The analysis of semantic fields involves the collection and
investigation of the relationship between the set of words that belong

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[103]Gleason, p. 4.

[104]Words are not, therefore, labels for concepts like exhibits in
a museum (the "museum myth"). See J. Bennett, *Linguistic Behaviour*,
(Cambridge: University Press, 1976), pp. 5-10; Lyons, *Structural
Semantics*, pp. 30-33.

[105]Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 250, states, "the grammatical and lexical
structure of different languages will tend to reflect the specific
interests and attitudes of the culture in which they operate. What it
does not mean, however, is that every grammatical and lexical
distinction must be correlated with some important difference in the
patterns of thought of the society using the language." See also E.
Nida, *Language Structure and Translation*, (Stanford: University Press,
1975), pp. 184-191; *Science*, pp. 50-56.

[106]Lyons, *Structural Semantics*, pp. 38-39. Although the study of
Berlin and Kay indicates that the majority of speakers in any language
identify a common foci for colour terms, this does not nullify the
basic fact that speakers of different languages draw distinctions on
the colour continuum differently. See B. Berlin and P. Kay, *Basic
Colour Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*, (Los Angeles: Univ. of
California, 1969).

[107]Silva, *Biblical Words*, p. 112; Lyons, *Language*, p. 153.

to a domain (subject area).[108] For example, we could investigate the words that belong to the domain of *colour*, or the subdomain of terms that constitutes the domain *red* (pink, scarlet, wine, red). The advantage of this type of analysis is that it emphasizes and contrasts the paradigmatic (see Sec. II.4.) choices that are available in a particular domain.[109]

The significance of the paradigmatic relationships (or sense relations) between words in differing languages becomes obvious as soon as one undertakes the task of translating, or, as in our case, the analysis of TT. As Lyons states,

> It is not so much that one language draws a greater or less number of semantic distinctions than another which prevents the matching of their vocabularies one-to-one (although the normal bilingual dictionaries encourage this view). It is rather that these distinctions are made in completely different places.[110]

Assuming that the translator understood the meaning of a given word in its *Vorlage*,[111] the analysis of TT attempts to understand how the translator matched the structural relations of the vocabulary of the receptor language to that of the source text. At one and the same time, the analyst has to keep one eye on the paradigmatic relations between the words in the source text and the other eye on the paradigmatic relations that exist in the target language between the

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[108]See Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 250-261; Lehrer, pp. 1-17; Nida, *Science*, pp. 47-50; *Componential*, pp. 174-191.

[109]For an example of a lexicon based on semantic domains, see the ambitious work edited by Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. (New York: UBS, 1988).

[110]Lyons, *Structural Semantics*, pp. 37-38; Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 54-62.

[111]For example, it has been discussed in some detail that there were instances where cultural differences, the use of rare words or diachronic changes in the language caused the translators of the LXX considerable difficulty (Sec. II.3). There were also instances where the translator was confused about the meaning of words due to polysemy or homonymy. The distinction between a simple figurative extension of meaning vs. polysemy, on the one hand, and polysemy vs. homonymy on the other is often difficult to discern. See Ullmann, pp. 114-137; Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp. 113-114.

possible translation equivalents for the words in the *Vorlage*.[112]
The interaction of these opposing forces had significant consequences
on the vocabulary of the LXX.[113] It is also why we have some semitic
words which are rendered with half a dozen or more equivalents; and in
other cases the same translator employed a SE for the majority or even
all of the occurrences of a different lexeme, even if the semantic
range of the translation equivalent did not match that of the source
lexeme. On still other occasions the translators employed the
technique of lexical levelling, i.e. using one lexeme in the target
language to render two or more from the source language.

The use of multiple equivalents, SE, and lexical levelling in
the LXX reflects the same tension that we experience when we encounter
the problem of translating the related set of meanings of different
lexemes and the differing meanings of the same lexeme from one
language into another. The challenges which the translation of the
semitic vocabulary presented to the LXX translators (not to mention
the times they did not know the meaning of the text), also teach us
that the examination of vocabulary has to be very detailed. With
regard to the technique of using SE or lexical levelling, we should
also emphasize once again that it is the departure from an otherwise
uniform approach (the "marked" use) that is instructive to our
understanding of the TT in a translation unit. For example, in the
Hebrew portions of Daniel both OG and Th employ λαλέω as a SE for דבר,

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[112]See the examples of τιμὴν and χάριν from Dan. 1:8 in CH 1.II.3
and the discussion in Harl, *Septante*, pp. 243-253.

[113]See fn. 20, above. The fact that words do not have any "core"
meaning (if they have meaning at all) and the significance of their
structural relations underscores our desperate need for a proper
Lexicon of the LXX. Fortunately, this need has been partially met by
the recent publication of Muraoka's lexicon which treats exhaustively,
but not exclusively, the Twelve Prophets. See T. Muraoka, *A Greek-
English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)*, (Louvain:
Peeters, 1993). Muraoka offers definitions and not merely glosses as
in the conventional approach (exemplified in LEH) and he provides
useful information regarding terms sharing the same semantic field as
well as collocational uses. One can only hope that he, or others,
continue this important project. The first volume of the new Hebrew
dictionary produced by Sheffield is also a step forward, though it
does not offer definitions. See D. J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary
of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 1. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press),
1993.

which occurs 19x in Daniel. In this case the translators are doubly consistent because they do not use λαλέω for any other term. However, in two cases (1:19; 11:27) OG departs from his normal pattern and employs alternative renderings to produce better idiomatic translations.[114] Even though OG could have maintained the regular pattern like Th, and frequently did so, he manifests a greater tendency to choose an alternative rendering that captures the flavour of the original.

While most studies of vocabulary for TT have concentrated on paradigmatic relations as evidenced by the degree of the use of SE by the translator, the role of syntagmatic relations has been virtually neglected. This theory emphasizes the meaningful relationships that exist between particular combinations of words in a syntagm. For example, Porzig points to the relationship between biting and teeth; barking and dog; blonde and hair.[115] The most significant aspect of the syntagmatic relationship between words is that it limits or defines the paradigmatic choices in any given context. Blonde is only used as a description of hair. Biting is only done with teeth, and there is very little done with teeth (eg. bite, nibble, and chew). Syntagmatic relations between words are also referred to as the study of their collocations.[116] For example, the words strong and powerful may be used to describe a person, but strong would not be used in collocation with car though powerful could. Likewise, we refer to tea being strong but not powerful.[117]

The understanding of syntagmatic relationships has obvious implications for TT. In general, the choice of many translation equivalents for the source text will be defined by the collocational restrictions of the vocabulary in the target language. However, at the same time, the target language will make adjustments and introduce

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[114]See the discussion of 2:1-10 in CH 5.

[115]W. Porzig, *Das Wunder der Sprache*, (Bern: Francke, 1950), 68.

[116]"Collocations refers to the combination of words that have a certain mutual expectancy." See H. Jackson, *Words and Their Meanings*, (New York: Longman, 1988), p. 96.

[117]Example from M.A.K. Halliday, "Lexis as a linguistic level," in *In Memory of J.R. Firth*, ed. C. E. Bazell et al. (London: Longmans, 1966), pp., 150-151.

changes because of the different lexical structures and also because of cultural differences.[118] One of the most significant ways that syntagmatic relationships may affect TT, however, is when the translator is forced to choose between particular translation equivalents. For example, Th prefers to render all words related to √שכל with σύνεσις or cognate words. משכילים (hi. substantive part.) occurs 5x in MT and in three instances Th uses the part. of συνίημι (1:4; 11:35; 12:3). However, in 11:33 Th employs συνετός and in 12:10 he emnploys νοήμονες (1-10 in LXX), but we can account for these differences below. σύνεσις also renders all three occurrences of שכלתנו (5:11, 12, 14) and συνίημι is usually the equivalent for the vb. שכל (3/5).[119] In 8:25 the noun שכל occurs in a difficult passage to refer to Antiochus' insight. There are then four instances where Th does not render √שכל with σύνεσις or related words. They may be accounted for as follows. In 7:8 (hithpa.) and 8:25 there is not the same specific emphasis on the quality of wisdom, so Th uses alternatives.[120] In 9:22 the hi.inf.cons. שכל occurs together with בינה, and in the case of these terms with similar meanings Th has an even higher preference for σύνεσις to translate בינה (4/5).[121] Therefore, Th had to choose a different verb for the inf.cons. of שכל. In this case Th chose the fairly rare term συμβιβάζω (1-10 in LXX). The same phenomenon accounts for 12:10, except in this case משכילים is the subject of יבינו. In this instance Th uses νοήμονες for המשכילים because he prefers to translate the verb with the 3.act.f.i. of συνίημι. Even though συνετός is also cognate with σύνεσις, we can see

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[118]Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 265.

[119]S. 9:13, 25. According to Zieg., in 1:17 Th has σύνεσιν καί φρόνησιν for מדע והשכל which is the opposite of the normal translation equivalents used by Th (s. 1:4). However, the 4th century Sahidic ms. 925 does transpose the terms and it is quite possible that it contains the original Th reading.

[120]As we have mentioned, in 8:25 it is Antiochus who has insight, while in 7:8 προσενόουν (1-8, never in OG) "I was thinking about" is an adequate translation of the sense.

[121]See 2:21; 8:15; 10:1. The exception is 1:20 where Th uses ἐπιστήμης. This is another HL (1-59 in LXX) for Th that is not found in OG.

that Th employed it for מַשְׂכִּילִים in 11:33 for the same reason that he made a change in 12:10, מַשְׂכִּילִים was the subject of יָבִינוּ.

In 9:22, 12:10, and 11:33 it is the appearance of two words in syntagmatic relationship, which Th normally renders with the same translation equivalent, that forces Th to make a choice between favourite renditions.[122] Another main way that syntagmatic relationships affect TT is occasions where one language uses a syntagm while the other language may only require a single lexeme to render roughly the same meaning. For example, see Dan. 2:13 where OG translates נְפַקַת וְדָתָא "a decree went out" with ἐδογματίσθη "it was decreed" and in 1:4 where וַשְׂבֵּי מַדָּע . . . וְיֹדְעֵי דַעַת וּמְבִינֵי מַדָּע is translated καὶ εὐειδεῖς . . . καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ σοφούς. Other syntagmatic features to consider are the construct genitive relation in HA or infinitive absolutes modifying another verb; Greek verbs that are followed by a particular case, infinitive, or object clause; and prepositions because they require a certain case.

III.2. *Adjustment*

Adjustment refers to the types of changes that have been made in the formal structure of the source text as it passed through the transfer system. Once again, we can approach the subject in general agreement with Szpek, but would offer some modifications. In the first place, all Adjustments in the translation can be generally classified as additions, omissions, or substitutions at the morphological, word, phrase, clause, or sentence level. For this reason, Szpek's "secondary" adjustments in the category of Universally Oriented adjustments (Harmonization and Clarification) have been omitted. At times it is difficult to distinguish between categories and it may be that the inclusion of Harmonization and Clarification blurs the distinction between Adjustment and Motivation. For example, Szpek defines harmonization as taking place when "an element is altered . . . in order to better accord with an element in the surrounding environment . . . achieved through addition, omission, or

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[122]These examples combined with Th's use of no less than four HL (νοήμονες, ἐπιστήμης, προσνόουν, συμβιβάσαι) to render vocabulary in the domain of knowing that are not even found in OG indicate that Th was working to his own agenda.

substitution."[123] However, she also includes Intra-, Inter-, and Parallel Verse Influence as three subcategories under Motivation.[124] Likewise, her statement that Clarification is "due to an ambiguity in the source text with the intent . . . of bringing clarity to the text,"[125] focuses on the motivation for an adjustment, i.e. to achieve clarification.

On the other hand, Szpek's subdivisions of Syntactically and Semantically Oriented Adjustments are quite helpful. Two alterations have been made to the latter category. First, the category is renamed Lexically Oriented changes in recognition that these topics are concerned with adjustments to individual lexemes.[126] Lexical semantics is a more appropriate description of the specific subject, but the change is consistent with the earlier remarks concerning Lexicology vs. Semantics as categories. Transliteration is also added as a topic because there were times when the LXX transliterated unknown or technical terms (see Sec. II.3.).

Numerous lexical adjustments are to be expected in a translation because of the differing lexical structures as well as the sheer volume of data with which we are working. There are two main approaches to examining lexical relations: componential analysis and sense relations. Componential analysis is actually an extension of field theory and is an attempt to ground it in a more rigorous, scientific methodology by analysing the meaning of terms on the basis of a set of sense components. It enjoys wide influence among semanticists and Szpek demonstrates the usefulness of the technique for the analysis of lexical relations for TT.[127] However, as Lyons points out, componential analysis has been confined to limited areas

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[123]Szpek, p. 34.

[124]See her definitions, Szpek, pp. 46-47.

[125]Ibid., p. 34.

[126]All of the topics dealing with Lexically Oriented changes have been discussed under previous sections examining changes in the translation due to synchronic and diachronic influences (Sec. II.3.) and/or Lexicology (Sec. III.1.iii.).

[127]Szpek, pp. 36-38. For further explanations, see Lehrer, pp. 46-74; Lyons, *Semantics*, 317-335; Nida, *Science*, pp. 82-85; *Componential*, 32-67.

of vocabulary and it is possible to construct differing but "equally plausible analyses for the same set of lexemes."[128]   In the case of TT where the specific concern is to compare the lexical relations between two languages, the approach of sense relations should prove itself to be more useful. There are two basic types of sense relations: relations based on similarity and relations based on oppositeness.

III.2.i. *Relations Based on Similarity.*

These are the most important sense relations for the analysis of vocabulary because the majority of cases where alternative translation equivalents are employed in the translation of a lexeme are based on similarity. There are two types of relations based on similarity: overlapping and inclusive. Overlapping relations are those to which we usually assign the term synonymy.[129] Synonymy recognizes that two or more words can be substituted for one another in a given context in order to produce the same meaning.[130] Overlapping relations may be diagrammed as in Figure 3.
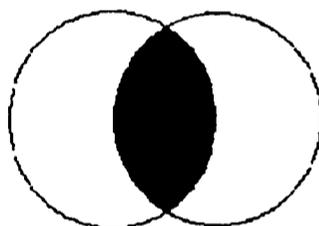
Figure 3

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[128]Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 333.

[129]Nida, *Componential*, pp. 16-17; *Semantic*, pp. 31-32; Jackson, pp. 65-74; Lyons, *Structural*, pp. 74-78. W.E. Collinson distinguishes nine different types of synonymy, in W. E. Collinson, "Comparative Synomics: Some Principles and Illustrations," *Transactions of the Philosophical Society*, (1939): 54-77.

[130]See the discussion of types of *sameness* in R. Harris, *Synonymy and Linguistic Analysis*, Language and Style, 12 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 11-12. We accept Lyons assertion that "synonymy must be bound with context;" therefore, two words do not have to be synonymous in all contexts to be regarded as synonymous in any one context.

For example, in 12:3 OG employs φαίνω while Th has ἐκλάμπω for אור "enlighten." Or OG can employ both ἐμβάλλω and ῥίπτω to translate כאב, though in this case the distribution of the terms indicates the activity of different translators.[131]

Inclusive relations (hyponymy) explores the relationship between words by arranging them in hierarchies, i.e. the meaning of some words is included within the meaning of others. For example, *collie, terrier, poodle* and *bulldog* (co-hyponyms) are all included within the meaning of dog. By the same token *dog* is a co-hyponym with other species such as *wolf, coyote,* and *fox* which are all hyponyms of the superordinate *animal*.[132] We could diagram these relationships as in Figure 4.
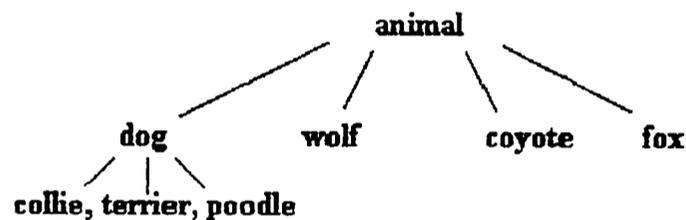
Figure 4

The higher one goes up the hierarchy the more general is the terminology while lower terms become more specific. The sense relationships could be diagrammed differently by the addition of different sense components in the hierarchical structure (eg. household as opposed to wild animals). The point is that during the course of translation there are times that the translator may choose either a more general or a more specific term in the hierarchical structure as a translation equivalent. For example, in 1:4 OG employs εἶναι instead of the more specific infinitive of ἵστημι to translate the

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[131]See CH 5.IV.1.iv.

[132]See the discussion of hierarchical structuring in Nida, *Science*, pp. 73-82; Lyons, *Structural*, pp. 69-72; Lehrer, pp. 20-24.

infinitive construct לשמר.[133]

III.2.iii. *Relations Based on Opposition (Antonymy)*

Relations based on opposition are normally confined to
dichotomous pairs. There are different kinds of lexical opposites, but
we can begin by observing the distinction between graded and
ungraded opposites.[134] Graded opposites involve a degree of
comparison, such as *big:small, high:low*. Size or height is always
relative to a point of comparison whether or not that point of
comparison is explicitly stated.[135] Lyons reserves the term antonym
for graded opposites because they tend to rely on polarized contrasts
(*good:bad*) even though they are scalable. On the other hand, the
denial of one member of a pair of ungraded opposites usually implies
the assertion of the other. For example, compare the relations between
complementaries, such as *married:single, male:female* and conversives
such as *buy:sell, give:take*.[136]

The significance of binary relations for TT is that the translator
may choose to express the meaning of the *Vorlage* through a
translation equivalent or syntagm that is opposite in meaning to an
equivalent in the target text, regardless of what he finds in the
Vorlage. For example, a translator might have chosen to employ
πονηρός as the equivalent for חטא (the SE in the LXX is ἁμαρτία), in a
particular context in order to express a contrast with ἀγαθός. In
fact, this does not happen in the entire LXX, but it is possible that
the choice of a translator could be influenced by similar conditions.
It is also possible that a translator could transform a negative

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[133]See also 1:19 and 10:17. In every case Zieg. has conjectured
the more specific ἵστημι, but the readings of the witnesses should
stand (see CH 2).

[134]See the complete discussion by Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 270-290;
the slightly different categorization by Nida, *Semantic*, pp. 32-34.

[135]Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp. 130-131; Lyons, *Semantics*, pp. 272-
273.

[136]Lyons, pp. 279-280. Conversives are especially helpful in
defining social roles (*doctor:patient, master:servant*), kinship terms
(*uncle/aunt:niece/nephew*), and spatial and temporal relations
(*above:below, before:after*). Nida (*Semantics*, p. 34) also
distinguishes reversives such as *tie:untie, alienate:reconcile*.

statement and express it positively or vice versa. No certain examples of equivalents influenced by binary relations could be found in Daniel. There are probably only a small number in the LXX.

III.3. *Motivation*

The reasons that may have led to an adjustment in the translation are considered under the category Motivation. The list may appear overly extensive, but there are subtle differences that distinguish them. Once again, we are in general agreement with the categories as listed and defined by Szpek, though there are a few minor modifications.[137] First, in keeping with the spirit of adopting the terminology of the model we have "substituted" the more general term Harmonization for Intra-, Inter-, and Parallel Verse Influence. There is no inherent reason for this choice other than the accepted scholarly use of the term harmonization seems sufficient to describe the phenomena.[138]

In the second place, the differing nature of the LXX translation requires the addition of two topics: Phonological and Literary Technique. Phonological considerations that motivate a translation equivalent may be derived either from the source text or the receptor language. The former type have often been referred to rather inaccurately as homophones, i.e. the use of Greek words to render a similar sounding word in the semitic text.[139] J. de Waard correctly suggests that the use of the term "homophony" to denote Greek words translating Hebrew words of similar sounds should be discarded.

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[137]The reader is directed to Szpek, pp. 40-49, for her discussion, though the topics should be fairly self-evident.

[138]It is not that important to distinguish by topic whether an element is harmonized with another element within the verse (Intra-verse), an adjacent verse (Inter-verse), or a more remote verse (Parallel) because the information will be given in the description anyway. On harmonization, see E. Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonization in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3-29.

[139]G. B. Caird, "Homoeophony in the Septuagint," in *Essays in Honour of W.D. Davies*, ed. R. Hammerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 74-88; C. Fritsch, "Homophony in the Septuagint," in *Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. A. Shinan (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1977), 115-20; J. Barr, "Doubts about Homoeophony in the Septuagint," *Textus* 12 (1985): 1-2.

Homophony does not apply at the inter-lingual level because the sound systems of two languages are never equivalent and, more importantly, confusion arises from the definition of homophony since it implies there is a difference in meaning between two words which sound the same.[140] De Waard suggests that the classification "phonological translation" be employed in its place.[141]

Though phonological translations were employed in the LXX, it is worthwhile to heed Barr's warning that translations based on phonetic resemblance were "a very minor factor in vocabulary choice."[142] Barr suggests that a strong example of a translation based on phonetic resemblance should be characterized by two features: one phonetic and one semantic. "A Greek word must have a *very striking and impressive* likeness to the Hebrew word" (*italics* his) if it is to be considered as having a strong phonetic resemblance. He finds the definition of the semantic criterion more difficult, but suggests that there should be some ambiguity involved in determining whether the word chosen has the same meaning. This ambiguity is necessary, because if the word has a similar semantic range, then there is no basis for the term to have been chosen due to phonetic resemblance.[143] However, the possibility that phonetic considerations may have played a role in instances where the translator had two or more possible equivalents cannot be ignored. In order to demonstrate that it was highly probable the translator was motivated by phonetic similarity in these

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[140]For example, Tov even adds the qualification that homophones differ in meaning ("Loan-words," p. 218). See J. De Waard, "'Homophony' in the Septuagint," *Bib* 62 (1981): 551-61.

[141]De Waard, p. 555, classifies five major types of phonological translations: I A. Neither lexical nor grammatical translation has been affected; I B. Only grammatical translation has been affected; II A. A shift of components of meaning has taken place without a grammatical change;II B. A shift of components has taken place with grammatical change; III. One component of meaning has been retained and one deleted or one component of meaning has been retained and one added; IV. A specific rendering has been given instead of a generic one; V. A synecdoche is the result of phonological translation. Thack., pp. 36-38, refers to translations using *Greek words of similar sound to the Hebrew.*

[142]Barr, "Doubts," p. 77.

[143]Barr, "Doubts," p. 6. De Waard's classifications are helpful in clarifying the type of ambiguity that may be involved.

cases, one must be able to justify it on the basis of the translation technique. For example, if an uncommon word was selected over the normal equivalent to translate a word in a given instance, then one could reasonably argue that it is phonetically motivated. In Dan. 3:4 OG has ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκήρυξε for כָּרוֹזָא קָרֵא. The phonological motivation for the choice of the verb is borne out by the fact that it is the only place where it occurs in OG, and Th translates with βοάω.

Phonological motivation may also derive from the receptor language, i.e. the translator may choose a word because it has similar sounds to words in the immediate context (eg. rhyming, alliteration). Here again we have to be cautious about making excessive claims that may be explained otherwise. However, there is no *a priori* reason to exclude this motivation either. For example, in 12:10 MT has וְהִרְשִׁיעוּ רְשָׁעִים, which Th translates with ἀνομήσωσιν ἄνομοι. OG retains the play on sound, but with different equivalents, ἁμάρτωσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί.[144]

Literary Technique refers to translations that were motivated due to some type of literary consideration in the text. For example, פְּלַח occurs in Daniel 3:17 and OG employs φοβέω as a translation equivalent instead of the more usual λατρεύω. The motivation for this rendering was to supply a parallel with 3:12. In 3:12 OG translates the semitic idiom שִׂים טְעֵם "pay regard to" (+ עַל pers.)[145] with οὐκ ἐφοβήθησάν σου τὴν ἐντολὴν "[they] do not fear your decree." According to OG, the three do not fear the king's decree because there is a God whom they do fear![146]

III.4 *Effect on Meaning*

We have discussed the relationship of the meaning of the

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[144]Muraoka argues that the LXX translators utilized alliteration in Job 1:1, 8, 2:3, 3:16, Num. 12:12. See T. Muraoka, "Literary Device in the Septuagint," *Textus* 8 (1973): 20-30.

[145]See BDB, p. 1113.

[146]It is surprising that Meadowcroft, pp. 159-160, can devote discussion to the unusual translation by OG, but fails to note the obvious literary connection between 3:12 and 17. Muraoka ("Literary Device," pp. 20-30) cites Job 1:1 and 2:3 as instances where the translator may have arranged words according to alphabetical order and Jer. 2:6 where the translator employed four adjectives beginning with privative alpha. See also D. Weissert, pp. 31-44.

translation to the source text and the difference between the perspective of the translator and the analyst of TT above (Sec. II.2). The topics are fairly straightforward and have been adequately treated by Szpek.[147] Szpek delineates various degrees of synonymy based on the proposals of Ullmann and Collinson,[148] but it is extremely difficult to grade one term as more intense or more emotive than another when comparing two different languages, especially ancient dead ones. In many cases such comparisons are also irrelevant because the translator's choice of lexical equivalents is limited in the first place, and may be even more restricted due to other factors (established equivalents, cultural usage, grammar).

IV. *Summary*

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a theoretical foundation for the analysis of TT based on linguistic principles. This has entailed three stages. First, we provided a definition of TT and commented briefly on five aspects of the definition: *The purpose of the study of TT is to describe how individual translators engaged in the task of translating a unit of scripture for a community.* Second, we laid the foundations for the proposed model of TT by giving five presuppositions for TT: *TT is Descriptive; TT is Primarily Synchronic; TT accounts for Langue and Parole; TT is Structural;* and *TT Takes the Source Language as its Point of Departure.* Each of these principles was thoroughly discussed and examples were given in order to demonstrate their relevance for TT. Finally, we outlined the proposed model of TT. Heidi Szpek has recently proposed a similar type of model and at some points we adapted her terminology in order to encourage standardization. There are differences in methodology that were clearly delineated in the course of the discussion, but, more importantly, we are agreed with Szpek that a linguistic approach is the most appropriate means for the analysis of TT.

The analysis of TT begins by comparing the similarities and differences between the structural elements in the source and receptor texts. It is only after this initial comparison that the analyst can

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[147]See Szpek, pp. 49–59.

[148]Ullmann, *Principles*, pp. 142–143; Collinson, pp. 54–77.

begin to formulate answers to the questions about how the translator made changes (Adjustment) and why the changes were made (Motivation). The proposed methodology will satisfy the aim of TT as we have defined it, and also accounts for the effect that the process of translation had on the meaning of the text.

Chapter 5

Translation Technique in OG and Th Daniel

In the previous chapter a theoretical approach for the analysis
of TT was presented. It is now time to put the theory into practice.
The present chapter consists of an analysis of five passages from the
book of Daniel: 1:1-10, 2:1-10, 3:11-20, 8:1-10, 12:1-13. Each
passage includes annotated texts of Th, MT, and OG, which are arranged
vertically in parallel alignment. The lines of the alignment are
numbered consecutively in the left-hand margin to provide a means of
reference for the analysis of the TT. The texts represent both the
Hebrew and Aramaic sections of Daniel, and, except for two passages,
were chosen at random. The first section, ch. 1:1-10, was chosen
because it offered few difficulties, and, therefore, was a suitable
means for the reader to become acquainted with the analysis. Chapter
8:1-10 was chosen because it was the section analyzed by Jeansonne.
The concern in this passage will be directed primarily toward the
relationship between OG and Th, because Jeansonne has commented on the
texts.[1]

I. *Introduction to the Analysis*

The texts have been aligned in a way that maximizes readability
and facilitates the analysis. As we would expect, however, there are
numerous occasions where the wording of OG does not formally
correspond to the HA on the same line. The procedure followed for the
annotation of the text is described below, and a portion from 1:10 is
included as an illustration in Figure 5.

98	τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν	אֶת־פְּנֵיכֶם	^{M}τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν
99	(σκυθρωπὰ)	זֹעֲפִים	διατετραμμένον
100			+καὶ ἀσθενές

Figure 5

The OG has three types of markings. First, square brackets [ ]

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[1]See Jeans.. pp. 34-57.

are used to enclose words whose originality is questionable. Second, the text is annotated with letters (ᴹ in l. 98) corresponding to the three areas of linguistics for the analysis of TT: ᴹ=Morphology, ˢ=Syntax, and ᴸ=Lexicology. Third, possible pluses and omissions of words in OG are designated by the signs + and - (s. l. 100). Most pluses and minuses have been isolated to their own line, but that has not always been possible. Therefore, a + at the beginning of a line designates that the whole line may be a plus, while - - marks omissions in a line of OG compared to MT. If a word (or words) occurs as a plus in a line with word(s) that translate the presumed *Vorlage*, the + occurs immediately before and after the plus. Omissions of some elements, which usually occur as bound morphemes in HA (suffixes, the definite article, the conjunction ו, directive ה, interrogative הֲ), but in Greek as free morphemes (words), are not normally marked by -. In keeping with the linguistic approach, these items are normally considered in the discussion of TT. The same principle applies to small words such as personal and relative pronouns, the *nota accusativi* את(את), and inseparable prepositions. Likewise, the appearance of minor morphological elements in the OG, which could be retroverted into HA, are not normally marked by +.

The same markings appear in Th, but they are used differently. First, the use of superscript letters is more sparing than in the case of OG and often highlights features that distinguish the TT of Th from OG. This approach is justified on the basis of the close formal correspondence of Th to MT. Second, based on the close formal relationship between Th and MT, Th is more frequently marked with a + or - for minor morphemes. The omission of minor morphemes in Th, which are usually unmarked in OG, will often be indicated by only one -. Th is marked in a fourth way as well. Underlining is used to mark portions of Th that may indicate dependence on OG. Round brackets (l. 100) are used to indicate places where Th demonstrates significant independence in translation. This marking is for the purpose of determining whether Th is a recension of OG.

The analysis that follows the text will be divided into three sections, each of which addresses one of the major issues of this research. Immediately following the passage we evaluate the TT of OG

and Th.[2] The discussion proceeds according to the major headings: morphology, syntax, and lexicology. Sometimes the frequency with which a Greek word renders a Hebrew/Aramaic word in the *Vorlage* is indicated in brackets separated by a slash (/). The frequency of words that are rare in Daniel and the OT are also indicated in round brackets, but are separated by a dash (-). The first number indicates the frequency in Daniel, the second in the LXX.[3] The frequency in OG and Th will be inclusive, i.e. they are not counted as separate works. If a word is referred to as a HL or a frequency such as 1-10 is given, then that is the only occurrence of that word including both Greek texts. The discussion will always clarify any ambiguous cases. The analysis of the passage will conclude with a summary.

Following the TT analysis there will be a preliminary discussion of the relationship of Th to OG, which is indicated in that particular passage. The purpose is to determine whether Th is a recension, but how do we distinguish between revision and translation? This is a difficult question, and has not been sufficiently addressed. With respect to Th the views of scholars seem more often to reflect a general opinion rather than a sustained examination using a definite methodology. From the survey of literature in the first chapter it was noted that Jeansonne is the only one who offers some statistics in support of her conclusion. However, we also noted that her statistics are misleading. The fact that Th reads the same as OG in 40% of the passage she analyses (8:1-10), does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that "θ retains the OG."[4] Jeansonne's analysis betrays a basic assumption that scholars have made, i.e. common readings prove dependence. As we have seen in our review, many, if not most, modern-day scholars would be agnostic concerning the person of Theodotion,

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[2]The OG reading in all cases assumes the critical text which we have reconstructed. The reader is directed to CH 2.

[3]It should be noted that HR is the source for the frequencies for the LXX, and the time has not always been taken to verify the accuracy of HR with the Göttingen critical editions. HR must always be used with caution and the OG of Daniel is an excellent example of the care that must be taken with its use.

[4]Jeans., p. 57.

yet common readings are assumed to indicate borrowing by Th.[5] Now, that may be the case. On the other hand, a number of verbal agreements may be equally explained as coincidental or the result of textual corruption. As we have already pointed out, the most important criterion for determining whether a text is a recension is the isolation of distinctive agreements between that text and the text from which it was supposedly revised.[6]

In the comparison of OG and Th, passages of Th will not be underlined that agree with OG, *if* they can easily be explained as derivative from MT. Neither does the fact that a passage is underlined indicate that Th necessarily borrowed from the OG. Underlining only indicates the *possibility* that Th is dependent on the OG or that they share a common reading. Invariably, there is an element of subjectivity to our discussion, but that cannot be avoided. However, by focusing on instances where Th seems to have borrowed from OG and those where it seems to be independent, it is possible to arrive at a clearer understanding of their relationship. There are at least three ways by which we could characterize Th's relation to OG. First, it could be a completely independent translation. Second, it could be a recension in the way that it is generally understood. That is, Th had the OG and proto-MT before him and copied the OG as long as it formally reproduced the *Vorlage*. In certain cases Th standardized the terminology, though not always consistently, and introduced corrections to the OG where it departed from his proto-MT *Vorlage*. These corrections may have resulted from Th's perception that OG translated incorrectly or too freely.[7] A third way to view their relationship is that Th did have both proto-MT and OG (or may have

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[5]See also the recent article by L. Grabbe who does not accept common vocabulary as an indication of dependence in his examination of a portion of the Hexapla of the Psalms extant in the Mailand text. See "The Translation Technique of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions?," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS, 33, ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 505-56.

[6]See the Introduction.

[7]See Brock, "To Revise," pp. 301-38. L. Greenspoon suggests an interesting modern analogy to "Theodotion's" activity in, "Biblical Translators in Antiquity and in the Modern World," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 91-113.

been familiar with OG), but that Th translated his *Vorlage* more or
less independently and employed OG occasionally or when confronted
with difficult passages. As we begin the investigation we should
allow the evidence to speak for itself and allow for any one of these
possibilities to be the closest approximation to Th's methodology.

We will conclude the investigation of each passage with a
discussion of textual variants in the passage. The evaluation of
readings will be guided by our understanding of the TT in the OG and
Th. We will also consider the witness of the Qumran mss., as well as
the Peshitta and Vulgate.

I apologize beforehand for the cryptic nature of the very
detailed notes of the analysis. The list of abbreviations are
included below for reference, but most should be easily recognized.

Grammatical Sigla

a.	active
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
add.	addition
adj.	adjective
aor.	aorist
cf.	compare, i.e. for a different view
conj.	conjunction
cons.	construct
dat.	dative
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ha.	haphel
hi.	hiphil
hithpa.	hithpaal
hithpe.	hithpeal
HL	*hapax legomenon*
homoioarc.	homoioarcton
homoiotel.	homoioteleuton
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive

juss.	jussive
m.	masculine
n.	noun
p.	person
part.	participle
pass.	passive
pro.	pronoun
ni.	niphal
pa.	pael
pf.	perfect
pi.	piel
pl.	plural
pu.	pual
q.	qal
s(ing).	singular
SE	stereotyped equivalent
sub.	subject
subj.	subjunctive
suf.	suffix
trans.	transpose(ition)
translit.	transliteration
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
vs.	verse

II. *Daniel 1:1-10*

The first passage for examination is 1:1-10. This passage was chosen because it opens the book and it offers few difficulties. Therefore, it is a good introduction to the analysis. The separate discussion of the relationship between OG and Th will be lengthier in this opening section in order to help clarify the issues involved. In the following sections more of the discussion of their relationship will take place within the analysis of TT, because the two are naturally considered together.

	1:1 Th	1:1 MT	1:1 OG
1	Ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ	בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלוֹשׁ	^{S}Ἐπὶ βασιλέως Ιωακιμ
2	τῆς βασιλείας	לְמַלְכוּת	τῆς Ιουδαίας ἔτους
3	Ιωακιμ	יְהוֹיָקִים	τρίτου
4	βασιλέως Ιουδα	מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה	^{L}παραγενόμενος^S
5	ἦλθε Ναβουχοδονοσορ	בָּא נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר	Ναβουχοδονοσορ
6	βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος	מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל	βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος
7	+εἰς Ιερουσαλημ	יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם	εἰς Ιερουσαλυμα
8	καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν	וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ	^{SL}ἐπολιόρκει ^{S}αὐτήν
	1:2	1:2	1:2
9	καὶ ^{L}ἔδωκε κύριος	וַיִּתֵּן אֲדֹנָי	καὶ ^{L}παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν^M
10	ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ	בְּיָדוֹ	κύριος εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ
11	τὸν Ιωακιμ	אֶת־יְהוֹיָקִים	^{S}καὶ Ιωακιμ
12	βασιλέα Ιουδα	מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה	βασιλέα Ιουδαίας
13	καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους	וּמִקְצָת	καὶ ^{LS}μέρος τι
14	τῶν σκευῶν	כְּלֵי	τῶν ^{LS}ἱερῶν σκευῶν
15	οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ	בֵית־הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ κυρίου
16	καὶ ^{L}ἤνεγκεν αὐτά	וַיְבִיאֵם	καὶ ^{SL}ἀπήνεγκας αὐτὰ
17	εἰς γῆν ^{L}Σενναap	אֶרֶץ־שִׁנְעָר	^{S}εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνιαν
18	οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ	בֵית אֱלֹהָיו	– –
19	καὶ τὰ σκεύη	וְאֶת־הַכֵּלִים	– –
20	^{L}εἰσήνεγκεν	הֵבִיא	^{L}ἀπηρείσατο
21	^{S}εἰς τὸν οἶκον θησαυροῦ	בֵית אוֹצַר	– –
22	τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ	אֱלֹהָיו	ἐν τῷ ^{L}εἰδωλείῳ αὐτοῦ
	1:3	1:3	1:3
23	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς	וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
24	Ασφανεζ	לְאַשְׁפְּנַז	Αβιεσδρι

25	τῷ ᴸἀρχιευνούχῳ αὐτοῦ	רַב סָרִיסָיו	τῷ ᴹἑαυτοῦ ᴸἀρχιευνούχῳ
26	ᴸᴹεἰσαγαγεῖν	לְהָבִיא	ᴸἀγαγεῖν
27	ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν	מִבְּנֵי	ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν
28	+τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας		+τῶν μεγιστάνων
29	– Ισραηλ	יִשְׂרָאֵל	τοῦ Ισραηλ
30	καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος	וּמִזֶּרַע	καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ᴹβασιλικοῦ
31	τῆς βασιλείας	הַמְּלוּכָה	γένους
32	καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ᴸφορθομμιν	וּמִן־הַפַּרְתְּמִים	καὶ ἐκ τῶν ᴸἐπιλέκτων
	1:4	1:4	1:4
33	ᴸνεανίσκους οἷς	יְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר	ᴸνεανίσκους
34	οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς	אֵין־בָּהֶם	
35	–μῶμος	כָּל־מְאוּם	ˢἀμώμους
36	καὶ καλοὺς τῇ ᴸὄψει	וְטוֹבֵי מַרְאֶה	καὶ ᴹεὐειδεῖς
37	καὶ ᴸ(συνιέντας)	וּמַשְׂכִּילִים	καὶ ᴸἐπιστήμονας
38	ἐν πάσῃ ᴸσοφίᾳ	בְּכָל־חָכְמָה	ἐν πάσῃ ᴸσοφίᾳ
39	καὶ γιγνώσκοντας ᴸγνῶσιν	וְיֹדְעֵי דַעַת	καὶ ᴹγραμματικοὺς
40	καὶ ᴸδιανοουμένους	וּמְבִינֵי מַדָּע	καὶ ᴹᴸσοφοὺς
41	ᴸ(φρόνησιν)		
42	καὶ ˢοἷς ἐστιν ἰσχὺς	וַאֲשֶׁר כֹּחַ	καὶ ˢἰσχύοντας
43	ἐν αὐτοῖς ᴹἑστάναι	בָּהֶם לַעֲמֹד	ˢὥστε ᴸεἶναι
44	ἐν τῷ ᴸοἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως	בְּהֵיכַל הַמֶּלֶךְ	ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως
45	καὶ ᴹδιδάξαι αὐτοὺς	וּלֲלַמְּדָם	καὶ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς
46	γράμματα καὶ γλῶσσαν	סֵפֶר וּלְשׁוֹן	γράμματα καὶ διάλεκτον
47	Χαλδαίων	כַּשְׂדִּים	Χαλδαϊκὴν
	1:5	1:5	1:5
48	καὶ ᴸ(διέταξεν) αὐτοῖς	וַיְמַן לָהֶם	καὶ ᴸᴹδίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς
49	ὁ βασιλεὺς	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ˢ+ἔχθεσιν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου
50	τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ’	דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ	τοῦ βασιλέως καθ’
51	ἡμέραν		ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
52	ἀπὸ τῆς ᴸτραπέζης	מִפַּת־בַּג	ἀπὸ τῆς ᴹβασιλικῆς
53	τοῦ βασιλέως	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ᴸτραπέζης
54	καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου	וּמִיֵּין	καὶ ˢτοῦ οἴνου
55	τοῦ ᴸπότου αὐτοῦ	מִשְׁתָּיו	ˢοὗ ᴸᴹπίνει ὁ βασιλεὺς
56	καὶ ᴸᴹ(θρέψαι) αὐτοὺς	וּלְגַדְּלָם	καὶ ᴸἐκπαιδεῦσαι αὐτοὺς
57	ἔτη τρία καὶ ᴸμετὰ ταῦτα	שָׁנִים שָׁלוֹשׁ וּמִקְצָתָם	ἔτη τρία καὶ ᴸἐκ τούτων
58	ᴹστῆναι	יַעַמְדוּ	ᴹστῆσαι
59	ᴸἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως	לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ	ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως

	1:6	1:6	1:6
60	καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτοῖς	וַיְהִי בָהֶם	καὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τούτων
61	ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ιουδα	מִבְּנֵי יְהוּדָה	ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς
62			Ιουδαίας
63	Δανιηλ ^S+καὶ+ Ανανιας	דָּנִיֵּאל חֲנַנְיָה	Δανιηλ Ανανιας
64	+καὶ Μισαηλ καὶ Αζαριας	מִישָׁאֵל וַעֲזַרְיָה	Μισαηλ ^SΑζαριας
	1:7	1:7	1:7
65	καὶ ^Lἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς	וַיָּשֶׂם לָהֶם	καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς
66	ὁ ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχος ὀνόματα	שַׂר הַסָּרִיסִים שֵׁמוֹת	ὁ ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχος ὀνόματα
67	− − τῷ	וַיָּשֶׂם	^S− − τῷ
68	Δανιηλ ^LΒαλτασαρ	לְדָנִיֵּאל בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר	^Sμὲν Δανιηλ ^LΒαλτασαρ
69	καὶ τῷ Ανανια Σεδραχ	וְלַחֲנַנְיָה שַׁדְרַךְ	τῷ δὲ Ανανια σεδραχ
70	καὶ τῷ Μισαηλ Μισαχ	וּלְמִישָׁאֵל מֵישַׁךְ	καὶ τῷ Μισαηλ Μισαχ
71	καὶ τῷ Αζαρια Αβδεναγω	וְלַעֲזַרְיָה עֲבֵד נְגוֹ	καὶ τῷ Αζαρια Αβδεναγω
	1:8	1:8	1:8
72	καὶ ἔθετο Δανιηλ	וַיָּשֶׂם דָּנִיֵּאל	καὶ ^Lἐνεθυμήθη Δανιηλ
73	ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ	עַל־לִבּוֹ	ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ^M
74	^Sὡς οὐ μὴ (ἀλισγηθῇ)	אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִתְגָּאָל	^Sὅπως μὴ ^Lἀλιεσθῇ
75	ἐν τῇ ^Lτραπέζῃ	בְּפַתְבַּג	ἐν τῷ ^Lδείπνῳ
76	τοῦ βασιλέως	הַמֶּלֶךְ	τοῦ βασιλέως
77	καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴνῳ	וּבְיֵין	καὶ ἐν ^Sᾧ ^{LM}πίνει
78	τοῦ ^Lπότου αὐτοῦ	מִשְׁתָּיו	οἴνῳ
79	καὶ ἠξίωσε	וַיְבַקֵּשׁ	καὶ ^Lἠξίωσεν^S
80	−τὸν ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχον	מִשַּׂר הַסָּרִיסִים	τὸν ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχον
81	^Sὡς οὐ μὴ (ἀλισγηθῇ)	אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִתְגָּאָל	^Sἵνα μὴ ^Lσυνμολυνθῇ
	1:9	1:9	1:9
82	καὶ ^Lἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς	וַיִּתֵּן הָאֱלֹהִים	καὶ ^Lἔδωκεν κύριος
83	τὸν Δανιηλ	אֶת־דָּנִיֵּאל	τὸν Δανιηλ
84	εἰς ἔλεον	לְחֶסֶד	εἰς ^Lτιμὴν
85	καὶ εἰς οἰκτιρμὸν	וּלְרַחֲמִים	καὶ ^{LS}χάριν
86	^Lἐνώπιον	לִפְנֵי	ἐναντίον
87	τοῦ ^Lἀρχιευνούχου	שַׂר הַסָּרִיסִים	τοῦ ^Lἀρχιευνούχου
	1:10	1:10	1:10
88	καὶ εἶπεν	וַיֹּאמֶר	καὶ εἶπεν
89	ὁ ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχος	שַׂר הַסָּרִיסִים	ὁ ^Lἀρχιευνοῦχος
90	τῷ Δανιηλ	לְדָנִיֵּאל	τῷ Δανιηλ
91	Φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ	יָרֵא אָנִי	Ἀγωνιῶ

92	τὸν κύριόν μου	אֲדֹנִי	τὸν κύριόν μου
93	τὸν βασιλέα	הַמֶּלֶךְ	τὸν βασιλέα
94	τὸν ^Lἐκτάξαντα	אֲשֶׁר מִנָּה	τὸν ^Lἐκτάξαντα
95	τὴν βρῶσιν ὑμῶν	אֶת־מַאֲכַלְכֶם	τὴν βρῶσιν ὑμῶν
96	καὶ τὴν ^Lπόσιν ὑμῶν	וְאֶת־מִשְׁתֵּיכֶם	καὶ τὴν ^Lπόσιν^M
97	μήποτε ἴδῃ	לָמָּה יִרְאֶה אֲשֶׁר	^Sἵνα μὴ ἂν ἴδῃ
98	τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν	אֶת־פְּנֵיכֶם	^Kτὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν
99	^L(σκυθρωπὰ)	זֹעֲפִים	^Sδιατετραμμένον
100			καὶ ἀσθενές
101	παρὰ τὰ ^L(παιδάρια)	מִן־הַיְלָדִים	^Sπαρὰ τοὺς
102	τὰ ^L(συνήλικα ὑμῶν)	אֲשֶׁר כְּגִילְכֶם	^{SL}συντρεφομένους ὑμῖν
103			^Lνεανίσκους
104			+^Sτῶν ἀλλογενῶν+
105	καὶ ^L(καταδικάσητε)	וְחִיַּבְתֶּם	καὶ ^Lκινδυνεύσω τῷ ἰδίῳ
106	τὴν κεφαλήν μου	אֶת־רֹאשִׁי	τραχήλῳ
107	τῷ βασιλεῖ	לַמֶּלֶךְ	– –

II.1. *Analysis of 1:1-10*

II.1.i. *Morphology*

l. 9, 73, 96-In CH 2 we saw that OG sometimes adds a per. pro. against
MT (l. 9), though it could be a later harmonization to l. 8. On the
other hand, in l. 73, 96 OG omits the pro., which is unnecessary to
the Greek.[8]

l. 25-OG renders the Hebrew 3 m.s.suf. with a refl. pro. and also
alters the order by putting the pro. in the attr. position.

l. 26, 43, 45, 56, 58-Th does not employ an article as a formal
equivalent for ל as a marker of the inf.cons.

l. 30, 52-In both instances OG substitutes an adj. in the attr.
position for a gen. This change also affects the word order.

l. 36, 39, 40-OG substitutes a pl. acc. for the n. + gen. cons.

l. 48-OG substitutes an inf. for the fin. vb. due to harmonization
with the inf. in l. 43 and 45.

l. 55, 78-OG substitutes a vb. for the gen. cons., which makes
explicit the consumption of the wine. Quite possibly the motivation

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[8]S. Blud., pp. 53-54.

was that the translator did not understand the text and made a contextual guess. S. the discussion of Th and OG, 1. 94-97.

1. 58-OG and Th render the juss. with the aor.a.inf. to indicate the final clause.

1. 98-OG substitutes s. for pl. S. the discussion of changes in number in CH 2.

II.1.ii. *Syntax*

1. 1-3-OG characteristically uses a gen. for dating and transposes the information regarding the king prior to the adv. phrase, which omits מֶלֶךְ as unnecessary.

1. 4, 16-OG substitutes the parataxis of MT with a hypotactic construction, part. + vb.

1. 7, 17-The prep. is added in keeping with Greek idiom, though in 1. 21 it is unnecessary in Th.

1. 8-The prep. is omitted as redundant.

1. 11-OG chooses to substitute the conj. for the sign of the acc., which results in a καὶ . . . καὶ (both/and) construction. It removes any ambiguity that might exist in the Hebrew concerning the removal of Jehoiakim.[9]

1. 13, 54, 85-OG omits the prep. as redundant.

1. 14-OG substitutes an attr. adj. for the gen. cons.

1. 17-OG omits redundant material in 1. 18-22 (s. *Text-Critical*), but no information is lost.[10]

1. 35-OG substitutes the n. with an alpha privative to render the rel. phrase. Th omits πᾶς, but otherwise =MT.

1. 42-OG substitutes an acc. ptcp. for the rel. phrase, which renders בָּהֶם redundant. Th follows MT but adds the 3 s.vb. that is implicit in the Hebrew.

1. 43-OG employs ὥστε (not in 967) and this makes it explicit that the

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[9]S. Charles, pp. 4-5; Mont., pp. 113-115.

[10]88-Syh correctly mark the asterisked add. that conform to MT in 1. 18-19.

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ל on the inf.cons. signifies consequence.

1. 49-ἐχθεσιν is a substitution for דבר in order to make the meaning of the term explicit and the prep. phrase is added for clarification.

l. 55, 77-OG substitutes a relative clause (s. *Morphology*) for the gen. cons.

l. 63-64, 68-71-OG omits the conj. in l. 64 in harmony with the previous omission, whereas in l. 68-69 OG seems to have employed the Greek μὲν/δὲ[11] (s. CH 2), followed in l. 70-71 by coordination with καὶ. There are no grounds to question whether the *Vorlage* was different in OG. Th coordinates the names with καὶ also in 1:19.

l. 67-The vb. ישם probably was not in the *Vorlage*. S. the discussion of these lines in the relationship between OG and Th.

l. 74, 81-Th employs the same equivalent (ἀλισγηθῇ) for יתגאל while OG uses variety.

l. 79-ἀξιόω + acc. + ἵνα is an idiom (BAG, p. 78) so we would not expect the Hebrew prep. to be represented.

l. 97-OG and Th both substitute more appropriate Greek usage. However, OG uses ἵνα + subj. in a clause which is consecutive, while Th has a more idiomatic rendering with μήποτε (s. BDF §370.2).

l. 99 to 100-OG requires addition   of the n. in l. 100 to the part. διατρέπω (1-4) in order to render the sense of the Hebrew.

l. 101-OG and Th employ παρὰ + acc. for the comparative. Comparative מן occurs 5x elsewhere. In 1:15 OG has κρείσσων + gen., Th ὑπὲρ + acc.; 2:30 OG ὑπὲρ + acc., Th παρὰ + acc.; 7:19 OG παρὰ + acc., Th gen. part.!; 7:23 OG παρὰ + acc., Th fin. vb.!; 8:3 OG ὑψηλότερον, Th ὑψηλότερον + gen. The comparative + gen. and the positive with παρὰ/ὑπὲρ + acc. are common equivalents in the LXX.[12] Therefore, the agreement in 1:10 is not particularly striking, especially when we consider the OG and Th choices elsewhere. 7:19, 23 both involve the vb. שׂאָ + מן and it is Th who has the dynamic renderings.

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[11]S. the discussion in 3:11-20, *Syntax*, l. 51.

[12]See I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Renderings of Hebrew Comparative Expressions with *MIN* in the Pentateuch," *BIOSCS* 12 (1979): 27-42.

l. 102–OG renders the relative phrase with the acc. part. (cj.) Th employs a complementary acc. in order to provide good Greek and follow the word order of the Hebrew.

l. 104–Added by OG for clarification of the identity of the other youths in training.

II.1.iii. *Lexicology*

l. 4–παραγίγνομαι is 2/2 for בוא in OG (also 2:2), never in Th.

l. 8–πολιορκέω for צור (both HL in Daniel) is a fairly common equivalent in the later literature of the LXX (8–30, excluding 7x in Pentateuch).

l. 9, 82–δίδωμι and its compound form with παρά is an expected SE in Th for נתן (21/21)[13] and יהב (20/20).[14] There are 6 other instances of δίδωμι or one of its compounds in Th. There is no available *Vorlage* in 3:32(=OG) and 34(=OG). In 10:1 the vb. is an add. that makes the meaning of the Hebrew explicit, and in 9:27 both Th and OG read the 3 f.s.q.imp. of נתן for תתך (HL). Finally, the simple form is found twice in 5:21. In the first instance it is a contextual guess for the rare vb. שוה, which is only found twice in Daniel.[15] In the second case, Th evidently read יהקים as יהב due to influence from 4:14(17), 22(25), 29(32). The texts read as follows:

4:14(17), etc. ולמן־די יצבא יחננה

5:21 ולמן־די יצבא יהקים עליה

Th reads καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν δόξῃ δώσει αὐτήν in all four cases.

OG is similar to Th in his extensive use of δίδωμι and its compound forms for נתן (16/18)[16] and יהב (13/15),[17] but exhibits

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[13]1:2, 9, 12, 16, 17; 2:16; 4:14(17), 22(25), 29(32); 8:12, 13; 9:3, 10; 10:12, 15; 11:6, 11, 17, 21, 31; 12:11. Th has παραδίδωμι in 11:6, 11.

[14]2:21, 23, 37, 38, 48; 3:28(95); 4:13(16); 5:17, 18, 19, 28; 6:3(2); 7:4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 22, 25, 27. Th has παραδίδωμι (=OG) in 3:28(95) and ἀποδίδωμι in 6:3.

[15]It is untranslated by Th in 3:29(96).

[16]OG has παραδίδωμι in 1:2; 11:11; ἀντιδίδωμι in 1:16; γίνομαι in 8:12 (textual difficulty); ναρκάω? (1–5) in 11:6. OG=0 in 4:14(14), 22(25), 29(32).

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greater variety in his employment of the compounds and uses them more frequently to render a greater variety of vbs. in MT. On seven occasions OG relies on the general meaning of δίδωμι to translate the sense of the *Vorlage*. This is the case for וימן in 1:5, ממה in 7:22, ישבר in 8:25, להביא in 9:24, and נגלה in 10:1.[18] 11:17 and 18 both read δώσει, which is interesting because there is a difference in the K-Q in vs. 18.[19] OG reflects the reading of the Q=וישם (K=וישב). On one occasion the translator uses the vb. when making a contextual guess. In 11:24 the translator did not understand the 3 m.s.q.impf. of בזר (1-2), which is otherwise found only in Ps. 68:31.

l. 13, 57—The OG translation is somewhat surprising in l. 57 when we consider that elsewhere קצה (7x) is rendered well.[20] OG seems to take the m.pl.suf. of the n. to refer to the f. ἔτη, but gives a very literal "Theodotionic" type of rendering without including τέλος to get the sense that it is "at the end of" the 3 years. Th's rendering using μετα + acc. is more idiomatic.

l. 14—The adj. of OG gives greater specificity than the gen. cons. it replaces. Th's choice represents incomplete lexical leveling (s. l. 44).

l. 16, 20, 26—In all three cases of בוא (hi.) OG chooses a different vb. ἀπερείδω in l. 20 of OG is fairly rare (1-9) in the LXX. Th uses a form of φέρω in the first two instances, but also gives a good rendition.[21]

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[17]OG=0 in 4:13(16); 5:17, 18, 19; 6:3(2) and παραδίδωμι in 2:38; 3:28(95).

[18]S. CH 2 for a discussion of the textual variant in 10:1.

[19]Vs. 17 MT begins וישם and vs. 19 וישב. In vs. 18 the Q has the former while the K has the latter. Th reads with K.

[20]Also 1:15, 18; 2:42; 4:26(29), 31(34). In 4:31 OG=0. OG and Th share the reading μέρος τι for מן־קצה in 2:42.

[21]MT has בוא in the hi. 10x. The OG equivalences elsewhere are ἄγω in 1:18(2); ἐπάγω in 9:12, 14; δίδωμι in 9:24; a textual problem in 11:6; ἀποφέρω in 11:8. Th has common readings in 9:12, 14. Th has

l. 17, 32–Th translit. (s. CH 6, #94). OG's use of ἐπίλεκτος (1–16) for פרחמים (1–3) "nobility" (BDB, p. 832) in l. 32 is most likely an exegetical rendering based on the parallel with ומזרע המכלוה, but OG manages to convey that the trainees are to be chosen from the cream of (Israelite) society.[22]

l. 22–OG uses a more specific term in order to make the meaning explicit. S. p. 112, above.

l. 25, 66, 80, 87, 89–OG and Th share a common loan translation. Also 1:11, 18.

l. 33, 101, 103–(ה)ילדים) appears 5x in ch. 1 and OG translates consistently with νεανίσκους[23] (cf. CH 2 for 1:10), whereas Th prefers παιδάρια (4/5). Th's agreement with OG in l. 33 is a common reading, though it could be due to textual corruption.

l. 36–Th has ὄψις also in 3:19, whereas OG employs it in 1:13, 15 for מראה. S. *Lexicology* in 3:11–20.

l. 37–The hi. substantive part. משכלים occurs 5x. OG has several equivalents: ἐπιστήμων (1–12, l. 37), ἐννοέω (1–9, 11:33; s. Th in 9:23), συνίημι (11:35; 12:3), διανοέομαι (12:10). Th employs συνίημι 3/5 and prefers to render all words related to √שכל with σύνεσις or its cognates.[24]

l. 38–OG (5/7) and Th (8/8) both employ σοφία as a SE for חכמה.[25] There are two additional uses of the n. in 5:11, but the omission by

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εἰσάγω in 1:18(2); ἄγω in 9:24; φέρω in 11:6, 8.

[22]Here we are taking the   conjunctive in ומזרע המכלוה as explicative. This position is argued in detail in the forthcoming thesis of R.G. Wooden at St. Andrews.

[23]OG has νεανίσκος 5/5 in 1:4, 10, 13, 15, 17. 11:6=0? Th has νεᾶνις in 11:6.

[24]See CH 4.III.1.iii. for discussion.

[25]OG and Th in 1:4; 2:20, 21, 23, 30. 1:17 OG has σύνεσις; 1:20=free; OG=0 in 5:14.

both OG and Th as well as the content of the saying (חכמה כחכמת
אלהין) indicates that this is a later insertion.

1. 39–γνῶσις is a SE (2/2) for דעת in Th (s. also 12:4).

1. 40–This is the only place where Th employs διανοέομαι for בין. It is usually the common equivalent employed by OG, but OG has rendered the syntagm with a dynamic equivalent (s. below).[26]

1. 41–מדע is only here and 1:17. OG employs the acc. pl. of σοφός to render ומביני מדע in 1:4, but has a more formal approach with ἐπιστήμη in 1:17. Th possibly has φρόνησις in both cases.[27] The related term מנדע also appears in 2:21, 4:31(34), 33(36); 5:12. Th employs φρήν in ch. 4 while φρόνησις is found in 2:21; 5:12. OG only has an equivalent in 2:21, σύνεσις.

1. 43–OG employs the more general εἶναι, but the meaning has been retained.

1. 44–One might argue that Th's choice of οἴκῳ for היכל is due to OG influence, but Th offers the same renderings in 5:5=OG and 6:19(18). For the most part, Th prefers οἶκος for both בית (11/12)[28] and היכל (3/7),[29] and we can account for why Th does not render 3 of the other 4 with οἶκος. Both terms occur in 4:1 and Th chooses to omit היכל as redundant; or it was not in his *Vorlage*. In 5:2 the context required a more specific word (ναός) as opposed to the more general term. Now, we might ask why οἶκος is not appropriate in 5:2 when the referent is the same as 1:4? The difference is this. Th could say that Nebuchadnezzar took some of the holy vessels from "the house of

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[26]For a detailed discussion of the renderings for בין, see the section on 8:1-10, vs. 5.

[27]It was noted in CH 4.I.iii. that the 4th century Sahidic ms. 925 does transpose σύνεσιν and φρόνησιν in 1:17, and it is quite possible that this should be the original Th reading.

[28]1:2(3); 2:5, 17; 3:29(96); 4:1(4), 27(30); 5:3, 10, 23; 6:11.

[29]1:4; 4:1(4), 26(29); 5:2, 3, 5; 6:19.

God," (1:4) but it could not be said that he had brought them from "the house in Jerusalem," (5:2). Both of the Hebrew terms occur together again in 5:3 but neither one appears in the OG. The repitition of ναοῦ in 5:3 and the non-translation of בית could be due to harmonization with the previous vs. On the other hand, דירבית has the air of a gloss and this impression is supported by the witness of the versions (s. BHS).[30] The remaining vs. is 4:26(29) where the OG has the king walking ἐπι τῶν τειχῶν (walls) τῆς πόλεως and Th again employs ναός.

1. 48, 94—Elsewhere Th renders מנה (4/5) with καθίστημι where it has the sense "to appoint someone."[31] Both διέταξεν (1-21, not in OG) and ἐκτάξαντα (1-6) (√τασσειν) are fairly rare in the LXX. Both OG (16x) and Th (11x) employ √τασσειν frequently, but 1. 94 is their only common use. OG prefers to use the compound forms προστάσσω (6x)[32] and ἐπιτάσσειν (6x),[33] while Th only employs ἐπιτασσω in 6:10(9), and prefers to use ἐντάσσω.[34]

1. 52, 53, 75—OG and Th have a common reading in 1. 52, 53, but both τράπεζα and δεῖπνον represent good renditions for the difficult פתבג (s.

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[30]Cf. the recent argument that the phrase דירבית אלהא is the point of emphasis in the clause which is virtually verbatim from vs. 2. See B.T. Arnold, "Wordplay and Narrative Techniques in Daniel 5 and 6," *JBL* 112 (1993): 481. However, the question is whether this emphasis was in the original text or was it introduced by a later scribe?

[31]S. 1:11; 2:24, 2:49; 3:12. OG also has καθιστημι in 2:24, 49; 3:12, though only in 3:12 do OG and Th have a common form (κατέστησας). In 5:26 מנה is rendered by ἀριθμέω in OG and μετρέω in Th. In 1:11 OG has ἀποδεικνύω.

[32]S. 2:9, 12, 14; 3:10, 13; 4:11(14).

[33]S. 1:18; 2:2, 46, 3:19, 20, 24. The use of συντάσσω (aor. ptcp.) is a dynamic rendering in 11:23. ὑποτάσσω for פלה in 7:27 is a unique reading and the verb occurs as part of a plus in 11:37.

[34]5:24, 25; 6:11(10), 13(12), 14(13); 10:21. ὑποτάσσω is employed in 6:14(13) where Th has an omission and also as a dynamic rendering for the hi. of משל in 11:39 (cf. the more literal rendering in OG). Elsewhere Th always employs κυριεύω for משל (11:3, 4, 5, 43). The simple form of τάσσω occurs in Th 6:13(12) and 11:17.

BDB, p. 834). OG has δεῖπνον 4/6 (s. 1:13, 15, 16) while Th prefers τράπεζα 4/6 (Th=OG in 1:15).[35]

1. 55, 78, 96-Th and OG translate מִשְׁתֶּה with πόσιν (HL in LXX!) in 1. 96. The choice of πόσιν could have been motivated by the similar sound in βρῶσιν in 1. 95, but it is a distinctive agreement. Elsewhere Th translates with πότος (s. 1. 55, 78) and πόμα (1-4) in 1:16. OG has the vb. πινέω in 1. 55, 78 and omits in 1:16.

1. 56-OG (HL) and Th employ good as well as distinct renderings for the vb. Th also employs τρέφειν as a good rendition for the hithpe. יְחַזִּין (HL, s. BDB, p. 1091) in 4:9(12).

1. 59, 86-Th prefers to restrict the rendering of ἐνώπιον to לִפְנֵי (9/15), particularly in the opening Hebrew section (5/6), whereas OG uses a variety of equivalents throughout the book.[36] The same is true in the Aramaic section of Daniel where Th prefers ἐνώπιον for קֳדָם (19/41). At the same time Th does not depend on OG nor is Th a mechanical literalist. For example, of the 57x לִפְנֵי and קֳדָם occur in MT, Th shares a common rendering with OG in only 5 instances.[37]

1. 65, 67-S. the discussion of Th's relationship to OG.

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[35]The remaining reference is 11:26 where Th guesses with δέω (f.s.acc.part.) "his wants (reading צָרְכוֹ?) will devour him" and OG with μέριμνα "his thoughts (reading צָרְתָּה?) will waste him." S. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 366.

[36]S. 1:5, 9, 13, 18, 19; 2:2; 8:3, 4, 6, 7; 9:10, 18, 20; 10:12. Th has ἐναντίον in 1:18; 9:20; 10:12; πρὸ in 8:3; the more literal κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ in 9:10; 11:16. The prep. ἐνώπιον only occurs in three other places in Th, but is a good rendering in each: 3:3 for לָקֳבֵל, 3:40 MT=0, and 8:15 for לְנֶגְדִּי.

OG has ἔμπροσθεν in 1:5; ἐναντίον in 1:9; 9:20; 10:12; 11:16; ὄψις ἡμῶν! in 1:13; πρὸς in 1.18; παρὰ in 1.19; 2:2; ἀπέναντι in 8:3; ἐν in 8:6; κατέναντι in 8:7; ἐνώπιον in 8:4; 9:10, 18.

[37]ἔμπροσθεν in 6:11(10); ἐνώπιον in 8:4; 9:18; ἐναντίον in 9:20; ἀπὸ προσώπου αυτοῦ (for מִלִּפְנֵיו) in 11:22. The last case is a distinctive agreement, but note that it is Th who has the literal reading κατὰ πρόσωπον αυτοῦ in the previous use of לִפְנֵי in 11:16.

l. 68-OG and Th have a common transliteration of the name that agrees with the transliteration of the name of the king in ch. 5.

l. 74, 81-Th standardizes the translation of the vb. whereas OG uses variety. These are the only two occurrences of the vb. יחזאל (2-11),[38] in Daniel, but 2 forms of the pi. and 1 pu. are found together in Mal. 1:7(2x), 12 in which the topic is the desecration of the Lord because of the food which the priests offer. Not only is there similarity in the themes--the priests polluting the alter, Daniel not wanting to defile himself--but the Greek vb. found in Mal. is ἀλισγεῖν. There is only one other occurrence in the LXX (Sir. 40:29). Therefore, the rendering in Th most likely has been influenced by Mal.

συνμολυνθῇ in l. 81 is a HL. 88-Syh read with Th in l. 74, but 967 has the OG reading with another HL ἀλι(ε)σθῇ (s. CH 2.III. and the discussion of 1:8 below).

l. 79-Th and OG have the same rendition of the Hebrew vb. (s. LEH, p. 43 and *Syntax*). An equivalent translation is found for the Aramaic בעא in OG and Th,[39] though elsewhere they give other renderings (cf. 1:20; 8:15; 9:3).

l. 84, 85-S. the discussion in CH 3.III.3.
l. 99-זעף is a rare term (1-5, s. BDB, p. 277). Th gives a good dynamic rendering with σκυθρωπά (1-4, s. BAG, p. 758). OG, s. l. 99-100, *Syntax*.
l. 102-גיל is a HL in MT.[40] OG (1/3, s. IV Macc. 13:21, 24) offers a cj. συντρέφω (s. LSJ). Th uses συνῆλιξ (1-3), which is a good translation of the Hebrew.

l. 105-חוב is rare in MT (1-2?, s. BDB, p. 295). Appropriately enough, OG κινδυνεύω (1-7) and Th καταδικάζω (1-10) again use rare and

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[38]A weakened form of √נעל, s. Mont., p. 133; KB, p. 163.

[39]S. OG-2:16, 23, 49; 4:30a?; 6:5(4), 8(7), 13(12); Th-2:16, 23; 6:12(11).

[40]Bevan, p. 61, identifies this and the following term as Aramaic loan-words.

distinct vocabulary for the translation. The OG rendering catches the emotion slightly better. We might translate, "And I would lose my neck!"

II.1.iv. *Summary*

In 1:1-10 OG gives a faithful translation of a *Vorlage* that is generally very similar to, if not, identical with MT. OG exhibits characteristics of formal equivalence by following the word order and representing most of the lexemes and morphemes in MT. He does avoid some of the parataxis of MT by employing two hypotactic constructions with part. (1. 4, 16), and on one occasion uses a postpositive conj. (δὲ in 1. 69). OG's dynamic approach to translation is evident in various ways. On several occasions he makes appropriate changes to a semitic relative clause in order to render the semantic content (1. 42, 74, 81, 97) and omits elements that are redundant (1. 1-4, 16-22, 107). OG also introduces shorter readings by employing one lexeme to render the meaning of two in the parent text (1. 35-37, 39-40). However, in two cases he adds elements to clarify MT or to make it explicit (1. 49-50, 104). The most significant indication of OG's dynamic approach is the variety in his lexical choices (1. 4, 72, 74, 81, 84, 85, 105, 106), though a couple resulted from guesses (1. 99, 102).

Th's TT exhibits a high degree of formal correspondence to his *Vorlage*, but always with the intention of presenting the meaning of the parent text within the linguistic boundaries of the target language. Therefore, there are minor omissions or additions of morphemes and slight changes in the syntax to preserve the semantic content (1. 74, 79-81, 97, 102). On two occasions Th employs transliterations (1. 17, 32), and, generally speaking, Th exhibits his own pattern of translating MT (s. II.2. below).

II.2. *The Relationship Between OG and Th*

As an opening to our discussion of whether or not Th is a recension we will examine vs. 8 in which there is a high degree of verbal agreement between Th and OG. The argument that Th is a recension would go something like this: 1. Th has borrowed from OG in

l. 79 (s. *Lexicology*).[41] 2. Th has borrowed the rendering of the vb. in l. 74 from OG (1/2-5); therefore, l. 81 is also dependent upon OG, because Th tends to standardize (s. l. 74-*Syntax*). 3. Th follows the loan translation of ‏םימיה רש‎. 4. Th has merely changed the prep. in l. 73 and standardized terms in l. 72, 75-78. On this analysis Th retains OG for 16 words, follows 1 omission, and is dependent upon OG for at least 2 more. We will make our total possible readings 30. There are 31 words in Th, but l. 82 repeats l. 74 and each time Th has one more word than OG. We now have 29, but we allowed for one omission of a pro. which makes the total 30. Based on this analysis Th shows the influence of OG in 19 out of 30 or 63% of its readings.

The above argument seems convincing, but is there another way to look at the evidence? For example, the above analysis assumes Th borrowed the rendering of the vb. in l. 74. How do we know who knew the meaning of ‏ןיאצי‎? The fact that OG has a HL in l. 81 supports the contention that 967 has the true OG rendering in l. 74. O. Munnich has recently supported the same position by suggesting that the reading ἀλισγηθῇ is the result of pre-hexaplaric correction toward Th.[42] Second, except for the rendering of the vb. in l. 79, Th offers an expected formal correspondence to the MT that could be arrived at by any Hebrew student at the end of his/her introductory year![43] On this analysis, Th only has a common rendering of the vb. in l. 79 and the loan translation for ‏םימיה רש‎ in l. 80. 2 words + 1 omission of a prep. 3 of 30=10%.

l. 7, 8-The add. of the prep. in l. 7 is not remarkable; and even though the reading of the vb. is one of the more obvious choices (1/1) we should view it as a common reading.

l. 13 to 16-The reading of Th in l. 13 looks like Th has rendered ἀπὸ for the prep. ‏ןמ‎ and borrowed OG's μέρος for ‏הצק‎, but it is a correct rendering. The distinct readings for the same Hebrew in l. 57 confirm

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[41]That is, only if 88-Syh and not 967 is regarded as OG.

[42]Munnich, "Origène," p. 188.

[43]The translation of the vb. in l. 72 is Th's normal equivalent. S. the discussion of l. 65-67, below.

that Th is not relying on OG in 1. 13. L. 14-15 in Th show expected formal equivalence to MT (s. HR).

1. 25, 66, 80, 87, 89—OG and Th share a common loan translation for שׂר/רב ה/מרי׳ס׳ם (also 1:11, 18).

1. 26-Similar to 1. 16 it is possible that the compound was inspired by the simple vb. in OG, but the hi. of בוא is translated the same way by Th 2x in 1:18 (cf. OG ἀγαγεῖν and ἠχθησαν; s. CH 2) and it is an obvious choice.

1. 33-Th has the usual OG reading of νεανισκός, though this may be from textual corruption.

1. 44 to 46-S. *Lexicology*, 1. 44 for οἴκῳ. The remainder are expected equivalents, though γράμματα might be viewed as a shared rendering.

1. 50-Th's use of κατά for ב is the only example in the book and the only occurrence of the preposition before 3:28. This might suggest that Th has borrowed from OG. Th also overlaps with OG in 9 other vss. (6:5[4]; 10:15; 11:4, 16, 36; but 4x the MT =0, 3:28; 42[2x]; 43). However, κατά ἡμέραν is a good Greek rendering of the Hebrew distributive meaning "every day" (Mayser, II.2. 430ff.), whereas OG uses ἑκάστην. Therefore, there is no reason to conclude that Th was influenced in this rendition by OG.

1. 52, 53—OG and Th have a common reading of τράπεζα, though OG has δεῖπνον in 1. 75. It is possible that OG's reading is corrupt because he prefers δεῖπνον in 1:8, 13, 15, 16. However, Th does employ δεῖπνον in 1:16. So this might be classified as a distinctive agreement.

1. 58-Th has already established this translation (s. 1. 43), and it is a SE throughout the LXX.

1. 65 to 67-The first three lines read exactly the same in OG and Th, so we could very easily presume that Th has borrowed from OG. On the other hand, the only striking features of the reading involve the vb., i.e. it is the same in 1. 65 and both omit it in 1. 67. There are

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fifteen possible readings of םש in MT.[44] One involves a Q in 11:18 (s. *Lexicology*, l. 9), 6x OG=0, and in only 2 places OG employs √τιθέναι (s. also 6:18[17]).[45] In contrast, excluding 11:18, Th offers a good translation of םש in almost every occurrence and employs √τιθέναι 7x.[46] When we consider the generally close formal correspondance of Th to MT we have to allow for the probability that the vb. in l. 67 of MT is a later insertion (s. *Text-Critical*). OG and Th would only then agree in their reading of ἐπέθηκεν; but it is Th who consistently employs √τιθέναι.

l. 68-The shared reading of βαλτασαρ is distinctive, but there are no means to determine the direction of borrowing. Furthermore, it is likely the result of textual transmission.

l. 94-97-S. *Lexicology* l. 48, 94 concerning the acc. part. in l. 94. It is Th who used this form of √τασσω previously in l. 48 and this is the only place where Th and OG use a form of the verb in the same place. Th employs a more idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew vb. in l. 97, so it is unlikely that Th is in any way dependent upon OG for the understanding of the syntax. There is also the exact verbal correspondence in l. 95-96, which includes the unusual common reading of πόσιν in l. 96 and the HL βρῶσιν in l. 95. Once again we have to ask, from whom did the reading originate? Is Th merely copying OG, or is the OG that we have a late revision based on Th? There is nothing particularly important about the use of βρῶσιν for מאכל (10/30

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[44]1:7, 8; 2:5; 3:10, 12; 3:29(96); 4:3(6); 5:12; 6:14(13), 15(14), 18(17), 27(26); 11:17, 18. OG and Th=0 once in 1:7.

[45]OG=0 in 4:3(6); 5:12; 6:14(13), 15(14), 27(26) and 1:7. Except for the use of δώσει in 11:17; 18, OG uses a variety of equivalents or more dynamic renditions for this particular vb. ἐνθυμέομαι in 1:8; προστάσσω in 3:10; φοβέω in 3:12. The remaining two examples are in 2:5 and 3:29(96) where both Th and OG had trouble with MT (s. the discussion in 2:1-10).

[46]S. 1:7, 8; 3:10; 4:3(6); 5:12; 6:18(17), 27(26). Even in 3:12 where Th has evidently read the vb. שמע the translation offers a good dynamic equivalent, and in 6:15(14) Th has ἀγωνίζομαι! ὑπετάγη in 6:14(13) and τάξει in 11:17 are then the only places where Th fails to use the expected equivalent.

in LXX), but it is interesting that in the three other occurrences of
משׁחה OG uses a vb. twice and leaves it untranslated in 1:16. Th, on
the other hand, uses three different equivalents for משׁחה, two of
which are very rare in the LXX. The omission of משׁחה in 1:16 may
indicate that OG actually did not know the meaning of the Hebrew
term, though this would be unusual for such a common word.
However, in l. 55 OG could have employed the vb. quite easily as a
contextual guess (and by extension l. 78), but the context did not
allow it in 1:16. In any event, it is at least as likely that the
rendering in l. 96 is due to revision of OG in the light of Th! The
alternative explanation, that Th in l. 96 reflects OG, which merely
omitted משׁחה as redundant in 1:16, is less likely for two reasons.
First, Th demonstrates considerable independence in the latter half of
vs. 10, l. 99-107. This is obvious in the choice of terminology (s.
Lexicology, 99, 101, 102, 105) and the syntax (s. 1. 97 and 1. 102).
Second, the exact formal correspondence of OG and Th to MT is more
characteristic of Th.

In summary, OG and Th have shared readings in l. 8, 13, 26, 33,
46, 52, 58, 65, 67, 68, 79, 94-96 and the five occurrences of
ἀρχιευνοῦχος. However, only νεανισκός in l. 33, πόσις in l. 96, and
βαλτασαρ in l. 68 could be called distinctive agreements. There are no
means to determine the direction of borrowing for either of the last
two, though there is good reason to believe that πόσις is due to Th
influence on OG. Given Th's consistent use of παιδάρια for ילדים, it
is possible that l. 33 is due to textual corruption. L. 13, 26, 58
are such obvious equivalents that they cannot be considered as
evidence of any dependence by Th on OG, and in l. 65, 94-96 OG may
also be dependent upon Th. The omission in l. 67 probably reflects an
original reading; and the other common readings in l. 8, 46, 79 are
not particularly important either. There may be significance in the
common reading of ἀρχιευνοῦχος, but technical terms and common names
are particularly susceptible to harmonization.

The evidence that Th has actually borrowed any readings from OG
in 1:1-10 is practically non-existent. On the other hand, there are
numerous distinctive disagreements which indicate that Th was
translating independently. Overall, Th offers a consistent

translation of MT that does not presuppose OG, and he employs unique or his own distinctive vocabulary in l. 37, 41, 48, 56, 74, 81, 99, 102, 105. The existence of only three distinctive agreements (of which one may stem from Th), so few common readings, and the number of distinctive Th readings in this section leads to the conclusion that Th is not a recension of OG in this passage. The agreements may represent Th's occasional borrowing or knowledge of OG, but there is no evidence of systematic revision of OG. On the other hand, we have only just begun the analysis and perhaps it is better to suspend our judgment. The picture of Th's relationship to OG should become clearer as we proceed.

II.3. *Text-Critical Problems*

l. 18 and 19, 21-The omission in l. 18-19 could be due to the translator's decision to omit the words as redundant. There is also the possibility that the translator omitted בית אלהיו ואת־הכלים by parablepsis. The vb. in l. 20 is marked with the ה, but it is followed by כי and l. 21 begins with בית as well. A third possibility is that בית אלהיו was inserted as an explanatory gloss to ארצשנער.[47] In this case only ואת־הכלים was deemed redundant, though the phrase is retained in 88-Syh with αὐτά. A decision here is difficult, but the last possibility is probably the one that leads to the original text.[48] L. 21 was omitted as unnecessary by the rendering of אלהיו by εἰδωλείῳ (s. *Lexicology*).

l. 28-S. 2:25. Charles, p. 12, is most likely correct when he argues that נולה has been omitted (OG reproduces נדולי in err.) from MT. The presence of the addition in Th, which otherwise follows MT so closely, is convincing reason to emend MT rather than view the add. as a gloss from 2:25.[49]

l. 49-S. *Syntax*.

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[47]Charles, p. 8, argues this position, and suggests there is a further addition in MT as well.

[48]Also O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, KAT (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965), p. 36; Mont., p. 118. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 127, suggests all of l. 19-22 may be a later gloss.

[49]Cf. the suggestion of Blud., p. 51 and Mont., p. 115.

l. 67-The vb. in MT is a later insertion. S. the discussion of Th's relationship to OG, l. 65-67. The vb. is also omitted in the Peshitta and Vulgate.

l. 104-We have already noted that this addition is for clarification of who the other youths were (s. *Syntax*).

l. 107-OG omits because of the dynamic rendering given to the clause, s. *Lexicology*, l. 105.

III. *Daniel 2:1-10*

The opening 10 verses from ch. 2 were chosen for investigation because they offer the most variants in the chapter as well as some interesting translation equivalents.

	2:1 Th	2:1 MT	2:1 OG
1	Ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ δευτέρῳ	וּבִשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם	Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει
2	τῆς βασιλείας	לְמַלְכוּת	τῆς βασιλείας
3	– –	נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר	Ναβουχοδονοσορ ᴸσυνέβη[S]
4	ᴸ(ἠνυπνιάσθη)	חָלַם	εἰς +ὁράματα καὶ+
5	Ναβουχοδον. ᴹᴸἐνύπνιον	נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר חֲלֹמוֹת	ᴸἐνύπνια ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν
6	καὶ ᴸ(ἐξέστη)	וַתִּתְפָּעֶם	καὶ ᴸταραχθῆναι
7	τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ	רוּחוֹ	– –
8	καὶ ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ	וּשְׁנָתוֹ	ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ [αὐτοῦ][S]
9	ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ	נִהְיְתָה עָלָיו	– –
	2:2	2:2	2:2
10	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς	וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ	[καὶ] ᴸἐπέταξεν ὁ
11	ᴸᴹκαλέσαι	לִקְרֹא	βασιλεὺς ᴸεἰσενεχθῆναι[S]
12	τοὺς ἐπαοιδοὺς	לַחַרְטֻמִּים	τοὺς ἐπαοιδοὺς
13	καὶ τοὺς μάγους	וְלָאַשָּׁפִים	καὶ τοὺς μάγους
14	καὶ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς	וְלַמְכַשְּׁפִים	καὶ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς
15	καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους	וְלַכַּשְׂדִּים	[S]τῶν Χαλδαίων
16	ᴹτοῦ ᴸἀναγγεῖλαι	לְהַגִּיד	ᴸἀναγγεῖλαι
17	τῷ βασιλεῖ	לַמֶּלֶךְ	τῷ βασιλεῖ
18	τὰ ᴸἐνύπνια αὐτοῦ	חֲלֹמֹתָיו	τὰ ᴸἐνύπνια αὐτοῦ
19	καὶ ἦλθαν	וַיָּבֹאוּ	καὶ παραγενόμενοι[S]
20	καὶ ἔστησαν	וַיַּעַמְדוּ	ἔστησαν
21	ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως	לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ	παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ
	2:3	2:3	2:3
22	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς	וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
23	ὁ βασιλεύς	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεύς
24	– –ᴸ(Ἡνυπνιάσθην)	חֲלוֹם חָלָמְתִּי	ᴸἘνύπνιον ᴸἑώρακα
25	καὶ ᴸ(ἐξέστη)	וַתִּפָּעֶם	καὶ ᴸἐκινήθη
26	τὸ πνεῦμά μου	רוּחִי	[S]μου τὸ πνεῦμα
27	ᴹτοῦ γνῶναι	לָדַעַת	ἐπιγνῶναι +[S][οὖν θέλω]+
28	τὸ ᴸἐνύπνιον	אֶת־הַחֲלוֹם	τὸ ᴸἐνύπνιον
	2:4	2:4	2:4
29	καὶ ᴸἐλάλησαν	וַיְדַבְּרוּ	καὶ ᴸἐλάλησαν

| 30 | οἱ Χαλδαῖοι | הַכַּשְׂדִּים | οἱ Χαλδαῖοι |
| 31 | τῷ βασιλεῖ | לַמֶּלֶךְ | ^S omitted |

No.	Col 1	Hebrew	Col 3
30	οἱ Χαλδαῖοι	הַכַּשְׂדִּים	οἱ Χαλδαῖοι
31	τῷ βασιλεῖ	לַמֶּלֶךְ	^Sἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέα
32	Συριστί	אֲרָמִית	συριστί
33	Βασιλεῦ	מַלְכָּא	Κύριε +βασιλεῦ+
34	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι	לְעָלְמִין חֱיִי	τὸν ^Mαἰῶνα ζῆσῃ
35	+^S(σὺ)^Lεἰπὸν τὸ ἐνύπνιον	אֱמַר חֶלְמָא	^Lἀνάγγειλον τὸ ^Lἐνύπνιόν
36	τοῖς ^Lπαισί σου	לְעַבְדָיךְ	τοῖς ^Lπαισίν σου
37	καὶ τὴν ^Lσύγκρισιν^M	וּפִשְׁרָא	καὶ ἡμεῖς ^Lφράσομεν
38	^Lἀναγγελοῦμεν	נְחַוֵּא	αὐτό
	2:5	2:5	2:5
39	ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς	עָנֵה מַלְכָּא	^Sἀποκριθεὶς ^Sδὲ ὁ
40	– –	וְאָמַר	βασιλεὺς εἶπεν
41	τοῖς Χαλδαίοις	לְכַשְׂדָיֵא	τοῖς Χαλδαίοις διότι^S
42	Ὁ ^Lλόγος	מִלְּתָא	– –
43	ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ^Lἀπέστη	מִנִּי אַזְדָּא	– –
44	ἐὰν μὴ ^Lγνωρίσητέ μοι	הֵן לָא תְהוֹדְעוּנַּנִי	Ἐὰν μὴ ^L[ἀπαγγείλητέ]
45			μοι +ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας+
46	τὸ ἐνύπνιον	חֶלְמָא	τὸ ^Lἐνύπνιον
47	καὶ τὴν ^Lσύγκρισιν^M–	וּפִשְׁרֵהּ	καὶ τὴν τούτου ^Lκρίσιν
48			+^Sδηλώσητέ
49	εἰς ^Lἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε	הַדָּמִין תִּתְעַבְדוּן	^Lπαραδειγματισθήσεσθε
50	καὶ οἱ οἶκοι ὑμῶν	וּבָתֵּיכוֹן	καὶ ^Lἀναλημφθήσεται
51	^L(διαρπαγήσονται)	נְוָלִי יִתְּשָׂמוּן	^Sὑμῶν τὰ ^Lὑπάρχοντα
52			εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν
	2:6	2:6	2:6
53	ἐὰν ^Sδὲ τὸ ^Lἐνύπνιον	וְהֵן חֶלְמָא	ἐὰν ^Sδὲ τὸ ^Lἐνύπνιον
54			+^Sδιασαφήσητέ μοι+
55	καὶ τὴν ^Lσύγκρισιν^M–	וּפִשְׁרֵהּ	καὶ τὴν τούτου ^Lκρίσιν
56	^Lγνωρίσητέ +μοι	תְּהַחֲוֹן	^L[ἀναγγείλητε]
57	δόματα καὶ δωρεὰς	מַתְּנָן וּנְבִזְבָּה	^Lλήψεσθε ^Sδόματα
58	καὶ τιμὴν πολλὴν	וִיקָר שַׂגִּיא	παντοῖα καὶ
59	^Lλήμψεσθε	תְּקַבְּלוּן	^Sδοξασθήσεσθε
60	παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ	מִן קֳדָמַי	^Lὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
61	(^Lπλὴν)	לָהֵן	^Lδηλώσατέ ^Lοὖν^S
62	τὸ ἐνύπνιον	חֶלְמָא	τὸ ἐνύπνιον
63	καὶ τὴν^Lσύγκρισιν^M αὐτοῦ	וּפִשְׁרֵהּ	καὶ κρίνατε
64	^Lἀναγγείλατέ μοι	הַחֲוֹנִי	

	2:7	2:7	2:7
65	ἀπεκρίθησαν	עֲנוֹ	^Sἀπεκρίθησαν ^Sδὲ
66	δεύτερον καὶ εἶπαν	תִּנְיָנוּת וְאָמְרִין	ἐκ δευτέρου λέγοντες
67	(Ὁ βασιλεὺς ^{LM}εἰπάτω)	מַלְכָּא חֶלְמָא	Βασιλεῦ τὸ ^Lὅραμα
68	τὸ ἐνύπνιον	יֵאמַר	^Lεἰπόν^S
69	τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ	לְעַבְדוֹהִי	οἱ ^Sδὲ παῖδές σου
70	καὶ τὴν ^Lσύγκρισιν^M	וּפִשְׁרָה	^Lκρινοῦσιν
71	+αὐτοῦ ^Lἀναγγελοῦμεν	נְהַחֲוֵה	πρὸς ταῦτα
	2:8	2:8	2:8
72	καὶ ἀπεκρίθη	עָנֵה	——καὶ ^Sεἶπεν αὐτοῖς
73	ὁ βασιλεὺς	מַלְכָּא	ὁ βασιλεύς
74	καὶ εἶπεν	וְאָמַר	
75	Ἐπ' ἀληθείας	מִן־יַצִּיב	Ἐπ' ^Lἀληθείας
76	οἶδα ἐγὼ ὅτι	יָדַע אֲנָה דִּי	— —
77	καιρὸν ὑμεῖς ἐξαγοράζετε	עִדָּנָא אַנְתּוּן זָבְנִין	καιρὸν ^Lἐξαγοράζετε
78	^Lκαθότι	כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי	^L[καθάπερ
79	εἴδετε ὅτι	חֲזֵיתוֹן דִּי	ἑωράκατε ὅτι
80	^Lἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ	אַזְדָּא מִנִּי	^Lἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
81	τὸ ^Lῥῆμα	מִלְּתָא	τὸ ^Lπρᾶγμα]
82			+^Sκαθάπερ ^Sοὖν
83			+προστέταχα οὕτως ἔσται
	2:9	2:9	2:9
84	ἐὰν οὖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον	דִּי הֵן־חֶלְמָא	ἐὰν μή μοι
85	μὴ ^Lἀναγγείλητέ μοι	לָא תְהוֹדְעֻנַּנִי	τὸ ^Lἐνύπνιον
86			+^Sκαὶ τὴν τούτου
87			+κρίσιν+ ^Lδηλώσητε
88			+^Sθανάτῳ περιπεσεῖσθε
89	(οἶδα ὅτι)	חֲדָה־הִיא	— —
90	— —	דָּתְכוֹן	— —
91	^Lῥῆμα	וּמִלָּה	^Lσυνείπασθε ^Sγὰρ
92	ψευδὲς καὶ ^Lδιεφθαρμένον	כִדְבָה וּשְׁחִיתָה	^Lλόγους^M
93	^Lσυνέθεσθε	הִזְמִנְתּוּן	^Sψευδεῖς
94	^Mεἰπεῖν	לְמֵאמַר	^Lποιήσασθαι
95	ἐνώπιόν μου	קָדָמַי	ἐπ' ἐμοῦ
96	ἕως οὖ	עַד דִּי	ἕως ἂν
97	ὁ καιρὸς ^L(παρέλθη)	עִדָּנָא יִשְׁתַּנֵּא	ὁ καιρὸς ^Lἀλλοιωθῇ
98	^L(— —)	לְהֵן	νῦν^L ^Sοὖν ^Sἐὰν

99	τὸ ἐνύπνιόν +μου	חֶלְמָא	ᴸεἴπητέ τὸ ᴸὅραμα
100	ᴸεἴπατέ μοι	אֱמַרוּ לִי	
101			+ˢδ εἶδον τὴν νύκτα
102	καὶ γνώσομαι ὅτι	וְאִנְדַּע דִּי	γνώσομαι ὅτι
103	τὴν ᴸσύγκρισιν˟–	פִּשְׁרֵה	καὶ τὴν τούτου ᴸκρίσιν
104	ᴸἀναγγελεῖτέ μοι	תְּהַחֲוֻנַּנִי	ᴸδηλώσετε
	2:10	2:10	2:10
105	ἀπεκρίθησαν	עֲנוֹ	καὶ ˢἀπεκρίθησαν
106	οἱ Χαλδαῖοι	כַשְׂדָּיֵא	οἱ Χαλδαῖοι
107	ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως	קֳדָם־מַלְכָּא	ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
108	καὶ λέγουσιν	וְאָמְרִין	ὅτι
109	Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος	לָא־אִיתַי אֱנָשׁ	Οὐδεὶς τῶν
110	ἐπὶ τῆς ᴸ(ξηρᾶς)	עַל־יַבֶּשְׁתָּא	ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
111	ὅστις τὸ ᴸῥῆμα	דִּי מִלַּת	δυνήσεται ᴸεἰπεῖν
112	τοῦ βασιλέως	מַלְכָּא	τῷ βασιλεῖ
113	δυνήσεται ᴸᴹγνωρίσαι	יוּכַל לְהַחֲוָיָה	ᴸἅ ἑώρακεν
114	ᴸκαθότι	כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי	ᴸκαθάπερ +ˢσὺ ἐρωτᾷς
115	πᾶς βασιλεὺς	כָּל־מֶלֶךְ	καὶ πᾶς βασιλεὺς
116	μέγας	רַב	– –
117	καὶ ᴸἄρχων	וְשַׁלִּיט	καὶ ᴸδυνάστης
118	ᴸῥῆμα ᴸτοιοῦτο	מִלָּה כִדְנָה	ᴸ[τοιοῦτο] ᴸπρᾶγμα
119	οὐκ ἐπερωτᾷ	לָא שְׁאֵל	οὐκ ἐρωτᾷ
120	– –ˢἐπαοιδόν –μάγον	לְכָל־חַרְטֹּם וְאָשַׁף	πάντα σοφὸν καὶ μάγον
121	–Χαλδαῖον	וְכַשְׂדָּי	καὶ Χαλδαῖον

III.1. *Analysis of 2:1-10*

III.1.i. *Morphology*

1. 5–Th has a s. for the pl. Since Th usually follows the number of the *Vorlage* and OG has the pl., this difference may stem from an error reading the text.

1. 11, 16, 27, 94, 113—Only in 1. 16 and 27 does Th represent the ל of the inf. cons. with an article.

1. 34–OG has the s. for the pl. here. עלם occurs 18x, of which 6x

there is a plural. OG retains the pl. only in 7:18(?),[50] while in 4 more places it changes the pl. to the favoured sing. (2:44[2]; 3:9; 6:27[26]).[51] On two occasions OG employs the adj. αἰώνιος (7:14, 27). Given OG's preference for the s. and his omission of מֶלְכָּא in 2:20, it is probable that Zieg.'s reading in 7:18 is incorrect. Zieg. has OG reading with MT and Th omitting one element.[52]

Th follows the number of עָלַם in MT except in 5:10 and 6:7(6). On two occasions OG and Th both read the adj. αἰώνιος, but once again this does not prove Th dependence on OG. In each instance the use of the adj. is an appropriate rendering for the adv. עָלַם; furthermore, עָלַם is employed as an adv. earlier in 3:33(100) and 4:31(34), and in both cases Th translates with the adj.

l. 35, 67—Th deals with both of these vbs. differently from OG. In l. 35 he adds the pers. pro. for emphasis. Th correctly translates the juss. in l. 67 (s. l. 68, *Syntax*).

l. 37, 47, 55, 63, 70, 103—In l. 47, 54 Th omits the pro. against MT and OG while in l. 71 Th adds it. These differences stem from

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[50]עָלַם occurs 3x in a series in 7:18, 2x in 2:20, and 2x in separate syntagms in 4:31(34).

[51]S. CH 2.II.8. for 2:44. 3x OG=0, 3:33(100); 5:10; 6:7(6) and 3x the *Vorlage* is substantially different in 4.31(34)*bis*; 6:22(21). There are differences in 6:27(26) as well. In order to account for all of the occurrences of עָלַם, note that it is found 3x in a series in 7:18, 2x in 2:20, and 2x in separate syntagms in 4:31(34).

αἰών is used 4x in the Hebrew section of MT, each time in the s. (8:11; 12:3*bis*, 7). In 8:11 and once in 12:3 it is an add. αἰώνιος is also found for עוֹלָם in 9:24; 12:2(2).

[52]S. Zieg. p. 171. The apparatus reads καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων Syh Iust.] om. τῶν αἰώνων 967; om. καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος 88: homiot. I would suggest that either 967 or 88 preserves the original reading. If 967 is original, then OG would have omitted the last of the three occurrences of עָלַם which is supported by 2:20 and the preference for the s. elsewhere. This reading would explain Syh Iust. as a variant which reflects later harmonization to MT. 88 could have omitted a portion of this text as Zieg. indicates, or represent an attempt to fix the s., or Th influence. On the other hand, we will find evidence that supports Albertz' position that the OG translator of chs. 4-6 is different from the translator of the remainder of the book, so the change to the s. in ch. 7 may only be related to the 2x in ch. 2:44.

vocalization, but also demonstrate Th independence from OG. The meaning of the text is not affected either way. Note also the orthographical variation between א/ה in MT.

l. 92-OG employs the pl. for the s., while Th follows MT.

III.1.ii. *Syntax*

l. 3-OG's choice of συνέβη with an acc. and inf. reflects an idiom in the Greek (s. BAG, p. 777); therefore, there is no reason to suggest an alternative *Vorlage*. For the addition of ὁράματα, s. *Text-Critical*.

l. 8-The text is corrupt in the OG (s. CH 2), but seems to have undergone revision toward MT under the influence of Th. The clause in l. 9 was omitted as redundant, but the omission of וחלם is harder to explain given its inclusion in l. 26. However, if the καὶ at the beginning of vs. 2 were regarded as a later insertion associated with the hexaplaric addition, then καὶ ταραχθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ [αὐτοῦ] ἐπέταξεν would read well; and we can see how the וחלם would have been regarded as unnecessary. The meaning of OG is basically synonymous with MT.

l. 11-OG uses a different vb. (εἰσφέρω) and transforms it into a pass. in order to make the meaning of the text explicit (s. *Text-Critical*). The choice of the pass. may also have been influenced by the one in l. 6.

l. 15-The gen. probably reflects an alternative *Vorlage*, but would make the preceding terms various classes of Chaldeans. S. *Text-Critical*.

l. 19-OG employs a hypotactic construction to avoid the parataxis of the Hebrew.

l. 26, 52-Wifstrand, p. 49, notes l. 26 as one of the places where OG does not follow the Hebrew in the position of the per. pro. L. 52 should be added to his list.

l. 27-The addition, if original (s. *Text-Critical*), serves to make the text read more smoothly by having the king's disturbed spirit being the cause of wanting to know the interpretation of the dream.

l. 27?, 61, 82, 98-The use of postpositive conjunctions like δέ, οὖν,

and γάρ is a sign of a dynamic translator, because employing a postpositive entails a change in the word order of the *Vorlage*.[53] OG employs the conj. οὖν 9x as a free rendition of MT. Only 2x is it found outside of chs. 2-3.[54]

Th never has this conj.

l. 31-OG's choice of the prep. is surprising since the article would do, as in l. 17.

l. 33-S. *Text-Critical*.

l. 39, 53, 65, 69-OG employs δέ 52x and the distribution is significant: Ch. 1-4x; Ch. 2-17x; Ch. 3-9x; Ch. 4-6x; Ch. 5-1x; Ch. 6-9x; Ch. 7-3x; Ch. 8-1x; Ch. 12-2x.[55] Not only is δέ relatively infrequent in chs. 4-6, but it is almost totally absent from chs. 7-12.

Th only has δέ 11x, and δέ is totally absent from chs. 1, 7-12.[56]

l. 39, 65, 72, 105-All four instances involve the semitic idiom ענה ואמר "answered and said." A literal rendering is the part./vb.(ἀποκρίνω) + finite vb. (6x, usually εἶπον). In 3/4 cases Th translates with the formal equivalent, but it does omit אמר in l. 40 against both MT and OG. OG also has one omission of ענה in l. 72, but exhibits more variety in general. In l. 40 he has the common literal rendering while in l. 65 OG employs the even more formal equivalent participle (λέγοντες) for אמר. Finally, in l. 108 OG has the most idiomatic rendering when he translates אמר with ὅτι as an introduction to direct discourse.[57] Thus,

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[53]See Aejmelaues, "Clause Connectors," pp. 363-372. δέ and γάρ are discussed in more detail in later sections.

[54]2:3?, 6, 8, 9; 3:23, 24, 26(93), 30(97); 5:6; 12:6.

[55]1:17, 15, 18; 2:5, 6, 7(2), 13, 16, 24(2), 26, 27, 30, 33(2), 36, 41, 43, 44; 3:12, 15, 16, 23, 25, 46, 49, 51, 28(95); 4:16(19), 19(22), 28(31), 30(33), 34b, 34c; 5:preface; 6:5(4), 6(5), 11(10), 13(12)*bis*, 17(16), 23(22)*bis*; 7:7(2), 16; 8:4; 12:2(2).

[56]2:6, 15, 24, 30, 41, 42; 3:15, 49; 4:15(18); 5:17; 6:23(22).

[57]Aejmelaeus notes that Daniel's three uses (including 2:5) of ὅτι *recitativum* rank it among the most frequent users, even though we would expect it more often. Similar cases to l. 108 are l. 41 where it

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OG displays its characteristic variety, and through its variety of renderings demonstrates four main ways that we find the idiom translated in the LXX.[58]

The idiom ‏ענה ואמר‎ is found 30x in the Aramaic section of Daniel. Generally speaking, ‏אמר‎ is most often represented by some form of a finite vb. (OG-16x, Th-19x, usually εἶπον). Only 3x does OG use a participle alone (also λέγων in 2:15; 6:21), while Th has one occurrence of the part. alone in 3:16. When OG and Th choose to represent the syntagm with one equivalent it is more often the case that ‏ענה‎ is omitted.

It is when we compare chs. 2-3 with chs. 4-6 that there are significant differences in the TT of both Greek texts, but particularly in Th. For example, the idiom occurs 9x in ch. 2 and Th has the literal rendering of the part./vb. + finite vb. 6x.[59] In 2:8, 20 one of the elements is omitted while in 2:15 the whole idiom is left out. In ch. 3:1-20 the idiom occurs 4x: 3:9-Th=omission; 3:14-vb. + vb.; 3:16-vb. + part.; 3:19-om. + vb. In the same section of chs. 2 and 3 OG almost always represents both vbs. of the construction and usually has the finite vb. as the second element. Besides the differences noted in l. 72 and 80, OG employs the part. alone in 2:15 and in 3:19 OG translates the syntagm dynamically with ἐπιτάσσω.

Significant changes begin to occur where the deutero-canonical additions have been inserted into ch. 3. The idiom occurs 4x in 3:24(91)-3:26(93). In each case Th translates with a single finite vb. OG omits the syntagm once in 3:24(91) and 25(92), translates with a single finite vb. once in 3:24(91),[60] and employs καλέω in 3:26(93). This cluster of differences in both OG and Th indicates either that the Vorlage is different and/or, possibly, that we are dealing with

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is difficult to determine whether the OG is ὅτι or διότι and 2:25 where ὅτι translates ‏די‎. See, "OTI recitativum in Septuagintal Greek," in Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren, MSU, 20, ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. Wevers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 79-82.

[58]See also Aejmelaeus' article, "Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique," VT 32 (1982): 387.

[59]Besides 2:5, 7, 10 see 26, 27, 47.

[60]The idiom is attested in 1QDan^b. See DJD, 1, p. 151.

different translators. Similar differences are encountered in chs. 5-6. The syntagm occurs 8x, but Th only represents both elements in 6:14(13); otherwise Th employs a single finite vb.[61] The remaining uses are 3:28(95); 4:16(19)*bis*, 27 where Th employs the literal rendering and 7:2 where both Th and OG omit it. As usual OG has a varied pattern. However, it is significant that even when we exclude the 4x where OG=0 in 3:24-7:2,[62] OG represents both elements 3x (5:13; 6:13[12], 17[16]) where Th only has the finite vb.

Although it is difficult to draw conclusions from the translation of this idiom by itself, it does seem to fit a pattern in the Aramaic section. OG generally represents both elements of the idiom through ch. 3:19 while it does not in 3:24(91)-7:2. The same is true of Th, yet in the majority of cases OG and Th employ different syntactical patterns to translate the idiom. Therefore, Th is not dependent upon OG for his renderings. If we were to examine their lexical choices, we would discover even greater diversity.

l. 41-43-The text in 2:5 offers many difficulties. The reading of the conj. and the omission of l. 42-43 is somewhat odd given l. 79-81, but should be considered original OG (s. *Lexicology* and *Text-Critical*). As a result, the emphasis on the finality of the decree is somewhat less compared to MT, though this is partially compensated for by the add. in l. 45 (if original).

l. 48, 54-It is argued below (s. *Lexicology*) that these additions probably do not reflect an alternative *Vorlage* at all. If the OG as it stands is original (but s. below), the creation of distinct clauses may have been motivated by the translator's desire to make explicit the command to tell both the contents of the dream and its meaning.

l. 57, 58-OG uses alternative means to render these syntagms in MT and offers good idiomatic translations. In l. 57 OG renders one of the

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[61]5:7, 10, 13, 17: 6:13(12), 17(16), 21(20).

[62]3:24(91), 25(92); 4:16(2); 5:7, 10.

co-ordinate nouns with an adj.[63] OG renders the n. and adj. in l. 58 of MT with the vb. in l. 59.[64]

l. 68-Th translates the juss. with its formal equivalent, while OG uses the 2.s.impv. If Th were following OG closely, it would have been easy to write the voc. βασιλεῦ as in l. 33 before he arrived at the vb. and realized that מלכא should be rendered with a nominative. Indeed, it could be argued that OG wrote down the voc. without looking far enough ahead to ensure that the syntax would be correct. It was only after OG came to the vb. that he realized his grammatical error, but he was able to change the syntax of the remainder of the vs. and still render the basic meaning of the passage.[65]

l. 82-83-As they stand, l. 82-83 appear to be an add. that give emphasis to the prior decree. However, they are probably OG (s. Text-Critical), while l. 78-81 are Theodotionic.
l. 86-87-We suggest that the add. of OG be preferred (s. Text-Critical) over MT, but the basic sense of each is the same because the required interpretation of the vision is understood from the context.

l. 88-90-l. 88 is an addition containing the rare word περιπίπτω (1-9), while 89-90 are omitted. The text echoes 2:5 and the overall sense of OG and MT is the same, though OG does emphasize the judgment against the magicians for failing to explain the dream. l. 89-90 exhibit a textual difficulty, because there is no question whether OG and Th could have translated l. 89-90 with a formal equivalent if they had so desired. Both translate רז elsewhere where it occurs in the Vorlage. For example, in 2:13, 15 OG has δογματίζω and in 7:25 νομός. Th has

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[63]In 2:48 OG renders מתנה with δωρεά, while in 5:17 OG=0. Th renders מתנה 3/3 with δόμα and נבזבה 2/2 with δωρεά (s. 5:17).

[64]See CH 3.III.3 for a discussion of יקר.

[65]Soisalon-Soininen ("Beobachtungen," pp. 320-321) notes that the translators were more influenced in their renderings by what they had already translated than by what was to come. They were also limited in their ability to make corrections because of the scarcity of writing material. Therefore, in cases like this, they had to make changes in the grammar.

δόγμα in 2:13 as well as in the repeated expression "the law of the Medes and Persians" in 6:9(8), 13(12), 16(15) where OG=0. Th's diversity is also shown by his dynamic rendering in 2:15 ἡ γνώμη ἡ ἀναιδής "the ruthless decree!" and 6:6(5) where he employs νόμιμος. This is further evidence of Th's independence, but in 7:25 Th does have νομός.

l. 91–OG employs the postpositive conj. γάρ 19x, whereas Th only has it 4x.[66] In chs. 2-6 OG employs the conj. 5x where MT=0, but in chs. 8-12 it is mainly employed for כִּי (9/10).[67]

l. 93–OG omits one of the adj. while Th follows MT.

l. 98–OG transforms the syntax of the clause by the add. of ἐάν, which requires the omission of καὶ in l. 102.

l.101–The plus specifies the time when the king had the vision. There is no significant difference in the meaning, though we argue below (*Text-Critical*) that the add. was in the OG *Vorlage*.

l. 120–Th does not coordinate with καὶ against MT and OG.

III.1.iii. *Lexicology*

l. 3–This is the only place where OG uses συμβαίνω (s. *Syntax*, l. 3)

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[66] 2:9; 3:17, 28(95); 4:11(14), 24(27), 34a; 6:6(5), 27(26), 28(27); 8:17, 19, 26; 9:18; 10:11, 14; 11:27, 35, 36; 12:13. Th=OG in 3:17; 8:17, 19; 11:36.

[67] See previous fn. 6x MT=0 in 4:11(14), 24(27), 34a; 6:6(5), 28(27). The only place in chs. 8-12 where γάρ is not employed for כִּי is 12:13 where MT=0. The other main equivalent for כִּי in both OG (14/24) and Th (18/24) is ὅτι.

Aejmelaeus ("Clause Connectors," p. 369) emphasizes that for the proper evaluation of equivalents for כִּי as a causal conj. we need to distinguish clearly between this function and the function of כִּי meaning "that." In 20/24x כִּי has a causal function. Two exceptions are 12:7, 9 where OG has ὅτι in the sense of "that." In two other cases (9:18; 10:21) OG and Th have ἀλλα for כִּי where it follows a negative clause and has the sense "but, rather" (s. Aejmelaeus, "Clause Connectors," p. 373). Therefore, OG has γάρ translate the causal sense of כִּי 9/20 which is almost equal to the use of ὅτι (11/20). The cases where OG has ὅτι are 9:9, 11, 14, 16, 19, 23; 10:12, 19; 11:4, 25, 37.

and does represent a rather dynamic translation. For the addition of
ὁράματα, see *Text-Critical* discussion.

l. 4, 24-חלם as a vb. is only here in Daniel. Th employs
etymologically related words to render the vb. and cog. acc., and
ἐνυπνιάζομαι is not found in OG. OG uses variety, though συνβαίνω is
unusual.

l. 5, 18, 24, 28-OG (5/5) and Th (4/5) both employ the expected ἐνύπνιον
as a SE for חלום.[68] Th omits in l. 24, probably in error.

l. 6, 25-Both OG and Th offer good renderings of the Hebrew פעם (2-5,
s. BDB, p. 821),[69] though OG once again illustrates variety while Th
employs the same rendition. OG uses ταράσσω elsewhere to render
different vbs. in 11:12 (נפל), 44(בהל). Th also has ταράσσω in 11:44,
though in a different person, and uses it 10x in total.[70] OG employs
κινέω elsewhere in 3:79; 4:16(19); 11:38,[71] and the vb. does not
appear in Th. Th uses ἐξίστημι only in these two places, while OG does
not employ this compound vb.

l. 10-OG always uses ἐπιτάσσω for אמר in the sense "command" (s. 1:18;
2:46; 3:19, 20). Also in 3:24 where MT=0.

l. 11-Both OG and Th use a variety of equivalents for קרא. The most
frequent equivalent in OG is (ἐπι)καλέω 3/8 (9:18, 19; 10:1; =Th, 6x
OG=0).[72] OG's characteristic variety is seen in the selection of

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[68]Also in 1:17.

[69]Also found in Gen. 41:8; Jud. 13:25; Ps. 77:5.

[70]S. also 4:2(5), 16(19); 5:6, 9(2x), 10; 7:18, 28.

[71]In 11:38 κινήσει is a contextual guess for יכבד. See p. 120.

[72]5:8, 12, 15, 16, 17. OG's presumed *Vorlage* is very different
from MT for the second occurrence of קרא in 5:7 as well.

φωνέω (4:11[14]; 5:7); ἀναβοάω (8:16);[73] κηρύσσω[74] (3:4); εἰσφέρω.

At first glance we might hastily conclude that Th has merely retained OG in 4:11(14); 9:18, 19; 10:1. That this is not necessarily the case can be demonstrated. Overall, Th's TT reveals that he is marching to his own drum. Th employs two main equivalents for קרא: (ἐπι)καλεω 6/14[75] and ἀναγινώσκω 5/14.[76] In all of these instances Th has chosen an appropriate rendering for the context and is not using a mechanical approach. The sensitivity of his choices is exemplified by καλέω in 5:12, because elsewhere in the ch. he chooses ἀναγινώσκω for the sense of "reading" the writing on the wall. The verbal agreement in 4:11(14) can be explained as coincidence because the rendering is a natural one. Furthermore, Th does not follow OG's choice of φωνέω in 5:7, but employs βοάω instead. Finally, Th employs βοάω in 3:4 where one would expect him to follow the alliteration of OG. The fact that Th has already employed καλέω twice before ch. 9 and that the choices are natural ones in the context also militates against borrowing in chs. 9 and 10. Th also employs perfect forms in 9:18, 19, so Th and OG only share exact verbal agreement in 10:1.[77]

1. 16, 35, 37, 38, 44, 48, 54, 56, 61, 64, 67, 68, 85, 87, 99, 100, 104, 111, 113-This section will examine the translation of verbs of saying. We will look at a large number of verbs in this one section, because it will illustrate the complex interplay between the vocabulary of the *Vorlage* and the Greek versions. There are three introductory points to make:

1. In each instance the verb in MT has the meaning "to tell, declare, make known." Other cases where verbs of saying fall outside of this

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[73]Ziegler has correctly placed καὶ ἐκάλεσε . . . from 8:16 in brackets because it is obviously a doublet from Th. This is an excellent example of the early influence of the Th text on OG, because it is present in 967.

[74]This is a HL in OG. The only place where it occurs in Th is 5:29.

[75]2:2; 5:12; 8:16; 9:18, 19; 10:1.

[76]5:7. 8, 15, 16, 17.

[77]However, a more definitive statement will have to await a closer scrutiny of passages from the later chs.

semantic range are not considered. Even this categorization is quite broad.

2. 48 and 54 are underlined because they appear to be pluses in OG.
3. 1. 35, 67, 68 and 99, 100 will not be treated extensively other than to note that אמר/εἶπον is an expected equivalent. However, it should also be noted that OG and Th do use different forms of the vb. To treat all of the occurrences of אמר would require great length and our discussion can proceed without that degree of detail.

In 2:1-10 we are concerned with the translation of 4 semitic verbs: הגיד (hi. from [נגד]), אמר, √חוה, הודע (ha. or hi. ידע). These verbs are translated with 6 different verbs in 2:1-10 in OG and Th: ἀναγγέλλω, ἀπαγγέλλω, εἶπον, γνωρίζω, φράζω, δηλόω. διασαφέω[78] also appears in 1. 54 of OG (1-11, s. LEH, p. 108), seemingly as an addition.

The first vb. we meet is הגיד (inf. cons.) in 1. 16, which is translated by the inf. of ἀναγγέλλω in both OG and Th. The verbal agreement is probably best explained, however, either as coincidence or Th influence on OG. There are two pieces of evidence that lead to the conclusion that Th has not borrowed his rendering from OG. First, apart from the not unexpected uses of אמר/εἶπον mentioned in #3 above, this is the only instance where there is exact verbal agreement in the use of these vbs. between OG and Th in this section. Second, in the three other places where הגיד occurs, Th always has ἀναγγέλλω whereas OG renders it consistently with ὑποδεικνύω.[79]

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[78] 9x in the Maccabean literature and also in Deut. 1:5.

[79] 9:23, 10:21; 11:2. ὑποδεικνύω occurs 9x elsewhere in OG. In 4:15(18), 34c; 5:9 MT=O. It renders הודע in 2:17, חוה in 5:7, הבין in 10:14; it also occurs in 5:12 where פשר and [חוה] are found and 5:16 where פשר is found once again. In these latter two instances the differences between OG and MT are rather substantial; these are the only occurrences of the verb פשר in MT. One interesting use of ὑποδεικνύω is the difficult construction in 9:22 where it translates השכיל. Except in 7:8 where there was evidently a misreading of the *Vorlage* and 1:17 where the rendering is dynamic, OG uses expected equivalents from the semantic domain of knowing for √שכל elsewhere (1:4; 8:25; 9:13, 22, 25; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10). Therefore, there is a possibility that OG read להודיעך or להבינך for להשכילך in 9:22. The latter would appear more likely because it would involve the omission of ש, and the misreading of ב for כ and נ for ל. It may also have come more easily to the translator because בינה is the following word.

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√חוה is found 14x in the pa. and ha., 7 of which are in vss. 2:4-11. The most frequent equivalent in OG is δηλόω, which is used 5/11.[80] The remaining 6 uses are as follows. In 5:7 it is rendered by ὑποδείκνυω while the appearance of δήλωσις (1/4, not in Th) in 2:2⁻ is a dynamic rendering. The other four renderings are unique and are probably explained as due to stylistic variation since they are clustered within vss. 2:4-11.[81] Th is far more consistent in his translation of חוה, using ἀναγγέλλω 11/14 and γνωρίζω in the other three.[82]

The reading of ἀναγγέλλω for חוה in l. 56 of OG is interesting, because OG also has an unusual addition of διασαφήσητέ μοι in l. 54. Although l. 54 could be viewed as an addition against MT, it is also very possible that ἀναγγέλλω originated as a gloss to διασαφέω (1-11). This is suggested by the presence of the rare term διασαφέω, the frequent use of ἀναγγέλλω by Th, and the fact that we already have reason to question the rendering of הגיד by ἀναγγέλλω in l. 16. Though it might be objected that it is characteristic of OG to use variety, the amount of revision on the OG text as we have it can not be underestimated.

There is further corroboration of the possibility that l. 56 is a later revision by the add. in l. 48. In l. 48 δηλόω appears to be an addition, yet δηλόω is consistently employed in the OG to render either √חוה (5/11) or הודע (8/14).[83] Therefore, הודע in l. 44 is the

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Since the Hebrew construction in 9:22 would have caused difficulties for the translator and we can construe a semantic path by which the OG translator rendered the text, it is unlikely that the OG *Vorlage* differed from MT.

[80]2:6, 9, 11, 16, 24; 3x OG=0 3:32, 5:12, 15.

[81]l. 38-φράζω, (1-3, not in Th); l. 56-ἀναγγέλλω or διασαφήσητέ; l. 71-a dynamic translation with κρίνω; l. 112-εἶπον.

[82]s. 2:6, 10; 5:7. Elsewhere in Th γνωρίζω is a SE (17/21) for the ha. and hi. (only 8:19) of ידע. The exceptions are ἀναγγέλλω in 2:9, 25, 26 and δηλόω in 4:15. γνωρίζω does not occur in OG.

[83]Otherwise δηλόω appears for גלה in 2:47. The ha. and hi. of ידע occur 21x in Dan., but 4x OG=0 (4:3, 4, 15; 5:15). 2x the text of OG presumes a different *Vorlage* compared with MT (5:16, 17), though ὑποδείκνυω is a possible equivalent in 5:16. Apart from the double translation in 2:5, and the 8x with δηλόω (2:9, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29,

natural equivalent for δηλόω. However, δηλόω looks like an add. because ἀπ-ν-αγγέλλω[84] appears in l. 44 as the formal equivalent for הידע. As in the preceding case, it is possible that ἀπαγγέλλω is the result of later revision of OG, though OG does employ ἀπαγγέλλω to translate הודע in 8:19.

The distinct ways in which OG and Th have translated the vbs. of saying in this section, and throughout Daniel, indicate that they are independent translations. In l. 48 and 54 OG has what appear to be additional verbs, but in both cases these vbs. seem to be pluses because ἀν(π)αγγέλλω, a vb. common in Th, is found in the correct word order position as the equivalent for the semitic vb. Is it not at least as likely that in both cases ἀν(π)αγγέλλω is a correction of OG from Th toward MT?

l. 27-θέλω appears 4x in OG. MT=0 in 4.17; 7:19 for צבא; 8:4 for רצון. Never in Th.

l. 29-λαλέω is a SE for דבר in both OG (17/19) and Th (19/19). The only places where OG departs from this usage are 1:19 and 11:27. The use of the relatively rare ὁμιλέω (1-9) in 1:19 has a more specific sense of conversing than the more general term λαλέω; so it is well-suited to a context that assumes a dialogue. In 11:27 OG employs a compound ψευδολογήσουσιν (HL in LXX!) to translate ידברו כזב. In the 17 other occurrences Th and OG share many exact verbal agreements, but many

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30; 7:16), σημαίνω is found 3x (2:15, 23, 45), ὑποδεικνύω 1x in 2:17 and ἀπαγγέλλω 2x in 5:8; 8:19.

The fact that δηλόω does not occur in chs. 4-6 is one of the proofs of Albertz (p. 163) that chs. 4-6 originate from a different translator. However, as we have seen, δηλόω is used 13(14)/15 to render either הודע or √חוה and there is little evidence that either of these are found in the semitic *Vorlage* of OG in chs. 4-6. The only places where these vbs. occur in chs. 4-6 of MT are 4:3, 4, 15; 5:7, 8, 12, 15(2), 16, 17 and the only places where OG might have had them in its *Vorlage* would be 4:15; 5:7, 8, 12, 16. The most certain of these are 5:7, 8, 16, but 5:7 certainly appears to have suffered corruption from vs. 8, or possibly from Th, and harmonization toward MT. Therefore, though the absence of δηλόω in 4-6 does support Albertz' thesis, it is not quite as significant as it seems at first.

[84]Note also that 967 reads ἀναγγέλλω.

of these agreements occur in the later chs.[85] OG and Th also have
agreement in the Aramaic section where both employ λαλέω (4/5) as a
SE for מלל.[86] We will have to see what a closer inspection of chs.
7-12 reveals, but some of the agreements could easily be coincidental
while others may be due to Th influence on OG. For example, in 10:11,
15, 19 OG and Th use the ἐν τῷ + inf. (λαλῆσαι) to translate the inf.
cons. + בְּ (כְּ in 10:19). This is an acceptable translation, but very
literal and more characteristic of Th.[87] Furthermore, in 8:18 where
the exact same construction is found Th has ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν, while OG uses
a gen. abs.! Soisalon-Soininen also notes that the frequency of OG's
use of the more literal equivalent is disproportionate to OG's treatment
of the Hebrew inf. cons. as a whole in Daniel.[88] The fact of these
agreements and their Th like character suggests that the OG text has
been revised toward Th.

l. 35, 46, 53, 62, 67, 85, 99-The seven cases where OG employs ὅραμα,
including l. 67 and 99 were discussed in CH 1. Th consistently
employs ἐνύπνιον for חלם.

l. 36-παῖς is an expected equivalent for עבד and appears in OG 11/11.
However, Th employs παῖς exclusively for עבד (4/4) in chs. 1-2,
whereas in chs. 3-12 he has the alternative equivalent δοῦλος 6/8.[89]

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[85]See 8:13(2x); 9:12, 20, 21, 22; 10.11(2x), 15, 16, 17, 19; 11:36.

[86]See 7:8, 11, 20, 25. In 6:22(21) OG presumably has a different
Vorlage, and Th has εἶπε. The only other occurrences of the vb. are in
3:36=Th; 4.29(32); 4.34(37)*bis* where MT=0.

[87]See Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive*, pp. 81, 206. However, there
is a slight difficulty with his statistics on p. 188. Soisalon-
Soininen's table suggests that בְּ + inf. con. is found 7x in Daniel and
that in all 7 cases Th employs ἐν τῷ + inf. In fact, the Hebrew
section of Daniel has 8 cases and there are another 4 in the Aramaic
section. Only 6x does Th use ἐν τῷ + inf. (8:15, 17, 18; 10:11, 15;
11:34). The other instances are 2:25; 3:24(91); 4:24; 6:20(19); 8:2;
10:7. 8:2 is omitted by both OG and Th and in 10:7 they both employ
dynamic translations.

[88]Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive*, p. 189.

[89]The n. עבד is in 1:12, 13; 2:4, 7; 3:26(93), 28(95); 6:21(20); 9:6, 10,
11, 17; 10:17. OG=0 in 6:21(20).

The exceptions are 3:28(95) and 10:17 where Th again has παῖς, but the basic difference in pattern in chs. 1-2 is clear.

l. 37, 47, 55, 63, 70, 103-Th employs σύνκρισις as a SE (26/31) for פשר.[90] OG displays greater variety. In chs. 4-6 the n. is either not in the Vorlage[91] or OG employs σύγκριμα as a SE.[92] Elsewhere the main equivalent is κρίσις 7/14,[93] while the remaining cases involve some type of dynamic rendering. In 2:24, 25 OG employs ἕκαστα, which is very similar to the use of πάντα in 2:16, and the neuter pro. in l. 37. In 2:30 the articular pass. inf. of δηλόω "what has been revealed" is an excellent idiomatic translation. The final two translations involve l. 63 and 70, where פשר is collocated with the vb. √חוה (also l. 37, 55, 104). In both of these cases OG transforms the n. into the etymologically related vb. κρίνω. L. 70 "they will decide with regard to these things" is another good idiomatic translation. The cluster of uses of the same vb. within 2:1-10 means that some of these renderings are probably motivated by the concern for stylistic variation. However, it should be noted that in l. 63 and 70, as in 2:24-25, OG has maintained a similar translation equivalent when one character's words are referred to by another.

OG's restriction of σύγκριμα to chs. 4-6 is evidence that a different translator is responsible for these chs.[94]

l. 42, 81, 92, 111, 113, 118-Taken by themselves the 5x that מלה is found in 2:1-10 suggest that Th does not exhibit dependence upon OG. However, there is a translation pattern in both OG and Th that is best understood by looking at chs. 2-3 separately from 4-7.

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[90]The exceptions are 2:25; 4:15; 5:26=OG, 5:16 (cognate acc.) where σύγκριμα occurs; and 5:15, where it is omitted.

[91]OG=0 11x. S. 4:3(6), 4:4(7), 4:6(9), 4:15(18)bis, 4:16(19), 4:21(24); 5:12, 15(2x), 16.

[92]S. 5:7, 8, 16, 26. σύνκριμα is also found in 4:16(19) and 5:17, but the pattern does support Albertz' contention that chs. 4-6 originate from a different translator.

[93]2:5, 6, 9, 26, 36, 45; 7:16.

[94]Albertz, p. 162.

מלה is found 11x in chs. 2-3 and OG employs at least eight different equivalents:

λόγος-2:9, 11   προστέταχα-2:8?

πρᾶγμα-2:8?, 10   ἃ ἑώρακεν-2:10

                                        ἕκαστα-2:17

                                        πρὸς ταῦτα-2:23

                                        πρόσταγμα-2:15?, 3:22

                                        προσταγή-3:28(95)

                                        2:5?, 15?

The variety of equivalents is obvious, and each of the renderings is a good translation. Note, however, that there is uncertainty over what word occurs in 2:15 (s. CH 2.III.).[95] The translations of 2:8?, 10, 17 are particularly dynamic.[96] Th employs ῥῆμα 9/11, and λόγος in 2:5, 11.

The situation is significantly different in chs. 4-7 where מלה occurs 13x. 5x OG=0, 4:30(33); 5:10, 15, 26; 6:15(14).

λόγος-4:28(31); 6:13(12); 7:1, 11, 16, 28.

ῥῆμα-7:25, 28(27)!

In these chs. not only has the translation been standardized, but ῥῆμα appears twice. The same preference for λόγος is evident in Th who uses it 8/10. ῥῆμα is used only in 5:26 and 7:28. 3x Th=0, 5:10, 15; 7:1.

Both the use of ῥῆμα by OG in ch. 7 and the predominance of λόγος in chs. 4-6 have to be explained. This pattern supports Albertz' thesis concerning the independence of chs. 4-6, but also raises more questions about chs. 7-12.

1. 43, 80-Th translates מני אזדא exactly the same in both places. There is possible verbal agreement with OG as well, and this agreement must be either a distinctive agreement or Th influence because ἀπέστη is a

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[95]We argue below that λόγος in 2:5 and πρᾶγμα in 2:8 are not original. The suggestion that προστέταχα is the dynamic rendering is based on our reconstruction of the te t of 2:8 (s. *Text-Critical*, l. 78-83), but it does reflect OG's other dynamic renderings. προστάσσω is also etymologically related to πρόσταγμα in 3:22 and προσταγή in 3:28(95). Munnich ("Origène," p. 190) also lists the asterisked addition in 2:5 as a reading that conforms to MT and Th.

[96]Note that πρὸς ταῦτα of 2:23 also appears in l. 71.

contextual guess for אדרא.[97] So, the question is, who is borrowing from whom? Prior to investigating this line of inquiry it was determined in CH 2 on the basis of the textual witnesses that 1. 42-43 were not present in OG. If the argument that OG omits 1. 42-43 is correct, then 1. 80 must exhibit later Th influence. This suggestion is supported by three further points. First, there is obvious textual corruption where 2:8-9 join. Note, for example, that 967 omits καθάπερ ἑωράκατε ὅτι ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα (s. also the discussion in *Text-Critical*, 1. 78-83). Second, in 1. 49 (as well as the similar text in 3:29[96]) Th goes his own way; and here the renderings exhibit a formal correspondence typical of Th. Third, this would be one of the few places in this section that one could argue that Th has borrowed from OG in any way. If anything, the accumulating evidence suggests that Th is not dependent on OG.

1. 49-52-The reading of the OG has several difficulties and should be considered alongside the similar passage in 3:29(96) where the texts read:

Th-εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσονται καὶ οἱ οἶκοι αὐτῶν εἰς διαρπαγήν

MT-הַדָּמִין יִתְעֲבֵד וּבַיְתַהּ נְוָלִי יִשְׁתַּוֵּה

OG-διαμελισθήσεται καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται

McCrystall argues that there is a shift in meaning in the OG in these passages from "physical ruin" to "confiscation."[98] In this instance McCrystall is no doubt correct about the resulting translation, but it is questionable whether this was motivated by any intentional theological *Tendenz*. The first factor we have to consider is the general difficulty presented by the vocabulary of MT. These are the only two passages in MT where the Persian loan-word הַדָּמִין "member, limb" (s. BDB, p. 1089) is found; and נְוָלִי[99] occurs elsewhere only in Ez. 6:11. In 3:29 the rare word שׁוה "be made" (hithpa.; also the pa.

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[97]It is found only here in these two passages in MT. See Mont., pp. 148-149, for a discussion of the uncertainty of the meaning.

[98]McCrystall, p. 80.

[99]The meaning of this word can only be guessed at, as exemplified in the translations. S. BDB, p. 1102 and Mont., p. 148.

or peil in 5:21) occurs. Given the difficulties of the *Vorlage*, the most logical course of action is to consider whether the OG has misunderstood the text.

With regard to 2:5, Mont., p. 148, has already advanced the explanation that the HL παραδειγματίζω "you shall be made an example" for החימן הממרבוד is based on reading (ה)הדימן. The key to the final phrase is the meaning of נולי, at which the translator could only guess from the context. The easiest explanation is that the translator read the hithpe. יתאמרן as a pe. (which explains the choice of ἀναληφθήσεται), and offered the best guess that he could: "and everything that you own will be expropriated into the treasury."[100] It may be, as McCrystall suggests, that the actual rendering reflects a Hellenistic act of procurement of property; but it would only be natural for the translator's guess to reflect his own cultural circumstances. If we were to refer to this case as theological *Tendenz*, there certainly would not be any great theological consequences; nor could it be deemed as intentional changing of the text.

The translation of וביתה נולי ישתוה by καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται in 3:29(96) is very similar to 2:5, except that the translation is probably a guess based on the earlier translation. In this case the OG did not know the meaning of שוה,[101] so the HL δημεύω "confiscate" appears to be a simplification of ἀναληφθήσεται . . . εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. The major difference between 2:5 and 3:29(96) is that in the latter OG seems to translate הדימן החימרבוד correctly. However, it is possible that διαμελίζω should be emended to read the more common διαμερίζω, which is the reading of 967 (s. CH 2.II.7.iv.).

There is little doubt that the translation of 3:29(96) was dependent on 2:5, so one has to wonder why παραδειγματίζω was chosen in the first instance. There are four possible options: 1) the translation in 2:5 is based on an alternative reading of the semitic text; 2) the reading in 3:29(96) represents a later correction; 3) there were separate and distinct translators; 4) 3:29(96) should be amended to read διαμερίζω, which is also a contextual guess. The

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[100] S. I Esd. 6:31 for a parallel rendering.

[101] OG=0 in 5:21.

second option always has to remain a consideration, but is unlikely because we would expect the same correction in 2:5. In favour of the first is the possibility that the ה of הדמין was omitted by haplography with the final ה in ומשרה (s. *Text-Critical*). This assumes that the translator of both passages was the same. The fourth option accounts for the difficulties in both passages and does not presuppose any theory of multiple translators. Furthermore, if the translator of 3:29(96) did get it right with διαμελίζω, why is there no evidence of correction of 2:5? The third option is also possible, but it would require that the translator of 3:29(96) was later than the translator of 2:5 because he seems to rely on 2:5 for the translation of וביתה נולי ישתוה. Although this solution assumes a rather complicated scenario of translation, it has much to commend it. There are a number of differences in TT in 3:20-30(97) that suggest this portion of text was freely edited in order to insert the deutero-canonical material into ch. 3.[102] The evidence does not permit any easy resolution of the textual difficulties, but either of the last two solutions are more likely.

Th's translation in 2:5 and 3:29(96) is similar to OG only in that he guessed at the meaning of הדמין תתעבדון. There is, however, a possible explanation for Th's translation of הדמין תתעבדון by εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε (ἔσονται in 3:29[96]). Th probably read תתעבדון as if it were a hithpe. derived from אבד and simply omitted הדמין. The choices of the vb. διαρπάζω in 2:5 and the related n. διαρπαγή in 3:29(96), both HL in Daniel, again demonstrate Th independence from OG.

1. 57, 59-Although λαμβάνω is the expected equivalent, the fact that OG and Th both use παραλαμβάνω in the two other occurrences of קבל indicates there may be Th dependence on OG in these later passages.[103]

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[102]The evidence for this is discussed in the next section on 3:11-20, *A Note on the Additions to Chapter 3*. The third solution also allows for the possibility that διαμελίζω should be emended to read with 967. Regardless of the reading we choose, the translator of 3:29(96) did not depend on 2:5 for the rendering of הדמין תתעבדון.

[103]S. also 6:1(5:31) and 7:18, though the only actual agreement in the former passage is the use of the vb.

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bestowal of gifts more explicit.

l. 61, 99–OG and Th reflect two different interpretations of להן.[104] OG uses οὖν (+ νυν, l. 99) here for להן, while in 4:24(27) OG=0. Th's rendering with πλὴν in l. 61 (HL in Daniel) understands להן as an adversative and διὰ τοῦτο in 4:24(27) is an excellent rendering as well. The omission by Th in l. 98 is difficult to explain.

l. 75–This is a common rendering for OG and Th. יציב occurs 5x in total in Dan. OG renders with ἀκριβής in 2:45; 6:13(12)[105] where Th uses ἀληθινός, and they share the reading of ἀκρίβεια (1-4!) in 7:16. OG=0 in 3:24(91) where Th has ἀληθῶς. Whether we judge Th to be dependent upon OG in l. 75 and 7:16 depends on our overall assessment of their relationship.

l. 77–This is the only occurrence of זבן in Dan. ἐξαγοράζω is a HL in the LXX, so OG and Th have another common reading in this vs.

l. 78, 114–OG translates with καθάπερ also in 2:41, 45. Although כל־קבל די occurs 13x altogether, OG only has an equivalent elsewhere in 3:29(96)–διότι and 6:11(10)–καθώς.[106] Th's translations are very interesting. He uses καθότι also in 3:29(96), while in the three remaining cases in ch. 2 he has ὃν τρόπον. The situation changes drastically in chs. 4-6 where ὅτι is employed 5x!, κατενώπιον is used in 5:22, and καθὼς in 6:11(10)=OG. As in our investigation of מלה above, there are indications that Th's translation of כל־קבל די in chs. 4-6 is different from ch. 2. The translation of l. 78-81 involves a textual problem, but that does not affect the evaluation of καθάπερ.

l. 91, 93–OG employs the rare term συνεῖπον (1-2) for the hithpa. (Q, HL) of [זמן]. Th employs another rare word, συντίθημι (1-11). Both are

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[104]See I. Eitan, "Some Philological Observations in Daniel," *HUCA* 14 (1939): 13-14.

[105]OG employs ἀκριβής in 4:24(27) where MT=0. ἀκριβής occurs only 5x elsewhere and not in Th.

[106]2:40; 4:15(18); 5:12, 22; 6:4(3), 5(4), 23(22). 2:40 is probably omitted by homoiotel.

good translations.

1. 92-Th employs διαφθείρω as a SE 6/8 for the Hebrew and Aramaic [שחת].[107] The exceptions both occur in 6:5(4) where OG=0. The latter occurrence in 6:5(4) is within a whole clause that is omitted in Th. In the first instance Th employs παράπτωμα as an idiomatic translation. Th also employs παράπτωμα in 4:24(27) for [שלוה][108] and in 6:23(22) for חבולא, but παράπτωμα is not found in OG.

1. 94-OG employs a dynamic rendering while Th uses an expected formal rendition of למאמר.

1. 97-The translation of [שנא] offers an interesting example of how difficult it is to determine whether there are separate translators in OG and to describe the relationship between it and Th.

[שנא] is found 12x in chs. 2-6 and both OG and Th employ ἀλλοιόω as a natural SE. OG translates with ἀλλοιόω 6/7.[109] The one difference is ἀθετέω (HL in OG)[110] in 3:28(95), which carries the more appropriate sense of rejecting the command of the king. Th employs ἀλλοιόω 10/12 and offers the unique rendering of παρέρχομαι[111] in l. 97 and παραλλάσσω (1-6) in 6:16(15).

In ch. 7 [שנא] occurs 7x, but here the SE for OG is διαφέρω 5/7.[112] The related adv. διαφόρως appears in 7:7 and ἀλλοιόω in 7:25.

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[107]S. also 6:5(2); 8:24(2), 25; 9:26; 11:17.

[108]Th's reading is based on a slightly different pointing. See p. 145.

[109]2:9, 21; 3:19, 27(94); 5:6; 6:9(8). OG=0 4:13(16); 5:9, 10; 6:16(15), 18(17). ἀλλοιόω does occur in 4:13(16) but the context is different. Otherwise OG employs ἀλλοιόω in similar types of contexts in 4:16(19), 30a, 34(37), 34a(2) where MT=0 and we can retrovert שנא with confidence. See also J. Barr, "Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch (I)," *JSS* 23 (1978): 187.

[110]It is also in 9:7 of Th.

[111]Th employs παρέρχομαι elsewhere in 4:28(31); 6:13(12); 7:14; 11:10, 40. OG overlaps only in 11:10 and has the vb. also in 11:26 and 12:1.

[112]7:3. 19. 23. 24, 28.

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However, the change in equivalents is not evidence of separate translators, but sensitivity to the differing semantic range of the vocabulary. In 4/5 instances where διαφέρω or the adv. διαφόρως appears the reference has something to do with the "differing" nature of the beasts or the fourth beast in particular. ἀλλοιόω would not have been an appropriate rendering in those contexts, but it is in 7:25 where the reference is to the changing of times and the law. The only possible indication of different translators is in 7:28, where we might expect ἀλλοιόω because it would agree with the OG choices in 3:19, 27(95); 5:6.

Th employs the expected ἀλλοιόω in 7:25, 28; διαφέρω in 7:3, 7, 19; but ὑπερέχω "will rise above" in 7:23 and ὑπερφέρω "will exceed" in 7:24 are excellent translations of the sense. Th, then, is more consistent with his use of ἀλλοιόω in the book and has several marked usages. However, a relationship between Th and OG is indicated not so much by the change in equivalents in ch. 7, but by the fact that they both use διαφέρω, which is only found 11x elsewhere in the LXX.

1. 110-Th's choice of ξηρός (1/1) in contrast to OG's more common γῆ is another mark of independence.

1. 114-The add. of σὺ ἐρωτᾷς may have been motivated by OG's prior changes to the syntax when it brought forward the vb. in the ὅτι clause to l. 111 as well as the dynamic rendering ἃ ἑώρακεν in l. 113. The vb. in the final כל־קבל די clause is delayed until l. 119, which would have resulted in a more complicated sentence structure in OG if he had given a formal translation. The insertion of σὺ ἐρωτᾷς makes l. 115-121 into an independent clause, which explains the insertion of καὶ in l. 115. The creation of distinct clauses results in some loss in emphasis. MT would be translated "No one can tell the matter of the king; furthermore . . ." while OG has "No one can tell what the king saw as he asks, and no king . . ."

1. 117-Th's rendering with ἄρχων 3/8 reflects independence (also 2:15-OG=0; 5:29). Elsewhere Th demonstrates a dynamic tendency on the four occasions (4:14, 22, 29; 5:21) where שׁלִיט occurs within the same nominal clause: די־שׁלִיט אלהא עליא במלכות אנשא (OG=0). In each case Th

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supplies a vb. The latter three are identical: ὅτι κυριεύει ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, while in 4:14(17) Th transforms שׁלטין into κύριος and adds ἐστιν. The remaining passage where שׁלטן is found is 4:23(26) where Th employs ἐξουσία as another good translation of the sense of MT.

OG only has one other equivalent for שׁלטן (5:29) where it employs ἐξουσία, though it may also reflect שׁלטן in his *Vorlage* of 4:23(26) where ἐξουσία is found.

l. 118-The shared reading of τοιοῦτο in OG and Th probably indicates dependence in one direction or the other because it is a HL. Once again, if we dismiss any prejudice that Th is borrowing from OG, then it is conceivable that the reading of 88 reflects later corruption toward Th. This is supported by the fact that 967 reads τοῦτο τό. Now, the reading of 967 can not be explained as correction toward MT because τοιοῦτο is a better translation of the sense. On the other hand, 967 or 88 could represent an orthographical error. So, the OG witnesses are split and 88-Syh agree with Th. Although there must be a degree of caution evaluating these readings, we cannot assume that Th has borrowed from OG. Th may have the OG reading in l. 118, but it is also possible that τοῦτο τό in 967 represents the original OG reading.

III.1.iv. *Summary*

The investigation of 2:1-10 has revealed similar findings to our previous examination of 1:1-10. In the majority of instances OG was translating a *Vorlage* very similar to MT. Although OG is described as a free translation, his faithfulness to his *Vorlage* is manifested, as in 1:1-10, by his overall adherence to the word order of MT. On one occasion OG employed a hypotactic construction (l. 19) to avoid the parataxis of his *Vorlage*. On other occasions he used postpositive conjunctions (δέ in l. 39, 53, 65, 69; οὖν l. 27?, 61, 82, 98; γάρ in l. 91). These characteristics are indicative of OG's style in the early chapters of Daniel, but his freedom is most evident in the diversity of his lexical choices and occasional dynamic renditions. In one instance (l. 67-69) OG changed the syntactic structure unintentionally. There are a number of textual differences between OG's Vorlage and MT, but,

for the most part, the differences can be explained as expected corruptions that occur in the transmission of ancient texts (s. *Text-Critical*).

In 2:1-10 Th exhibits the expected narrow formal correspondence to MT, though there are several omissions of words (l. 3, 24, 40, 90, 98, 120).[113] However, formal correspondence does not mean that Th was translating mechanically. For example, there are several omissions and additions of minor morphemes (l. 11, 35, 40, 56, 94, 99). The wider investigation of vocabulary also revealed that Th demonstrates a sensitivity to the semantic range of the vocabulary of his *Vorlage*, and turned up occasions where Th employed excellent idiomatic translations.

III.2. *The Relationship Between OG and Th*

It is obvious from the few distinctive agreements and the more numerous disagreements that there is no sense in which we can refer to Th as a recension of OG in 2:1-10. There are only two certain distinctive agreements: ἐξαγοράζω in l. 77 and Ἐπ' ἀληθείας in l. 75. However, these agreements do not necessarily indicate Th dependence on OG because they both occur within vs. 8. In the discussion of l. 78-81 (s. *Text-Critical*) we saw that the agreement there is due to a secondary add. from Th to OG, so the distinctive verbal agreement in the preceding lines must be questioned as well. The only other possible shared readings are l. 16 (coincidence?) and l. 118 (Th influence?). The distinctive nature of Th's translation is demonstrated by the occasions when Th does not follow OG such as l. 67-69, l. 89-90, and the contextual guess in l. 49-52. There are also numerous places where Th employs distinct vocabulary (eg. l. 4, 6, 24, 25, 51, 61, 97, 110).

In contrast to Th being a recension, we have uncovered more evidence indicating later corruption of the OG due to Th influence. Besides the certain Th influence on the OG in l. 79-81, which is confirmed by the hexaplaric addition in 2:5, it is also possible in l. 16, 44, 56, and 118.[114] The same relationship between OG and Th is

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[113]For a full listing of Th omissions against MT, see Schmitt, "Stammt," pp. 19-25.

[114]Another example is 2:1 (see CH 2) where 88-Syh had undergone revision toward MT through Th influence.

apparent throughout ch. 2: there are occasional verbal agreements and infrequent large agreements (eg. 2:28). This does not exclude the possible acquaintance of Th with OG, which may have occasionally influenced the lexical choice of Th; but it *does* exclude the possibility that Th is a recension of the OG in chs. 1 and 2. As has already been demonstrated, some of these agreements can also be explained as Th readings that have displaced the OG. Therefore, we must seriously consider that *any distinctive agreements in these chapters may reflect secondary corruption of the OG.* It is when the investigation touched on chs. 7-12 that the number of agreements between Th and OG increased.

Finally, we have also uncovered evidence that not only corroborates Albertz' thesis that chs. 4-6 originate from a translator different from the other translator(s) of OG, but there is a suggestion that Th's relationship to MT is different in these chs. as well. As to the OG translator of 4-6 we have confirmed that the non-appearance of δηλόω in 4-6 is evidence for a different translator. More importantly, we have also found that the translation of מלה and the idiom ענה ואמר also support Albertz' view. It is also quite possible that the translation of כל־קבל די corroborates Albertz' thesis. Th's translation pattern of these three elements is also different in 4-6, though only in the case of מלה is there possible influence by OG (or later revision of both?). Th also displays a different pattern of translation for עבד=παῖς/δοῦλος between chs. 1-2 and 3-10.

The employment of postpositive conjunctions also tends to support the picture that is emerging. οὖν only occurs 2/9x in chs. 4-12; and though δέ still appears 16/52x in chs. 4-6, it appears only 6x in chs. 7-12. γάρ is the exception because 10/19x it is used in chs. 8-12 (but 9/10 for כי). OG is definitely more dynamic in the translation of chs. 1-2, but particularly ch. 2.

III.3. *Text-Critical Problems*
1. 4-The addition of ὁράματα could reflect the ideology of the translator who uses ὁράμα and ἐνύπνιον as overlapping synonyms. In this case the addition would have helped to prepare for the synonymous

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uses to follow.[115] On the other hand, one of the terms may be a doublet. Given the Greek syntax it is unlikely that there was a differing *Vorlage*.

1. 6-9—OG frequently abbreviates MT and it is unlikely that it represents an alternative *Vorlage*.[116]

1.11—Both Jahn, p. 10 and Charles, p. 27 suggest that the LXX read להביא. This is possible, but the OG probably resulted from misreading the text and/or the translator's expectation of what the text should read,[117] particularly since the context is so similar to 1:3 where להביא does appear.

1. 15—The reading of OG is supported by 1QDan[a]: Chaldeans is used as a comprehensive term for the divisions of wise men also in 2:4, 5, 10; 3:8. However, it is only one of a list in 2:10; 4:4(7) OG=0; 5:7, 11 OG=0. It is more likely that OG and 1QDan[a] have harmonized to the absolute uses in 2:4, 5 (see also 1:4).

1. 27—We have provisionally accepted this addition as OG. In favour of its retention is the appearance of the postpositive conj. οὖν, which is found elsewhere in this section. If the plus represents a *Vorlage*, we would most likely reconstruct להן צבית. It is possible that this was omitted from MT through homoiotel. or homoioarc. with להשה. However, the order of the Greek looks suspiciously like an addition. Despite the dynamic approach of the OG, for the most part OG does follows the word order of the *Vorlage*.[118] In particular, in OG, as elsewhere in the Biblical corpus, the infinitive invariably follows the vb. of wishing, saying etc. to which it is connected.

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[115]See the earlier discussion in CH 1, pp. 29-32.

[116]Hamm, I-II, p. 145; cf. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 148.

[117]In this case the variant only existed in the translator's mind. See *TCU*, pp. 228-240, where Tov emphasizes distinguishing between true variants and pseudo-variants.

[118]Wright's (*Difference*, p. 47) statistics on formal equivalence indicate that OG fails to follow the word order of MT in only 2.16% of the lines.

This would be the natural semitic order as well, so we would expect 88-Syh to have the infinitive ἐπιγνῶναι following the addition (s. 1. 11, 110 for examples). Furthermore, even if the add. is accepted as OG, it appears to be an add. to smooth the syntax.

1. 33-It is highly unlikely that Κύριε originated from an alternative *Vorlage* given the fact that it normally renders the divine name. For the same reason it is difficult to understand why it would have been added. However, Th does use Κύριε to render מרא in 4:16(19), so it is possible that OG read מרא. מלכא in MT would then be explained as a later correction. It is also possible the OG rendered מלכא with Κύριε and this would also explain the addition of βασιλεῦ. Either of these scenarios suggests that βασιλεῦ is not OG. In favour of the retention of Κύριε βασιλεῦ as OG is the fact that both are present in 3:9. OG does not witness to an alternative *Vorlage*.

1. 40, 72-The omission by Th. in 1. 40 and OG in 1. 72 of one element of the idiom ענה ואמר does not necessarily indicate a difference in their respective *Vorlagen*. Such omissions are fairly frequent.

1. 43-The omission of OG might be explained as error by homoiotel. from אדין . . . לכשדיא, but see also 1. 43, 80 in *Lexicology*. This omission could have been in the OG *Vorlage*, but the text of MT is preferable in any case. The difference between OG and MT is better explained as an omission in OG, rather than an addition in MT because we can see how the omission occurred and there are numerous places in Daniel where the words of one character are alluded to or repeated verbatim for emphasis.

1. 45-Closely linked to the previous variant is the addition of ἐπ' ἀληθείας. Presumably this add. would reflect מקריצב as in 1. 75. Though it is difficult to see how this variant could have been omitted from MT, it is also difficult to read מקריצב at this point in the text. Here, the decision will depend upon the disposition of the textual critic, but we are not inclined to view the addition in OG as leading to a better semitic text.

l. 48, 54-We have previously argued that there is reason to believe that these verbs are not additions at all (s. *Lexicology*). Even if original, the additions would be attributed to the translator rather than an alternative *Vorlage*.

l. 49-The translation παραδειγματίζω is based on the reading דמין תחמבדין (s. *Lexicology*), but based on the parallel to 3:29(96) MT is to be preferred. It cannot be known whether OG's reading accurately reflects its *Vorlage* and haplography had occurred in MT, or whether his translation stems from a reading error. It could also be that there was a different translator in 3:29(96).

l. 56-The add. of the per. pro. in Th, which is supported by l. 54 in OG, suggests that the pro. suf. was read. The Peshitta reads the pro. suf. as well. The strength of this combination suggests that the pro. suf. should be added to the vb. in MT.

l. 78-83-The text in these lines is very difficult and is obviously corrupt. We will begin by printing the texts of MT, Zieg. (=88-Syh), and 967.

MT- כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי חֲזַיְתוֹן דִּי אַזְדָּא מִנִּי מִלְּתָא

Zieg.-καθάπερ ἑοράκατε ὅτι ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα· καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα

οὕτως ἔσται

967-[   ] καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα

[   ]

It will be noticed that while the first portion of 88-Syh reads with MT, καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα οὕτως ἔσται appears to be an addition, and it is duly marked with the obelus in both 88 and Syh. However, 967 omits the portion that agrees with MT and has an abbreviated version of the addition. The text that Hamm (I-II, pp. 163, 165) chooses to read is 88-Syh without οὕτως ἔσται. He argues that the first portion agrees with OG's vocabulary usage elsewhere, and it is lacking in 967 by homoioarc. Hamm reads the καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα as a striking translation for the דִּי at the beginning of vs. 9 and οὕτως ἔσται as a later addition. This reconstruction has much to commend it and,

initially, the present writer was inclined to agree.

However, there is another and, perhaps, better way to view the text. Hamm's reconstruction assumes that Ὁ λόγος ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ in l. 42-43 is OG, but as we have previously noted (s. CH 2 and *Lexicology* l. 42-43), l. 42-43 are most probably not original to OG. They are asterisked in 88-Syh, omitted in 967, and exhibit the formal correspondence characteristic of Th. Therefore, if we begin with the presupposition that l. 42-43 are the result of later Th influence, our analysis of l. 78-83 changes drastically. Not only is ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ in l. 80 corrupt because it agrees with Th, but the whole section that agrees with MT becomes suspect (i.e. καθάπερ ἑοράκατε ὅτι ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα). If we omit the section that agrees with MT as a secondary addition, then Hamm is correct that καθάπερ is the correct equivalent to כל־קבל די, but it is the καθάπερ followed by οὖν προστέταχα and not καθάπερ ἑοράκατε . . . πρᾶγμα. This view has additional support in that προστέταχα also fits well with OG's pattern of dynamic renderings for מלה (s. *Lexicology*, l. 42, 81, 91, 111, 113, 118).

In other words, 88-Syh preserves the OG, but a more literal translation of MT was added in as a correction and displaced the OG. Without the secondary addition, καθάπερ οὖν προστέταχα οὕτως ἔσται reads as a dynamic contextual guess for MT. Ultimately, it is impossible to be sure of the reading of OG, but our approach takes the best account for the texts that we have. For these reasons, we believe that OG rendered MT with a dynamic equivalent and does not reflect a plus or an alternative *Vorlage*; at least, one cannot be reconstructed with any confidence.

l. 86-87–The add. καὶ τὴν τούτου κρίσιν would be retroverted as ופשרה as in l. 47 and 54. The use of the demonstrative adj. is a trait of OG (also 2:45) that indicates ופשרה was in his *Vorlage*. OG might also be preferred to MT in this case, because when the king speaks of his dream and interpretation in 2:5-6 they occur together as חלמא ופשרה; whereas when the magicians speak in 2:4 and 7 the terms are employed in separate clauses. OG's reading in l. 86-87 would reflect MT's pattern in 2:5-6.

l. 88-90–It is difficult to judge whether OG reflects an alternative

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Vorlage because of the number of problems in 2:8-9 and how the text echoes 2:5. For example, 1. 88 could be a secondary add. based on 1. 49, and 1. 89-90 might reflect a textual difficulty because the reading of Th also differs from MT. Th borrows from 1. 76 for his rendering in 1. 89-90, and the similarities between the two are such that Th could accurately reflect a *Vorlage* in 1. 89-90 that had been influenced by 1. 76. The add. in 1. 88 of OG also follows his habit of adding for clarification.[119] Both OG and Th read more smoothly than MT, and for that reason MT could be original. In the final analysis it is impossible to determine a retroversion for OG that can account for the differences between the two, so MT should be retained.

1. 101–We have discussed this plus and how it reflects the TT of the OG in a preliminary fashion already in CH 1 (s. p. 31). The plus δ εἶδον τὴν νύκτα would be retroverted as חלמא די־חזית (עמ)לילא and, as in 1. 86-87, it reflects expressions as they are found elsewhere in Daniel (s. 2:26). די־חזית (עמ)לילא may also have been omitted from MT through parablepsis with either the preceding הלמא or the following אמרו. For these reasons, it is probable that the OG addition should be regarded as reflecting a better semitic text.

1. 114–The add. was most likely to simplify the syntax in the Greek and is not based on an alternative *Vorlage*.
1. 116–Whether רב was omitted in OG's *Vorlage* or he chose to leave it untranslated is difficult to decide. It is possible that OG regarded it as redundant. In any case, MT should be retained.

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[119]So also Collins, *Daniel*, p. 149.

IV. *Daniel 3:11-20*

The most interesting aspect of this passage is 3:17-18, but we will find that OG is much closer to MT and Th here than in 1:1-10 and 2:1-10.

	3:11 Th	3:11 MT	3:11 OG
1	^{S}καὶ - - μὴ	וּמַן־דִּי־לָא	καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ
2	πεσὼν	יִפֵּל	^{S}_ _
3	προσκυνήσῃ	וְיִסְגֻד	^{L}προσκυνήσῃ
4	+τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ+		
5	ἐμβληθήσεται	יִתְרְמֵא	^{L}ἐμβληθήσεται
6	εἰς ^{L}_ _ τὴν κάμινον	לְגוֹא־אַתּוּן	εἰς ^{L}_ _ ^{S}τὴν κάμινον
7	τοῦ πυρὸς	נוּרָא	τοῦ πυρὸς
8	τὴν καιομένην	יָקִדְתָּא	τὴν καιομένην
	3:12	3:12	3:12
9	^{L}εἰσὶν ^{L}ἄνδρες	אִיתַי גֻּבְרִין	^{L}εἰσὶν δέ τινες ^{L}ἄνδρες
10	Ιουδαῖοι	יְהוּדָאִין	Ιουδαῖοι
11	οὓς ^{L}κατέστησας	דִּי־מַנִּיתָ יָתְהוֹן	^{S}οὓς ^{L}κατέστησας
12	ἐπὶ τὰ ^{L}ἔργα	עַל־עֲבִידַת	ἐπὶ - -
13	τῆς ^{L}χώρας	מְדִינַת	τῆς ^{L}χώρας
14	Βαβυλῶνος	בָּבֶל	τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
15	σεδραχ Μισαχ	שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ	σεδραχ Μισαχ
16	-Αβδεναγω	וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ	Αβδεναγω
17	^{S}οἱ ^{L}(- -)	גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ	οἱ ^{L}ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι
18	οὐχ ^{S}ὑπήκουσαν	לָא־שָׂמוּ עֲלָיִךְ	οὐκ ^{S}ἐφοβήθησάν σου
19	βασιλεῦ	מַלְכָּא	- -
20	τῷ ^{L}(δόγματί) σου	טְעֵם	τὴν ^{L}ἐντολὴν
21	τοῖς θεοῖς σου	לֵאלָהָיִךְ	καὶ τῷ ^{L}εἰδώλῳ σου
22	οὐ ^{LK}λατρεύουσι	לָא פָלְחִין	οὐκ ^{LM}ἐλάτρευσαν
23	καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι	וּלְצֶלֶם	καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι+^{S}σου
24	τῇ χρυσῇ	דַּהֲבָא	τῇ χρυσῇ
25	ᾗ ἔστησας	דִּי הֲקֵימְתָּ	ᾗ ^{L}ἔστησας
26	οὐ ^{K}προσκυνοῦσιν	לָא סָגְדִין	οὐ ^{LM}προσεκύνησαν
	3:13	3:13	3:13
27	^{L}τότε Ναβουχοδ.	בֵּאדַיִן נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר	^{L}τότε Ναβουχοδ.
28	ἐν ^{L}θυμῷ καὶ ^{L}ὀργῇ	בִּרְגַז וַחֲמָה	^{LM}θυμωθεὶς ^{L}ὀργῇ
29	εἶπεν ^{LM}ἀγαγεῖν	אֲמַר לְהַיְתָיָה	προσέταξεν ἀγαγεῖν

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30	τὸν σεδραχ Μισαχ	שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ	τὸν σεδραχ Μισαχ
31	-Αβδεναγω	וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ	Αβδεναγω
32	ᴸ(καὶ)	בֵּאדַיִן	ᴸτότε
33	ᴸ_ _	גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ	ἤχθησαν _ _
34	ᴸἤχθησαν	הֵיתָיוּ	οἱ ᴸἄνθρωποι
35	ἐνώπιον τοῦ	קֳדָם מַלְכָּא	πρὸς τὸν
36	βασιλέως		βασιλέα
	3:14	3:14	3:14
37	καὶ ˢἀπεκρίθη	עָנֵה נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר	ˢοὖς καὶ ᴸσυνιδὼν
38	Ναβουχοδονοσορ		Ναβουχοδονοσορ
39			+ὁ βασιλεὺς
40	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς	וְאָמַר לְהוֹן	εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
41	Εἰ ᴸἀληθῶς	הַצְדָּא	ᴸΔιὰ τί
42	Σεδραχ Μισαχ	שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ	σεδραχ Μισαχ
43	Αβδεναγω	וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ	Αβδεναγω
44	τοῖς θεοῖς μου	לֵאלָהַי	τοῖς ᴸθεοῖς μου
45	οὐ _ _	לָא אִיתֵיכוֹן	οὐ ᴸ_ _
46	ᴹλατρεύετε	פָּלְחִין	ᴸᴹλατρεύετε
47	καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι	וּלְצֶלֶם דַּהֲבָא	καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι
48	τῇ χρυσῇ		τῇ χρυσῇ
49	ᾗ ἔστησα	דִּי הֲקֵימֶת	ἣν ᴸἔστησα
50	οὐ ᴹπροσκυνεῖτε	לָא סָגְדִין	οὐ ᴸᴹπροσκυνεῖτε
	3:15	3:15	3:15
51	ᴸνῦν οὖν ˢεἰ	כְּעַן הֵן	ᴸκαὶ νῦν ˢεἰ ˢμὲν
52	ᴸἔχετε ᴸἑτοίμως	אִיתֵיכוֹן עֲתִידִין	ᴸἔχετε ᴸἑτοίμως
53	ἵνα	דִּי	
54	ᴸὡς ἂν	בְעִדָּנָא דִּי	ᴸἅμα τῷ
55	ἀκούσητε	תִשְׁמְעוּן	ᴹἀκοῦσαι
56	τῆς φωνῆς	קָל	_ _
57	τῆς ᴸσάλπιγγος	קַרְנָא	τῆς σάλπιγγος
58	σύριγγός τε	מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא	ˢ_ _
59	καὶ κιθάρας	קִיתָרֹס	_ _
60	σαμβύκης	שַׂבְּכָא	_ _
61	καὶ ψαλτηρίου	פְּסַנְתֵּרִין	_ _
62	_ _	וְסוּמְפֹּנְיָה	_ _
63	καὶ παντὸς γένους	וְכֹל זְנֵי	καὶ παντὸς ἤχους
64	μουσικῶν	זְמָרָא	μουσικῶν

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65	πεσόντες	תפלו ן	πεσόντες
66	προσκυνήσητε	ותסגדו ן	ᴸᴹπροσκυνῆσαι
67	τῇ εἰκόνι	לצלמא	τῇ εἰκόνι +τῇ χρυσῇ+
68	ᾗ ἐποίησα	די־עבדת	ᾗ ᴸἔστησα
69	ἐὰν δὲ	והן	ˢεἰ δὲ μή
70			+γε γινώσκετε ὅτι+
71	μὴ προσκυνήσητε	לא תסגדו ן	μὴ ᴸπροσκυνησάντων
72	ᴸαὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	בה־שעתה	ὑμῶν ᴸαὐθωρὶ
73	ἐμβληθήσεσθε	תתרמו ן	ᴸἐμβληθήσεσθε
74	εἰς ᴸ_ _ τὴν κάμινον	לגוא־אתו ן	εἰς ᴸ_ _ ˢτὴν κάμινον
75	τοῦ πυρὸς	נורא	τοῦ πυρὸς
76	τὴν καιομένην	יקדתא	τὴν καιομένην
77	καὶ τίς ἐστιν θεός	ומן־הוא אלה	καὶ ᴸποῖος θεός
78	ὃς ᴸἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς	די ישיזבנכו ן	ᴸἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς
79	ἐκ τῶν ᴹχειρῶν μου	מן־ידי	ἐκ τῶν ᴹχειρῶν μου
	3:16	3:16	3:16
80	καὶ ˣἀπεκρίθησαν	ענו	ˢἀποκριθέντες δὲ
81	σεδραχ Μισαχ	שדרך מישך	σεδραχ Μισαχ
82	–Αβδεναγω	ועבד נגו	Αβδεναγω
83	λέγοντες	ואמרי ן	εἶπαν
84	τῷ βασιλεῖ	למלכא	τῷ βασιλεῖ
85	Ναβουχοδονοσορ	נבוכדנצר	Ναβουχοδονοσορ
86			+Βασιλεῦ
87	Οὐ ᴸχρείαν ἔχομεν	לא־חשחין אנחנה	οὐ ᴸχρείαν ἔχομεν
88	ἡμεῖς ˢπερὶ	על־דנה	ᴸἀποκριθῆναί σοι
89	τοῦ ᴸρήματος τούτου	פתגם	
90	ᴸᴹἀποκριθῆναί σοι	להתבותך	ˢἐπὶ τῇ ᴸἐπιταγῇ ταύτῃ
	3:17	3:17	3:17
91	ᴸἔστι ˢᴸγὰρ θεός	הן איתי אלהנא	ᴸἔστιν ᴸγὰρ θεός
92			+ˢὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς
93			+εἷς κύριος ἡμῶν
94	ᾧ ἡμεῖς λατρεύομεν	די־אנחנא פלחין	ὃν ᴸφοβούμεθα
95	ᴸδυνατὸς	יכל	ὅς ἐστιν ᴸδυνατὸς
96	ᴸἐξελέσθαι ἡμᾶς	לשיזבותנא	ᴸἐξελέσθαι ἡμᾶς
97	ἐκ τῆς καμίνου	מן־אתו ן	ἐκ τῆς ˢκαμίνου
98	τοῦ πυρὸς	נורא	τοῦ πυρός
99	τῆς καιομένης	יקדתא	– –

#			
100	καὶ ἐκ τῶν ᴹχειρῶν σου	וּמִן־יְדָךְ	καὶ ἐκ τῶν ᴹχειρῶν σου
101	βασιλεῦ	מַלְכָּא	βασιλεῦ
102	ᴸῥύσεται ἡμᾶς	יְשֵׁיזִב	ᴸἐξελεῖται ἡμᾶς
	3:18	3:18	3:18
103	καὶ ˢἐὰν μή	וְהֵן לָא	καὶ ˢτότε
104	γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι	יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא־לָךְ	φανερόν σοι ἔσται
105	βασιλεῦ	מַלְכָּא	– –
106	ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς σου	דִּי לֵאלָהָיִךְ	ὅτι οὔτε τῷ ᴸεἰδώλῳ σου
107	οὐ ᴸ– –	לָא־אִיתַיְנָא	ᴸ– –
108	λατρεύομεν	פָּלְחִין	ᴸλατρεύομεν οὔτε
109	καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι	וּלְצֶלֶם	τῇ εἰκόνι +ˢσου
110	– –	דַּהֲבָא	τῇ χρυσῇ
111	ᾗ ἔστησας	דִּי הֲקֵימְתָּ	ἣν ᴸἔστησας
112	οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν	לָא נִסְגֻּד	ᴸπροσκυνοῦμεν
	3:19	3:19	3:19
113	ᴸτότε	בֵּאדַיִן	ᴸτότε
114	Ναβουχοδονοσορ	נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר	Ναβουχοδονοσορ
115	ᴸἐπλήσθη ᴸθυμοῦ	הִתְמְלִי חֱמָא	ᴸἐπλήσθη ᴸθυμοῦ
116	καὶ ἡ ᴸὄψις τοῦ	וּצְלֶם אַנְפּוֹהִי	καὶ ἡ ᴸμορφὴ τοῦ
117	προσώπου αὐτοῦ		προσώπου αὐτοῦ
118	ἠλλοιώθη	אֶשְׁתַּנּוּ	ᴸἠλλοιώθη
119	ἐπὶ σεδραχ Μισαχ	עַל־שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ	ˢἐπ᾽ αὐτούς
120	Αβδεναγω	וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ	
121	καὶ ˢ– – εἶπεν	עָנֵה וְאָמַר	καὶ ˢἐπέταξε
122	ᴸἐκκαῦσαι	לְמֵזֵא	ᴸκαῆναι
123	τὴν κάμινον	לְאַתּוּנָא	τὴν κάμινον
124	ἑπταπλασίως	חַד־שִׁבְעָה	ἑπταπλασίως
125	ἕως οὗ	עַל דִּי	ˢπαρὰ ὃ
126	(ᴸεἰς τέλος) ᴸἐκκαῇ	חֲזֵה לְמֵזְיֵהּ	ἔδει αὐτὴν ᴸκαῆναι
	3:20	3:20	3:20
127	καὶ ᴸἄνδρας	וּלְגֻבְרִין	καὶ ᴸἄνδρας
128	– – ᴸ(ἰσχυροὺς	גִּבָּרֵי־חַיִל	ᴸἰσχυροτάτους
129	– – ᴸἰσχύι)	דִּי בְחַיְלֵהּ	ᴸτῶν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει
130	εἶπε	אֲמַר	ἐπέταξεν
131	ᴸᴹ(πεδήσαντας)	לְכַפָּתָה	ᴸσυνποδίσαντας
132	τὸν σεδραχ Μισαχ	לְשַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ	ˢ[τὸν σεδραχ Μισαχ
133	Αβδεναγω	וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ	Αβδεναγω]

134	ᴹἐμβαλεῖν	לְמִרְמֵא	ᴸἐμβαλεῖν
135	εἰς τὴν κάμινον	לְאַתּוּן	εἰς ˢτὴν κάμινον
136	τοῦ πυρός	נוּרָא	τοῦ πυρός
137	τὴν καιομένην	יָקִדְתָּא	τὴν καιομένην

IV.1. *Analysis of 3:11-20*

IV.1.i. *Morphology*

l. 22, 26, 46, 50–Either the present or the aorist can be reasonable equivalents for the perfect of HA, and both are abundantly represented in 3:11-20. However, it is interesting to compare l. 22 and 26 to l. 46 and 50. Regardless of the fact that the present probably represents a better choice in l. 22, 26 (as in l. 46, 50), Th's choice of the present in l. 22, 26 where OG reads the aorist is somewhat significant. DA, pp. 63-65, identifies the elimination of the historic present as a characteristic of *kaige*. While these examples are not historical presents, they are more appropriate in the context, and do not exhibit the same formal correspondence to MT as OG.

l. 29–OG avoids the simple coordination of the terms in MT by transforming one n. into the aor.pass.part. θυμωθείς.

l. 29, 90, 131, 134–In none of these cases does Th (or OG) represent the ל prefixed to an inf.

l. 55, 66–OG employs infinitives for the imp. forms of MT in l. 55, 66 in an attempt to preserve the sense of the syntax. S. *Syntax*, l. 51-66.

l. 71–OG employs the gen. abs. rather than the finite vb. because of changes introduced to the syntax. S. *Syntax*, l. 69-71.

l. 79, 100–OG prefers to employ the pl. for יד (s. CH 2.II.8.i.a.), while Th normally follows the number of MT. In fact, only in l. 100 does Th not follow the number in MT for יד. The change in l. 100 is probably due to harmonization to the earlier use in l. 79.[120]

IV. 1.ii. *Syntax*

l. 1-4–Th's omission of the clause ומן דהבא לצלם ויסנד יפל in 3:10 is

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[120]Note that BHS wants us to read the earlier number in the light of the later.

a rather lengthy minus against both MT and OG, and reflects a tendency of Th, particularly noticeable in chs. 4-6, to omit repeated phrases. Th changes the syntax of MT in 3:10-11 from "Anyone who hears . . . should fall and worship . . . but whoever does not fall and worship . . ." to "Whoever hears . . . and does not fall and worship . . ." The change in syntax explains the add. in l. 4 as necessary to provide the object of worship. The basic meaning of the *Vorlage* is retained, though the elimination of the repeated phrase lessens some of the rhetorical effect.

l. 2-OG's omission of the part. alters the rhetorical effect, but the basic sense is the same.

l. 6, 74, 97, 135-MT has the full expression אַתּוּן נוּרָא יָקִדְתָּא also in 3:6, 21, 23, 26. A formally equivalent translation τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν καιομένην is given by OG and Th in l. 6, 74, 135; 3:6.[121] OG omits τὴν καιομένην in l. 99 and 3:21;[122] and has differences in 3:23, 26(96). In 3:23 OG has ἐξελθοῦσα ἡ φλόξ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου and 3:26(96) has τῆς καμίνου ἔτι καιομένης, but both may reflect a different approach to translating compared to the earlier portion of ch. 3.

Th only omits τοῦ πυρός in 3:23.

l. 11-This is the only occurrence of the independent obj. pro. יָת in BA. The relative pro. οὕς is a literal and idiomatic equivalent for the דִּי + obj. pro.

l. 17-OG=MT while Th omits "these men" and employs a relative clause instead.

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[121] Indeed, both OG and Th employ the individual Greek words as SE for the corresponding Aramaic. The majority of omissions and/or different readings from the three terms are in 3:21-26(93). For example, יָקַד only occurs 8x; all in the phrase currently being discussed. אַתּוּן is found in 2 additional passages (3:19, 22), and in each case OG and Th translate with κάμινος. נוּר is also found in 3:22, 24(91), 25(92), 26(93)*bis*, 27(94)*bis*; 7:9(2), 10. Both OG and Th translate with πῦρ, except where it is omitted. OG omits in 3:21, 22, 24(91), 26(93); 7:9. Th omits נוּר in 3:22, 23, where the context is different due to the inclusion of the deutero-canonical material.

[122] Asterisked add. in 88-Syh.

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l. 18-Both OG and Th translate the semitic idiom שׂים שׂעם "pay regard to" (+ עַל pers.; s. BDB, p. 1113) literally by providing an object for the vb. The idiom also occurs in 6:14(13). There OG=0 and Th employs ὑποτάσσω. It is also possible that Th has read שׂעם in both cases.

l. 23, 109-The add. of σου may be the result of OG making explicit what is implicit in MT, i.e. the image is in the likeness of the king (cf. 2:32, 37),[123] but OG does not add the first per.pro. in l. 47. Regardless of the appearance of the image, to worship it was to acknowledge Nebuchadnezzar's god/idol.

l. 37-40-OG employs a relative phrase to avoid the excessive parataxis in MT. The part. in OG does serve to make the sequence of events explicit ("they were brought . . . when he saw them . . . he said"), but there is no significant difference in meaning. OG's syntax also requires the non-translation of ו in l. 40.

l. 37, 80, 121-For the variation in the translation of the idiom עָנה ואמר, s. *Syntax*, 2:1-10.

l. 51-66-Here MT leaves the apodosis unstated.[124] OG employs infinitives in l. 55 and 66, which effectively follow the syntax of MT. ἅμα + dat. + inf. in l. 54-55="Together with the hearing . . ." Th has 2 subj. in l. 55 and 66, which introduce a slight change, "Now, therefore, if you are prepared: When you hear . . . you should worship."

l. 51-OG employs the idiomatic μέν/δέ[125] 8x, but the distribution is significant. It occurs in 1:7; 2:24, 33, 41; 3:15, 23, 46; 12:2. The total absence of this construction from chs. 4-11 in the original text of OG is unlikely. Th only has μέν/δέ in 2:41, 42.

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[123]Delcor, "Un cas de traduction," pp. 30-35; McCrystall, p. 81.

[124]*GBA*, §86.

[125]See Smyth, §2895-2916.

l. 58-62, 119-In l. 119 (s. l. 132) OG substitutes a shorter
expression for the repeated list of names for stylistic variation.
The same motivation accounts for the omission of the instruments in l.
58-62.[126] The list of instruments is also shortened in 3:7, 10; as
well as the list of officials in 3:3.

l. 69-71-OG adds l. 70 to emphasize the ominous consequences of not
worshipping ("But if not, know for certain/it is a certainty").[127]
The introduction of l. 70 also caused 3 changes in the syntax. First,
μή was added to l. 69; second, OG's introduction of γινώσκω required an
obj. clause in order to retain the elements in MT; third, OG transforms
the finite vb. προσκυνέω into a gen. abs.! OG's dynamic translation is
faithful to the intention of MT, but slightly more dramatic. At the
same time, even though OG added a few elements to create this
emphasis, the vocabulary of MT is represented.

l. 86, 105-In the former the voc. מלכא is added, while in the latter
the voc. is omitted. Neither makes any significant difference (s.
Text-Critical).

l. 88, 90-Both OG and Th construe עלדנה with פתגם incorrectly.[128]
MT="There is no need for us to make an apology about this."

l. 91, 103-The theological implications of the conditional clauses in
3:17-18 of MT are interesting, but it is not incumbent on us to
determine whether it is God's existence or his ability to save that is
in question.[129] What is significant for our purposes is that there

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[126]In both instances 88-Syh have an asterisked add.

[127]For γε, see Smyth, §2821-2829.

[128]Noted by Mont., p. 208; but note that the Peshitta has an
addition (מלתא) which makes this connection as well.

[129]The linguistic difficulty in 3:17 is the separation of the
particle איתי from the vb. יכל. There are two options for translation.
The first is offered by Torrey ("Notes," p. 263) and presupposes that
the הן contains the whole protasis. Thus, he translates, "If it be
so, (i.e., if the sentence of the king is executed), our God whom we

is an ambiguity in the text, and both OG and Th, in company with the other versions, resolve it.[130] OG and Th affirm the existence of God (OG adds l. 92-93, s. below) and His ability to save. They confirm God's existence by employing γάρ for זה, but the unified approach could be based on an exegetical tradition rather than Th borrowing from OG.

The translation of the second conditional clause in 3:18 (l. 103) reveals significant differences between OG and Th, which supports the view that there is no dependence of Th on OG in the earlier clause. Th translates l. 103 with formal equivalents "And if not," (i.e., if God does not save us), and the juss. in l. 104 with an impv. "let it be known to you." According to Th, then, the three do not intend to worship the gods whether their God acts or not. Conversely, OG has καὶ τότε φανερόν σοι ἔσται "And then it will be clear to you," which presupposes that they will be delivered. The explicit belief that they will be delivered is in complete accord with the confession in l. 92-93.[131]

l. 92-93—OG's add. imparts a monotheistic emphasis that strengthens the syntactic change in l. 91.[132] A similar statement on monotheism is found in OG 4:34c. The similarity of the theological statements suggests that the same translator is responsible for both 3:17 and 4:34c.

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serve, is able to deliver us." The second option is to translate אתי as a copula (Mont., p. 206). Thus, "If our God whom we serve is able . . ." For an excellent discussion of the issues, see P. W. Coxon, "Daniel III:17: A Linguistic and Theological Problem," *VT* 26 (1976): 400-409. Ashley, pp. 358-368, notes that medieval rabbinic exegetes debated vigorously over the meaning of this clause and argues that we should seriously consider that the clause questions the existence of God for rhetorical effect.

[130]For a discussion of the translation of 3:17 by the versions, see Coxon, "Daniel III: 17," pp. 402-403.

[131]See also Blud., p. 45.

[132]The lines are marked with the obelus in 88-Syh.

l. 125-126—OG employs παρα + acc. for a comparative[133] "seven times more than it was (literally: he had seen it) heated." Th reads עד for על and employs εἰς τέλος adverbially.[134] See *Lexicology*, l. 126.

l. 132-967 reads τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αζαριαν, which agrees with OG's translation in 3:23. However, it is argued below that a later translator has edited 3:20-30(97) in order to insert the additions to ch. 3. It is the reading of 967 in 3:20 that suggests this editing began in 3:20.

IV.1.iii. *Lexicology*

l. 3, 22, 26, 46, 50, 66, 71, 94, 108, 112—The cultic terms סגד and פלח are both rendered by SE in OG and Th. OG employs προσκυνέω 12/12 for סגד,[135] and λατρεύω for פלח 7/9.[136] The choice of equivalents reflects a semantic difference. In the remainder of the LXX λατρεύω is the SE for עבד where it refers to cultic service. προσκυνέω is the SE for שחה in BH and has a more predominant sense of worship. Both OG and Th recognize and maintain that distinction.

OG employs φοβέω in l. 94 as an unusual equivalent for פלח. The motivation for this rendering was to supply a parallel with 3:12 (s. *Syntax*). According to OG, the three do not fear the king's decree because they do fear/revere God![137] ὑποτάσσω is a good dynamic translation by OG in 7:27, and only appears elsewhere in OG as a plus to 11:37.

Though Th's choice of δουλεύω in 7:14, 27 is acceptable, there is no semantic difference that would explain why he would not employ the established equivalent λατρεύω. It would support the suggestion that

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[133] Smyth, §1073.

[134] So Mont., p. 211.

[135] 2.46; 3:5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 28. Th omits in 3:10, s. *Syntax*.

[136] 3:12, 14, 18, 28(95); 6:17(16), 21(20); 7:14. In 3:17 OG has φοβέω (Th has λατρεύω) and in 7:14 Th has δουλεύω. In 7:27 OG has ὑποτάσσω where Th has δουλεύω again.

[137] It is surprising that Meadowcroft, pp. 159-160, fails to note the obvious literary connection.

at least ch. 7 originates from a different translator, or that ch. 7 has undergone some revision.

l. 5, 73, 134-In ch. 3 OG always employs ἐμβάλλω for רמא 5/5,[138] but in ch. 6 OG has ῥίπτω 4/4.[139] Th employs ἐμβάλλω (9/10), except in 3:24(91) where he has the simple form of the vb. The only other occurrence of רמא is in 7:9 where it has a different sense, and both OG and Th have τίθημι. Once more OG's vocabulary reveals differences within chs. 4-6.[140]

l. 6, 74-OG omits וג all 10x it appears in Daniel, whereas Th only omits in l. 6, 74 and 3:6.[141] Elsewhere Th has μέσος.

l. 9, 45, 52, 91, 107-Both OG and Th treat יתיא as a copula.[142] OG has ἔστιν (εἰσίν in l. 8) 6/12[143] and omits it in 2:26; 3:14, 18. In three cases OG offers free renditions. OG employs the f. part. οὖσαν in 2:30 and ἔχω in l. 50. In both these cases Th has the same reading and they would have to be classed as distinctive agreements. In 3:25(92) OG has οὐδεμία ἐγενήθη. Besides the agreements with OG in 2:30 and 3:15, Th also omits יתיא in l. 43, 96 and 2:26, but in these cases the particle is made redundant by the presence of a finite vb. Otherwise, Th has 3 person forms of εἰμί 9/14.

l. 9, 17, 33, 34, 127-OG employs ἄνθρωπος (7x) and ἀνήρ (7x)

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[138]3:6, 11, 15, 20, 21. OG=0 3:24(91).

[139]6. 8(7), 13(12), 17(16), 25(24). See 6:18(17) for an equivalent to 17(16).

[140]See also Albertz, p. 162.

[141]Also in 3:21, 23, 24(91), 25(92), 26(93); 4:7(10); 7:15. 7:15 has the difficult בוגא הנדנ, which Th seems to have attempted to render with a contextual guess ἕξει.

[142]*GBA.* §95. Muraoka (*Emphatic*, p. 81) states that יתיא retains an asseverative force in 2:26 and 3:17, while elsewhere in Daniel it is weakening to a copula.

[143]2:11(2), 28; 3:12, 17, 29(96). OG=0 in 4:32(35); 5:11.

indiscriminately as equivalents for נבר (19x).[144] In contrast, Th never employs ἄνθρωπος. However, Th also omits translating נבר more often than OG and in one case makes it explicit who the men are (οἱ τακτικοί in 6:6[5]). The omission in 3:12 is due to Th changing the syntax; and Th also omits נבר once in 3:20. Th has a large minus compared to MT in 3:22, while the omissions in 3:13, 23 have no apparent motivation.

l. 11—The same equivalence is shared by OG and Th in 2:24, 49, though Th employs it earlier in 1:11.[145]

l. 12, 13—עבידה is also collocated with מדינה in 2:49 in its only other usage in Daniel, and MT reads exactly the same as l. 11-12. Th has the same equivalent in 2:49, while OG has ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς βασιλ. Presumably, OG has omitted עבידה in both cases as unnecessary. Th also employs the collective ἔργα for the Hebrew equivalent מלאכה (HL in Daniel) in 8:27.[146]

Th employs χώρα (9/9) as a SE for מדינה,[147] while OG is more varied in his approach. OG employs χώρα 4x, but also has πόλιν in 11:24 and πρᾶγμα in 2:48, 49 (3:3, 30[97] OG=0). The fact that OG has χώρας in 3:12 suggests that OG employed the dynamic translation πρᾶγμα in 2:49 because of his earlier choice in vs. 48.[148]

l. 20—OG employs a variety of equivalents for טעם: γνῶσις 2:14; κρίνω 3:10, 29(96); ἐντολή 3:12.[149] Th favours δόγμα 6/9, but not to the

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[144]נבר=ἄνθρωπος in 2:25; 3:12, 13, 27(94); 5:11?; 6:25(24); 8:15. נבר=ἀνήρ in 3:8, 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25(92). OG (and Th) omits the second נבר as redundant in 3:20 and also omits in 6:6(5) and 6:12(11). In 2:24(91); 6:16(15) OG=0.

[145]S. the discussion of the relationship between Th and OG in 1:1-10, l. 48, 94.

[146]ἔργα is also found in 3:27, 57 in both OG and Th, and in an OG + in 4:19(22). OG has the sing. in 11:17 for מלכות(?)

[147]2:48, 49; 3:1, 2, 3, 12, 30(97); 8:2; 11:24.

[148]Mont., p. 184, suggests that 2:48 was motivated by 2:49.

[149]OG=0 4:3(6); 5:2; 6:3(2), 6:14(13), 6:27(26).

point of misconstruing the meaning of the text. γνώμη renders the
sense of "good judgement" in 2:14, while in 5:2 טעם has the sense
"taste," which Th translates with γεῦσις. Th employs λόγος in 6:3(2) in
a vain attempt to render the meaning of the difficult Aramaic.

Though Th and OG share a much closer relationship in the
current passage, the translation of טעם does exhibit significant
differences in approach. It should also be noted that OG only employs
δόγμα in a plus (6:12a), whereas Th's use of δόγμα mainly for טעם and
דת (s. *Syntax,* 2:1-10) represents incomplete lexical levelling.

l. 21, 44, 106–OG's specifies the nature of the gods (εἰδώλῳ) in l. 21 and
106,[150] whereas in l. 44 it has a literal equivalent to MT. Actually,
OG's ideology preserves a nice distinction. To the king the statue
represents the "gods" θεοῖς (l. 44), but to the three it is merely an
"idol" εἴδωλον.[151] This distinction explains why OG does not employ
εἴδωλον in l. 44.

l. 25, 48, 111–Forms of √ἵστημι were ideal to render קום because of the
broad semantic range it afforded, as well as its use as both a
transitive or an intransitive vb. Of the 35x קום appears in Daniel
the majority are in the Aramaic section and 10 are in ch. 3:1–18.[152]
MT has a plus against OG and Th in 3:3, but it is probably a case of
dittography in MT.[153] The remaining 8 cases in 3:1–18 all have to do
with the setting up of the statue (5 in 3 s.ha.pf.; 3 in 2 s.ha.pf.), so it
is not surprising to find identical forms in Th and OG.

For the most part, OG and Th employ formal equivalents for the
translation of קום. The only dynamic equivalent in OG is 7:17
(ἀπολοῦνται). There are several Th renderings that require comment.

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[150]S. the discussion of these equivalents in CH 3.III.2.i.

[151]It is possible that OG's choice of the s. in 3:12, 18 reflects
the Q in MT, but given the change in translation equivalents it is
difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty.

[152]2:21, 31, 39, 44(2); 3:1, 2, 3(3), 5, 7, 12, 14, 18, 24(91); 4:14;
5:11, 21; 6:2(1), 4(3), 8(7), 9(8), 16(15), 20(19); 7:4, 5(2), 10, 16, 17,
24(2); 8:27; 9:12. OG=0 in 3:3(2); 4:14(17); 5:11, 21. 6:20(19)?

[153]OG omits the entire final clause, while Th omits the redundant
"which Neb. set up."

Th employs ἐξανίστημι in 3:24(91), which is unique. It is the only occurrence in Th, even though it is a regular equivalent for קום in the LXX.[154] In 6:4(3) Th renders עשׂית להקמותה with a simple finite form of καθίστημι, whereas OG employs ἐβουλεύσατο καταστῆσαι. Th has probably omitted translating the HL עשׂה.

Finally, we must consider the question of Th's relationship to OG. The ratio of agreements between Th and OG for the translation of קום in the remainder of Daniel is not quite as extensive as it is in ch. 3. However, rather than investigating each equivalent we will focus on those instances where OG and Th have the vb. καθίστημι. OG and Th share a common reading of the vb. in 2:21; 6:2(1), 4(3), so it might be concluded that Th has merely retained OG. On the other hand, Th also employs καθίστημι in 5:11 (OG=0) and in each of these instances Th accurately translates the sense "to appoint." For example, in 5:11 Th has ὁ πατήρ σου ἄρχοντα . . . κατέ. αὐτόν = הקימה . . . רב אבוך = "your father appointed him head . . ." Th's translations in these instances accord well with his renderings of מנה in 1:11; 2:24, 49; 3:12 that were discussed earlier (s. 1:1-10, Lexicology). Furthermore, Th employs καθίστημι elsewhere only in 2:38 and 2:48 for the two places where the ha. of שׁלט appears.[155] Therefore, when we consider the faithfulness, consistency and distinctiveness of Th's translation, it is unlikely that Th has borrowed from OG. Most of the common readings are exactly that, common. On the other hand, the shared reading of παρειστήκεισαν 7:10 is most likely a distinctive agreement.

1. 27, 32, 113-MT employs (ב)אדיר 46x in Daniel.[156] There is little point in presenting a comprehensive analysis because τότε is the normal and expected equivalent for (ב)אדיר, and καί is a reasonable and frequent choice as well. However, there are several noteworthy points. First, except for the omission in 3:3 OG has τότε for (ב)אדיר 13/13 in

[154]ἐξανίστημι appears in 5:6 in OG where MT=0.

[155]OG has καθίστημι in 2:48, but in 2:38 it employs κυριεύω!

[156]2:14, 15, 17, 19(2), 25, 35, 46, 48; 3:3, 13(2), 19, 21, 24(91), 26(93)bis, 30(97); 4:4(7), 16(19); 5:3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 17, 24, 29; 6:4(3), 5(4), 6(5), 7(6), 12(11), 13(12), 14(13), 15(14), 16(15), 17(16), 19(18), 20(19), 22(21), 24(23), 26(25); 7:1, 11, 19.

ch. 2-3:21. Th, on the other hand, has δὲ in 2:15! and καὶ in 2:17, 19, 48; 3:3. Second, the frequent use of καὶ in Th means that the καὶ in l. 32 may be the equivalent for בֵּאדַיִן, rather than for a hypothetical ו (גבריא אֱלָךְ is omitted in l. 33). Third, OG employs the dynamic equivalents οὕτως οὖν only in 3:26(93) and 3:30(97). Fourth, contrary to the stereotyped usage in ch. 2-3:21, OG only employs τότε about 12/23 in 3:24(91)-7:19 and the alternative equivalents (also καὶ in 3:26[93]; 5:3, 6, 8; 6:12[11], 14[13], 15[14], 20[19] and δὲ in 4:16[19]) only occur in chs. 4-6.[157]

It is not possible to formulate any definite conclusions, but the pattern of translation is similar to what we have found elsewhere. Not only are there unique equivalents in OG around the inclusion of the deutero-canonical additions at the end of ch. 3, but there is also a different approach to translating the term in chs. 4-6.

1. 28, 115-MT has two terms for anger/wrath collocated in l. 28 (רְגַז is a HL in Daniel). Although OG transforms the first to a participle, Th has the same order of equivalents: θυμός (θυμόω OG) then ὀργή. The nature of this agreement is underscored in l. 115 where both OG and Th employ θυμός for חֱמָא instead of ὀργή as in l. 28. The same type of agreement occurs with the cognate Hebrew term חֵמָה. In 11:44 OG and Th both render חֵמָה with θυμός, but in 9:16 they both have ὁ θυμός σου καὶ ἡ ὀργή σου where MT reads אַפְּךָ וַחֲמָתֶךָ. The order θυμός, then ὀργή is not a fixed collocation in the LXX either, so 3:13 and 9:16 are probably distinctive agreements.[158]

The specifics of OG and Th's agreement are, however, difficult to discern. For example, in the only other occurrence of חֵמָה in 8:6, OG has the expected θυμός; but, Th has ὁρμή (1-10)! If we broaden the investigation, we find that OG and Th employ ὀργή to render the substantive זַעַם in 8:19 and 11:36. However, when זַעַם occurs as a vb.

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[157]3:24(91)?; 5:9, 13, 17?, 29; 6:7(6), 13(12), 19(18), 26(25); 7:1, 11, 19. OG=0 5:24; 6:4(3), 5(4), 6(5), 16(15), 17(16), 22(21), 24(23). Th's ratio of 15/31 in 3:24(91)-7:19 (Th=0 in 5:24?) is about the same as 2-3:21.

[158]In fact, ὀργή more often precedes θυμός (50x) in the LXX than the other way around (38x). See also Muraoka, *12 Prophets*, pp. 111, 173 where Muraoka notes that θυμός and ὀργή are employed as overlapping synonyms in the LXX.

in 11:30 OG employs ὀργίζω and Th has θυμόω. Nor does Th share OG's reading of ὀργή in the addition (doublet?) to 9:26, or OG's error in 11:18. In the other occurrence of אף in the sense of anger in 11:20 (cf. 9:16) OG employs ὀργη, whereas Th renders literally with πρόσωπον. Finally, we should note that OG employs both θυμόω (8:7) and ὀργίζω (11:11) to translate מרר in the hithpalpal (יתמרמר) "to be embittered," but Th has 2 HL in the LXX: ἐξαγριαίνω and ἀγριάνω!!

l. 29, 34—OG and Th have common readings for אתה throughout Daniel (12x), but the significance is minimal because the equivalents are expected.[159] In 3:26(93) OG simplifies פקו ואתו to ἐξέλθατε while Th has a good dynamic translation ἐξέλθετε καὶ δεῦτε "Come out and come here!"[160]

l. 37—This is the only occurrence of συνοράω for the translated books of the Hebrew Bible, though it does occur 9x in the Maccabean literature.

l. 41—OG renders the sense of MT, but it is uncertain whether he actually knew the meaning of the inf. צדא.[161] Th offers a literal equivalent.

l. 51—The adv. כען appears 7x in MT, though OG only seems to have it in his *Vorlage* in 3:15 and 2:23. Th reflects a difference in his approach. In the 5x that the adv. stands alone, including 3:15, OG translates with νῦν οὖν.[162] However, in 5:15 where the conj. ו is attached, Th translates with καὶ νῦν. According to Ziegler, the νῦν is not part of Th's text in 2:23, but there is some support for its inclusion.

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[159]אתה is 12x in Daniel. 3:2, 13(2), 26(93); 5:2, 3, 13, 23; 6:17(16), 18(17); 7:13, 22. OG=0 5:13; 6:17(16).

[160]For δεῦρο and δεῦτε, see E. Eynikel and J. Lust, "The Use of ΔΕΥΡΟ and ΔΕΥΤΕ in the LXX," *ETL* 67 (1991): 57-68.

[161]See Torrey, "Notes," pp. 261-62.

[162]3:15; 4:34(37); 5:12, 16; 6:9.

l. 52-The equivalent ἑτοίμως (1-4) for עֲתִיד (HL in Dan.) in OG and Th is a common reading in l. 50.

l. 54-בְּעִדָּנָא also occurs in 3:5 where OG has ὅταν and Th employs ᾗ ἄν ὥρᾳ. Th's rendering is more dynamic in 3:15. S. *Syntax*, l. 49-64.

l. 57-There are five or six musical instruments listed in 3:5, 7, 10, 15. 3 of the names of the instruments are certainly Greek loan words (κίθαρις, ψαλτήριον, συμφωνία), and two (קֶרֶן, שַׂרְק) are semitic.[163] OG only gives a complete list in the first instance and prefers to abbreviate in vss. 7, 10, 15. The main point of interest in the list is the word συμφωνία. Bevan identified συμφωνία as a type of bagpipe and Grelot has argued that it was a double flute.[164] It was believed that συμφωνία is specifically mentioned as a favourite individual instrument in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes, but Coxon has argued that it should be understood in the sense of a group of musicians.[165] The sense of the term is uncertain, but Th and OG seem to understand it as orchestral music. Th omits συμφωνία all 4x in which it appears. This suggests that he understood it in terms of a band or orchestra; therefore, he omitted it as redundant because of the following "and all kinds of music." The reading of OG depends on the text we choose as original. 88-Syh and 967 translate all six terms in 3:5, but 88-Syh lists them in a way that suggests συμφωνία refers to an individual instrument. 967 reads "and a symphony of all kinds of music," which should probably be accepted as OG.[166] In the later vss. (7, 10, 15) OG omits συμφωνία as redundant.

l. 68-OG may employ ἵστημι for עֲבַד because he expected to read קוּם due to the previous collocation of (ההבא) דִּי הֲקֵים(ת) לְצֶלֶם in 3:2, 3, 5, 7,

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[163]For a discussion of the instruments, see Coxon, "Greek Loan-Words," pp. 24-40; P. Grelot, "L'Orchestre de Daniel III 5, 7 10, 15," *VT* 29 (1979): 23-38; Kitchen, "Aramaic," pp. 48-50.

[164]Bevan, p. 80; Grelot, "L'Orchestre," pp. 36-37.

[165]Bevan, p. 41, includes the quote from Polybius; see Coxon, "Greek Loan-Words," p. 32.

[166]συμφωνία could be the result of later harmonization to MT (s. CH 2.III.).

12, 14, though he also has συνίστημι in 7:21. The expected equivalent for the verb עֲבַד in both OG (3/7) and Th (10/12) is ποιέω.[167]

l. 72–שָׁעָה only appears 5x in Daniel: 4x in the temporal expression בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא (3:6, 15; 4:30[33]; 5:5) and once prefixed with כְּ (4:16). OG has various equivalents. αὐθωρὶ (1-2) in 3:15 appears to be a neologism (LEH, p. 70), while in 3:6 OG omits translating it. ἕως δὲ πρωὶ may be an equivalent in 4:30(33), though like 4:16(19) the *Vorlage* is uncertain. Other than the neologism in 3:15, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ in 5:5 is the most significant equivalent for בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא because it almost certainly stems from Th! In the other three cases where בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא appears, Th always has αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ. The only difference in 5:5 is the add. of ἐν, but the literalness of the reading and the consistency with which it is found in Th leads to the conclusion that the reading ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ of OG in 5:5 is Theodotionic.

l. 78, 96, 102–The main equivalent for שֵׁיזִב (shaphel, see BDB, p. 1115) in both OG (5/8) and Th (7/9) is ἐξαιρέω.[168] The other equivalent for OG is σώζω in 3:28(95); 6:21(20), 28(27).[169] Th has ῥύομαι in 3:17 and ἀντιλαμβάνω! (HL in Daniel) in 6:28(27). It is possible that Th has followed OG's equivalent for שֵׁיזִב, but it is also possible that Th made the same equivalence. The 2x that Th changes equivalents can be explained as stylistic variation, and it is noteworthy that Th changes equivalents in 3:17 while OG does not.[170] Analysis of related vocabulary sharing the sense of deliverance reveals similar findings. For example, other than 3:88 Th only has σώζω in 11:41 and 12:1 where the Hebrew equivalent is מָלַט (ni.). These are the only appearances of מָלַט in Daniel and the reading is shared with OG in 12:1. However, in

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[167]2:5; 3:1, 15, 29(96), 32(99); 4:32(35)*bis*; 5:1; 6:11(10), 23(22), 28(27); 7:21. OG=0 in 3:32(99); 4:32(35)*bis*; 6:23(22)?, 28(27). Neither OG or Th understand MT in 2:5 and 3:29(96).

[168]שֵׁיזִב is in 3:15, 17(2), 28(95); 6:15(14), 17(16), 21(20), 28(27)*bis*. OG=0 once in 6:28(27) where שֵׁיזִב appears twice and OG reads quite differently.

[169]OG has σώζω also in 3:88; 11:42; 12:1.

[170]S. the discussion of OG and Th's relationship.

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11:41 OG=0, so we cannot assume Th dependence on OG in 12:1.

Another semitic term for deliverance, נצל (ha. in BA), occurs 5x in Daniel. OG has ἐξαιρέω in 3:29(96); 6:16(15)=15(14) and ῥύομαι in 8:4, 7. Th overlaps in 6:15(14), whereas in 3:29(96); 6:28(OG=0) he has ῥύομαι and in 8:4, 7 ἐξαιρέω.

1. 87-OG and Th employ the common reading χρείαν ἔχομεν for חשׁח (HL in MT; BDB, p. 1093). This reading also shares the same feature as the common reading in 1. 52, i.e. both employ ἔχω.

1. 88, 90-OG and Th have ἀποκρίνω for חוב. Th has the same equivalence where חוב has the sense of "answer" in 2:14. There OG has εἶπεν.[171]

1. 88, 90-MT also has פתגם in 4:14(17) where OG=0 and Th has λόγος.

1. 95-OG and Th only have δύνατος elsewhere in 11:3 for גבור (HL in Daniel). The reading in 1. 95 is a distinctive agreement,[172] but there is no way to prove the direction of borrowing. However, it is noteworthy that OG and Th have extensive agreement with one another and formal agreement with MT in 1. 95-101.

1. 115-OG and Th have a common reading, which in all probability stems from OG. πίμπλημι is nowhere else in Th while OG has it again in 12:4.[173]

1. 116-εἰκών is the SE for צלם for both OG (14/17) and Th (16/17),[174]

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[171]Elsewhere חוב has the sense of return in 4:31(34), 33(36)bis, and in each case Th renders with ἐπιστρέφω (OG=0).

[172]גבור=δύνατος is a common equivalent in the LXX.

[173]מלא appears 4x in MT: 2:35 OG=πατάσσω, Th=πληρόω; 9:2 OG=ἀναπλήρωσις, Th=συμπλήρωσις; 10:3 OG=συντελέω, Th=πλήρωσις. OG's rendering in 2:35 is based on his reading מחא for מלא. מחא is found earlier in the vs. as well as in 2:34.

[174]צלם is found elsewhere in 2:31(2), 32, 34, 35; 3:1, 2, 3(2), 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18. OG omits in 2:32 and once in 3:3. Th omits in 3:10, but has it as a plus in 3:11 (s. Syntax, 1. 1-4).

but would not have been appropriate to describe the "appearance" of the king's face. The choice of equivalents in 3:19 is interesting because μορφή is a HL in OG, whereas Th has it 5x for זיו.[175] ὄψις is an equivalent for מראה in 1:4 of Th, whereas OG has it for מראה in 1:13, 15 (Th=ἰδέα).

l. 118-The translation of שנא was discussed in the previous section on 2:1-10. 4x elsewhere MT has זיו collocated with שנא "his appearance was changed" and in each case Th employs ἀλλοιόω.[176]

l. 122, 126-OG employs the simple καίω for אזא while Th has the compound ἐκκαίω. The only other occurrence of אזא is in 3:22 (pe.pf.) where both read ἐξεκαύθη. OG exhibits lexical levelling by employing καίω for both אזא and יקד (3:6, 11, 15, 20, 23), whereas Th makes a distinction through employing the compound. Therefore, it is very possible that the compound in 3:22 of OG reflects Th influence.

l. 126-Th has the dynamic rendering of εἰς τέλος for הזה. Th translated it adverbially (i.e. "utterly"), but it is unlikely that his text differed from MT.[177] This is a good example of Th's independence from OG.

l. 128-129-MT piles up the superlatives in depicting the "men, mighty men of strength who were in his service" who were to throw the three into the fire. OG renders גברי־חיל with a superlative, and a formally equivalent rendition of די בחילה. Th simplifies to ἰσχυροὺς ἰσχύι "strong in strength." Th's more dynamic rendering should be regarded as another clearly independent translation.

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[175]4:33(36); 5:6, 9, 10; 7:28. OG=0 in all cases except in 5:6 where it has ὅρασις.

[176]5:6, 9, 10; 7:28. OG has ἀλλοιόω in 5:6; OG=0 in 5:9, 10; διαφέρω in 7:28.

[177]Mont., p. 211, suggests that Th read הזה as if it were from the root of אזא.

1. 131-OG has συνποδίζω (3/3) for כפת, whereas Th has πεδάω 4/4.[178]
Both words are employed in the LXX (s. HR), but Th's choice suggests
independence.

IV.1.iv. *Summary*

As in 1:1-10 and 2:1-10, OG was no doubt translating a *Vorlage*
virtually identical with MT. However, OG's relationship to MT has a
different character in 3:11-20 when compared to the previous sections
we have examined. As in the previous sections OG adheres quite
closely to MT, but here OG does not exhibit the same variety in his
choice of lexical equivalents and the close formal correspondence to
MT (note the number of articles!) is unusual. This may be partly
explained by the high degree of repetition in the vocabulary.
However, it is also striking that in 3:11-20 OG always has qualifying
adjectives and participles with articles in the attributive position
(eg. τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ) rather than employing a shorter form. There
are omissions against MT, but these primarily involve words that occur
frequently in ch. 3. Though OG demonstrates a closer formal
correspondence to MT in this passage, there are still some interesting
free translations. For example, OG changes the conditional clauses in
3:17-18 in order to remove any ambiguity about the existence of God or
His ability to save. The addition emphasizing monotheism in 1. 92-93
of 3:17 ensures that we are in no doubt about OG's theological views.
The addition in 1. 70 is different from 1. 92-93 because it does not
introduce any fundamental differences in meaning, though it did
require OG to make changes in the syntax. OG also has a few dynamic
equivalents (1. 37-συνιδών; 1. 72-αὐθωρί; 1. 94-φοβούμεθα) and displays
some freedom in word order by employing postpositive conjunctions (δὲ
in 1. 9, 69, 80; γὰρ in 1. 91).

In 3:11-20 Th demonstrates an expected formal correspondence to
MT, but not to the point of mechanical literalness. Once again, Th
has occasional omissions against MT and even changes the syntax at the
beginning of vs. 11. Th also employs some variety in equivalents (1.
102, 116, 126, 131) that distinguish him from OG. Th's expression of
the superlative in 1. 128-129 is also dynamic.

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[178]3:20, 21, 23, 24(91). OG=0 in 3:24(91) but has an extra
appearance of συνποδίζω in 3:22. OG has πεδάω in 4:30a.

The investigation of 3:11-20 has also found further evidence to confirm Albertz' thesis. First, we have confirmed that OG's use of ῥίπτω for רמא in chs. 4-6 is distinct from the choice ἐμβάλλω elsewhere. Second, OG employs τότε as a SE for אדין(ב) in ch. 2-3:21, which is distinct from 3:24(91)-7:19. Third, the idiomatic μέν/δέ only occurs once outside of chs. 1-3, but this finding has been anticipated by the results of our investigation of 2:1-10.

There is also a significant piece of evidence linking chs. 4-6 with the rest of OG, or, at least ch. 3. The emphasis on monotheism in 3:17 is very similar to 4:34c. Albertz argues that one of the reasons why the later translator of chs. 1-3, 7-12 adopted the earlier "popular" edition of chs. 4-6 into his edition was because the earlier translator of chs. 4-6 shared the same theological concerns. Albertz offers the parallel between 3:17 and 4:34c as a prime example of this shared theology.[179] However, if that were the case, we might expect to find additional emphasis on monotheism elsewhere in chs. 1-3 or 7-12. So, although it can be maintained that OG chs. 4-6 stem from a different translator when compared with chs. 1-3; 7-12, the correspondence between 3:17 and 4:34c exemplifies the problem of reconstructing OG and its compositional history.

IV.2. *A Note on the Additions to Chapter Three*

A further complication in reconstructing the compositional history of OG is the inclusion of the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men in ch. 3. Whether the additions stem from a semitic *Vorlage* is beyond the limits of this investigation, nor is it strictly within our purview to decide whether the additions were part of the OG text. However, what we have found suggests that the additions have been inserted into the OG. There are differences in content between MT, Th and OG in the verses immediately prior to and following the insertion in 3:21-30(97), but the primary difference is in 3:24(91). MT does not provide a reason why the king was alarmed and rose to his feet, but presumably he can see the four from where he sits. In OG and Th the king rises to his feet in amazement because he hears them singing, and then he declares to his friends (nobles in Th)

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[179]Albertz. p. 164.

that there are four beings in the fire. Despite the differences in content, the narrative sequence, apart from the inclusion of the deutero-canonical material in the Greek texts, is basically the same in MT and the Greek versions. Therefore, we can be reasonably certain that the *Vorlage* for OG and Th was very similar to that preserved in MT. Even though the *Vorlagen* for MT and OG were very similar, there are several translation equivalents that OG employs that are unique to 3:20-30(97). These are summarized below:

1. OG has ἐξελθοῦσα ἡ φλόξ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου in 3:23 and τῆς καμίνου ἔτι καιομένης in 3:26(96) where MT has לגוא־אתון נורא יקדתא (cf. 3:6, 11, etc.).

2. OG has οὐδεμία ἐγενήθη in 3:25(92) for לא־איתי.

3. OG employs οὕτως οὖν only in 3:26(93) and 3:30(97) for באדין.

4. OG renders שנא with ἀθετέω (HL in OG) in 3:28(95) instead of the SE ἀλλοιόω (6/7).

5. A strong piece of evidence that the deutero-canonical material has been inserted into the text is the translation of הדמין יתעבד and וביתה נולי ישתוה in 3:29(96)=2:5. For the latter OG has καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται "his belongings will be confiscated" in 3:29(96), which seems to be a simplification of καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν in 2:5. Yet, the same translator. who depends on 2:5 for the translation of one difficult text, ignores 2:5 for the translation of הדמין תתעבדון. Instead of an equivalent similar to παραδειγματισθήσεσθε in 2:5, the translator has διαμελ(ρ)ίζω. The best way to explain the differences between how the same *Vorlage* is rendered in 2:5 and 3:29(96) is to posit a later translator (redactor) of 3:29(96). The later redactor simplified the translation given by the translator of 2:5 for וביתה נולי ישתוה because he did not know the meaning either. On the other hand, the redactor employed his own equivalent for הדמין תתעבדון rather than follow the earlier translator's lead because in that case he knew the meaning of MT.[180]

6. The translation τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αζαριαν for שדרך מישך ועבד נגו in 3:23 (s. 3:20 of 967) prepares for the insertion of the Prayer of Azariah.

7. It was also noted that the translation of ענה ואמר (s. 2:1-

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[180]S. the discussion of *Lexicology*, 1. 49-52, in 2:1-10.

10) changes after 3:19, but, in this case, it is not possible to distinguish 3:20-30(97) from chs. 4-6.

The differences in TT by OG in 3:20-30(97) are consistent with the position that a later translator/redactor has freely edited this section in order to accommodate the insertion of the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men.[181]

IV.3. *The Relationship Between OG and Th*

We can be fairly certain that the choice of lexical equivalents in 1. 28 and 115 are distinctive agreements in which Th is dependent upon OG. The readings in 1. 52, 87 and 95 are also distinctive, but there are no means to determine the direction of dependence. The conj. γάρ is a common reading in 1. 91, but it is not necessarily distinctive because it may stem from an exegetical tradition. Likewise, the omissions of אנה in 1. 6 and 74 (also 3:6) are common readings, but it is difficult to judge their value because Th does translate אנה 7x elsewhere while OG always omits it. The evidence for Th's independence from OG in this passage is more limited than in the two previous sections. We noted above the lexical equivalents (1. 20, 102, 116, 126, 131) and syntactical features (1. 1-4, 128-129) that distinguish Th from OG, and they do indicate independence in approach. However, the extent of the verbal agreement accompanied by several distinctive agreements indicates that there is a closer textual relationship between OG and Th.

It is not possible, however, to conclude that Th has revised the OG text. There are two reasons for this position. First, many of the lexical equivalents are expected (קום=ἵστημι; נור=πῦρ; יקד=καίω; צלם=εἰκών; דהב=χρυσός) and are, therefore, insignificant. For the equivalents סגד=προσκυνέω/פלח=λατρεύω, it is possible (but not necessary) that Th followed OG. Second, the consistent use of the attributive adj. (τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ) and phrases like εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν καιομένην is

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[181]OG's choice of κρίνω in 3:10, 29(96) where MT has שים טעם are unique equivalents that link the translator of 3:21-30(97) to the previous chs. Presumably when the redactor spliced the deutero-canonical additions into 3:21-30(97), he had a translation of 3:21-30 from the same translator as ch. 3. On the other hand, the rendering of σῴζω for שיזב in 3:28(95)=6:21(20), 28(27) is one link between the editor of the insertion and chs. 4-6.

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decidedly unlike the OG that we have witnessed previously. Where are the prepositive genitives? Why is the part. in the attributive position? And why is OG so monotonous? Unfortunately, the paucity of textual witnesses for OG suggests that Th and OG are closer in this passage than they may have been originally. Given the decidedly formal—Theodotion like—correspondence between OG and MT and the accumulating evidence that Th has infiltrated OG,[182] it is a reasonable hypothesis that some of these verbal agreements are the result of secondary influence of Th on OG. For example, the formal correspondence to MT in 1. 95-101, which includes the distinctive agreement of δύνατος in 1. 95, is likely the result of textual corruption.

A closer examination of the statistics also reveals that OG influence on Th is minimal. Although there are numerous ways by which we could attempt to "count" the frequency with which Th retains OG in 3:11-20, if we count the number of individual lexemes in OG, including some of the omissions (which Th followed), then we get 264. If we count every lexeme in Th that reads with OG, no matter how insignificant, we get 174 or 66%. However, articles, pers. pro., prep., conj., and negatives account for 75 agreements and proper names number 27. That only leaves 72 agreements. As we have already noted, most of the these remaining agreements are themselves insignificant. The insignificance of common vocabulary for the determination of whether Th is a revision of OG will be demonstrated in the following section on 8:1-10.

IV.4. *Textual Criticism*

The omissions and additions against MT have been commented on already during the course of the analysis of TT. In summary, it may be that one or another minus or plus is based on a minus or plus in the respective *Vorlagen* of OG or Th, but there are no convincing grounds to emend MT. A few cases are noted below.

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[182]We have uncovered only two places where Th influence on OG is possible and neither is in 3:11-20. We can be reasonably certain that ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ in 5:5 stems from Th. It is also possible that the compound vb. ἐξεκαύθη in 3:22 stems from Th.

l. 6, 74—The omission of **נא** by Th (also 3:6) in these places is difficult to explain except as OG influence (s. *Lexicology*).

l. 33—OG and Th both omit **אף**, but this is not so significant because Th also omits it in l. 17 where OG has it and Th has occasional omissions.

l. 67—The addition of τῇ χρυσῇ in OG could be based on an alternative *Vorlage* reading **דהבא**,[183] but it also looks like harmonization with previous uses (omitted in Th, Peshitta and Vulgate). There are no grounds to emend MT.

l. 70, 92–93—These additions almost certainly reflect the ideology of the translator. The former only involves a slight emphasis on the consequences of not worshipping the image. The latter is a definite example of *theological Tendenz* because the translator adds a confession of monotheism where the meaning of MT is ambiguous.

l. 86, 105—It is possible that OG's βασιλεῦ in l. 86 is based on **מלכא** in his *Vorlage*, which was omitted in MT (or added in OG's *Vorlage*) due to the preceding **למלכא**. On the other hand, OG may have inserted βασιλεῦ as a means to introduce this important section of direct address. In a similar fashion, OG omitted **מלכא** in l. 105 because he had retained it in l. 102 and it would have been redundant to translate it again in l. 105. There are no convincing grounds to emend MT in either case.

l. 99—OG has a definite tendency to shorten and omit elements, especially those that are frequently repeated. The omission of **יקדא** in OG (cf. l. 8, 76) falls into this category.[184]

l. 119—The substitution of ἐπ' αὐτούς for the list of names is more likely another example of OG abbreviating the monotonous repetition of

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[183]It is marked with the obelus in 88-Syh.

[184]Collins, *Daniel*, p. 177, emends based on OG (967).

MT in ch. 3 and is not based on a *Vorlage* with עֲלֵיהֶן.[185]

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[185]For the dramatic irony conveyed by the repetition of the lists in MT, see Meadowcroft, pp. 141-145. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 177 emends MT.

V. *Chapter 8:1-10*

Sharon Pace Jeansonne made extensive notes on this portion of text in her investigation of the OG of Daniel.[186] For that reason, in this section our sole concern will be to evaluate her conclusion that Th is a recension of the OG. As in the previous sections, we will begin with an alignment of the texts and then follow that with a discussion of Th's relationship to the OG. In order to facilitate the discussion the readings will be divided exactly as Jeansonne did. The readings in Th that Jeansonne judged to retain OG will be underlined while those she judged to be dependent upon OG will be double-underlined.

	8:1 Th	8:1 MT	8:1 OG
1	Ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ	בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלוֹשׁ	Ἔτους τρίτου
2	τῆς βασιλείας	לְמַלְכוּת	βασιλεύοντος
3	Βαλτασαρ	בֵּלְאשַׁצַּר	Βαλτασαρ
	τοῦ βασιλέως	הַמֶּלֶךְ	– –
4	ὅρασις	חָזוֹן	ὅρασιν
5	ὤφθη πρός με	נִרְאָה אֵלַי	ἣν εἶδον
6	ἐγὼ	אֲנִי	ἐγὼ
7	Δανιηλ	דָנִיֵּאל	Δανιηλ
8	μετὰ	אַחֲרֵי	μετὰ
9	τὴν (ὀφθεῖσάν)	הַנִּרְאָה	τὸ ἰδεῖν
10	μοι	אֵלַי	με
11	τὴν (ἀρχήν)	בַּתְּחִלָּה	τὴν πρώτην
	8:2	8:2	8:2
12	(	וָאֶרְאֶה	καὶ εἶδον
13		בֶּחָזוֹן	ἐν τῷ ὁράματι
14		וַיְהִי	
15	)	בִּרְאֹתִי	τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μου
16	καὶ ἤμην	וַאֲנִי	ἐμοῦ ὄντος
17	ἐν σούσοις	בְּשׁוּשַׁן	ἐν σούσοις
18	τῇ βάρει	הַבִּירָה	τῇ πόλει
19	ἣ	אֲשֶׁר	ἥτις
20	ἐστιν ἐν χώρᾳ	בְּעֵילָם	ἐστιν ἐν χώρᾳ

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[186]Jeans., pp. 32-57.

21	Αιλαμ	תַמְדָנְיָה	Ἐλυμαΐδι
22	– –	וָאֶרְאֶה בֶּחָזוֹן	– –
23	καὶ	וְ	ἔτι
24	ἤμην	אֲנִי הָיִיתִי	ὄντος μου
25	ἐπὶ	עַל־	πρός
26	τοῦ Ουβαλ	אוּבָל	τῇ πύλῃ
27	– –	אוּלָי	Ωλαμ
	8:3	8:3	8:3
28	καὶ ἦρα	וָאֶשָּׂא	ἀναβλέψας
29	τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου	עֵינַי	
30	καὶ εἶδον	וָאֶרְאֶה	εἶδον
31	καὶ ἰδοὺ	וְהִנֵּה	– –
32	κριὸς	אַיִל	κριὸν
33	εἷς	אֶחָד	ἕνα μέγαν
34	ἐστηκὼς	עֹמֵד	ἑστῶτα
35	πρὸ	לִפְנֵי	ἀπέναντι
36	τοῦ Ουβαλ	הָאֻבָל	πύλης
37	καὶ αὐτῷ	וְלוֹ	καὶ εἶχε
38	κέρατα	קְרָנַיִם	κέρατα
39	– –	וְהַקְּרָנַיִם	– –
40	ὑψηλά	גְּבֹהוֹת	ὑψηλά
41	καὶ τὸ ἓν	וְהָאַחַת	καὶ τὸ ἓν
42	ὑψηλότερον	גְּבֹהָה	ὑψηλότερον
43	τοῦ ἑτέρου	מִן־הַשֵּׁנִית	
44	καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν	וְהַגְּבֹהָה	καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν
45	ἀνέβαινεν	עֹלָה	ἀνέβαινε
46	ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων	בָּאַחֲרֹנָה	8:4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
	8:4	8:4	
47	εἶδον	רָאִיתִי	εἶδον
48	τὸν κριὸν	אֶת־הָאַיִל	τὸν κριὸν
49	κερατίζοντα	מְנַגֵּחַ	κερατίζοντα
50	κατὰ θάλασσαν	יָמָּה	πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
51	καὶ βορρᾶν	וְצָפוֹנָה	καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν
52			καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς
53	καὶ νότον	וָנֶגְבָּה	καὶ μεσημβρίαν
54	καὶ πάντα	וְכָל־	καὶ πάντα
55	τὰ θηρία	חַיּוֹת	τὰ θηρία

56	οὐ	לֹא־	οὐκ
57	στήσονται	יַעֲמֹד	ἔστησαν
58	ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ	לְפָנָיו	ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
59	καὶ οὐκ ἦν	וְאֵין	καὶ οὐκ ἦν
60	ὁ (ἐξαιρούμενος)	מַצִּיל	ὁ ῥυόμενος
61	ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ	מִיָּדוֹ	ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ
62	καὶ ἐποίησε	וְעָשָׂה	καὶ ἐποίει
63	κατὰ	כְּ	ὡς
64	τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ	רְצֹנוֹ	ἤθελεν
65	καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη	וְהִגְדִּיל	καὶ ὑψώθη
	8:5	8:5	8:5
66	καὶ ἐγὼ	וַאֲנִי	καὶ ἐγὼ
67	ἤμην	הָיִיתִי	
68	(συνίων)	מֵבִין	διενοούμην
69	καὶ ἰδοὺ	וְהִנֵּה	καὶ ἰδοὺ
70	τράγος	צְפִיר־	τράγος
71	αἰγῶν	הָעִזִּים	αἰγῶν
72	ἤρχετο	בָּא	ἤρχετο
73	ἀπὸ	מִן־	ἀπὸ
74	(λιβὸς)	הַמַּעֲרָב	δυσμῶν
75	ἐπὶ	עַל־	ἐπὶ
76	πρόσωπον	פְּנֵי	προσώπου
77	πάσης	כָל־	– –
78	τῆς γῆς	הָאָרֶץ	τῆς γῆς
79	καὶ οὐκ ἦν	וְאֵין	καὶ οὐχ
80	ἁπτόμενος	נוֹגֵעַ	ἥπτετο
81	τῆς γῆς	בָּאָרֶץ	τῆς γῆς
82	καὶ τῷ τράγῳ	וְהַצָּפִיר	καὶ ἦν τοῦ τράγου
83	κέρας	קֶרֶן	κέρας
84	– –	חָזוּת	ἐν
85	ἀνὰ μέσον	בֵּין	ἀνὰ μέσον
86	τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν	עֵינָיו	τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
	8:6	8:6	8:6
87	καὶ ἦλθεν	וַיָּבֹא	καὶ ἦλθεν
88	ἕως	עַד־	ἐπὶ
89	τοῦ κριοῦ	הָאַיִל	τὸν κριὸν

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90	τοῦ τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντος	בַּעַל הַקְּרָנַיִם	τὸν τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντα
91	οὗ	אֲשֶׁר	ὃν
92	εἶδον	רָאִיתִי	εἶδον
93	ἑστῶτος	עֹמֵד	ἑστῶτα
94	ἐνώπιον	לִפְנֵי	ἐν
95	τοῦ Οὐβαλ	הָאֻבָל	τῇ πύλῃ
96	καὶ ἔδραμε	וַיָּרָץ	καὶ ἔδραμεν
97	πρὸς αὐτὸν	אֵלָיו	πρός αὐτὸν
98	ἐν (ὁρμῇ)	בַּחֲמַת	ἐν θυμῷ
99	τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ	כֹּחוּ	ὀργῆς
	8:7	8:7	8:7
100	καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν	וּרְאִיתִיו	καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν
101	(φθάνοντα)	מַגִּיעַ	προσάγοντα
102	ἕως	אֵצֶל	πρός
103	τοῦ κριοῦ	הָאַיִל	τὸν κριόν
104	καὶ (ἐξηγριάνθη)	וַיִּתְמַרְמַר	καὶ ἐθυμώθη
105	πρὸς αὐτὸν	אֵלָיו	ἐπ' αὐτὸν
106	καὶ (ἔπαισε)	וַיַּךְ	καὶ ἐπάταξεν
107	τὸν κριόν	אֶת־הָאַיִל	– –
108	καὶ συνέτριψεν	וַיְשַׁבֵּר	καὶ συνέτριψεν
109	___	אֶת־	τὰ
110	(ἀμφότερα)	שְׁתֵּי	δύο
111	τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ	קְרָנָיו	κέρατα αὐτοῦ
112	καὶ οὐκ	וְלֹא־	καὶ οὐκέτι
113	ἦν	הָיָה	ἦν
114	ἰσχὺς	כֹחַ	ἐν τῷ κριῷ
115	ἐν τῷ κριῷ	בָּאַיִל	ἰσχὺς
116	τοῦ στῆναι	לַעֲמֹד	στῆναι
117	ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ	לְפָנָיו	κατέναντι τοῦ τράγου
118	καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν	וַיַּשְׁלִיכֵהוּ	καὶ ἐσπάραξεν αὐτόν
119	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν	אַרְצָה	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
120	καὶ (συνεπάτησεν) αὐτόν	וַיִּרְמְסֵהוּ	καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτόν
121	καὶ οὐκ	וְלֹא־	καὶ οὐκ

122	ἦν	הָיָה	ἦν
123	ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος	מַצִּיל	ὁ ῥυόμενος
124	τὸν κριὸν	לָאַיִל	τὸν κριὸν
125	ἐκ	מ	ἀπὸ
126	χειρὸς αὐτοῦ	יָדוֹ	τοῦ τράγου
	8:8	8:8	8:8
127	καὶ ὁ τράγος	וּצְפִיר	καὶ ὁ τράγος
128	τῶν αἰγῶν	הָעִזִּים	τῶν αἰγῶν
129	(ἐμεγαλύνθη)	הִגְדִּיל	κατίσχυσε
130	ἕως	עַד־	
131	σφόδρα	מְאֹד	σφόδρα
132	καὶ ἐν	וּכְ	καὶ ὅτε
133	(τῷ ἰσχῦσαι αὐτόν)	עָצְמוֹ	κατίσχυσε
134	συνετρίβη	נִשְׁבְּרָה	συνετρίβη
135	τὸ κέρας	הַקֶּרֶן	αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας
136	τὸ μέγα	הַגְּדוֹלָה	τὸ μέγα
137	καὶ ἀνέβη	וַתַּעֲלֶנָה	καὶ ἀνέβη
138	- -	חָזוּת	ἕτερα
139	κέρατα τέσσαρα	אַרְבַּע	τέσσαρα κέρατα
140	ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	κατόπισθεν αὐτοῦ
141	εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας	לְאַרְבַּע	εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας
142	ἀνέμους	רוּחוֹת	ἀνέμους
143	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	הַשָּׁמָיִם	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
	8:9	8:9	8:9
144	καὶ ἐκ	וּמִן־	καὶ ἐξ
145	τοῦ	הָ	
146	ἑνὸς	אַחַת	ἑνὸς
147	αὐτῶν	מֵהֶם	αὐτῶν
148	ἐξῆλθε	יָצָא	ἀνεφύη
149	κέρας	קֶרֶן־	κέρας
150	ἓν	אַחַת	ἰσχυρὸν
151	ἰσχυρὸν	מִצְּעִירָה	ἓν
152	καὶ (ἐμεγαλύνθη)	וַתִּגְדַּל־	καὶ κατίσχυσε
153	(περισσῶς)	יֶתֶר	καὶ ἐπάταξεν
154	πρὸς	אֶל־	ἐπὶ
155	τὸν νότον	הַנֶּגֶב	μεσημβρίαν
156	- -	וְאֶל־	καὶ ἐπ'

157	– –	הַמִּזְרָח	ἀνατολὰς
158	καί	וְ	καί
159	πρὸς	אֶל־	ἐπί
160	(τὴν δύναμιν)	יִצְבֹּי	βορρᾶν
	8:10	8:10	8:10
161	(ἐμεγαλύνθη)	וַתִּגְדַּל	καὶ ὑψώθη
162	ἔως	עַד־	ἔως
163	τῆς (δυνάμεως)	צְבָא	τῶν ἀστέρων
164	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	הַשָּׁמָיִם	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
165	καὶ ἔπεσεν	וַתַּפֵּל	καὶ ἐρράχθη
166	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν	אַרְצָה	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
167	ἀπὸ	מִן־	ἀπὸ
168	τῆς (δυνάμεως) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	הַצָּבָא	τῶν ἀστέρων
169	καὶ ἀπὸ	וּמִן־	καὶ ἀπὸ
170	τῶν ἄστρων	הַכּוֹכָבִים	αὐτῶν
171	καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτά	וַתִּרְמְסֵם	κατεπατήθη

V.1. *The Relationship Between OG and Th*

Jeansonne states that she has divided the text into 171 readings
("judgeable units"). According to her findings, in 69 readings (40%)
Th has retained OG, and in an additional 30 (18%), Th is dependent
upon OG. On this basis she concludes,

> This sampling of readings confirms that θ' [Th] is indeed
> a recension of the OG since a total of 58% of the readings
> show the OG influence on θ'. In 72, or 42%, the θ'
> readings are distinct, revised in the interest of already
> well-known principles, that is, grammatical fidelity to M
> and standardization of word equivalencies.[187]

There are two discrepancies between Jeansonne's statistics and
the text above. First, it is not always clear from her notes and
discussion what Th readings she considers to be dependent upon OG.
Thus, there are only 28 readings that have been double underlined, and
many of these are my guesses of what Jeansonne intends to represent Th
dependence. Second, Jeansonne has omitted τοῦ οὐρανοῦ from 1. 168 of Th.[188]

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[187]Jeans., p. 57.

[188]Another misprint is ראראה for וארְאה in 1. 30 (8:3).

As to Jeansonne's analysis of the relationship between Th and OG, many points can be disputed. In the following we will look at each verse individually and consider the following aspects of relationship: 1) Cases where Jeansonne asserts Th retains OG; 2) Cases where Jeansonne suggests that Th is dependent upon OG; 3) Evidence of Th independence. We will find that in many cases OG and Th exhibit verbal agreement, but the Greek translation equivalent is the SE for the whole LXX. We assume that the reader is knowledgeable of the really obvious agreements (eg. ὁράω=רֶאֵה, εἰς=אֶת) in order to avoid generating endless (and rather pointless) statistics.

Vs. 1

Th retains OG (4x)-The equivalents in l. 6, 7, 8 are obvious equivalents and are of no significance in determining whether Th is a revision. Jeansonne, p. 49, suggests that Th's retention of the spelling βαλτασαρ in l. 3 is good evidence that Th is a recension, because we would expect a more precise transliteration for בֵלְאשַׁצֵּר. Although Jeansonne's argument has some merit, one cannot build a case on the translation of proper names, especially when they would be so prone to harmonization during the course of transmission.[189] This can not be classified as a distinctive agreement.

Th dependent upon OG (5x)-In all 5 cases (l. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10) Jeansonne marks these lines with a "b" to indicate that Th "alters the grammatical forms and style of the OG to mirror more closely its *Vorlage*."[190] If Jeansonne does intend to suggest that Th is dependent upon OG in these 5 cases, it is a surprising claim indeed. Th does exhibit a formal equivalence to MT, but that hardly requires that Th revised OG. Why should Th be dependent upon OG for such obvious equivalents as בְּ/ἐν, שָׁנָה/ἔτει, שְׁלֹוש/τρίτῳ, לְמַלְכוּת/τῆς βασιλείας, חָזוֹן/ὅρασις, etc.?

Independent Th readings (2x)-None of Th's translation in vs. 1, apart from the possible exception of Βαλτασαρ, requires that Th had any

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[189]The same spelling is found in 1:7, s. 1:1-10.

[190]Jeans., p. 33.

knowledge of OG. Th's independence is suggested by the reading in l. 9 where he renders the difficult Hebrew with a part.[191] and by the choice of ἀρχήν in l. 11, but neither of these is particularly distinctive.[192]

Vs. 2

Th retains OG (2x)-Th shares the OG reading in l. 17 and 20. The first is for the city, Susa, and is therefore expected and insignificant. The second is more important because OG and Th not only have a verbal agreement (ἐστιν ἐν χώρᾳ), but also follow the same word order against MT "which is in the province of Elumaidi/Ailam."[193]   However, as we saw in the last section, Th employs χώρα as a SE for מדינה (9/9).[194] It is possible that Th is dependent upon OG's word order, but, with the exception of 8:2, מדינה always appears as a construct when designating an area (2:48, 49; 3:1, 12, 30[97]). In those cases Th has χώρα-X and this is the natural order of the Greek, so it would have been quite natural for Th to employ the reading that we have. The immediate differences between OG and Th in l. 18, 19, 21 also militate against Th dependence.

Th dependent upon OG (3x)-The fact that Th has the same word order as OG in l. 20-21 was discussed above. It is difficult to be certain, but Jeansonne appears to suggest that Th is dependent upon OG for l. 16 and 24.[195] Once again, the conclusion is hardly warranted. Th, like OG, translates the *Vorlage*, and in the first instance he had to

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[191]For the use of the article to introduce a relative clause, see GKC §138k.

[192]תחלה occurs elsewhere in 9:21, 23 where both OG and Th employ ἀρχή. Jeans., p. 49, states that Th "standardizes ἀρχή 'first' for תחלה," but she does not note that OG has the same reading in the other two places.

[193]The double underline under Αιλαμ is intended, albeit inadequately, to indicate that Jeans. suggests that Th is dependent on the OG word order.

[194]2:48, 49; 3:1, 2, 3, 12, 30(97); 11:24.

[195]Jeans., p. 50, #14.

provide a tense appropriate to the context.

Independent Th readings (1x)-The transliterations in l. 21 and 26, and the correct translations in l. 18, 19, 23, and 25 only demonstrate that Th was more than capable of translating independently. However, any minus in Th against OG, especially one as large as l. 12-15, has to be regarded as a distinctive disagreement. If Th were merely revising OG, then virtually every translation equivalent in OG that can be positively linked to MT should be represented in some way in Th.

Vs. 3

Th retains OG (8x)-There is definitely no significance for the SE ὁράω=ראה in l. 30, κριός=איל (8/8) in l. 32,[196] and κέρας=קרן in l. 38.[197] The verbal agreement of ὑψηλός=נבה in l. 40, 42, 44 is more significant not only because these are the only places where נבה appears in Daniel, but also because of the forms in l. 42 and 44. ὑψηλός does not appear elsewhere in Th, but OG has it in 4:7(10) (misreading of נבוא?) and 9:15. This might suggest that since OG employs ὑψηλός elsewhere, then Th has borrowed from OG in 8:3. However, as a survey of HR reveals, although the adj. נבה is translated sporadically by various equivalents in the LXX, the main equivalent is ὑψηλός.[198] Therefore, we should not be surprised that Th employs ὑψηλός in 8:3.

Likewise, if we consider the specific forms employed by OG and Th in l. 42 and 44, there is nothing we would not expect to find if Th

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[196]7/8 occurrences of איל are in 8:1-10. 8:3, 4, 6, 7(4), 20.

[197]קרן 23x, but 4x it refers to a musical instrument (3:5, 7, 10, 15). Otherwise κέρας is a SE in OG (18/19) and Th (17/19). OG and Th share an omission in l. 39 which is probably secondary in MT and Th also omits once in 7:20. The remaining passages are 7:7, 8(4), 11, 20, 21, 24; 8:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21.

[198]For example, the adj. נבה is rendered by the singular equivalents ἕξις in I Sam. 16:7; μετέωρος in Is. 5:15; ὑπερήφανος in Ps. 101(100):5; ὑπεροχή in I Sam. 2:3. Otherwise the adj. נבה is rendered 27x by ὑψηλός outside of Daniel from Genesis (eg. 7:17) to Ezek. (eg. 40:2).

were translating independently. The comparative form in l. 42 is expected for the comparative מן. The substantive in l. 44 is linked to the verbal agreement in the vbs. in l. 45 as well as to the agreement of the substantives in l. 41. The vb. עלה in l. 45 only occurs outside of 8:3 in 8:8 and 11:23. In all cases Th reads άναβαίνω because it is the SE throughout the LXX.[199] The substantive in l. 41 (καὶ τὸ ἓν for האחת), like that in l. 44, is a formal equivalent for MT. All of the vocabulary agreements shared by OG and Th are the SE that are found throughout the LXX, and in every case the texts exhibit formal equivalence to MT. It is unlikely that OG and Th could have such extensive agreement in l. 40-45 independently, but Th dependence on OG cannot be assumed either.

Th dependent upon OG (3x)-If Jeansonne intended to identify l. 33, 34, 37 as dependent upon OG, we must question the basis for such a judgment.[200] There is nothing about OG's reading that is presupposed by Th, unless one has already prejudged that Th is revising.

Independent Th readings (0x)-Throughout the verse Th merely exhibits formal equivalence to MT, and there is no Th reading that is a distinctive disagreement against OG. For example, Th employs various but appropriate equivalents for נבא.[201]

Vs. 4
Th retains OG (9x)-7 of the 9 agreements are well established formal SE and do not require comment. The part. in l. 49 from κερατίζω (1-11) is a common reading, but κερατίζω is the SE (9/11) for נגח in the

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[199] In 11:23 OG has evidently read the prep. על because it translates with ἐπί.

[200] We should note that 4QDan[a] and 4QDan[b] read נגדיל with 967, but that is not evidence that Th is revising OG. It only demonstrates that their *Vorlagen* were different.

[201] Also 1:16; 2:35; 10:5; 11:12, 14. Only in 1:16 (άναιρέω) and 11:12 (λαμβάνω) do OG and Th have verbal agreement.

LXX.[202] Therefore, the lexical equivalence is of no consequence. It may be significant that both OG and Th employ a part., but it does correspond to MT. The other reading of possible significance is in l. 59. However, as in l. 80 below, Th always renders the particle of negation with οὐκ + a 3p. form of εἰμί.[203]

Th is dependent upon OG (4x)-In all 4 cases Th provides the expected formal equivalence to MT. For example, רצון occurs 4x in MT and Th employs θέλημα 4/4.[204] Th even has a future for the imperfect vb. in MT in l. 57 where the aorist (s. OG) would have been appropriate.

Independent Th readings (1x)-Once again Th's translation exhibits formal correspondence to MT in this verse. The equivalence μεγαλύνω= גדל (hi., also l. 129, 152, 161) might be regarded as a distinctive disagreement because Th employs it as a SE (7/8), whereas OG never makes this equivalence. In fact, OG only employs μεγαλύνω once in 2:48 for רבה.[205]

Vs. 5
Th retains OG (13x)-Each of these verbal agreements is the expected SE

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[202]נגח also appears in Ex. 21:28, 31(2), 32; Dt. 33:17; I Kings 22:11; Ps. 44(43):5; Ezek. 34:21; Dan. 11:40; II Chr. 18:10. נגח is not translated once in Ex. 21:31 where it is redundant, but OG and Th both have συγκερατίζω in 11:40 which is a distinctive agreement (HL in LXX!).

[203]S. 1:4; 8:27; 9:26; 10:21; 11:15, 16, 45. Th usually has οὐκ ἔστιν. OG often renders similarly to Th, but omits in 1:4, has οὐκ in 8:5, οὐδεὶς ἦν in 8:27 and οὐθεὶς ἦν in 10:21.

[204]OG renders with a vb. again in 11:3, while it has θέλημα in 11:16, 36.

[205]OG's main equivalent is ὑψόω (8:4, 10, 25; 11:36, 37). In 8:8, 9 OG employs κατισχύω as a dynamic equivalent. OG and Th share a distinctive agreement in 8:11 where both have ῥύομαι. 8:11-14 is similar to 9:24-27 in that the OG text is significantly different from MT. The difference is that in 8:11-14 Th follows OG very closely. For a detailed discussion and attempt to resolve the problem see, David, pp.357-380. Bogaert ("Relecture," pp. 207-210), also argues for an alternative *Vorlage* and, based on the TT elsewhere in OG and Th, that conclusion is justified.

employed throughout the LXX.[206] בין=ἀνὰ μέσον requires some comment, because O'Connell and Bodine suggest it is a *kaige* characteristic. בין appears 4x in MT and in each case OG and Th employ ἀνὰ μέσον.[207] This "characteristic" is nothing more than an expected Greek equivalent.[208]

Th is dependent upon OG (3x)-The equivalents in 1. 79 and 82 were discussed previously under vss. 3 and 4 respectively. The part. of ἅπτω is a formal equivalent for MT, and ἅπτω is the SE for נגע throughout the LXX. See the discussion of 1. 101 under *Independent Th readings* in vs. 7.

Independent Th readings (2x)-In the discussion of wisdom vocabulary in 1:1-10 we saw that Th was following his own pattern of equivalents. That conclusion is supported by the OG and Th renderings for the vb. בין (usually hi.) in 1. 68. Th employs συνίημι as a SE (16/22), while OG prefers διανοέομαι (11/22).[209] In 1. 74 Th employs λίψ (HL in Daniel) for מערב (HL in Daniel), whereas OG exhibits lexical levelling by choosing the same equivalent (δυσμή) that he did in vs. 4 for ימה.[210]

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[206]The only exception to this statement is τράγος=צפיר "he-goat," because τράγος is not employed for the only other occurrences of צפיר in II Chr. 29:21; Ezra 8:5. However, τράγος is the exact equivalent and the choice is also determined by the fact that צפיר is collocated with עז whose SE is αἴξ.

[207]8:5, 6, 21; 11:45.

[208]See also Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 301-302; Gentry, p. 407.

[209]1:4, 17; 8:5, 16, 17, 23, 27; 9:2, 22, 23(2); 10:1, 11, 12, 14; 11:30, 33, 37(2); 12:8, 10(2). Th has συνετίζω in 8:16; 9:22; 10:14, ἐννοέω once in 9:23 (s. OG in 11:33) as a stylistic variant and his use of διανοέομαι is in 1:4. In 10:1 Th omits by homoioarc. OG has σύνεσις in 1:17, προνοέω 11:37(2), ὑποδείκνω in 10:14, συνίημι in 11:14 (with Th!), προσέχω in 12:10, and σοφός in 1:4. In three cases OG has textual differences: omission in 8:16 and 9:23; προσῆλθεν (reading ויבא) in 9:22.

[210]OG also has δυσμή in 6:15(14) where MT=0.

Vs. 6

Th retains OG (4x)-The readings in l. 87, 92, 96, 97 are expected equivalents. For example, רוץ in l. 96 is a HL in Daniel, but the SE (57/64) throughout the LXX is τρέχω (the common aor. forms are from √δράμω).

Th dependent upon OG (3x)-The equivalence in l. 89 is obvious and has been discussed above. Similarly, the lexical equivalence in l. 93 and the pf.part. is expected.[211]

The reading in l. 90 appears to be a distinctive agreement because of the use of the part. from ἔχω. Th employs ἔχω 8x and in 5 cases he shares a reading with OG.[212] There are two similar readings to l. 90 in 8:17, 20. In 8:17a there is exact verbal agreement between OG and Th, but the use of ἔχω for אצל is a fairly common practice in the LXX.[213] MT also has בעל הקרנין in 8:20, which OG renders with the same equivalent as l. 90; whereas Th has ὁ ἔχων τὰ κέρατα. Mont., p. 332 notes that the syntagm בעל הכנפים appears in Ecc. 10:20 and Rahlf's text reads ὁ ἔχων τὰς πτέρυγας as the translation. The fact that Th follows Ecc. 10:20 (s. also the apparatus for 7:13[12]) in 8:20 is evidence that he has independent knowledge of how to translate בעל הקרנין. Therefore, Th's agreement with OG in l. 90 is surprising. It may be that Th has borrowed from OG in l. 90, but the independent translation in 8:20 suggests that the agreement is due to textual corruption.

Independent Th readings (1x)-It was noted in the discussion of 3:11-20 that ὀρμῇ (1-11) for חמה in Th l. 98 is distinctive.[214] It is an excellent idiomatic rendering "in mighty fury."

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[211]Th employs the pf.part. of ἵστημι 7x in Daniel and only on one occasion do OG and Th have a common form, 12:1. The other passages are 2:31; 7:16; 8:3; 10:16; 11:16.

[212]Th has ἔχω in 3:15, 16; 4:8; 8:6, 17, 20; 10:4, 16. Recall from the previous section that these is no way to determine the direction of dependence in 3:15, 16.

[213]See, for example, Neh. 2:6, 3:23; Mic. 1:11; Ezek. 1:15, 19.

[214]S. also Ezek. 3:14 for the same equivalence.

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Vs. 7

Th retains OG (11x)-The equivalents in l. 100, 109, 111, 113-115, 119, 121, 122, and 124 exhibit formal correspondence to MT using the standard equivalents employed in the LXX. The equivalence συντρίβω=שבר is also the SE for the LXX. Th has it 8/8 whereas OG employs it 5/8.[215]

Th dependent upon OG (2x)-Both l. 103 and 116 are expected equivalents.

Independent Th readings (5x)-The normal SE for נגע is ἄπτω, but Th has φθάνω in l. 101. Th makes the same equivalence in 12:12, and these must be regarded as distinctive because OG does not employ φθάνω at all.[216] In the discussion of vocabulary for wrath/anger in 3:11-20 we noted that ἐξαγριαίνω in l. 104 is a HL in the LXX, and this also must be regarded as a distinctive disagreement. The reading in l. 106 should also be considered a distinctive disagreement. This is the only occurrence of נכה in MT and the equivalents chosen by OG (πατάσσω) and Th (παίω, HL) are both employed as SE in the LXX. However, παίω is found only 26x compared with πατάσσω, which appears about 400x. If Th were revising OG we would expect him to have retained πατάσσω. The fourth distinctive Th reading is in l. 110 where Th renders שתי more dynamically with ἀμφότερα, as opposed to OG, which has the formal equivalent δύο. The same difference in equivalents is found in 11:27 (OG never has ἀμφότερος). Finally, Th's choice of συμπατέω (6-11, never in OG) for רמס "trample" 2/2 in l. 120 and l. 171 should also be considered distinctive because Th has obviously

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[215]8:7, 8, 22, 25; 11:4, 20, 22, 26. OG has the dynamic rendering ἀποδίδωμι in 8:25; a textual problem in 11:22; and ἀποστρέφω (reading ישיבהו 3s.impf. + 3m.s.pro.suf. from שיב) in 11:26.

[216]נגע appears in 8:5, 7, 18; 9:21; 10:10, 16, 18; 12:12. OG has προσάγω in 8:7; 9:21 and συνάπτω (συνάγω?) in 12:12. Other than the mentioned differences both OG and Th have ἄπτω.

Th also employs φθάνω as a SE (8/8) for מטא. S. 4:8(11), 17(20), 19(22), 21(24), 25(28); 6:25(24); 7:13, 22.

employed his own vocabulary.[217]

Vs. 8

Th retains OG (9x)–All 9 equivalents correspond to MT and usual usage in the LXX, and most have already been discussed previously. Two of the equivalents that have not been mentioned are in l. 131 and 136. מאד appears only in l. 131 and 11:25, and in both cases OG and Th read σφόδρα (s/HR). גדול appears 15x and Th renders with μέγας (13/15).[218] In two instances he employs πολύς (11:28, 44), which is reserved primarily for שׂגיא in chs. 2-7 (11/12)[219] and רב in the Hebrew sections.

Th dependent upon OG (2x)–The reading in l. 135 is expected. Both OG and Th read a plus, κέρατα in l. 139. It is most likely that OG and Th had קרנים in their *Vorlage*.[220]

Independent Th readings (2x)–It is possible that we should consider the reading in l. 133 as distinctive. This is suggested not so much by this particular reading, as Th merely gives a formal equivalent, but by Th's translation of עצם in Daniel. In 8:24 Th has κραταιός where OG employs a dynamic equivalent, and in 11:23 Th employs

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[217]The equivalence συμπατέω=רמס is made earlier in 2 Kings 7:17, 20; 9:33; 14:9; Nah. 3:14. Th also has συμπατέω in 7:7, 19 (רפס); 7:23 (דוש); 8:13 (מרמס).

[218]8:8, 21; 9:4, 12; 10:1, 4, 7, 8; 11:2, 13, 25(2), 28, 44; 12:1. OG has ἰσχυρός in 10:1, 7; 11:25, 44; πολύς in 11:13, 25, 28; μέγας elsewhere.

[219]2:6, 12, 48; 4:7(10), 9(12), 18(21); 5:9; 6:15(14), 24(23); 7:5, 28. Both OG and Th omit in 2:31.

[220]Cf. Jeans., p. 54, who states that either "horn" was in the *Vorlage* or it "could represent an expansion in the OG retained inadvertently by θ'." This statement is typical of Jeansonne's analysis in that she has assumed that Th is a recension without subjecting the agreements to careful examination.

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ὑπερισχύω where OG has ἰσχυρός. The reading in l. 129 is also a
possible distinctive disagreement (s. the discussion in 8:4). καὶ ἐν
in l. 132 is not mentioned as a distinctive reading because Th has
probably read רב for כי. Therefore, Th was just producing a formal
equivalent for what he read in the *Vorlage*.

Vs. 9

Th retains OG (5x)-Th exhibits the expected formal correspondence to
MT in all 5 cases (l. 144, 146, 147, 149, 158).

Th dependent upon OG (2x)-The reading ἐν for אחת is expected.
However, as Jeansonne (p. 55) points out, OG and Th appear to be
translating a form of עצום "mighty" in l. 151 for צעירה "strong."
This reading is probably a distinctive agreement, though it is
possible that OG and Th reflect a textual variant. The reading of the
Greek versions does make sense in the context. If it is a distinctive
agreement, there is no way to determine the direction of dependence.

Independent Th readings (3x)-OG provides a dynamic equivalent for יתר
in l. 153. Th's use of the adv. correctly interprets the adv. use of
MT. περισσῶς in Th should also be considered distinctive. Th has
περισσῶς 4-7[222] in the LXX, and it is not found in OG. The meaning of
MT in l. 160 appears to be "beautiful land."[223] The text (צבי)
presented problems for both OG and Th. OG reads βορρᾶν as if MT had

[222]Also 7:7(2), 19.

[223]S. Mont., p. 339 for discussion.

צפונה (s. 1. 51). The reading may have been unintentional, but OG was probably puzzled by MT and assumed a scribal error had been committed. For this reason, he seems to have guessed that another direction was intended. Th reads הצבא (s. 1. 163), but it should be considered a distinctive reading because he has also omitted 1. 156-157.[224] If Th were following OG, there would not have been so great a divergence. The reading in 1. 152 is possibly distinctive (s. 8:4).

Vs. 10

Th dependent upon OG (5x)-All five readings are expected equivalents for MT (1. 162, 164, 166, 167, 169).

Independent Th readings (3x)-Th's choice of συμπατέω in 1. 171 has already been discussed in vs. 7. OG identifies צבא with the "heavenly host" in 1. 163, 168, whereas Th renders with δύναμις. Although OG and Th have a shared reading in 8:11 (ἀρχιστράτηγος=הצבא שר), OG seems to offer guesses also in 8:13 and 10:1 (ἐρημόω, πλῆθος confusion from Aramaic צבא). Except for 8:11 Th translates consistently with δύναμις.[225] The reading in 1. 161 is possibly distinctive as well (s. 8:4). The addition of τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in 1. 168 is probably based on an alternative *Vorlage*, so it would not count as a distinctive disagreement.

V.2. *Summary*

An analysis of the texts of OG and Th in 8:1-10 reveals how important it is to be precise in the choice of terminology. Jeansonne asserts that there are 69 readings where Th retains OG and 30 readings where Th is dependent upon OG. Neither of these statistics can be considered accurate. The fact that OG and Th have 69 common readings does not oblige us to conclude that Th has "retained" OG. Such an assessment requires that a significant number of distinctive agreements exist between the two texts and that there is evidence to

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[224]That Th is translating independently is supported by the other three occurrences of צבי in MT. Th transliterates in 11:16, 41, 45 whereas OG omits in 11:41 and has θέλησις in 11:16, 45.

[225]OG and Th omit in 8:12.

prove the direction of borrowing. Such evidence is wanting in 8:1-10. There are only three probable distinctive agreements (ἰσχυρός=צעיר l. 151; l. 39-44; τοῦ τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντος l. 90) in the reconstructed texts of 8:1-10. As to the 30 dependent readings, it is hard to know what 30 Jeansonne believes are dependent upon OG, because dependence assumes that Th somehow had to rely upon OG for his choice of equivalents. In order to hold such a view we would have to assume that Th was incompetent to translate without reference to OG. As we have seen throughout this passage, indeed in all the passages we have examined, Th was more than competent as a translator. Th adopted a method of formal equivalence in his translation and was quite consistent in his choice of equivalents. Where available, Th normally chose those equivalents that were employed as SE in the other books of the LXX. Therefore, without strong distinctive agreements and proof of the direction of borrowing, there is no statistical significance when OG and Th agree in the translation of common vocabulary. Besides the three agreements mentioned above, there are only three other possible distinctive agreements in 8:1-10 (βαλτασαρ l. 3; ἐστιν ἐν χωρᾳ l. 20; καὶ οὐκ ἦν l. 59). We have already seen that these three are all exceedingly weak as evidence that Th has borrowed from OG.

Let us examine the first three agreements again. The best evidence for Th dependence on OG is ἰσχυρός=צעיר in l. 151. As Jeansonne states, it is possible that OG and Th had עצום in their *Vorlage*, but her other suggestion that "it is possible that the concern of θ' with word order in this case caused the translator not to notice the sense" is gratuitous.[226] Th does not follow OG when OG does not know MT. This has been evident throughout our investigation and is demonstrated by the omission of חזות in l. 84, 138; the transliterations in l. 21, 95; and the attempt to translate צבי in l. 160. If עצום was not in their *Vorlagen*, then it is more probable that one text is corrupt. There also seems to be a relationship betweeen OG and Th in l. 40-45 and l. 90, but in neither case is it certain. Regarding l. 90 we have seen that Th follows the form of Ecc. 10:20 in 8:20. Therefore, the fact that Th agrees with OG in l. 90 could indicate that Th has been corrected toward OG. Finally, there is

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[226]Jeans., p. 55.

extensive agreement in 1. 40-45, but it is agreement that exhibits formal correspondence to MT. In conclusion, there are three distinctive agreements between OG and Th, but in no case is it certain that Th actually borrows from OG.

On the other hand, the evidence that Th is translating independently is strong. Not only does Th offer a literal translation of MT, but we have found 11 cases of distinctive disagreements in Th (1. 12-15, 68, 74, 98, 101, 104, 106, 110, 120/171, 153, 160, 163/168) along with another 4 possible distinctive readings (1. 9, 11, 65/129/152/161, 133). These distinctive readings are not merely cases where Th does not agree with OG. They underscore instances where Th employs translations that have no connection with OG. At the same time, these distinctive readings are part of Th's well-established pattern of formal correspondence to MT.

In conclusion, there is only one possible conclusion. There is no sense in which we can refer to Th as a revision of OG in this passage. In fact, there is virtually no evidence in 8:1-10 that Th had knowledge of OG at the time of translation. Given the paucity of textual witnesses to OG it is possible (probable?) that in some of the cases where OG and Th have verbal agreement Th readings have actually displaced the OG. However, we do not have evidence to prove this last suggestion.

VI. *Daniel 12:1-13*

The OG text of ch. 12 is unlike the sections that we have considered previously because it has more textual differences, particularly additions, when compared to MT. These textual differences will be discussed initially under the rubric of *Syntax*.

	12:1 Th	12:1 MT	12:1 OG
1	καὶ ἐν τῷ ᴸκαιρῷ	וּבָעֵת	καὶ κατὰ τὴν ᴸὥραν
2	ἐκείνῳ	הַהִיא	ἐκείνην
3	ἀναστήσεται Μιχαηλ	יַעֲמֹד מִיכָאֵל	ᴸπαρελεύσεται Μιχαηλ
4	ὁ ᴸ(ἄρχων) ὁ μέγας	הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל	ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας
5	<u>ὁ ἑστηκὼς</u>	הָעֹמֵד	ὁ ἑστηκὼς
6	ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς	עַל־בְּנֵי	ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς
7	τοῦ λαοῦ σου	עַמֶּךָ	τοῦ λαοῦ σου
8	καὶ ἔσται	וְהָיְתָה	ˢᴸἐκείνη
9	ᴸκαιρὸς θλίψεως	עֵת צָרָה	ἡ ᴸἡμέρα θλίψεως
10	ˢ<u>οἵα οὐ γέγονεν</u>	אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נִהְיְתָה	ˢοἵα οὐκ ἐγενήθη
11	<u>ἀφ' οὗ γεγένηται</u>	מִהְיוֹת	ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθησανᴹ
12	ἔθνος	גּוֹי	– –
13	ἕως	עַד	ἕως
14	τοῦ ᴸκαιροῦ ἐκείνου	הָעֵת הַהִיא	τῆς ᴸἡμέρας ἐκείνης
15	καὶ ἐν τῷ	וּבָעֵת	καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ
16	ᴸκαιρῷ ἐκείνῳ	הַהִיא	τῇ ᴸἡμέρᾳ
17	ᴸσωθήσεται	יִמָּלֵט	ᴸὑψωθήσεται
18	ὁ λαός σου	עַמְּךָ	ˢπᾶς ὁ λαόςᴹ
19	πᾶς ὁ ᴸ(– –)	כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא כָתוּב	ὃς ἂν εὑρεθῇ
20	γεγραμμένος		ἐγγεγραμμένος
21	ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ	בַּסֵּפֶר	ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ
	12:2	12:2	12:2
22	καὶ πολλοὶ	וְרַבִּים	καὶ πολλοὶ
23	<u>-τῶν ᴸκαθευδόντων</u>	מִיְּשֵׁנֵי	τῶν ᴸκαθευδόντων
24	ἐν γῆς ᴸ(χώματι)	אַדְמַת־עָפָר	ἐν τῷ ᴸπλάτει τῆς γῆς
25	ᴸἐξεγερθήσονται	יָקִיצוּ	ᴸἀναστήσονται
26	οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν	אֵלֶּה לְחַיֵּי	ˢοἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν
27	αἰώνιον	עוֹלָם	αἰώνιον
28	καὶ οὗτοι	וְאֵלֶּה	οἱ δὲ
29	εἰς ὀνειδισμόν	לַחֲרָפוֹת	εἰς ᴸὀνειδισμόν

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30	καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην	לְחֵרֲא‍וֹן	οἱ δὲ εἰς ᴸδιασπορὰν
31	αἰώνιον	עוֹלָם	[καὶ ᴸαἰσχύνην] αἰώνιον
	12:3	12:3	12:3
32	καὶ οἱ ᴸσυνιέντες	וְהַמַּשְׂכִּלִים	καὶ οἱ ᴸσυνιέντες
33	ᴸ(ἐκλάμψουσιν	יַזְהִרוּ	ᴸφανοῦσιν
34	ὡς ἡ λαμπρότης)	כְּזֹהַר	ὡς οἱ ᴸφωστῆρες
35	τοῦ ᴸστερεώματος	הָרָקִיעַ	τοῦ ᴸοὐρανοῦ
36	καὶ ᴹἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων	וּמַצְדִּיקֵי	ˢκαὶ οἱ κατίσχοντες
37	τῶν πολλῶν	הָרַבִּים	τοὺς λόγους μουᴹ
38	ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες	כַּכּוֹכָבִים	ὡσεὶ τὰ ἄστρα
39			+ˢτοῦ οὐρανοῦ
40	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	לְעוֹלָם	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
41	καὶ ᴸ(ἔτι)	וָעֶד	τοῦ αἰῶνος
	12:4	12:4	12:4
42	καὶ σὺ Δανιηλ	וְאַתָּה דָנִיֵּאל	καὶ σὺ Δανιηλ
43	ᴸἔμφραξον	סְתֹם	ᴸκάλυψον
44	τοὺς ᴸλόγους	הַדְּבָרִים	τὰ ᴸπροστάγματα
45	καὶ ᴸσφράγισον	וַחֲתֹם	καὶ ᴸσφράγισον
46	τὸ βιβλίον	הַסֵּפֶר	τὸ βιβλίον
47	<u>ἕως ᴸκαιροῦ</u>	עַד־עֵת	ἕως ᴸκαιροῦ
48	<u>ᴸσυντελείας</u>	קֵץ	ᴸσυντελείας
49	ἕως ᴸ(διδαχθῶσιν)	יְשֹׁטְטוּ	ἕως ἂν ᴸἀπομανῶσιν
50	πολλοὶ	רַבִּים	πολλοὶ
51	καὶ ᴸπληθυνθῇ	וְתִרְבֶּה	καὶ ᴸπλησθῇ
52	ἡ ᴸγνῶσις	הַדָּעַת	+ἡ γῆ+ ᴸἀδικίας
	12:5	12:5	12:5
53	καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιηλ	וְרָאִיתִי אֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל	καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιηλ
54	καὶ ἰδοὺ	וְהִנֵּה	καὶ ἰδοὺ
55	δύο ἕτεροι	שְׁנַיִם אֲחֵרִים	δύο ἕτεροι
56	<u>ᴸεἱστήκεισαν</u>	עֹמְדִים	ᴸεἱστήκεισαν
57	εἷς (ˢἐντεῦθεν)	אֶחָד הֵנָּה	εἷς ˢἔνθεν
58	τοῦ χείλους	לִשְׂפַת	– –
59	τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הַיְאֹר	τοῦ ποταμοῦ
60	καὶ εἷς (ἐντεῦθεν)	וְאֶחָד הֵנָּה	καὶ εἷς ἔνθεν
61	τοῦ χείλους	לִשְׂפַת	– –
62	τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הַיְאֹר	– –
	12:6	12:6	12:6

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63	καὶ εἶπεν τῷ ἀνδρὶ	וַיֹּאמֶר לָאִישׁ	καὶ ᴹεἶπα ˢτῷ ἑνὶ
64	τῷ ᴸἐνδεδυμένῳ	לָבוּשׁ	τῷ ᴸπεριβεβλημένῳ
65	τὰ ᴸ(βαδδιν)	הַבַּדִּים	τὰ ᴸβύσσινα
66	ˢὃς ἦν ἐπάνω	אֲשֶׁר מִמַּעַל	ˢτῷ ἐπάνω
67	τοῦ ὕδατος	לְמֵימֵי	ˢ_ _
68	τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הַיְאֹר	_ _
69	Ἕως πότε τὸ ᴸπέρας	עַד־מָתַי קֵץ	ˢΠότε οὖν ᴸσυντέλεια
70	+ˢῶν εἴρηκας		+ˢῶν εἴρηκάς μοι
71	τῶν ᴸ(θαυμασίων)	הַפְּלָאוֹת	τῶν ᴸθαυμαστῶν
72			+ˢκαὶ ὁ καθαρισμὸς
73			+τούτων
	12:7	12:7	12:7
74	καὶ ἤκουσα	וָאֶשְׁמַע	καὶ ἤκουσα
75	τοῦ ἀνδρὸς	אֶת־הָאִישׁ	ˢτοῦ ᴸπεριβεβλημένου
76	τοῦ ᴸἐνδεδυμένου	לָבוּשׁ	
77	τὰ ᴸ(βαδδιν)	הַבַּדִּים	τὰ ᴸβύσσινα
78	ˢὃς ἦν ἐπάνω	אֲשֶׁר מִמַּעַל	ˢὃς ἦν ἐπάνω
79	τοῦ ὕδατος	לְמֵימֵי	τοῦ ὕδατος
80	τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הַיְאֹר	τοῦ ποταμοῦ
81			+ˢἝως καιροῦ συντελείας
82	καὶ ᴸὕψωσεν	וַיָּרֶם	καὶ ᴸὕψωσε
83	τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ	יְמִינוֹ	τὴν δεξιὰνᴹ
84	καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν	וּשְׂמֹאלוֹ	καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰνᴹ
85	αὐτοῦ		
86	εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν	אֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם	εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
87	καὶ ὤμοσεν	וַיִּשָּׁבַע	καὶ ᴸὤμοσε
88	ἐν τῷ ζῶντι	בְּחֵי	τὸν ζῶντα
89	τὸν αἰῶνα	הָעוֹלָם	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα +ˢθεὸν
90	ὅτι	כִּי	ὅτι
91	Εἰς καιρὸν καιρῶν	לְמוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים	εἰς καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς
92	καὶ ἥμισυ +ˢκαιροῦ	וָחֵצִי	καὶ ἥμισυ +ˢκαιροῦ
93	ˢἐν τῷ συντελεσθῆναι	וּכְכַלּוֹת	ˢἡ συντέλεια χειρῶν
94	διασκορπισμὸν	נַפֵּץ	ἀφέσεως
95	(γνώσονται	יַד־עַם־קֹדֶשׁ	λαοῦ ἁγίου
96	– –)	תִּכְלֶינָה	καὶ συντελεσθήσεται
97	πάντα ταῦτα	כָּל־אֵלֶּה	πάντα ταῦτα
	12:8	12:8	12:8

98	καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα	וַאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי	καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα
99	καὶ οὐ ^Lσυνῆκα	וְלֹא אָבִין	καὶ οὐ ^Lδιενοήθην
100			+^Sπαρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν
101	καὶ εἶπα Κύριε	וָאֹמְרָה אֲדֹנִי	καὶ εἶπα Κύριε
102	τί τὰ ἔσχατα	מָה אַחֲרִית	τίς ἡ ^Lλύσις
103	τούτων	אֵלֶּה	τοῦ ^Lλόγου τούτου
104			+[^Sκαὶ τί
105			+αἱ παραβολαὶ αὗται]

	12:9	12:9	12:9
106	καὶ εἶπεν	וַיֹּאמֶר	καὶ εἶπέν +^Mμοι
107	^L(Δεῦρο) Δανιηλ	לֵךְ דָּנִיֵּאל	^LἈπότρεχε Δανιηλ
108	^Sὅτι ^Lἐμπεφραγμένοι	כִּי־סְתֻמִים	^Sὅτι ^Lκατακεκαλυμμένα
109	καὶ ^Lἐσφραγισμένοι	וַחֲתֻמִים	καὶ ^Lἐσφραγισμένα
110	οἱ ^Lλόγοι	הַדְּבָרִים	τὰ ^Lπροστάγματα
111	ἕως ^Lκαιροῦ	עַד־עֵת	ἕως ἂν ^S– –
112	πέρας	קֵץ	– –

	12:10	12:10	
113	ἐκλεγῶσιν^M	יִתְבָּרֲרוּ	^L– –
114	καὶ ^L(ἐκλευκανθῶσιν)	וְיִתְלַבְּנוּ	^Lπειρασθῶσιν καὶ
115	καὶ ^Lπυρωθῶσιν	וְיִצָּרְפוּ	^Lἁγιασθῶσιν
116	πολλοί	רַבִּים	πολλοί
117	καὶ ^L(ἀνομήσωσιν	וְהִרְשִׁיעוּ	12:10 καὶ ^Lἁμάρτωσιν
118	^Lἄνομοι)	רְשָׁעִים	οἱ ^Lἁμαρτωλοί
119	καὶ οὐ ^Lσυνήσουσιν	וְלֹא יָבִינוּ	καὶ οὐ μὴ ^Lδιανοηθῶσι
120	^L– – (ἄνομοι)	כָּל־רְשָׁעִים	πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί
121	καὶ οἱ ^L(νοήμονες)	וְהַמַּשְׂכִּלִים	καὶ οἱ ^Lδιανοούμενοι
122	^Lσυνήσουσιν	יָבִינוּ	^Lπροσέξουσιν

	12:11	12:11	12:11
123	καὶ ἀπὸ ^Lκαιροῦ	וּמֵעֵת	^Sἀφ’ ^Lοὗ ἂν
124	^L(παραλλάξεως^M)	הוּסַר	^Lἀποσταθῇ
125	τοῦ (ἐνδελεχισμοῦ)	הַתָּמִיד	ἡ θυσία [^Lδιὰ παντός]
126			+^Sκαὶ ἑτοιμασθῇ
127	καὶ ^Mδοθήσεται	וְלָתֵת	^Mδοθῆναι
128	βδέλυγμα	שִׁקּוּץ	τὸ ^Sβδέλυγμα
129	<u>ἐρημώσεως</u>	שֹׁמֵם	τῆς ἐρημώσεως
130	ἡμέραι χίλιαι	יָמִים אֶלֶף	ἡμέρας χιλίας
131	διακόσιαι ἐνενήκοντα	מָאתַיִם וְתִשְׁעִים	διακοσίας ἐνενήκοντα

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	12:12			12:12			12:12
132	μακάριος ὁ ᴸὑπομένων			אַשְׁרֵי הַמְחַכֶּה			μακάριος ὁ ᴸἐμμένων
133	καὶ ᴸ(φθάσας)			וְיַגִּיעַ			ὅτι ᴸσυνάψει
134	εἰς ἡμέρας χιλίας			לְיָמִים אֶלֶף			ἡμέρας χιλίας
135	τριακοσίας			שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת			τριακοσίας
136	τριάκοντα πέντε			שְׁלֹשִׁים וַחֲמִשָּׁה			τριάκοντα πέντε
	12:13			12:13			12:13
137	καὶ σὺ ᴸ(δεῦρο)- -			וְאַתָּה לֵךְ לַקֵּץ			καὶ σὺ ᴸβάδισον - -
138							+ˢἀπόθου
139							+ἔτι γάρ εἰσιν
140							+ἡμέραι καὶ ὧραι
141							+εἰς ᴸἀναπλήρωσιν
142							+συντελείας
143	καὶ ᴸἀναπαύου			וְתָנוּחַ			καὶ ᴸἀναπαύσῃ
144	καὶ ᴸἀναστήσῃ			וְתַעֲמֹד			καὶ ἀναστήσῃ
145	εἰς τὸν ᴸκλῆρόν σου			לְגֹרָלְךָ			ἐπὶ τὴν ᴸδόξαν σου
146	εἰς ᴸσυντέλειαν			לְקֵץ			εἰς ᴸσυντέλειαν
147	ἡμερῶν			הַיָּמִין			ἡμερῶν

VI.1. *Analysis of 12:1-13*

VI.1.i. *Morphology*

1. 11-OG has a 3.pl. vb., which could mean that he understood גוי (l. 12) as a reference to gentile nations, not Israel. Thus we would translate, "that time of affliction unlike any other (lit. such has not been) since they (i.e. the nations) came into existence." Alternatively, OG may have intended the pl. sub. as an implicit comparison with previous periods of affliction in Israel's past. In this case we would translate "that time of affliction unlike any other since they (i.e. our times of affliction) began." The latter option is the plainest reading of the OG. It is also possible that the translator was working along on the text and assumed that the comparison was intended in MT; therefore, OG may have employed the pl. form before he realized that the grammatical sub. was גוי.[227]

In any case, OG's change of subject required the omission of גוי.

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[227]We encountered a similar situation in 2:7.

l. 18, 83, 84—OG omits translating the pro. suf. as unnecessary (cf. l. 106.

l. 36—Th reads the מ as the prep. (מִצְּדִיקִי) rather than a hi. part.

l. 37, 106—OG occasionally adds per. pro. against MT and Th.

l. 63—OG employs the first person "I said" from vs. 5 for "one said" in MT. Th has a formal equivalent to MT.

l. 113, 114, 115, 117—Mont., p. 478, states that Th has retained the subj. mood in these vbs. from OG. If this is the case, it would be the only sign of dependence in this verse. Furthermore, the impv. in l. 107 followed by the causal ὅτι in l. 108 (s. *Syntax*) makes a purpose clause, hence the subj. mood, perfectly explicable.

l. 124—Th transforms the vb. into a noun. He may have read הסרת חמידו (gen.cons. from סרה).

l. 127—Th employs a finite vb. rather than an infinitive. OG employs the pass.inf. in order to accommodate the change he has made in the syntax (s. *Syntax*, l. 126).

VI.1.ii. *Syntax*

l. 8—It seems OG has read ההיא העת for והיחה עת. The demonstrative adj. creates an asyndetic clause where MT has parataxis.

l. 10-11—OG and Th follow MT quite closely and translate the sense of the syntax, but the common reading of the adj. οἵα "such as" makes it appear that one is dependent on the other. However, OG and Th also employ οἷος for אשר in 9:12 to give a good idiomatic rendering, and there is little reason to suspect dependence in that verse.

l. 18-19—OG transposes πᾶς before λαός "the whole people." In order to ensure that the statement "the whole people will be raised" is not mistaken for universalism, OG clarifies with the rendering ὃς ἂν εὑρεθῇ "whomever is found" for הנמצא.

l. 26-30—OG renders the repetition of אלה in l. 26, 28 idiomatically with the art. + μὲν/δὲ/δὲ while Th corresponds to MT. OG's add. of the second δὲ makes three groups to be raised whereas MT has two. It is

possible that לחרפות was an early explanatory gloss on לדראון,[228] but the versions support its inclusion. Th adds καί in 1. 30 to smooth the syntax.

1. 36-37-According to Mont., p. 473, OG has translated ומצדיקי הרבים as if it were וחזיקי דברי. This judgment is based on accepting the reading of 88-Syh and 967 (κατισχύοντες) as OG. Zieg. reads the part. from κατίσχω instead, and the cj. does make sense. To read "those who keep my words" is more in keeping with the context than "those who overpower my words." The problem with the cj. is that there is no equivalent that can be retroverted from κατίσχοντες that is similar to ומצדיקי. OG has to represent some type of dynamic equivalent or a contextual guess for a text that gave OG problems. For example, OG could be a dynamic equivalent for a text that he read as וצדיקי מרבים "the righteous of the many."

1. 39-OG adds 1. 39 in harmonization with 1. 35, though it could be a scribal add.

1. 57-OG and Th employ equivalent expressions for the idiom "one on this side of the river and one on that side of the river." These are the only occurrences of ἔνθεν/ἐντεῦθεν in Daniel. The fact that Th employs a different adv. from OG suggests Th is an independent translation because there would be no reason for Th to switch equivalents deliberately. OG abbreviates the translation of 1. 57-62, but the same sense is transmitted (s. *Text-Critical*).

1. 63, 75-In both cases OG has a more idiomatic rendering than Th who employs a formal equivalent ἀνδρί + part. OG omits האיש as redundant in 1. 75.

1. 66, 78-Th employs the same formal rendering for the relative clause אשר ממעל. The agreement between OG and Th in 1. 78 is either insignificant or the OG has been corrupted by Th (s. *Text-Critical*, 1. 67-68).

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[228]Jeans., pp. 101-102.

l. 67-68-OG may have omitted למימי היאר by parablepsis (. . . מעל שׂפתי־מימי), or omitted the information as unnecessary, because it was sufficient to designate which of the two figures was being referred to in 12:5 by simply stating that it was the one on the upper side.

l. 69-OG renders more to the sense of the compound interrogative "When, therefore, is the end," and οὖν alters the word order. Th employs a formal rendering. עד־מתי also appears in 8:13 where Th employs the same equivalent and OG has Ἕως τίνος.

l. 70-OG and Th have a common add. ὧν εἴρηκας (OG + μοι), and this add. makes it explicit that the "end" referred to is the one spoken of by Michael, the great angel, in vs. 4 (s. *Text-Critical*). MT does not explicitly identify either of the two figures in vs. 5, and this identification is clearly wrong when compared to 10:5, 13 (Gabriel?, s. 9:21). The add. is a distinctive agreement.

l. 72-73-OG's add.[229] is based on 11:35 where OG twice reads the vb. καθαρίζω (for צרף, q.inf.cons.; לבן, hi.inf.cons.).[230] The purification of the wise ones in 11:35 is connected with the time of the end, and, in the following verse, there is a reference to the boastings of Antiochus. OG interpreted the פלא "wondrous events" in l. 70 as an allusion to the נפלאות "boasting of wonderful things" by Antiochus in 11:36 (s. *Lexicology*, l. 71). Therefore, OG added l. 72-73 in order to clarify that there will not only be an end to the boastings of Antiochus, but also "the purification of these ones" (i.e. "the wise ones" in l. 32; 11:35).

l. 81-The add. in OG has the one clothed in linen on the upper side of the river "until the time of the end."

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[229]καὶ ὁ καθαρισμός is marked with the obelus in 88-Syh.

[230]Both of the translations in 11:35 are unique in the LXX, and though there is some change in meaning the OG equivalents do impart the basic sense of the *Vorlage*. OG only has καθαρίζω elsewhere in 8:14 where it is once more a singular equivalent for צדק (ni.pf.; a distinctive agreement with Th!).

l. 89-OG makes explicit who it is that lives forever by the add. of θεόν in apposition to the preceding substantive, though θεόν could have originated as a marginal note that was later incorporated into the text.

l. 92-OG and Th share a common add. of καιροῦ, which is implicit in MT, though the agreement might be because מועד was in their *Vorlage* (s. *Text-Critical*).

l. 93-96-Both OG and Th had difficulties with this text. Evidently OG transposed יד after וככלות, which would explain l. 93 (s. *Text-Critical*). However, the translation of ἀφέσεως for נפץ is unique. McCrystall argues that OG engaged in deliberate theological *Tendenz* by reading פצה (which can express "deliverance") for נפץ.[231] However, is this an example of intentional theological *Tendenz*, or was it motivated by a misunderstanding of the *Vorlage*? This is not to say that OG's theology did not play any role in this rendering, but the type of programmatic theological manipulation of MT by OG envisaged by McCrystall is extreme.[232] In the first place, the translator may have been uncertain about the exact meaning of the phrase, and McCrystall has shown a possible semantic path by which OG arrived at the rendering. Second, the translation bears similar characteristics to the add. in l. 72-73. It has been suggested that the add. in l. 72-73 was motivated by the translator drawing a parallel in 12:6 with the connection between the boastings of Antiochus and the purification of the wise ones at the time of the end in 11:35-36. OG may have understood the same referents in 12:7. The context is the time of the

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[231]McCrystall, p. 84.

[232]McCrystall argues that the rendering in 12:7 is theologically motivated based on the OG interest in following the chronological system of the MT, which is based on the Jubilees' calendar (p. 234). To a great extent McCrystall's view of 12:7 depends on his ability to prove that MT used the Jubilees calendrical system and that OG knew this and inserted slight modifications. This view rests on his interpretation of three texts: 7:25, 9:24-27, and 12:7. It has not been our concern to establish whether MT does in fact reveal that it used the Jubilees' calendrical system, but in the course of this thesis we have given considerable reason to doubt McCrystall's view that the OG translator actually intentionally introduced significant changes to MT for theological purposes.

end, which brings the end of the powers (i.e. those who are boasting), and the release of the holy people (i.e. the wise ones). Finally, the resulting translation by OG is in keeping with the context, because there is an emphasis on the time of the end bringing purification, blessing, and reward in vss. 10(9)-12.

Ultimately, the explanation offered here for 12:7 has much in common with McCrystall's. The difference is that McCrystall presumes that OG correctly understood MT and then deliberately introduced changes, whereas the suggestion here is that the process is probably more subliminal. It would be more appropriate to say that OG, in company with every reader, interpreted a difficult text according to his own understanding. If anything, there was more intentional *Tendenz* in the add. of l. 72-73 than in the translation of l. 94.

Th had his own problems with l. 94-96. He translates נפץ correctly with διασκορπισμός, but γνώσονται in l. 93 suggests that he read (ו)ידעתם (3.pl.pf.cons.[?] from ידע) for ידם and he or his *Vorlage* omitted קדש תכליינה. The significant point for our purposes is that OG is obviously closer to MT than Th, and Th's translation is clearly distinct from OG.

l. 100—OG adds this line to make explicit what is implicit in MT.

l. 104-105—Zieg. encloses these lines in square brackets to indicate that their originality is doubtful. The preceding lines exhibit traits of dynamic equivalence and correspondence to MT, which would indicate that they are original and not later correction toward MT (s. *Lexicology*). However, παράβολος could be based on אחידות "riddles" (s. 5:12), which would grant these lines a strong claim to originality. So, we have a double reading in which there are no easy means to determine which lines translate the *Vorlage* (s. *Text-Critical*). Although l. 104-105 could have been added later, they also could be an additional comment of the original translator, similar to other pluses in OG. In that case, OG makes explicit the uncertainty regarding the time of the coming of the end. Such a comment would be appropriate given the fact that Antiochus had come and gone between the period of the final redaction of MT and the translation by OG.

1. 108-OG and Th both use ὅτι when γάρ would have been a more appropriate rendering of כִּי.[233] Other shared examples of this Hebraism are 9:16, 19, 23; 11:4, 37, while OG employs γάρ properly against Th's ὅτι in 9:18; 10:11, 14; 11:27, 35.[234]

1. 111-112-The omission by OG results in a redivision of the sentence and cuts across the verse division.

1. 123-OG renders עֵת in 1. 123 with the relative οὗ and omits the coordinate conj., which makes 1. 123-125 subordinate to the predicate in 1. 122. The OG of 1. 121-125 might be translated, "But the wise will pay attention from [the time] when the perpetual sacrifice is taken away."

1. 126-The addition in OG retains the connection between the removal of the daily sacrifice and the "abomination of desolation," but also makes it explicit that there is a sequence involved: the sacrifice is taken away, "and the abomination of desolation is prepared to be given."

1. 128-129-The same terms are collocated in 9:27 and 11:31. In 9:27 the expression is pl., and OG and Th have the common reading βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων. In 11:31 OG again has βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, while Th has βδέλυγμα ἠφανισμένον.[235] Th has the cognate n. ἀφανισμός in 9:18, 26 (not in OG), so the agreement of ἐρήμωσις in 9:27 and 12:11 is

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[233]S. Aejmelaeus, "OTI," pp. 118-126. Aejmelaeus notes that the usage of ὅτι for γάρ in such instances is particularly Septuagintal and "frequently occur[s] in connection with commands or prohibitions," (p. 118, s. 1. 107).

[234]The complete listing for the occurrences of כִּי (24x) in Daniel is 8:17, 19, 26; 9:9, 11, 14, 16, 18(2), 19, 23; 10:11, 12, 14, 19, 21; 11:4, 25, 27, 35, 36, 37; 12:7, 9.

[235]Cf. Jeans., p. 18, who states in error, "When θ' revised ο' the expression [βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως] was retained in all three occurrences (Dan 9:27, 11:31, 12:11)."

√שָׁמֵם occurs also in 4:16(19) OG=0; 8:13, 27; 9:17, 18, 26, 27. βδέλυγμα=שִׁקּוּץ is a SE in the LXX, so it is only ἐρημώσεως that could be used as evidence that Th has borrowed from OG.

distinctive. However, the verbal agreement is not surprising when we consider the popular currency of the phrase (s. I Macc. 1:54), particularly in the later Christian tradition (Matt. 15:14! Mk. 13:14). So the agreement in 9:27 and 12:11 could be because Th employed a known phrase. At the same time, the distinct reading in 11:31 suggests that the agreements in 9:27 and 12:11 are probably due to later scribal corruption. Either way, the agreements cannot be considered as evidence that Th is a revision of OG.

1. 138-142-The lines in OG are generally regarded as a large addition to MT and this may well be the case.[236] On the other hand, we have to consider the possibility that these lines are actually OG and 1. 143-147 are a later correction toward MT. In favour of this possibility is that the conclusion of the verse has a high degree of verbal agreement with Th and it corresponds to MT. The main difference is in 1. 145 where OG has δόξαν for κλῆρόν, but this could based on a corrector reading לְמַדְּךָ for לְגֹרָלְךָ;[237] or it may just be a dynamic rendering.

The suggestion that 1. 138-142 is OG faces two objections. The first is based on the preconception that Th is a revision of OG; therefore, the reason why 1. 143-147 are so close in Th and OG is that Th has retained OG's reading. By now it should be obvious that we have every reason to dispense with that presupposition. On the one hand, Th's translation of 1. 143-147 provides the expected formal equivalence to MT and does not require knowledge of OG. On the other hand, the OG looks a great deal like a doublet and we have proved Th influence on OG elsewhere.

The more significant objection against reading 1. 138-142 as OG and 143-147 as a later doublet is that 1. 138-140 are not equivalent in meaning to MT. In 1. 143-147 MT has "and rest and you will rise to

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[236]Mont., p. 478; Collins, *Daniel*, p. 370; Lacoque, p. 247. Plöger, p. 170, argues that 1. 138-142 are an equivalent for לְקֵץ. The add. is marked with the obelus in 88-Syh.

[237]Mont., p. 478.

your lot at the end of the days." L. 138-142 in OG have, "Go away,[238] for there are yet days and hours until the fulfilment of the end." Some of the discrepancy in OG's reading might be accounted for by textual differences. For example, OG may have read ותדה for ותנוח and possibly וכי'עד for ותעמד, but it is unlikely that we could (or should even attempt to) reconstruct a whole catalogue of textual corruptions to account for OG's reading in l. 138-142. One of the main reasons for the creation of doublets in the LXX—and Th is in one sense a rather large doublet—was that there was a perceived inadequacy in the original translation. Therefore, it could be argued that there would not have been a need to add the correction from Th, if the OG had been closer to MT in the first place.

There is one final consideration that may support the position that l. 143-147 is a later addition to OG. It is generally agreed that the epilogue in 12:5-13 consists of a later addition to MT.[239] Therefore, it is possible that OG was translating a slightly different *Vorlage*, which did not contain the specific promise of personal resurrection for Daniel in l. 138-140. However, this suggestion is less plausible because the OG is generally close to MT in the previous verses.

Although we can do no more than raise the possibility that l. 143-147 are a later add. to OG, it is necessary to do so because it brings into focus two questions: 1) How faithfully has the OG text been preserved? 2) How great was Th influence on the OG witnesses that have survived? We will consider these questions in more detail in the summary at the conclusion of this chapter. Suffice it for now to say that the answer to these two questions makes it plausible that l. 143-147 are a later addition to OG.

VI.1.iii. *Lexicology*

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[238]967's reading of ἀπώθου has been accepted in CH 2 as OG against ἀναπαύου in 88-Syh, which has been influenced by Th and/or the reading in l. 143.

[239]Collins, *Daniel*, p. 371, and Mont., p. 474 regard the epilogue as later but integrated with the remainder of the book, while Hartman and Di Lella, p. 277, regard it as a gloss. Charles, p. 392 and Lacoque, p. 249 regard vss. 11-13 as later glosses.

l. 1, 9, 14, 16, 47, 111, 123-Th employs καιρός as a SE for עת (15/16), while OG displays more variety using ὥρα 5x, καιρός 4x, and ἡμέρα 3x.[240] The dynamic equivalent is ἡμέρα, which appears 3x in 12:1. In keeping with the eschatological outlook of the context OG equates עת צרה in l. 9 with יום צרה, which is found 20x in the Hebrew Bible. יום צרה is usually translated ἡμέρα θλίψεως (eg. Gen. 35:3; II Ki. 19:3; Is. 37:3; Obad. 1:12, 14; Nah. 1:7; Hab. 3:16). OG retains ἡμέρα to render עת in l. 14, 16, because the antecedent is still that day of affliction.

l. 3-OG employs a dynamic equivalent, but given the problems OG had in reading the text and the textual differences, he very well could have read the 3.s.impf. of עלל.

l. 4-The translation of שר might be regarded as a distinctive reading in Th. Apart from its uses in compounds (6x) Th renders שר with ἄρχων 9/11.[241] Once again OG demonstrates variety by employing στρατηγός (10:13, 20[2], 21), δυνάστης (9:6, 8; 11:5), and ἄγγελος (l. 4). OG shares a reading with Th in 10:13 εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν πρώτων, and we have to suspect Th influence on OG. OG employs ἄρχων only 4x elsewhere, and only in 2:48 is there an equivalent in MT (רב, but even there it may be a doublet translation with ἡγούμενον).[242]

l. 17-Zieg.'s text reads σωθήσεται for OG (with Th) against the reading

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[240]S. 8:17; 9:21, 25; 11:6, 13, 14, 24, 35, 40; 12:1(4), 4, 9, 11. Th follows OG with ὥραν θυσίας ἑσπερινῆς in 9:21 which is evidence for borrowing or a corrupt text. OG=0 in 9:25; 12:9 and there are textual difficulties in 11:24; 12:11 (s. Syntax, l. 123). The fact that Th employs καιρός reveals that it is a perfectly legitimate rendering, but it is possible that OG's reading in 11:14 (also in 11:13; 35; 12:4) is actually Th because καὶ ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις is a formal equivalent to MT and we might have expected OG to employ his more favoured ὥρα.

[241]8:25(2); 9:6, 8; 10:13(2), 20(2), 21; 11:5; 12:1. OG and Th share a common difference in the reading of שר שרים in 8:25. OG has ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν, Th ἀπωλείας πολλῶν. Mont., p. 354, is surely correct when he states that they read שר נברים/ רבים. The difference in the OG and Th readings suggests that there is no dependence, but the similarities reflect an alternative Vorlage.

[242]MT=0 in 3:38; 97(30)?; 4:15(18).

of 88-Syh, which is accepted here.[243] מלט only appears elsewhere in 11:41 where OG=0 and Th has the expected σώζω. Th's reading is an obvious equivalent in l. 17, but there is no reason to expect that Th is witnessing to the OG. There are also no obvious inner Greek grounds to explain 88-Syh as a corruption. The emphasis on resurrection in this passage is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible,[244] and given the context ὑψωθήσεται "will be raised/exalted" renders the sense rather well. ὑψωθήσεται should be accepted as OG.

l. 19-Th omits מצא against OG as redundant.

l. 23-OG and Th share a HL καθεύδω for the HL ישׁן. It is possible that this is a distinctive agreement, but the euphemism of sleep for death may have been arrived at independently.[245]

l. 24-OG employs πλάτος (also in 9:27, not in Th) "breadth" as a dynamic equivalent for the construct אדמת, while Th's rendering with χῶμα (1-15) might be considered distinctive.[246]

l. 25-Th employs the compound ἐξεγείρω elsewhere in 7:4 and 11:25. Although either OG or Th's rendering is appropriate for the HL קיץ (hi.) and Th's choice is not particularly distinctive, it does demonstrate his independence from OG.

l. 29-ὀνειδισμός is the expected SE for חרפה (4/4) in OG and Th,[247] though it may have originated as a gloss to הדראון (s. Syntax, Text-Critical).

l. 30-31-OG renders דראון (1-2, Is. 66:24) "abhorrence" with a

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[243]967 has a lacuna for this portion of text. Mont., p. 473 simply refers to 88-Syh's reading as an error.

[244]See Collins, *Daniel*, pp. 394-398.

[245]The euphemism was well known and used. See T. H. McAlpine, *Sleep, Divine and Human in the Old Testament*, JSOTS, 38 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987).

[246]Talmon suggests that אדמת עפר is a double reading of synonyms, but there is good evidence to retain both. See "Double Readings in the Massoretic Text," *Textus* 1 (1960): 167-68.

[247]9:16; 11:18(2); 12:2.

contextual guess διασπορά, while αισχύνη is a later gloss from Th.[248]

l. 32, 99, 119, 121, 122—OG and Th's vocabulary for בין was discussed previously in 8:1-10 (though it should be noted that OG's προσέχω "give attention to" in l. 122 is a good dynamic rendering). משכילים was discussed in 1:1-10, and Th's translation of √שכל was treated in CH 4.III.1.iii. Neither OG or Th's translation indicates that they discerned any special significance in the משכילים.

The previous investigations of vocabulary concerned with the domain of knowing indicated that Th was working to his own agenda. Recall, for example, that Th employed συνετός in 11:33 and νοήμονες (1-10) in 12:10, because in both cases משכילים is collocated with יבינו.[249] The fact that Th clearly favoured συνίημι for משכילים and that his two exceptions in 11:33 and 12:10 can be explained does raise questions, however, about the verbal agreement with OG in l. 32. OG has ἐπιστήμον in 1:4; ἐννοέω in 11:33; διανοέομαι in 12:10; but συνίημι in 11:35 (gen.pl.m.part.=Th) and 12:3 (nominative pl.m.part.=Th)![250] Given OG's other choices for משכילים and the fact that συνίημι is clearly a favoured Th equivalent, we are more than justified to question the authenticity of OG's participles in 11:35 and 12:3. συνίημι is not collocated with any other term for knowing in 12:3, so it is particularly doubtful that we have OG in l. 32.

l. 33-34, 117-118—Phonological motivation is evident in the choices of OG and Th for the translation of יזהרו כזהר in l. 33-34. OG employs the rare φωστήρ (1-6) with φαίνω, which retains at least some of the consonance in MT. Th's choices ἐκλάμπω and λαμπρότης are even closer in sound (λαμπ). ἐκλάμπω (1-8) and λαμπρότης (1-6) are also rare in the LXX; therefore, they are excellent examples of Th's distinctive vocabulary.

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[248]So also Zieg., p. 17.

[249]The particular choice of νοήμων in 12:10 may also be explained by phonological motivation. In the preceding lines, Th employs √ἄνομος 3x (1. 117, 118, 120) to render √רשע.

[250]συνίημι only appears one other time in OG (11:33) where OG again agrees with Th (συνήσουσιν).

The same phonological processes were at work in 1. 117-118 where OG and Th again employ different equivalents. In this instance, OG's choices were guided by the fact that ἁμαρτωλός is the main SE for רשע in the LXX. Although Th's ἄνομος is also employed for רשע, it is not used as frequently or as consistently as ἁμαρτωλός.

1. 34-OG exhibits lexical levelling by employing οὐρανός for רקיע (unique in LXX) and שמים (1. 84). στερέωμα is the expected equivalent.

1. 41-Th has read עוד for עד. Such an error can also be regarded as a distinctive disagreement, because, if Th were following OG, he would not have made such an obvious mistake.

1. 44, 110-The translation of דבר offers further evidence of the distinctive nature of Th's translation. If we discount the 3 occurrences in ch. 1, OG employs πρόσταγμα as a SE 14/18.[251] The only exceptions are 10:6, 9 where λαλιά "speaking" is a better idiomatic rendering,[252] and 10:12(2) where OG has ῥῆμα. Th's SE for chs. 9-12 is λόγος (17/18; Th=0 in 10:1 by homoiot.).

1. 43, 45 and 108, 109-MT has the same verbs collocated (חתם סתם pass. part.) in 12:9. The SE for חתם in the LXX is σφραγίζω so it is not surprising to find agreement in OG and Th.[253] However, there are differences in the rendering of סתם. There are only two points worthy of note. First, κατακαλύπτω by OG in 1. 107 is a HL in Daniel. Second, סתם also occurs in 8:26. In 8:26 Th employs σφραγίζω as the common term meaning "to seal," while OG has φράσσω (1-8). The

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[251] 1:5, 14, 20; 9:2, 12, 23(2), 25; 10:1(3), 6, 9(2), 11, 12(2), 15; 12:4, 9. OG and Th both omit the second דבר in 10:9 which is probably an addition. The vocabulary we have examined has not been comprehensive enough to determine the nature of the link between the translator of chs. 1-2(3) and 7-12 in OG. However, OG has τρόπος for דבר in 1:14 and λόγος in 1:20, both of which are unique equivalents for OG (1:5 is an idiom).

[252] 4QDanᶜ has a singular (דברו) in 10:6 (lacuna for 10:9), but OG's equivalent implies the pl. of MT.

[253] See also 6:18(17); 9:24(2). OG has σπανίζω and συντελέω in 9:24.

differing vocabulary indicates independent translations.

1. 47, 69, 111, 141, 146–As in the previous two paragraphs, קץ עד־מת is found in both 12:4 and 12:9. The Th reading in 12:4 is most likely OG. קץ עד appears with a preceding prep. 5x and in every case except 12:4 Th renders קץ with πέρας (s. 8:17; 11:35, 40). Th also employs πέρας to render קץ by itself in 8:17; 11:27 and 12:6, while 12:4 and 13 are the only instances where Th employs συντέλεια. Besides 12:4, OG renders קץ with συντέλεια 9/15.[254] Since the shared reading in 12:4 is the only one, and Th demonstrates a significantly different pattern of translation throughout Daniel; the agreement is more likely due to textual corruption than to Th borrowing from OG.

1. 49–The readings of OG (ἀπομαίνομαι "to rage violently" HL in LXX) and Th (διδάσκω "to teach") for the HL שוט "to rove about" (BDB, p. 1002) reveal that both had difficulties with the text.[255] OG has read a homonym שוט "treat with contempt." Charles, p. 332, suggests that Th's reading is a corruption from διαχθῶσιν, but διδαχθῶσιν is more likely a contextual guess based on the following clause "until many have been taught and knowledge is multiplied." Th's guess is clearly independent from OG, but both versions alter the intention of MT significantly.

1. 51–OG and Th employ different but appropriate equivalents. רבה only appears elsewhere in the Hebrew portion of Daniel in 11:39 where both OG and Th have πληθύνω.

1. 52–Th provides an equivalent for MT. OG is reading הרעה and has added ἡ γῆ to produce, "the earth be filled with iniquity" (s. *Text-*

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[254]S. 9:26; 11:6, 13, 27, 35, 40, 45; 12:6, 13. קץ is also found in 8:17, 19; 9:26; 12:9, 13. OG=0 in 9:26; 12:9 (error), 13. Th=0 in 12:13; τέλος in 9:26; 11:13; ἐκκοπάω? in 9:26; μέρος in 11:45; and μετά in 11:6 (reading קצה, s. 1:5, 15, 18; 4:26[29], 31[34]). OG also has an add. in 12:13 (1. 141) which includes συντέλεια, or was the text that corresponds to MT a later correction?

[255]Charles, p. 332, emends to ישׂתרו (based on Aramaic יסתוׂן from √סתה) "till the many become apostates."

Critical).

1. 56-ἵστημι is the expected equivalent for עמד, as in l. 3, 5, 144 of Th (s. OG in l. 3, 140), but the common reading of the 3.pl.plupf.a.i. is probably a distinctive agreement. However, there is no way to determine the direction of agreement, though it may be noted that Th employs ἵστημι and its compounds consistently for עמד; whereas OG uses variety (eg. l. 3; 1:4, 19).

1. 64, 75, 76-OG uses a variety of equivalents for לבש (στολίζω 5:7, 16; ενδύω 5:29; 10:5; περιβάλλω 12:6, 7), while Th employs ἐνδύω as a SE (6/6).

1. 65, 77-The same equivalents are found in the other occurrence of בד "linen" in 10:5. Th transliterates.

1. 71-OG and Th employ different and adequate renderings for פלא. The same root is employed as a ni.part. in 8:24 (OG-θαυμαστῶς, 1-4; Th-θαυμαστός) and 11:36 (OG=0; Th-ὑπερόγκος, 1-7, s. OG 5:12) to refer to the boastings of Antiochus. Therefore, the "end" being referred to in 12:6 is not solely the resurrection and judgment, but includes the conclusion of the events in ch. 11.[256]

Th's renderings are distinct.

1. 82-The vb. רום appears 8x in Daniel and ὑψόω is the expected equivalent. OG has ὑψόω 3/4 and Th 6/8.[257]

1. 87-שבע is a HL in Daniel. OG and Th both employ ὄμνυμι, which is the SE for שבע in the LXX.

l. 102-OG employs λύσις (1-3) as a dynamic equivalent for אחרית while Th has the expected SE ἔσχατος.[258]

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[256]Also Charles, p. 334; Collins, *Daniel*, p. 399.

[257]S. also 4:34(37); 5:19, 20, 23; 8:11; 11:12, 36. OG=0 in 5:19, 20, 23 and in 4:34(37) the texts are vastly different, though ὕψιστος does occur. In 8:11 OG and Th have the common reading ἐρράχθη. Th also has ὑπερυψῶ in 4:34(37).

[258]S. also 8:19, 23; 10:14; 11:4. OG has ἀλκή in 11:4, which may be an adjustment according to the sense of the context or based on an alternative *Vorlage* (BHS, כחו, Collins, *Daniel*, p. 363, להחזיק).

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l. 103-OG adds λόγος "matter," which is implicit in MT.

l. 107, 137-OG employs ἀποτρέχω (HL in Daniel) in l. 107 and a common SE (βαδίζω) for הלך in l. 137. Th's renderings with δεῦρο are unique in the prophetic corpus of the LXX and must be considered distinctive.[259]

l. 113-McCrystall argues that the omission of יתבררו in 12:10(9) is probably due to the translator's desire to reserve ברר in 11:35 for an elite group within the *maskilim*.[260] Though McCrystall admits that the omission in 12:10(9) could be due to the fact that the verb is translated by πειράζω (in which case ויתלבנו was omitted) or that the three verbs were rendered by two in the Greek, he clearly favours his hypothesis. It is the use of the passive infinitive of ἐκλέγω for ולבר in 11:35 that constitutes his proof that ברר was reserved for the elite group within the *maskilim*. He believes that there is a contrast in that verse between the voluntary decision of some of the wise to purify themselves and be elect according to OG, against the statement in MT that their affliction has the purpose of purifying.[261]

To be fair, McCrystall does note with Mont., p. 460, that OG apparently reads ישכלו for יכשלו in 11:35, but he does not consider the ramifications of this reading on the translator's approach to the rest of the verse. Once the translator mistook the initial verb ישכלו "to consider/have in mind" for יכשלו "to stumble" he still had to make sense of the verse. It would have been a fairly easy step to translate the following infinitives as passives, and the remainder of the OG follows the Hebrew. This passage reflects what Tov refers to as a "pseudo-variant."[262] It does not reflect a variant *Vorlage*; neither does it reflect *Tendenz*. Furthermore, we have already seen that OG

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[259]On the use of δεῦρο, s. Eynikel and Lust, pp. 59-62. Other occurrences of הלך are 3:25(92); 4:26(29), 34(37)-OG=0; 9:10. OG and Th share the reading περιπατέω in the first two instances and OG has κατακολουθέω in 9:10. Th employs πορεύομαι in 4:34(37) and 9:10, where the reference is to God's goings.

[260]McCrystall, pp. 85-86; 228-231.

[261]Ibid., p. 229.

[262]*TCU*, pp. 236-240.

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and Th betray no special significance in the vocabulary employed for translating מׂשכלים (s. *Lexicology*, 1. 32, 99, 119, 121, 122). The variant in 11:35 resulted from a simple *metathesis* in the verb יׂשכלו.

McCrystall's argument for an elite group within the *maskilim* is based on the intended restriction of the term ברר to 11:35 and an intentional change in the meaning of the verse in OG, but there is no basis to McCrystall's premise. As for the omission of ברר from 12:10(9) McCrystall fails to consider still another possibility: one of the first two verbs may have been omitted due to homoioarc. (יׂתבררו ויתלבנו), and the omission is part of a larger one beginning in 1. 111.

1. 114–OG's choice renders the sense of MT, while Th's is a closer formal equivalent. However, ἐκλευκαίνω is also a HL in the LXX! Th's distinctiveness is also demonstrated by the translation of לבן in its other occurrence in 11:35. OG has καθαρίζω, while Th might have ἀπολευκαίνω (HL in LXX).[263]

1. 115–The only other occurrence of צרף in Daniel is in 11:35 where OG has καθαρίζω and Th again has πυρόω.

1. 120–Th's omission of כל appears to be an example of one of his occasional omissions, because it is rendered by OG.

1. 124–OG employs ἀφίστημι as a SE 4/4 for סור. In this case Th shows variety and complete independence from OG. Th employs ἐκκλίνω (not in OG) in 9:5, 11; μεθίστημι in 11:31; παράλλαξις (1-2, s. *Morphology*) in 12:11.

1. 125–MT has התמיד collocated with סר in 11:31. OG and Th employ the same equivalents there.[264] Th's use of ἐνδελεχισμός "daily sacrifice" (2-11) in 1. 125 indicates his independence. Zieg., p. 17, regards

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[263]Zieg. reads ἀποκαλυφθῆναι in 11:35, but Mont., p. 460 suggests that Th's text is a corruption from ἀπολευκασθηναι. ἀποκαλύπτω cannot easily be explained as a variant reading of the *Vorlage*, yet it does make sense in the context. Therefore, a later scribe might have written the graphically similar ἀποκαλυφθῆναι for the rare ἀπολευκασθηναι. Th's reading is still distinct from OG.

[264]Otherwise התמיד appears in 8:11, 12, 13, and both OG and Th employ θυσία. As previously mentioned, 8:11-13 has similar textual difficulties to 9:24-27.

διὰ παντός in OG as a doublet and elsewhere OG does employ θυσία alone. However, as Jeans., p. 92, points out, the meaning of OG is the same with the add. "the eternal sacrifice" and Lev. 6:13(20) does employ θυσίαν διὰ παντός for תמיד.

1. 132-OG and Th employ appropriate equivalents for הכב (HL in Daniel), though Th's ὑπομενω is more common.

1. 133-The SE for נגע in the LXX is ἅπτω so both OG and Th employ unique renderings.[265]

1. 143-ἀναπαύω is a common equivalent for נוח (HL in Daniel) in the LXX.

1. 145-OG has the dynamic rendering δόξα for גיל, though it could be based on reading גיל (s. Syntax, 1. 138-142). Th has κλῆρος (HL), a SE in the LXX.

VI.1.iv. *Summary*

As in the other sections that we have examined, OG offers a faithful rendering of MT where it is present. For the most part, OG follows the word order of MT. Other than textual differences, OG only interrupts the word order of MT with the postpositive conj. δὲ in 1. 28 (in 1. 30 δὲ is an add.) and οὖν in 1. 69. On two occasions OG altered the syntax (1. 10-11, 122-124), which did not affect the meaning of the text significantly; whereas in one one case it did (1. 30, three groups at the resurrection). As elsewhere OG omits pro.suf. in some cases (1. 18, 83, 84), but has added a per.pro. 2x (1. 37, 106). As usual, OG offers several dynamic translations (1. 17 against Zieg.'s cj.; 1. 107, 102, 122, 138-142?, 145), though several others were occasioned by OG's difficulty in understanding MT or a textual problem (1. 30, 36, 49, 94, 105?, 145?). Several translations were also influenced to varying degrees by phonological considerations (1. 33-34, 117-118, 119).

There were a number of textual differences between OG and MT that are significant for our understanding of OG. The minuses were mainly due to the omission of redundant elements (1. 58, 61-62, 67-68)

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[265]S. the discussion of vs. 7 in 8:1-10 above. Th's use of φθάνω is distinctive not only because of the equivalence he makes, but also because OG does not use the vb. at all.

or textual problems (1. 111-113, 137). These omissions are characterisitc of what we have found throughout this investigation and are not greatly important. Some of the additions are not that important either. For example, 1. 39, 81 are probably due to harmonization and 1. 89 was probably a scribal addition. However, the pluses in 1. 70, 100, 126, though similar in nature to other places where OG makes an addition in order to make MT explicit, are significant. The significance of these pluses lies in their length and that there are three of them in close proximity. In particular, 1. 70 and 100 read as explanatory additions. Of course, these additions would not be all that remarkable without the pluses in 1. 72-73, 104-105, 138-142. (There is good reason to question whether we should regard 1. 138-142 as an addition, but that is besides the point.) The presence of additions/translations like these should make us pause to consider how likely it is that other such additions/translations have not survived the transmission of OG.

In 12:1-13 Th provides a formally equivalent translation to MT. He is generally consistent in his choice of equivalents, but, at the same time, Th is sensitive to context and does not violate Greek grammar. There are two omissions against MT and OG (1. 19, 120), which is not unusual for Th, and one omission due to a textual problem (1. 95-96). Phonological considerations played a role in some of Th's translations (1. 33-34, 117-118, 120, 121), and he had some good dynamic renderings as well (1. 107, 124, 137).

VI.2. *The Relationship Between OG and Th*

OG and Th share one distinctive agreement in 12:1-13, which is the add. in 1. 70. We can also be fairly certain that Th has the OG reading in 1. 47-48 and 129, but both readings are probably due to textual corruption. There are four other possible distinctive agreements where it might be argued that Th has borrowed from OG. The best candidate is 1. 10-11, which would be cited as a classic example of Th's revision of OG toward MT. The difficulty is that Th does in fact correspond to MT, and the argument that Th is revising OG only has weight if accompanied by significant supporting evidence. The reading of the pluperfect in 1. 56 could be due to borrowing, but such an agreement could easily have occurred through corruption/

harmonization to a familiar form. The agreement in l. 23 may be coincidental and the add. in l. 92 is probably based on an alternative *Vorlage*.

There are, then, 7 instances in ch. 12 where Th may show evidence of direct borrowing from OG and a number of other expected verbal agreements in common vocabulary. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence to indicate Th's independence from OG as well as some evidence that Th readings have infiltrated OG. For example, the verbal agreement in l. 32 (also 11:35), and the add. of αἰσχύνην in l. 31 are almost certainly due to OG corruption by Th. It is less certain whether OG has been corrupted in l. 78, but the reading is definitely Th. Finally, it has also been suggested that l. 143-147 could be a later correction of OG in the light of Th. Besides the 4 agreements that indicate Th readings in OG, there are a number of distinctive readings in Th. There are 9 instances where Th employs distinct vocabulary from OG, some of which is rare in the LXX (l. 24, 33-34, 107, 114, 121, 124, 125, 133, 137). In two cases Th had trouble understanding MT and clearly employed his own renderings of MT (l. 49, 95-96). In addition there are 5x that Th transliterated MT, or exhibited minor textual differences against MT and OG (l. 19, 41, 65, 77, 120), which indicate he was not following OG. Finally, there are 5 less impressive cases where Th's vocabulary is distinct from OG (l. 4, 57, 60, 71, 117-118).

The evidence of Th's independence from OG is overwhelming, and vindicates the original evaluation of the 7 readings that might have indicated Th borrowing from OG. The agreements in l. 47-48, 56, 129 are probably due to textual corruption. The same explanation or alternative *Vorlagen* accounts for l. 70 and 92. L. 10-11 and 23 are inconsequential.

VI.3. *Text-Critical*

l. 12-OG omits, s. *Morphology*, l. 12.

l. 39-S. *Syntax*, l. 39.

l. 52-OG is reading הרעה and has added ἡ γῆ to produce, "the earth be filled with iniquity," (s. I Macc. 1:9 for a possible allusion). The difference is the interchange of ד/ר. As Charles, p. 333, writes,

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"the only certainty is the uncertainty of the text," but it seems more likely in the context of the book that wickedness rather than knowledge will multiply before the time of the end. MT should be emended.[266]

l. 58, 61-62–Both OG and Peshitta omit these lines, but the fact that the Peshitta also omits l. 58 suggests dependence of Peshitta on OG rather than an independent witness to an omission. Although l. 61-62 could be a later harmonization in MT, such repetition is certainly characteristic of Daniel and Hebrew narrative in general.[267] The fact that OG also omits l. 58 suggests that he has omitted for the purposes of Greek style, just as we have witnessed elsewhere.

l. 67-68–Collins, *Daniel*, p. 369, reconstructs OG without τῷ ἐπάνω in l. 66 from 88-Syh and regards l. 66-68 as a later add. in MT to harmonize with l. 78-80. Collins' reconstruction is possible, but would we not expect a complete description of the one to whom Daniel was speaking in the first instance? Once the figure is clearly identified, then the figure might be referred to in an abbreviated form. Furthermore, it could well be argued that the verbal agreement of OG with Th in l. 78-80 is due to corruption of the OG by Th (s. *Syntax*, l. 66, 78), and we do not know what OG read! Perhaps OG omitted l. 78-80. It is also possible that the omission of l. 67-68 was simply a scribal error due to parablepsis (s. *Syntax*, l. 67-68). For these reasons, the text of 88-Syh is accepted as OG in l. 66, and MT is not to be emended.

l. 70–The attestation by both OG and Th is strong evidence that they read אשׁר דבר in their *Vorlagen*, but the resulting Hebrew syntax would be awkward and the Greek looks like an addition by one of the translators (probably OG). In any case, the identification of the one clothed in linen with Michael is wrong when compared with 10:5, 13 (s.

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[266]So also Charles, p. 333; Collins, p. 369; Bevan, p. 203; Hartman and DiLella, p. 274.

[267]Collins, p. 369, wants to omit l. 61-62 and merely states that MT and Th "repeat 'on the bank of the river.'" Surprisingly, Charles does not even comment on the omission.

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Syntax). The common reading in OG and Th is probably due to textual corruption.

1. 72-73-The add. of καὶ ὁ καθαρισμὸς τούτων in OG is to clarify that the end will also bring the purification of the wise. The link is based on the two appearances of the vb. καθαρίζω in 11:35 (s. *Syntax*, l. 72-73 above); therefore, it is unlikely that it represents an alternative *Vorlage*.

1. 81-The add. in l. 81 would be retroverted into עֵרְמַת קֵץ, but it probably resulted from harmonization.

1. 92-We would not expect both OG and Th to have the add. of καιροῦ if it were not based on their *Vorlagen*, but the shorter reading of MT is to be preferred.

1. 100-This is a large add. in OG against MT, but it is similar to other add. in that it makes explicit what is implicit in MT. So OG can omit elements which are redundant or unnecessary (eg. l. 58, 61-62, 67-68), but also adds elements to make MT explicit.

1. 104-105-These lines originated as an additional comment by the translator or by a later hand (s. *Syntax.*) It is highly unlikely that such a plus existed in an alternative *Vorlage*, but even if it did, MT is to be preferred.

1. 126-The add. in OG is not based on a semitic *Vorlage* (s. *Syntax*).
1. 137-Only OG and Th omit לָקֵץ, but commentators are agreed in reading this as a doublet.[268]

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[268]Mont., p. 478; Collins, *Daniel*, p. 370; cf. Plöger, p. 170 who regards the add. in OG as an expansion of לָקֵץ.

VII. *Summary*

The investigation of OG and Th in the book of Daniel was concentrated on five sections: 1:1-10, 2:1-10, 3:11-20, 8:1-10, and 12:1-13, though significant portions of the remainder of the book were also examined. As a summary we will review the three main areas of our investigation: TT, textual criticism of MT, and the relationship between OG and Th.

For the most part, OG provided a faithful rendition of a *Vorlage*, which was very similar to, and, in most cases, basically identical with MT. We also found that OG's translation was not only faithful to the semantic content of his parent text, but also exhibited a relatively high degree of formal equivalence to MT. However, OG is generally regarded as a "free" translation, and there were particular features about his TT that were identified as characteristic of his dynamic approach. The most consistent characteristic of OG's dynamic approach was variety in the choice of lexical equivalents. OG also employed various methods to avoid excessive parataxis. The main way he did so was to employ postpositive conjunctions, but the majority of these are confined to chs. 1-3, particularly ch. 2.[269] Occasionally OG employed hypotactic constructions with a subordinate participle, and in a few instances the genitive absolute. Another fairly consistent feature was that OG would omit repeated elements in his *Vorlage*. On the other hand, OG often made small additions or introduced slight changes in the syntax in order to make something explicit that was implicit. Most of these changes should be regarded as attempts to remain faithful to the content and intention of the *Vorlage*. However, there were occasions, sometimes due to misunderstanding the parent text, that OG's theology was more evident in his translation (eg. 3:17).

The evidence from our research also supports two conclusions regarding the TT in the OG. First, it strengthens Albertz' conclusion that chs. 4-6 originate from a separate and distinct translator. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that a semitic equivalent of OG with

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[269]There is not enough shared vocabulary in chs. 1-2 and 7-12 to determine whether chs. 1-2, like 4-6, originate from a separate translator. However, the dearth of the postpositive conjunctions δέ and οὖν in the later chs. requires some explanation.

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an alternative structure in chs. 4-6 ever existed as a complete book.[270] Second, the TT in 3:20-30(97) is different in character from both the preceding and following chs., which suggests that a later editor inserted the deutero-canonical material into ch. 3 of OG.

Generally speaking, Th prefers to follow a consistent pattern of formal equivalence, but he deviates from that pattern when required. Th's formal equivalence is subordinated to his concern for clarity and the demands of the target language. For example, Th usually does not represent the ל of the infinitive construct with an article and Th often omits a preposition that would be redundant in Greek (eg. partitive מן). Th tends to employ SE, but not when the semantic range of the SE does not overlap with the use of a word in a particular context. Th's sensitivity to the meaning of the parent text is also exemplified by his occasional dynamic equivalents.[271] A rather curious feature of Th's translation, to which A. Schmitt has already drawn attention, is the occasional omissions of words. Some of these omissions are due to textual problems, but not all.[272] For these reasons, it would be completely inaccurate to assume that Th intended to provide a translation by which we could retranslate back to the semitic *Vorlage*. Th's reverence for his text is evident in his basic technique of formal equivalence, but it was in an attempt to translate faithfully the meaning of the parent text.[273]

In each section we looked at specific text-critical problems, but the results of the analysis provide us with additional guidelines for the use of the OG and Th for textual criticism of MT. The fact

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[270]Contrast Ulrich's conclusion ("Canonical Process," p. 285) that the Greek of chs. 1-12 "is of one piece."

[271]For additional examples, see Schmitt, "Stammt," pp. 29-33.

[272]See Zieg., pp. 60-61 where he discusses the important minuses of the B group in Th against MT. In 8:2, 3, 5; 9:19; 11:36 of 88-Syh there are asterisked additions to bring OG in line with MT, but in these cases the B group also has the minus. This is a clear indication that Th had also undergone revision toward MT. We encountered possible hints of later revision of Th in the translation of עבד=παῖς/δοῦλος (p.214), מלה=ῥῆμα/λόγος (p. 215), and פלח=λατρεύω/δουλεύω (p. 239).

[273]See the discussion in CH 3.III.1.

that both OG and Th exhibit a tendency to omit means that we have to be very careful in the evaluation of shorter readings in the Greek texts. This is particularly true of omissions of repeated elements in MT and those which are redundant when transmitted into Greek. However, an omission by both OG and Th is a weighty combination. At the same time, OG exhibits a definite tendency to introduce slight syntactical changes or small additions in order to clarify the meaning of MT. Therefore, many additions are not based on a semitic *Vorlage*.[274] OG also had more difficulty reading and understanding his *Vorlage* than Th. Therefore, we ought to be slow to accept retroverted readings from OG as preferable to MT when OG's retroverted reading can be explained as an error. OG may be an older witness to Daniel than MT, but it certainly contains a number of mistakes. Finally, OG also employs dynamic equivalents more frequently than Th as well as more variety in his lexical choices. However, there are other occasions when OG levels out distinctions in his *Vorlage* due to the literary context. For example, φοβούμεθα in 3:17 is a dynamic equivalent motivated by a previous use of the verb in 3:12. Yet, in 3:15 OG employs ἵστημι for עבד because throughout ch. 3 קום is usually collocated with צלם; and in 3:15 OG ignores that distinction (or perhaps he did not notice). Like OG's inclination both to omit and to add, these tendencies are working at cross-purposes and complicate the use of OG for the evaluation of lexical variants against MT.

The examination of the relationship between the texts of OG and Th has proved to be one of the most interesting aspects of the investigation. It also has provided the most fruitful results. Two questions have dominated the discussion: 1) How faithfully has the OG text been preserved? 2) How great was Th influence on the OG witnesses that have survived? Unfortunately, we cannot give an accurate answer to either of these two questions. However, it is no doubt due to the fact that previous scholars have not examined the texts of OG and Th in detail with these questions in mind that many have surmised that Th is a revision of OG. There is certainly a

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[274]Therefore, it is inappropriate for McCarter, p. 93, to refer to MT as "expansionistic" in Daniel. In all other respects McCarter's introduction to textual criticism is excellent, but the general descriptions of the textual witnesses in the appendix, pp. 88-94 are misleading.

relatively large percentage of verbal agreement shared by OG and Th, as high as 50% through most of chs. 1-3 and 7-12. Common readings do not necessarily prove anything though, unless one is already predisposed to view Th as a revision, because the majority of them exhibit the expected formal equivalence to MT. The common readings would only indicate Theodotionic revision of OG if they were accompanied by a significant number of distinctive agreements, which of course is where our two questions come in.

Although we cannot answer accurately how great the influence of Th readings has been upon OG, we do know that Th influence has been significant. This was evident in Zieg.'s critical text prior to the publication of the remainder of 967 by Geissen, Hamm, and Roca-Puig. The evaluation of 967 in CH 2 revealed further evidence of Th influence on OG. Yet, it was obvious that 967 itself had undergone correction toward both Th and MT. During the analysis of TT in this chapter we discovered further certain examples of Th influence in the OG textual witnesses along with other instances where it seems only probable or merely possible.[275] These findings are entirely predictable. Given the fact that these two versions co-existed in the same time and geographical area we should expect corruptions and "cross-pollinization." However, if the Th version supplanted OG because OG was perceived to be inadequate as a translation, then we should be especially vigilant to discover corrections in OG from Th. After all, our knowledge of OG is limited from the outset because we only have three major witnesses to OG! How much of the OG has been irretrievably lost through successive revisions toward MT and Th? It is impossible to know, but the loss is no doubt substantial.

When it comes to the evaluation of verbal agreements, then, besides the presence of common agreements because of equivalence to MT we should expect some distinctive agreements between OG and Th. These distinctive agreements are present because either the OG or the Th reading has been erased from the textual evidence, or because we have failed to recognize original readings. Such agreements would be entirely consistent with the view that the two texts are independent translations. Is this not an accurate depiction of the relationship

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[275]The number of common readings is generally greater in chs. 7-12, but that may be due to greater corruption of OG.

that exists between the OG and Th in Daniel?

On the one hand, we have expected common verbal agreement and little evidence of distinctive agreements in which Th has borrowed from OG. In fact, there are very few distinctive agreements period. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that Th was translating independently from OG, and we have seen certain evidence of Th's infiltration and corruption of OG. For the most part, Th employs the common SE for MT that are found throughout the LXX. At the same time, we have seen how Th has his own pattern of translation equivalents for vocabulary sharing the same domain (eg. knowing, wisdom) and his own way of resolving conflicts when two words are collocated that he normally renders by the same lexeme. That Th's translation pattern is substantially his own is verified by the numerous HL and translation equivalents employed by Th that are not shared with OG. We have seen how Th consistently makes his own contextual guess, rather than follow OG, when he does not understand MT. Finally, we have seen numerous omissions against MT and OG that would not be there if Th were revising OG toward MT. For these reasons, we can affirm that in the book of Daniel, Th is basically a new translation of MT and not merely a revision of OG.[276]

To claim that Th is an independent translation does not necessarily deny that Th had any knowledge of OG or that he may have occasionally borrowed from OG. However, the evidence of such borrowing is scarce, and does not support a position that Th systematically revised OG toward MT. It also means that we have a different view of agreements where the direction of borrowing cannot be demonstrated, and of possible doublets where a reading in OG corresponds closely to MT and Th (eg. 12:13). Nor can we assume that Th is a witness to OG in an attempt to reconstruct a critical text of

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[276]For those interested in statistics, according to a search with LBASE there are 8859 words in Daniel MT. This figure includes all proper nouns, conjunctions, and prepositions. For example, the total includes 1150x where ו appears as the simple conjunction or with verbs in "converted" forms. In the course of this thesis we have examined the translation equivalents of almost 2000 of these words in OG and Th.

OG.[277] On the contrary, where OG exhibits a marked agreement with Th and formal equivalence to MT (eg. 3:11-20), we have every reason to suspect that Th readings have corrupted the OG. Based on the extant manuscript evidence we can never know how much of OG has been obliterated by Th.

Finally, the assertion that Th is a translation in Daniel means that it is an independent witness to MT for textual criticism. There are also implications when Th is compared with other texts that are associated with the allusive figure of Theodotion and the so-called *kaige* recension.[278] It is to an evaluation of Th's relationship with *kaige* that we now must turn.

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[277]Cf. Jeans., pp. 8-10, who speaks more confidently of reconstructing OG readings from Th.

[278]Gentry, pp. 381-382, also concludes that the Theodotion text in Job is an independent translation.

Chapter 6

Th and Kaige

In the years since the publication of DA a number of doctoral dissertations and studies have been published that have sought to delineate further characteristics of *kaige*. The list of possible characteristics has now grown to 97,[1] but this number gives a false impression of the homogeneity of *kaige*. This judgment will be vindicated as we examine Th's relationship to *kaige*.

Armin Schmitt had already argued in 1966 that Th did not belong to the *kaige* tradition,[2] but there are three reasons to look at this question again. First, it is clear that Schmitt's results have not been accepted as conclusive.[3] Second, the enumeration of more characteristics since DA provides a larger base for comparison. The third reason to examine Th's relationship to *kaige* is that we are approaching the question from a different perspective.

The perspective of this evaluation is different, because it has been argued that Th is basically an independent translation; and not a revision of OG. At the same time, it has also been affirmed, though not argued in detail, that a *kaige* recension did not exist. The grounds for this conclusion are both negative and positive. Negatively, it has been pointed out that the *kaige* research since DA has not always been methodologically sound. For example, O'Connell attributes a number of characteristics to *kaige* that are technical terms rendering lexemes related to the cult and tabernacle. Or Bodine

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[1] A list is provided by Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 270-273; Gentry, pp. 400-405. See also the comments in CH 1.II.

[2] He has restated his position in "Danieltexte," pp. 1-15. However, Scmitt, pp. 8-9, only examines one of the *kaige* characteristics, בם/בםי=καίγε.

[3] We have already noted that Barthélemy, "Notes," pp. 289-303 disputes Schmitt's findings and Jellicoe, "Reflections," p. 22 questions the reliability of Schmitt's data. Jeans., p. 22, also remains agnostic concerning this question. Cf. Tov, "Transliterations," p. 79, who accepts Schmitt's arguments as "convincing."

delineates characteristics of *kaige* that are probably OG.[4] Bodine's
research was hindered because there is still no critical edition of
the Greek text of Judges; however, there are other occasions when so-
called *kaige* characteristics are nothing more than OG.[5] The failure
to distinguish *kaige* readings from OG has also been replicated in the
failure to contrast the *kaige* texts with one another. For example,
numbers 83-93 in Greenspoon's list are named "Characteristics Peculiar
to the Vaticanus Family of Judges" by Bodine, but Greenspoon includes
them as representative of *kaige*. Greenspoon includes all the
suggested characteristics of *kaige* in his list in order to be
comprehensive, but this actually distorts some of the recognized
distinctions between the texts.[6] *Kaige* research has concentrated on
shared characteristics; consequently, the fact that none of the
characteristics are found in all members of *kaige*, and that there are
disagreements among the *kaige* texts, has largely been ignored. Even
some of the agreements are not evidence of a relationship between the
texts. For example, in many cases it is argued that *kaige* has simply
employed a common or even the most frequent OG equivalent more
consistently. However, unless that proposed characteristic is
employed in significant numbers in any given text there are no
statistical grounds to distinguish a *kaige* characteristic from OG.
For example, בתוך=ἐν μέσῳ, שוב(q.)=ἐπιστρέφω, and עבד=δουλ- are common
and expected equivalents in the LXX. There would have to be
significant consistency (eg. 10/12) in several texts to indicate that any
of these equivalents might be evidence of a single recension. Far too
many of the *kaige* characteristics only indicate that a revisor (or
translator) of a text employed a SE.

The positive basis to deny the existence of a uniform *kaige*
recension is the recent comparison of vocabulary in the Greek Minor
Prophets Scroll, Theodotion Job, Aquila, and the Greek Psalter by

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[4]See Pietersma, "Plea," pp. 305-306.

[5]See, for example, the discussion of בין=ἀνὰ μέσον below and CH
1.II.

[6]Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 270-273.

Peter Gentry.[7] Gentry compares all attested nouns and verbs in the
aforementioned texts and finds agreements and disagreements among all
of them. He concludes that Theodotion Job does exhibit some
dependence on the Greek Psalter,[8] and shares some equivalences with
the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll; but the disagreements with the Minor
Prophets' Scroll are so weighty that the similarities only indicate that
these translators (revisor for the Minor Prophets' Scroll) shared a
similar attitude to translation. He states:

> In fact, we must cease all together speaking of a *Kaige*
> Recension as if there were a monolithic revision behind the
> members of this group. There is no *Kaige* Recension as
> such. Instead, there is a continuum from the Greek
> Pentateuch to Aquila in which approaches and attitudes to
> translation are on the whole tending toward a closer
> alignment between the Greek and the Hebrew.[9]

Ideally, we would want to compare and contrast Th's vocabulary
with the material provided by Gentry, but that is beyond the
immediate objectives of this research. However, a comparison of Th's
vocabulary with the "characteristics" proposed by previous
researchers will serve an important purpose. If *kaige* represents an
approach to translation that is characterized by formal equivalence to
MT, then we might expect to find some agreement between Th and
kaige. On the other hand, given the thesis that *kaige* is not a
uniform recension, we should also expect disagreements. These
findings would be in line with those of previous researchers.
However, the degree of agreements and disagreements with *kaige*
characteristics will provide an indication of how closely Th is related
to the *kaige* tradition.

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[7]See Gentry, pp. 410-484. Gentry first examines (pp. 386-410)
Theodotion Job to determine how many of the *kaige* characteristics are
present. Of those that could be assessed he finds that a total of 19
agree with *kaige* and 14 do not, though many of the agreements are
actually of little significance. Of the 13 agreements with the
characteristics proposed since Barthélemy, Gentry concludes that only
four (36, 58, 67, 94) are of any value as *kaige* characteristics.

[8]Munnich argues that *kaige* employed the Psalter as a glossary or
lexicon for the work of translation in "Contribution," pp. 190-220.

[9]Gentry, p. 488.

I. List of Kaige Characteristics

Following is the list of 97 *kaige* characteristics that have been produced by Thackeray (1907, 1921),[10] Barthélemy (1963), Smith (1967),[11] Shenkel (1968), Grindel (1969),[12] O'Connell (1972), Tov (1973), Bodine (1980),[13] and Greenspoon (1983). Asterisks (60x) indicate that the Hebrew equivalent does not appear in Daniel, which leaves 37 equivalents for discussion in the following section. Each equivalent is also marked in the right hand column to indicate the scholars who have discussed that particular equivalent. The names of the scholars are abbreviated as follows:

Thackeray=T

Barthélemy=B

Smith=Sm

Shenkel=Sh

Grindel=G

O'Connell=O

Tov=To

Ulrich=U

Bodine=Bod

Greenspoon=Gr

Gentry=Gen

1. בם/בים=καίγε	T B O Bod Gr Gen
*2. רק=πλήν	Gr[14]

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[10]Barthelemy's monumental work was actually preceded by research carried out by Thackeray in "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907): 262-78; *Jewish Worship*, pp. 114-115.

[11]M. Smith, "Another Criterion for the καίγε Recension," *Bib* 48 (1967): 443-45.

[12]J. A. Grindel, "Another Characteristic of the *Kaige* Recension: נצח/νικος," *CBQ* 31 (1969): 499-513.

[13]Bodine adds what is the 97th characteristic in the list in his article, "*Kaige* and Other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 52.

[14]Greenspoon, *Joshua*, p. 277, actually only suggests that "in some tradition, perhaps the καίγε recension, πλήν was the preferred translation," of רק. Given the vagueness of the evidence, it is

3. אִישׁ=ἀνήρ   B O Bod Gr Gen

4. מֵעַל=ἐπάνωθεν (ἀπάνωθεν) + gen.   T B O Bod Gr

*5. יַצֵּב/נצב=στηλόω   B O Bod[15] Gr Gen

*6. חֲצֹצְרָה=σάλπιγξ/שׁוֹפָר=κερατίνη   T B O Bod Gr

*7. Elimination of Historical Present   T B O Bod Gr Gen[16]

8. אֵין=οὐκ ἔστιν (in a series of aor. vbs.)   B O Bod Gr Gen

*9. אָנֹכִי=ἐγώ εἰμι   T B O Bod[17] Gr Gen

*10. לִקְרַאת=εἰς συνάντησιν/εἰς ἀπαντην   B O Bod Gr

*11. נָדִיד=μονόζωνος   T B Gen

*12. יהוה צְבָאוֹת=κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων   B O Gr

13. אֵל=ἰσχυρός   B Gr Gen

14. נֶגֶד= forms of ἔναντι   B Bod Gr Gen

15. לִפְנֵי=ἐνώπιον   B Bod Gr Gen

*16. עַל זֹאת/עַל כֵּן=διὰ τοῦτο   B Bod[18] Gr Gen

17. לְעֹלָם=εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα   B Bod Gr

*18. הוֹי=οὐαί   B

19. אָסַף=συνάγω   B Bod Gr Gen

*20. כֹּמֶר=χωμαρείμ   B

*21. אֲפֵלָה=σκοτία/עֲרָפֶל=γνόφος   B Gr Gen

*22. חוּץ=ἔξοδος   B Gr Gen

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surprising that he includes it in his list of *kaige* characteristics.
רַק does not appear in MT in Daniel, but Th has πλήν 4x independently:
2:6 for לְהֵן; 4:12(15) for בְּרַם, 4:20(23) for בְּרַם; 11:18 for לֹא בִלְתִּי.
OG never has πλήν.

[15]The Aramaic יצב is employed in 7:19 (OG=ἐξακριβόω; Th=ἀκριβῶς) and
the n. נִצְבָה appears in 2:41 (OG and Th have a distinctive agreement
ῥίζα).

[16]Although the historical present is frequent in the OG of Samuel-
Kings it has been noted by O'Connell (p. 208), Bodine (p. 14), and
Greenspoon (*Joshua*, p. 285) that it is non-existent (Exodus and
Joshua) or rare (Judges once) in the OG of their books. Theodotion
Job has two aor.ind. where OG has the historical present (Gentry, p.
389). The historical present is not found in either OG or Th. In the
one case in Judges, it is the B text that has the historical present.

[17]Th has ἐγώ ἤμην in 8:5 (אֲנִי) and 10:4 (וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי =OG). In 8:5 Th
employs a periphrastic part. where OG has an impf.

[18]In 11:20, 21, 38 MT has עַל־כַּנּוֹ, which OG and Th recognize and
translate correctly.

23. הדר/הדרה=εὐπρέπεια   B Gen

*24. מהר=ταχύνω   B Sh Bod Gr

*25. הוה=φωτίζω   Sm Bod Gen

*26. בעיני=ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς   Sh O Bod[19] Gr

*27. פה=στόμα   Gr[20] Gen

*28. זבח=θυσιάζω   Sh O Bod[21] Gr

*29. רדף=διώκω   Sh Bod Gr

30. שׂר (ה)צבא=ἄρχων (τῆς) δυνάμεως   Sh Bod Gr

31. חכם=σοφ-   Sh Bod Gen

*32. חרשׁ=κωφεύω/חשׁה=σιωπάω   Sh Bod Gr Gen

33. עון=ἀνομία   Sh Gr

*34. הרה=ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω or λαμβάνω   Sh Bod

*35. לא אבא=(ἐ)θέλω   Sh Bod Gr

*36. נצח=νῖκος   Grin Gen

*37. אדם(pu. part.)=πεπυρ(ρ)ωμένος   O

38. אהל=σκέπη/משׁכן=σκηνή   O Gr Gen

*39. אורים=φωτισμοὶ   O

*40. אליה=κέρκιον   O

41. אלם=μογιλαλόν   O

*42. אשׁה=πυρ(ρ)όν   O Gr

43. בין=ἀνὰ μέσον   O Bod Gr Gen

*44. בקרב=ἐν μέσῳ   O Bod Gr

*45. בתוך=ἐν μέσῳ   Gr Gen

*46. בשׂמים=ἀρώματα   O

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[19]There are no occurrences of this semi-preposition in MT. OG (8/9) and Th both employ ὀφθαλμός for עין. See 4:31(34) OG=O; 7:8(2), 20; 8:3 (OG omits), 5, 21; 9:18; 10:5, 6. See the discussion of the semi-preposition by Sollamo, *Renderings*, pp. 123-146.

[20]Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 293-294 suggests that στόμα might have been chosen as a more literal translation of פה in expressions like פי יהוה. It should be noted that Greenspoon does not produce any supporting evidence from Joshua that this is a characteristic of *kaige*, though he does cite Margolis as an authority that the substitution happens in Theodotion elsewhere. However, this is not sufficient evidence to prove a characteristic.

פה occurs twice in MT (10:3, 16) but both times it is in the literal sense of "mouth." Both OG and Th employ στόμα.

[21]Both OG and Th employ the expected θυσία for the n. זבח in 9:27.

*47. בחים=θῆκαι   O

*48. וים=κόσμοι   O

 49. חזק(pi.)=ἐνισχύω   O Bod Gr

 50. חרב=ῥομφαία   O Bod Gr

*51. חשב(n.)=μηχανώματος, μηχανήματος   O

*52. חשן=λόγιον   O

*53. חתן=γαμβρός/חתן=νυμφίος   O Bod

 54. ילדים=παιδάρια, παιδία   O Gr

*55. ירה=τοξεύομαι   O Gr

*56. יתרה=περιττόν   O

*57. כפרים=ἐξιλασμός   O

*58. מעיל=ἐπενδύτης, ἐπιδύτης   O Gen

*59. מ(ו)שבצ(ו)ת=συνεσφιγμένοι, συνεσφραγισμένοι   O

 60. ניחוח=εὐαρέστησις   O

 61. עבד=δουλ-   O Bod Gr Gen

*62. עבת and עבתת=ἁλυσιδωτά and/or ἁλύσεις   O

*63. ערף(vb.)=νωτοκοπέω   O Gr

*64. פרד=διασκεδάζω, διασώζω   O

*65. קרסים=περόναι   O

*66. קרש=σανίς   O

*67. שהם=ὄνυξ   O Gen

*68. שולים=πρὸς ποδῶν   O

*69. שלם(pi.)=ἀποτιννύω   O Gen

*70. שרץ=ἐξέρπω   O

*71. שרשרה/שרשרת=χαλαστά   O

*72. תמים=τελειότητες   O Gen

*73. תרומה=ἀπαρχή   O

*74. יען אשר=ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα   T Bod Gr

 75. Various=ἡνίκα   T Bod Gr

*76. אחז=κρατέω   Bod Gr Gen

*77. גלה=ἀποικίζω   Bod[22]

 78. טוב=ἀγαθος (cognates)   Bod Gr Gen

 79. ישר=εὐθύς   Bod Gr

*80. לין=αὐλίζω   Bod Gr Ul Gen

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[22]גלה appears 8x in the Aramaic section, but never in the sense of exile. S. 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47(2); 10:1. Th employs ἀποκαλύπτω 8/8, whereas OG employs various equivalents, but never ἀποκαλύπτω.

81. נצל=ῥύομαι   Bod Gr Ul

82. שׁוב(q.)=ἐπιστρέφω   Bod Gr Gen

83. אור=διαφαύσκω   Bod

84. הביא=φέρω, εἰσφέρω   Bod Gr Gen

85. צעק/זעק=βοάω   Bod Gr Gen

*86. חרה אף=ὀργίζομαι θυμῷ   Bod Gr Gen

87. נלחם=παρατάσσομαι   Bod Gr

88. מלחמה=παράταξις   Bod Gr

*89. נתץ=καθαιρέω   Bod

*90. שׂר=ἄρχων   Bod Gr

*91. פגע=συναντάω/ἀπαντάω   Bod Gr Gen

92. קצין=ἀρχηγός   Bod Gr

93. רעה=πονηρία   Bod Gr Gen

94. Transliteration of Unknown Words   To Gr Gen

95. גדול (אישׁ)=ἁδρός   T Gr

96. אבל=καὶ μάλα   T Gr

97. גבור=δυνατός   Bod

II. *Evaluation of Readings*

The 37 characteristics of the *kaige* group which are found in Daniel will now be examined to determine Th's relationship to *kaige*. Disagreements are assumed to show independence from *kaige*, while agreements will be investigated as to whether they can be considered as bona fide *kaige* characteristics.

1. גם/וגם=καίγε

There are only two cases of וגם: 11:8, 22. Th has καίγε in 11:8, but only καί in 11:22. The evidence is mixed.

3. אישׁ=ἀνήρ

Th employs ἀνήρ as a SE 8/8 while OG prefers ἄνθρωπος 5/8.[23] However, Barthélemy argues that the main trait of *kaige* for this characteristic is that it even employs ἀνήρ for the distributive sense of אישׁ, but there are no cases of אישׁ as a distributive in Daniel.

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[23]S. 9:7, 21; 10:5, 7, 11, 19; 12:6, 7. OG has ἀνήρ in 9:21, ἑνί in 12:6; omits in 12:7.

The use of ἀνήρ may indicate a *kaige* characteristic, or it may just be the SE chosen by Th.[24]

4. מעל=ἐπάνωθεν (ἀπάνωθεν) + gen.

Th employs ἐπάνω in 12:6, 7 (s. CH 5.VI.1.iii.).

8. אין=οὐκ ἔστιν (in a series of aor. vbs.)

MT has אין 9x and in each case Th employs an equivalent which is contextually appropriate.[25] Th has οὐκ ἔστιν in 1:4; 9:26; 10:21; 11:16; 45; οὐκ ἦν in 8:4, 5, 27; οὐκ ἔσται in 11:15. In three instances Th renders אין where the context has a series of aorist verbs (1:4; 8:4, 5),[26] but οὐκ ἔστιν is appropriate in 1:4 to describe the type of youths the king desired for training, "youths in whom there is no blemish."

13. אל=ἰσχυρός

אל appears 4x in MT: 9:4; 11:36(3). OG and Th both employ θεός as SE, though Th omits 2x in 11:36 by parablepsis.

14. נגד= forms of ἔναντι

Barthélemy suggests that this equivalence was developed in order to avoid confusion with the established equivalence לפני=ἐνώπιον (see below).[27] The LXX translators employed a variety of equivalents for נגד and that is what we find in OG and Th. Both have κατέναντι in 6:11(10, Hebraism); ἐνώπιον in 8.15; while in 10:13 OG=ἐναντίον, Th=ἐναντίας and in 10:16 OG=ἀπέναντι, Th=ἐναντίον. At best this

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[24]Barthélemy (p. 54) argues that *kaige* also replaced ἄνθρωπός with ἀνήρ as a SE, but that is difficult to prove in Daniel when there is no other supporting evidence.

[25]OG and Th have common readings in 8:4; 11:15, 16, 45. OG has a dynamic equivalent in 1:4.

[26]Bodine, p. 15 offers 10:21 as evidence that Th exhibits the characteristic. However, though aor. vbs. occur in the previous vss. and OG employs an aor. for אין, 10:21 begins with the fut. and the present tense is applicable in the context.

[27]In DA, p. 84, Barthélemy discusses these under the one precursor pattern: נגד= forms of ἔναντι.

characteristic exhibits mixed findings, but there is no real distinction from common Old Greek renderings.

15. לפני=ἐνώπιον

Th does prefer to restrict ἐνώπιον to לפני (9/15), while OG only has it 3x and employs a greater variety of equivalents.[28] However, as Sollamo notes, ἐνώπιον is the most common equivalent for לפני in the LXX.[29] Therefore, Th's tendency to employ ἐνώπιον may be evidence of a *kaige* trait, but it is not definite. When we consider 14 and 15 together, it is perhaps best to consider tham as offering mixed evidence for *kaige*.

17. לעלם=εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

לעלם does appear in 12:3, but it is OG who has the *kaige* equivalent while Th has εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.[30] MT also has עלם 18x in the Aramaic section, but Th almost always follows the number of MT and is not dependent upon OG (s. CH 5.III.1.i.).

19. אסף=συνάγω

Barthélemy, p. 86, argues that אסף=συνάγω is a precursor to Aquila who employs συλλέγω. אסף does occur in 11:10 and both OG and Th employ συνάγω. Both also read אסף in error and employ συνάγω at 8:25 (see the discussion in CH 4.II.2). Furthermore, συνάγω is the most common equivalent for the vb. אסף in the LXX (121/200; 24x in the Pent.), so it is questionable whether there is any significance to Th's readings.

23. הדר/הדרה=εὐπρέπεια

The nominal form appears 4x and Th has δόξα in 4:27(30)=OG; 5:18 OG=0; 11:20=OG. In 4:33(36) Th has ἦλθον?[31] The verbal form appears 3x in the Aramaic and each time Th employs δοξάζω 4:31(34), 34(37);

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[28]See CH 5.II.1.iii. for a breakdown of the equivalents.

[29]Sollamo, *Renderings*, p. 18.

[30]עלם is rendered by αἰώνιον in 9:24; 12:2(2); αἰῶνα in 12:7.

[31]Collins, *Daniel*, p. 212, inexplicably states that Th omits.

5:23.[32]

30. אבצ(ה) שר=ἄρχων (τῆς) δυνάμεως

This title only appears in 8:11 where both OG and Th have ἀρχιστράτηγος.[33]

31. חכם=σοφ-

Th employs σοφία as a SE for חכמה 8/9, while OG has it 5/7.[34] As Gentry notes, the equivalence is already found 139/171 in the LXX.[35] חכם appears 14x in the Aramaic section.[36] Th's SE is σοφός (14/14), while OG's SE is σοφιστής (7/10). OG has πάντας in 2:13; σοφός in 2:21; and spells out who the wisemen are in 5:8.

It is obvious that forms of חכם=σοφ- is stereotyped throughout the LXX; therefore, it should be discarded as a *kaige* characteristic.

33. עון=ἀνομία

In all 3x Th has ἀδικία (9:13, 16, 24).[37]

38. אהל=σκέπη/משכן=σκηνή

אהל appears in 11:45 and OG and Th employ σκηνή.

41. אלם=μογιλαλόν(dumb)

אלם is only in 10:15 and Th has κατανύσσω where OG renders with

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[32]OG=0 in 4:31(34), 34(37); ευλογέω? in 5.23.

[33]Th does employ δύναμις as a SE for אבצ and ἄρχων for שר when they appear separately. S. CH 5.IV. for renderings of אבצ and CH 5.VI.1.iii. for renderings of שר.

[34]S. 1:4, 17, 20; 2:20, 21, 23, 30; 5:11(2), 14. OG=0 in 5:11(2), 14. Th has σύνεσις in 5:11 while OG has it in 1:20. OG has a free rendering in 1:17. Th shares the second OG minus in 5:11 which looks like a late add. to MT.

[35]Gentry, p. 406.

[36]2:12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 24(2), 27, 48; 4:3(6), 15(18); 5:7, 8, 15. OG=0 in 4:3(6), 15(18); 5:7, 15.

[37]OG has ἁμαρτία in 9:13, 16; ἀδικία in 9.24.

σιωπάω. The characteristic is without foundation in the first place.[38]

43. בין=ἀνὰ μέσον

Both OG and Th employ ἀνὰ μέσον in all 4 cases (8:5, 16, 21; 11:45). This is also the most common equivalent in the LXX and cannot be used as a criterion for *kaige*.[39]

49. חזק(pi.)=ἐνισχύω

Forms of the vb. חזק occur 13x in Daniel and compounds of ἰσχύω are the most common equivalents in OG and Th.[40] The pi. is only in 10:18 and once in 10:19. In both places Th employs ἐνισχύω. OG has ἐνισχύω in 10:19, but κατισχύω in 10:18. However, OG does have ἐνισχύω in 11:1 where Th employs κρατός and in 11:5 Th employs ἐνισχύω twice for the q.

The pi. of חזק appears a total of 64x in MT, and 10x outside of Daniel it is translated by ἐνισχύω. O'Connell proposed this characteristic on the basis of one example and Bodine offers possible support from another example in the B family of Judges (9:24).[41] However, in two other cases of Judges all witnesses agree in reading ἐνισχύω (3:12; 16:28). O'Connell suggested that ἐνισχύω=חזק "may be part of a concerted effort at reinterpretation" since Reider-Turner lists 12 instances in which Aquila has ἐνισχύω for some form of חזק. Though Aquila might have made the equation between ἐνισχύω and forms of חזק, it is anachronistic to read it back into *kaige* on the basis of the scanty textual evidence. Th does not make the equation in any case.

50. חרב=ῥομφαία

Both OG and Th employ ῥομφαία in 11.33, and it is the most common equivalent in the LXX. Therefore, the agreement between Th and

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[38]O'Connell, p. 287, proposes this characteristic on the basis of one reference in Ex. 4:11.(?)

[39]Similarly Gentry, p. 407.

[40]10:18; 19(4), 21; 11:1, 5(2), 6, 7, 21, 32.

[41]O'Connell, p. 28; Bodine, pp. 26, 42.

kaige cannot be considered as evidence that Th belongs to *kaige*.

54. ילדים=παιδάρια, παιδία

Th employs παιδάρια 4/6 against OG which prefers νεανίσκος 5/5.[42] The pl. of ילד only occurs 47x in MT and O'Connell suggests this characteristic on the basis of one passage in Ex. 1:18. The equivalence also occurs in Lam. 4:10. ילדים does not occur or the pl. is not rendered in Theodotion Joshua, Judges, or Job.[43] Furthermore, the equivalence ילדים=παιδάρια is made 3x in the γγ' section of reigns (I Ki. 12:8, 10, 14 + 15x in the sing.) and Zech. 8:5, while γδ' employs παῖς (II Ki. 2:24) and υἱός (II Ki. 4:1; also Ruth 1:5). Gen. has ילדים=παιδίον 8/10 and all forms of ילד=παιδίον 13x (s. HR). Clearly, there is no basis here to establish any *kaige* characteristic.

60. ניחח=εὐαρέστησις

The only reading is 2:46 where OG has σπονδή and Th employs εὐωδία.[44]

61. עבד=δουλ-

Th employs παῖς 6x and δοῦλος 6x for the n. עבד, while OG prefers παῖς (11/12).[45] In 7:14, 27 Th employs δουλεύω for פלה.[46] The criterion is a weak one in any case since עבד=δουλ- is common throughout the LXX.[47]

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[42]S. CH 5.II.1.iii. for references.

[43]ילדים occurs 4x in Job, but it is not rendered by Theodotion.

[44]This is another reading proposed by O'Connell, p. 289 based on scanty evidence, Ex. 29:18 and Lev. 1:9.

[45]S. CH 5.III.1.iii. The Aramaic vb. עבד occurs 12x, but is not counted because it is most naturally rendered by ποιέω.

[46]Th normally employs λατρεύω for פלה (7/9). S. CH 5.IV.1.iii.

[47]Though עבד=δουλ- is consistent in Exodus, O'Connell notes that the equivalence is "a common pattern in the OG." While there is evidence of an increased use of this pattern among various witnesses in both Judges (Bodine, pp. 27-28) and Joshua (Greenspoon, pp. 309-312), it is not consistent.

75. Various=ἡνίκα

ἡνίκα appears in 6:11(10) for יִּד, but Bodine (p. 19) has already rejected it's use as a *kaige* characteristic.

78. טוב=ἀγαθός/cognates

Bodine argues that it is the consistency with which this equivalence appears in *kaige* that makes it a characteristic, and there may be some validity to this argument.[48] However, Th employs ἀγαθός only in 1:15 but κάλος in 1:4. Therefore, Th cannot be judged to exhibit this *kaige* characteristic.

79. יָשׁר=εὐθύς

Once again, Bodine argues that it is the consistency of the usage that marks this equivalence, but the evidence is hardly compelling.[49] In any case, Th only has one reading in 11:17 (εὐθύς), which is not enough to prove a relationship to *kaige*.

81. נצל=ῥύομαι

Th has ἐξαιρέω 3/5 and ῥύομαι 2/5, so he does not support the equivalence.[50]

82. שוב (q.)=ἐπιστρέφω

Forms of שוב appear 16x in Daniel of which 12/13 are q.[51] Th shares the common LXX equivalent with OG in 10:20; 11:13, 19, 28(2), 30(2). 3x Th reads it independently (9:25-OG=0; 11:18, 29). However, OG has ἐπιστρέφω independently 2x as well (11:9, 10), plus once for the hi. in 11:18. The equivalence ἐπιστρέφω=שוב is common in the LXX, particularly in the q. form. For example, Bodine notes that the equivalence is made 11/19 in the βγ section of Reigns and 29/44 in γδ.

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[48]Bodine, pp. 48-51; cf. Gentry, p. 410.

[49]Bodine, p. 52.

[50]S. CH 5.IV.1.iii. for a discussion.

[51]9:13, 16, 25(hi.), 25; 10:20; 11:9, 10, 13, 18, 18(hi.), 19(hi.), 28(2), 29, 30(2). In the first case in 11:18 OG reads with the Q while Th reads the K. Bodine, pp. 55-56, admits that Th does not support the characteristic, and for some reason he does not include the occurrence in 11:10.

However, he does not note that it occurs 22/33 in γγ'. Therefore, the value of this criterion is highly suspect.

Numbers 83-93 in Greenspoon's list come from Bodine's chapter entitled "Characteristics Peculiar to the Vaticanus Family of Judges" so we would not expect there to be a marked equivalence in Th. Most of these examples involve common OG equivalences that are employed more consistently in Judges.

83. אור=διαφαύσκω

In 9:17 OG=ἐπιβλέπω; Th=ἐπιφαίνω.

84. הביא=φέρω, εἰσφέρω

הביא is found 10x in Daniel.[52] OG and Th share a common reading only in 9:12, 14 (ἐπάγω). Th has good renditions with forms of φέρω or εἰσφέρω only in 1:2(2); 11:6, 8, so it does not support Bodine's proposed characteristic.

85. צעק/זעק=βοάω

זעק only appears in 6:21(20) and Th does employ βοάω (OG=κλαυθμός). However, the equivalence is common throughout the LXX,[53] and βοάω is employed by Th also in 3:4 and 5:7 for קרא.

87. נלחם=παρατάσσομαι

נלחם appears in 10:20; 11:11 and in both cases Th employs πολεμέω. OG=Th in 11:11 and has διαμάχομαι in 10:20.

88. מלחמה=παράταξις

Both OG and Th employ πόλεμος as a SE (3/3) in 9:26; 11:20, 25.

92. קצין=ἀρχηγός

Th has ἄρχων in 11:18 (OG=ὀργή).

93. רעה=πονηρία

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[52]S. CH 5.II.1.iii.

[53]Bodine, p. 71, notes this as well.

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OG has the common LXX equivalent κακά 3/3 (9:12, 13, 14), while Th has κακά 2/3 and a more dynamic rendering with the per.pro. αὐτά in 9:14.

94. Transliteration of Unknown Words

Tov offers an important contribution to the study of transliterations in the LXX. He groups transliterations into four categories: 1. proper nouns; 2. technical terms; 3. words unknown to the translator; 4. transliterations of common nouns erroneously transliterated as proper nouns because of the context.[54] Group 3 form the largest number of transliterations and it is to these that he devotes his attention. He concludes:

> The practice of leaving unknown words untranslated has been shown to be characteristic of *kaige* in Reigns γδ and of Th. (i.e. the notes referring to the contents of Origen's sixth column). . . Or, to phrase our conclusion, with due caution, in a different way: we were able to point out a new characteristic common to two members of the *kaige*-Th. group. When used critically, this criterion may also be applied to other members of the same group.[55]

"Critically" is the key word in the last sentence, because Tov is quick to point out that the practice was in use prior to *kaige*-Th; therefore, the presence or absence of transliterations is not determinative for inclusion within *kaige*. Nor does the presence of transliterations guarantee that a text is a revision.

As for the unknown words transliterated by Th, Tov provides a separate listing, because he accepts Schmitt's conclusion that Th is unrelated to *kaige*. They are פרחתים=φορθομμιν 1:3; קיר=פ(רי)ן 4:10(13), 14(17), 20(23); אובל=Ουβαλ 8:2, 3, 6; פלמוני=φελμουνι 8:13; בדים=βαδδιν 10:5; 12:6, 7; מעזים=μαωζιν 11:38; אפדנו=εφαδανω 11:45.[56] However, Tov omits the transliteration of (ה)צבי-σαβιρ(αιν) 11:16, 41, 45 (δύναμιν, reading צבא in 8:9) from his list.

In his list of words from the LXX in group 3, Tov puts in a separate subsection transliterations of unknown words which were

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[54]Tov, "Transliterations," p. 82.

[55]Ibid., p. 85.

[56]Ibid., p. 92.

probably understood as proper nouns.[57] If we apply the same distinction to the transliterations in Th, all but אדרגזריא=εφαδανω could be classed in this category. For example, in 1:3 the king commands the chief eunuch to bring some of the captives of Israel "from the royal line and from the פרתמים." Th could easily have understood the Hebrew as some type of royal title or technical term (Tov's category 2). כרים may not have been understood exactly as a proper noun, but, given the context, Th might have understood that there was something intrinsically special about כרים, since it adorned heavenly beings. Similarly, מעזים was probably understood as a title, though Schmitt notes that מעוז is also transliterated in Jud. 6:26 (A μαωζ B Μαουεκ). The remaining transliteration (אפדנו) is a Persian loan word.[58]

The reason why the possible motivation for the majority of these transliterations is noted is in order to contrast them with other occasions where Th did not employ transliterations of unknown words. For example, in 2:5 and 3:29 Th does not transliterate הדמין and in 2:22 Th employs a contextual guess for שרא.[59] It seems that an important factor in Th deciding to transliterate was the fact that a word could be understood as a proper noun.

In Schmitt's investigation of the transliterations he argues that only ιφ and βαδδιν could have derived from previous transliterations in *kaige* elsewhere.[60] Schmitt believes that the presence of these two transliterations is due to later revision of Th by "Theodotion."[61] However, ιφ does not actually appear anywhere else in *kaige*, so there is only one proven agreement between Th and *kaige*.

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[57]See also the discussion by Greenspoon, *Joshua*, pp. 334-336.

[58]Schmitt, "Stammt," pp. 58-59.

[59]Th seems to have known שרא in the sense "to loose" (3:25[92]; 5:6, 12), but did not know the figurative sense "to dwell" (s. BDB, p. 1117).

[60]Schmitt, "Stammt," pp. 57-59. Schmitt does not note that the use of δύναμον for צבי in 8:9 could be equated with translations attributed to Theodotion in Is. 28:1; Ez. 20:6, 15 (δύναμις). However, the connection is unlikely given the use of transliteration in ch. 11 and the fact that צבא appears in 8:10.

[61]Ibid., p. 59.

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In conclusion, Tov's criterion is certainly viable as a *kaige* trait, but as he states, "The subject deserves to be treated in a detailed monograph."[62] Th does employ transliterations, particularly for terms which he understood as proper nouns, but it was also a common practice among the Greek translators.

95. גדול (איש) =ἁδρός

Th employs μέγας as a SE (13/15) and πολύς in 11:28, 44.[63]

96. אבל=καὶ μάλα

In both instances of this reading Th employs ἀλλά, whereas OG has καὶ in 10:7 and καὶ μάλα in 10:21.

97. גבור=δυνατός

Both OG and Th employ δυνατός in 11:3. Although the equivalence is fairly common in the LXX there is a marked increase in Judges, Reigns, and Psalms, so it may mark a *kaige* characteristic. The n. גבורה appears twice in the Aramaic section (2:20, 23) and Th employs δύναμις for both.

III. *Does Th belong to kaige?*

In Th there are 12 agreements with the proposed *kaige* characteristics (3, 19, 31, 43, 49, 50, 54, 75, 79, 85, 94, 97), 22 disagreements (4, 8, 13, 17, 23, 30, 33, 38, 41, 60, 61, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 92, 93, 95, 96), and 3 with mixed findings (1, 14, 15). There are only 2 (3, 19) agreements and 3 with mixed findings (1, 14, 15) that agree with Barthélemy's 9 core patterns and 12 precursor patterns, while there are five clear disagreements (4, 8, 13, 17, 23). Among the 12 agreements 6 are based on one reading (19, 50, 75, 79, 85, 97). The first 5 of these are common OG equivalents and at least 3 (75, 79, 85) should be discarded as *kaige* characteristics. The evidence for 5 of the 7 remaining agreements is tenuous, and it is extremely doubtful that 4 of these (31, 43, 49, 54) should even be considered *kaige* characteristics.

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[62]Tov, "Transliterations," p. 80.

[63]S. CH 5.V. in vs. 8 for references.

This examination of the *kaige* characteristics in Th vindicates the conclusion of A. Schmitt. The most that we can say that Th has in common with *kaige*-Theodotion is that they share a similar approach to translation, i.e. formal equivalence. If we were to depict their relationship in kinship terms, they might be described as distant cousins. In Gentry's terms, Th belongs within the contiuum between the translation of the Pentateuch (c. 281 BCE)[64] and Aquila in which translations were tending to employ greater formal equivalence to the semitic *Vorlage*.[65] However, it is impossible to identify the translator or to date his work with any certainty. On the basis of Th's TT (frequent omissions, occasional dynamic renderings), and the inclusion of the deutero-canonical additions, it is possible that Th originated some time prior to the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll; therefore, before the common era.

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[64]N. Collins, "281 BCE: the Year of the Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek under Ptolemy II," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS, 33, ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 403-503.

[65]The developing trend toward literalism was discussed previously in CH 3.III.1.

Conclusion

The primary concern of this study was to devlop a model for the analysis of TT and apply it to the OG and Th versions of Daniel. This aim was accomplished in four stages.

First, all of the variant readings from papyrus 967 to which Ziegler did not have access were collated against his critical edition and numerous corrections to his text were proposed. The analysis confirms that the pre-hexaplaric 967 is the nearest extant witness to the OG and underscores the need for a revised critical edition of OG. The original readings of 967 reveal that 88-Syh has suffered corruption from Th and correction toward MT; yet, it is obvious that 967 has suffered similarly. For this reason, emendation of Ziegler's text was proposed in a few cases where he did have access to 967.

Second, the methodology for the analysis of TT that focuses on the features of literalism in a text was critiqued. Three criticisms of the methodology were given: it assumes that the translators intended for a reader to be able to retranslate from the target text to the source text; literalism offers an incomplete description of TT; and the focus on literalism is inadequate for the application of its results to textual criticism of MT. Although the recent studies that have focused on literalism can provide a general overview of the TT of the LXX translators, they have not paid sufficient attention to details.

Third, in order to offer a positive alternative to the focus on literalism, a model based on linguistic principles and the presuppostions underpinning it was presented. Particular attention was given to clarifying some of the presuppositions for the methodology because this has not been done. In order for future researchers to evaluate, improve, and/or employ this model it had to be clearly defined.

In the presentation of the model for TT it was argued that the foundation for an analysis of TT is the comparison of the morphological, syntactical, and lexical elements of the source text with the target text. On the basis of a detailed analysis of these elements of translation the analyst has an informed persective on the types of

adjustments that the translator has introduced into the translation, the motivation for these adjustments, and the effect of these adjustments on the meaning of the text.

In the fourth stage, the effectiveness of the proposed model was demonstrated by applying it to five lengthy passages in OG and Th Daniel. Each of these passages was examined in detail, along with numerous related passages throughout the remainder of the book. By this means we were able to define more clearly the features of OG that make it more of a dynamic translation in contrast to the formal equivalence exhibited in Th. Besides some of the more outstanding results of the investigation, which are detailed below, there were many insights into the TT of both translators and how they understood the *Vorlage* they were translating. Though there were differences between the two translations, they were both concerned to provide a faithful rendering of the parent text. The results of the analysis for each passage were also employed for textual criticism of MT. In several instances it was suggested that MT should be emended, but, generally speaking, it was found that OG and Th were translating a text virtually identical to MT.

There were four additional conclusions that emerged from the analysis of TT.

1. The analysis of OG supported the thesis of Albertz that chs. 4-6 originate from a translator different from the person(s) who translated 1-3; 7-12.

2. Based on the unique equivalents in 3:20-30(97) it is probable that a later translator/redactor inserted the deutero-canonical material into the text of OG. The Prayer of Azariah and The Song of the Three Young Men are additions to the OG text.

3. The analysis uncovered more evidence that Th readings have displaced and replaced the OG text. It is impossible to know the extent of the corruption of OG, but in many cases the original reading is beyond recovery.

4. On the basis of the analysis of TT in Th, and in conjunction with the previous conclusion, it was demonstrated that Th is an independent translation of Daniel. This conclusion has significant implications for the recovery of the text of OG as well as the understanding of the transmission history of the LXX.

The results of the analysis are based on detailed study of the OG and Th texts and, if they stand the test of future research, are by no means insignificant for LXX research. Both the linguistic principles upon which the model for TT is based, and the results that have been achieved through its application should encourage the use of the model in future research on the LXX.

In the final chapter Th's text was compared with the characteristics that have been ascribed to *kaige*. Th exhibits significant disagreements and only superficial agreement with *kaige*. On this basis it can be concluded that Th and *kaige* have little, if anything at all, to do with one another. It is impossible at this stage to be more specific, because the relationship between the *kaige* texts as well as their relationship to OG has not been adequately defined. However, we can say that the *kaige* recension never existed except as a scholarly construct. *Kaige* research has focussed primarily on comparing agreements, and, in the process, has failed to contrast the significant disagreements that exist between the same texts. Consequently, the means do not yet exist to determine which texts are most closely related. Many of the proposed characteristics of *kaige* are useless for this purpose.

As one line of research draws to a close, several more avenues of research have been opened. The analysis of TT in the LXX has barely scratched the surface of the research that remains to be done. Continued analysis in this area will be of enormous benefit to the editors of critical texts for both the LXX and MT.

In the book of Daniel, Th has often been neglected in the research like a younger sibling following in the footsteps of the successful older brother. If we take his independence seriously, then fresh approaches to his text are possible. Particularly significant in this regard are chs. 4-6. Perhaps our eyes (and minds) will be open to the possibility that other texts as well are translations rather than revisions of OG.

Finally, an exhaustive comparison of lexical and syntactical translation equivalents of each of the *kaige* texts would be an excellent foundation for the task of clarifiying the relationship of the *kaige* texts to one another and their relationship to OG.

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