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A SEMANTIC STUDY OF WORDS FOR YOUNG PERSON,

SERVANT AND CHILD IN THE SEPTUAGINT AND

OTHER EARLY KOINE GREEK

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PREFACE

This work began as a study of several well-known words in the LXX which have one or more of the meanings "child", "son", or "servant". It arose from the fact that a word like παῖς covers several different senses, including "child" and "servant". Apart from παῖς, some of the other words originally listed for study were δοῦλος, νεανίσκος and τέκνον.

It soon became evident that this research had potential value in two areas: not only in the study of individual words on an isolated basis, but also in the exploration of the semantic field as a whole. Hence the scope was extended to include all related words, and παῖς (which was already seen to provide a link between apparently unrelated words) was used as a convenient starting-point. In this way, all words meaning either "servant" or "child/son" were included. One such word is παιδάριον, which however not only covers the status and relationship types of meaning ("servant" and "child") but also introduces a whole range of age meanings, from "baby" to "young man". Παῖς also means "young woman", and so it seemed arbitrary to exclude those words which have a feminine reference. In these ways, the number of words grew to the present total of 37. Some of these are common and well-known, whereas others are quite rare and were discovered almost by accident. Nevertheless I am

hopeful that all relevant words in the LXX have been included.

The range of meanings thus covered may be arranged according to the following pattern:

I. On the basis of AGE:

  (1) child (new-born or very young);

  (2) child (older);

  (3) young man/young woman (adult).

II. On the basis of STATUS or RELATIONSHIP:

  (1) male/female servant (in various senses[1]);

  (2) male/female child (i.e. son or daughter);

  (3) son/daughter in a metaphorical sense;

  (4) offspring of animals.

Most of the words included in this study can be described completely in terms of this pattern. Others which cannot, have nevertheless been included because they relate to the pattern at some point. This is true of $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ and $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$, and to a lesser extent $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$. Also included are the substantival uses of the participle $\theta\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu$ and the adjective $\nu\acute{\epsilon}o\varsigma$ ($\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho o\varsigma$). (Several other adjectives are used in the LXX only as substantives: $\check{\alpha}\nu\eta\beta o\varsigma$, $\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota o\varsigma$,

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1. The ideas distinguished under the general heading "servant" are: (a) servant, where the master-servant relationship is actively practised, (b) servant, where the master-servant relationship exists but is not practised (sometimes described as "status but no actual service"), (c) servant, in what may be called a respectful sense, and (d) servant of God. These are referred to in various parts of the thesis as "servant sense (a)", etc.

ὑπομαστίδιος and ὑποτίτθιον.)

The results of the research are presented in two major sections, the first of which is a study of each word separately. All the relevant examples of each word have been examined (with the help of Hatch and Redpath's Concordance). The text used is that of Rahlfs' two volume Septuaginta. The information on Hebrew equivalents in HR has been utilised where relevant to the meaning of the Greek words. The Hebrew words have been transliterated in the text, and a glossary of all words referred to has been included as an appendix on pp. 279-81.

The primary objective of the study is to elucidate the LXX usage of the words, but the evidence of the papyri has also been used. Indeed this evidence is essential, to provide a balanced picture of LXX usage in relation to κοινή usage generally. The lists in Preisigke-Kiessling's Wörterbuch and Daris' Spoglio Lessicale Papirologico have been consulted, and the references checked in the papyri available in the University of Sydney's Fisher Library. This collection though by no means complete is nevertheless extensive and includes the major publications relevant to the Ptolemaic period such as B.G.U., P.Cair.Zen., P.Mich.Zen., P.S.I., SB and U.P.Z.

The chapters in this first section are arranged in alphabetical order. Within each chapter the LXX evidence has been discussed first, with remarks on the distribution of the word in the LXX. The papyri have been treated

separately at the end of each chapter. The papyrus pub-
lications have been abbreviated according to the list
in Turner's <u>Greek Papyri</u>, and the references cited after
the style of LSJ. Generally, only papyri from the
Ptolemaic period have been discussed, though occasionally
it has been necessary to refer to later papyri. At the
end of each chapter is a numerical analysis of the
meanings of the word in the LXX (except for the words
with a small number of examples).

The second major section of the thesis follows the
pattern of meanings outlined above, though in many cases
with further sub-divisions. The purpose here is to study
all the words used with a particular meaning, to examine
the relationship between them and to determine any points
of distinction. Wherever possible, these chapters are
set out in the following manner:

I.   <u>The words used</u> and the number of examples
        of each.

II. <u>Similarities</u> between the different words:

    (a) examples where different words are used in
        identical contexts;

    (b) examples where different words are used in
        parallel accounts of the same incident
        (including variant readings);

    (c) examples where different words are used in
        other similar (though not identical) contexts.

III. <u>Distinctions</u> between the different words:

(a) on the basis of overall LXX usage;

(b) on the basis of translators' preference;

(c) on the basis of the Hebrew equivalents.

These headings have been used for the sake of convenience and are not absolutely accurate. Thus among the examples listed under "Similarities" will be found many cases which can be explained on the basis of translators' preference or Hebrew equivalents. On the other hand the heading "Distinctions" would perhaps be more accurately expressed as "possible sources of distinction", since a study of the material under this heading does not always reveal any actual distinctions.

As stated earlier, the Hebrew equivalents have been used only to provide a greater understanding of Greek usage. The starting-point is the Greek words with which this study is concerned. No attempt has been made to study the LXX translation-technique with regard to a particular group of Hebrew words, nor even to compile a comprehensive list of the Hebrew words relevant to a particular meaning, which would be necessary for such a study.

Attached to each chapter in the second section is a comprehensive list[1] of the relevant references of each

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1. In the case of υἱός and θυγάτηρ used in the literal sense of "son" and "daughter" only selected references have been given.

word, arranged so as to facilitate comparison of the different words.

A final chapter makes some concluding remarks on the relationship of the LXX usage of the separate words to early κοινή usage, the relationships between the words themselves, and the usage of various groups of books in the LXX.

The following abbreviations are used:

BAG	W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich's English edition of W. Bauer's Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch.
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament, as translated and edited by R.W. Funk.
HDB	Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.
HR	E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon.
LXX	The Septuagint.
MM	J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.
MT	Masoretic text.
N.E.B.	New English Bible.
R.V.	Revised Version of the English Bible.
VT	Vetus Testamentum.
WB	F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch.

The books of the LXX are abbreviated as follows. The names and abbreviations are those used by LSJ, and the order of books (which is the one followed in this thesis)

is that of Rahlfs' edition:

Genesis	Ge.	Hosea	Ho.
Exodus	Ex.	Amos	Am.
Leviticus	Le.	Micah	Mi.
Numbers	Nu.	Joel	Ji.
Deuteronomy	De.	Obadiah	Ob.
Joshua	Jo.	Jonah	Jn.
Judges	Jd.	Nahum	Na.
Ruth	Ru.	Habakkuk	Hb.
1-4 Kings	1-4 Ki.	Zephaniah	Ze.
1,2 Chronicles	1,2 Ch.	Haggai	Hg.
1,2 Esdras	1,2 Es.	Zachariah	Za.
Esther	Es.	Malachi	Ma.
Judith	Ju.	Isaiah	Is.
Tobit	To.	Jeremiah	Je.
1-4 Maccabees	1-4 Ma.	Baruch	Ba.
Psalms	Ps.	Lamentations	La.
Proverbs	Pr.	Epistle of Jeremiah	Ep.Je.
Ecclesiastes	Ec.	Ezekiel	Ez.
Canticles	Ca.	Susanna	Su.
Job	Jb.	Daniel	Da.
Wisdom of Solomon	Wi.	Bel	Bel
Ecclesiasticus	Si.		

There are fifteen examples of this word in the LXX.

It means "servant girl", and refers to those who are in

close attendance on a certain lady.

Ex. 2.5 contains two examples:

κατέβη δὲ ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραω λούσασθαι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν,
καὶ αἱ ἄβραι αὐτῆς παρεπορεύοντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.
καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὴν θῖβιν ἐν τῷ ἕλει ἀποστείλασα τὴν
ἄβραν ἀνείλατο αὐτήν.

Here the word refers first to the whole group of girls who

waited on Pharaoh's daughter, and secondly to the one who

seems to be the most important of them.

In addition, there is one example in Genesis, referring

to Rebekah's servant girls, who travelled with her on her

journey to meet her future husband Isaac;[1] five in Esther,

referring to one or more of Esther's attendants in the harem

of the Persian king;[2] and seven in Judith, referring to

Judith's servant who accompanied her in her exploits in the

camp of Holophernes.[3]

The definition of ἄβρα given by LSJ is "favourite

slave". This is not completely adequate for the LXX. It

is suitable for the seven references in Judith, Ex. 2.5 (2°),

and Es. 5.1d (where it refers to only one of Esther's

attendants). But the strict definition "favourite slave"

is ruled out by Ex. 2.5, where ἄβρα not only describes the

chief attendant but the others also. This indicates that

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1. Ge. 24.61.

2. Es. 2.9, 4.4, 16, 5.1a, 1d.

3. Ju. 8.10, 33, 10.2, 5, 17, 13.9, 16.23.

ἄβρα need not be restricted to a favourite, but may refer
to any female servant who personally attends to a lady.

There are no references in any papyrus of any period,
of which I am aware. With regard to other attestation,
the closest example is from Menander, Fr. 64, ᾤμην, εἰ τὸ
χρυσίον λάβοι ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην ἄβραν
ἔσεσθαι. No earlier examples are listed in LSJ, though
there are several later ones, including the following in
Plutarch, <u>Caesar</u> 10.3, Τοῦ δὲ Κλωδίου φήσαντος ἄβραν
περιμένειν Πομπηΐας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην. Here there is
a play on words, since the girl was not only Pompeia's
servant (ἄβρα), but Habra was also her name. The other
examples in LSJ are from Lucian (ii A.D.) and the orator
Aristaenetus (date uncertain). The word does not occur in
the New Testament.

Thus, outside the LXX, ἄβρα is used in either poetry
or formal literary writing. The example in Plutarch is
easily accounted for by the play on words. The LXX
therefore stands in contrast to a certain extent. Esther
is "literary" (according to Thackeray's classification),
but there is nothing special or unusual about the other
books in which ἄβρα occurs.

2: ΑΝΔΡΑΠΟΔΟΝ

This word is used only once in the LXX, in 3 Ma. 7.5, where it means "slave" in the harshest sense, one who is the property of another, without any rights or privileges. The passage refers to the persecution of Jews in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator. The verse reads:

οἳ καὶ δεσμίους καταγαγόντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ σκυλμῶν
ὡς ἀνδράποδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἐπιβούλους, ἄνευ πάσης
ἀνακρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν νόμου
Σκυθῶν ἀγριωτέραν ἐμπεπορπημένοι ὠμότητα.

The examples of ἀνδράποδον in the Ptolemaic papyri are more numerous. Several examples occur in P.Hib. 29 (iii B.C.), whose subject matter is the farming of a tax upon slaves. One of the provisions was that if a slave was concealed, the man who provided information about the matter would receive one third of the price of the slave when sold. This is stated in lines 5-6: τῶι [δὲ μη]νύσαντι ἔστω τὸ τρίτον μ[έρος] πραθέν[τος] τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου. Other references in this papyrus are lines 1, 4 and 8.

In their introduction to this papyrus, Grenfell and Hunt state, "It is noticeable that the word here used for a slave is not δοῦλος or σῶμα but ἀνδράποδον, which strictly signifies a captive or enslaved prisoner." This definition certainly fits 3 Ma. 7.5, as well as the earlier usage of the Greek historians. LSJ gives examples from Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, under the definition "one taken in

war and sold as a slave (whether originally slave or free),
captive".

However, this definition does not apply to all the
examples from the Ptolemaic period. In P.Col.i (ii B.C.),
ἀνδράποδον occurs in lines 1-2. The heading of this document
(line 1) is ἐκ τοῦ διαγράμματος τοῦ τ[ῶ]ν ἀνδραπό[δ]ω[ν],
and the next sentence (line 2) begins ὁ πραγματευόμενος τὴν
ὠνὴν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων. The editor of this papyrus notes the
interpretation of ἀνδράποδον in P.Hib.29 suggested by Grenfell
and Hunt but denies the possibility of the meaning "prisoner
of war" in P.Col. i.[1] Instead he claims that " ἀνδράποδον
in this document is used as a general word for "slave" and
does not seem to differ from δοῦλος".[2] I would go further
and suggest that ἀνδράποδον does not seem to differ from
σῶμα in certain cases. Σῶμα does not always mean "slave",
and sometimes is seen to refer to a slave only by the
addition of a defining adjective, as in the phrase δοῦλα
σώματα in P.Oxy. 492.7 (ii A.D.) and elsewhere. But when
σῶμα standing on its own means "slave", as it does in P.Col
i.3 (πράξονται τῶν σωμάτων), it is difficult to draw any
distinction between it and ἀνδράποδον or δοῦλος.

P.Lille i.29 (iii B.C.) also uses ἀνδράποδον with other
words for "slave". This papyrus covers the subject of the
examination and torture of slaves. Thus in col. 2.33-35
we read, ὁ δὲ παραλ[αβὼν τὸ ἀνδρά]ποδον μαστιγωσ[άτω μὴ
ἔ]λασσον ἑκατὸν π[ληγῶν]. The papyrus begins by referring

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1. W.L. Westermann, Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt (New
   York, 1929), p.8, n.11.
2. Ibid., p.8.

to an οἰκέτης : ἐὰν δέ τις περὶ ἀδικήματος ἐ[τέ]ρο[υ] οἰκέτηι ὄντι δίκην γραψάμενος, ὡς ἐλευθέρωι, καταδικάσηται, ἐξέστω τῶι κυρίωι ἀναδικῆσαι ἐν ἡμέραις ε.Οἰκέτης also occurs in line 11. Though there is no direct parallel between οἰκέτης and ἀνδράποδον, there is no reason to believe that the two words refer to different types of slaves.

However a more direct parallel occurs in lines 21-23: τῶν δὲ δούλων τῶν μαρτυρησάντων, οἱ δικασταὶ τὴν βάσανον ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ποείσθωσαν. Here δοῦλος and σῶμα are used interchangeably, and in the same way as ἀνδράποδον in col. 2.33-34.

On the basis of these examples it is suggested that ἀνδράποδον is in the Ptolemaic period beginning to lose its distinctive meaning "prisoner of war", though there is sufficient evidence to show that the distinctive meaning has not disappeared.

3: ΑΝΗΒΟΣ

There is only one example of ἄνηβος in the LXX, and its
meaning in this case is not altogether clear.

As an adjective the word means "not yet come to man's
estate" (LSJ), being derived from ἥβη meaning "youthful
prime" (LSJ). Hence as a substantive it refers to someone
within an early age grouping.

The LXX example is in 2 Ma. 5.13 where the context does
not precisely determine the age group which the author
intended. The verse refers to the effect of an attack on
Jerusalem by Antiochus' army: ἐγίνετο δὲ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων
ἀναίρεσις, ἀνήβων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀφανισμός,
παρθένων τε καὶ νηπίων σφαγαί. The difficulty is that in
the phrase ἀνήβων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, the writer
cannot be describing three separate groupings, since ἄνηβος
(whatever the precise age group it describes) must overlap
with τέκνον (which describes children of any and all ages).
Since the author is not being very precise, perhaps the
best solution is to translate ἄνηβος simply as "young ones"
without attempting to limit the age group any further. We
note the opinion of James Moffatt[1] and the translators of
the R.V., who translate the word as "boys" (rather than,
say, "babies").[2] We note also the attempt of the L text to

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1. In R.H. Charles, Apocrypha (Oxford, 1913) p.139.
2. In the list of references, I have included this example
   under the heading "Child (older)".

smooth out the difficulty by altering ἀνήβων to ἄνδρων, so that the three words describe three easily distinguishable groups.

As far as I am aware, there is no example of ἄνηβος in any papyrus of any period. In other literature, there are several examples of the adjectival use in earlier writers (such as Lysias, Plato, Aristotle and Theocritus). The only examples of the substantival use outside the LXX which are known to me, are the inscriptions cited in LSJ, C.I.G. 2034(Byzantium) and S.I.G. 1028.32(Cos).

4: ΒΡΕΦΟΣ

Βρέφος occurs only five times in the LXX, once in each of the books of the Maccabees and in Sirach, and refers both to an infant still in the womb and to a new-born or very young infant.

There is only one example of the former sense. In Si. 19.11, βρέφος refers to an infant in the womb, soon to be born:

ἀπὸ προσώπου λόγου ὠδινήσει μωρὸς
ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου βρέφους ἡ τίκτουσα.

In the other four references, it is clear that the infants are all very young. In 3 Ma. 5.49 they are described both as new-born and as at their mothers' breasts: ἕτεραι δὲ νεογνὰ πρὸς μάστους ἔχουσαι βρέφη τελευταῖον ἕλκοντα γάλα. Likewise, 2 Ma. 6.10 refers to infants at the breast. The other two examples refer to children at the age of circumcision, that is, eight days old.[1] The upper age limit to which this word can be applied cannot be determined precisely, though it can safely be said that it refers to new-born or very young babies rather than older boys or girls.

These same two meanings are attested in earlier Greek, as well as in the papyri and other contemporary sources and the New Testament. In classical literature, the

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1. 1 Ma.1.61, 4 Ma. 4.25.

meaning "unborn child" is attested in Homer, <u>Iliad</u> 23.266,
though it is in reference to an animal, βρέφος ἡμίονον
κυέουσαν. Examples of the meaning "new-born child" are
in Simonides, Pindar, Aeschylus and Euripides. Herodotus
applies the word to very young animals.[2]

The earliest Ptolemaic evidence comes from some
epitaphs. The phrase ἐκ βρέφους, "from early childhood",
occurs in <u>SB</u> 5629.7 (Alexandria, iii B.C.): πατὴρ μὲν
Εἰρηναῖος, ἁ δέ τοι πατρὶς [Μέ]μφις, τὸ δ' οὔνομ' ἀγορεύετ'
ἐκ β[ρ]έφους. Another is in <u>SB</u> 7288.4 (location unknown,
Ptolemaic): Μήτηρ δ' ἦν πρὸς μικρόν, ἀπώλετο καὶ βρέφος
εὐθύ[ς].

There are only a few papyrus examples of βρέφος. The
earliest seems to be from the end of the first century
B.C., <u>B.G.U.</u> 1104.24, ἐατῆς τὸ βρέφος ἐκτίθεσθαι, and half
a century later is <u>P.Mich.</u> 228.22 (i A.D.) which refers
to the birth of a dead child, βρέφος νεκρόν. There are
other later examples in the papyri.

In the New Testament βρέφος occurs eight times in the
two senses already described.[3]

In classical Greek, βρέφος is used mainly in poetry.
In the Ptolemaic period it is still basically a poetic
word, as we see from its use in 2,3 and 4 Maccabees and
in the epitaphs. However, the example in 1 Maccabees
(a book regarded by Thackeray as "good κοινή Greek")

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2. See LSJ for the references in these authors.
3. See BAG.

suggests that it is starting to be used more widely, and there is nothing particularly poetic about B.G.U. 1104 and P.Mich. 228 (cited above). In the New Testament, the word retains something of a poetic flavour. Four of the eight references, for example, occur in the birth and infancy narratives in Luke 1 and 2. However it is used in other contexts which are in no way poetic, as in Luke 18.15 in the story of the children brought to Jesus to be blessed by him.

5: ΓΕΝΝΗΜΑ

There are two quite distinct words to be considered here, γέννημα and γένημα.[1] Following the definition of LSJ, γέννημα (from γεννάω) means "that which is produced or born, child", and γένημα (from γίνομαι) "produce (of the fruits of the earth)". It cannot be assumed that the MSS will give the correct spelling, so that spelling is not necessarily a guide to the meaning. Where necessary, the spelling should be adjusted according to the meaning, even if in opposition to the MSS.

The two words occur a total of 75 times in the LXX. Γένημα is most often used with reference to agricultural produce, but it is also used of other kinds of produce, such as material increase,[2] that which wisdom produces,[3] the fruit of men's deeds,[4] and the fruit of righteousness.[5]

But it is γέννημα which is relevant to our study. In Jd. 1.10 it refers to the offspring of Anak: ἐπάταξεν τὸν Σεσι καὶ τὸν Αχιμαν καὶ τὸν Θολμι, γεννήματα τοῦ Ενακ. In Si. 10.18 it is used in the phrase γεννήματα γυναικῶν, and in 4 Ma. 15.13 (S+) in the phrase γεννήμασι φιλόστοργε.

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1. This is the view of LSJ, MM, BAG (in each case, s.v. γένημα); also BDF 11 (2), and P. Walters, The Text of the Septuagint (Cambridge, 1973), p.115. However, HR treat the two words merely as variations in spelling.
2. Pr. 15.29a, Ec. 5.9.
3. Pr. 8.19, Si. 24.19.
4. Is. 3.10.
5. Ho. 10.12.

There are two references to the offspring of Jerusalem,[6] where the MSS (and Rahlfs) read γένημα but the correct spelling is γέννημα. Thus, in 1 Ma. 3.45 we read: Ιερουσαλημ ἦν ἀοίκητος ὡς ἔρημος, οὐκ ἦν ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ τῶν γεννημάτων αὐτῆς.

In three other references the MSS vary between γένημα and γέννημα.[7] Thackeray regards these variations as representing different meanings,[8] but Walters rejects what he calls Thackeray's "elaborate interpretation" and says that "in all three passages γένημα yields the proper meaning".[9]

Unlike γένημα (which is a κοινή development), γέννημα occurs occasionally in classical Greek. In the papyri however the situation is reversed: γένημα (referring only to agricultural produce, as far as I am aware) is extremely common, whereas γέννημα does not occur. Both words occur in the New Testament, γένημα five times, and γέννημα four times (only in the phrase γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν).

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6. 1 Ma. 1.38, 3.45.

7. Ge. 49.21: Νεφθαλι στέλεχος ἀνειμένον, ἐπιδιδοὺς ἐν τῷ γενήματι κάλλος.
   Jb. 39.4: ἀπορρήξουσιν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, πληθηνθήσονται ἐν γενήματι.
   Wi. 16.19: ἵνα ἀδίκου γῆς γενήματα διαφθείρῃ.

8. H. St. J. Thackeray, A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, I (Cambridge, 1909), p.118. Thackeray lists the MS evidence.

9. P. Walters, op. cit., p.311.

6 : ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ

There are six examples of this word in the LXX. It is
used of those who were servants in a literal sense, and
has none of the other shades of meaning that we see in the
case of δοῦλος and other words for servant.

In one example it refers to a private individual's
servant, in Pr. 10.4a:

$$υἱὸς \ πεπαιδευμένος \ σοφὸς \ ἔσται,$$
$$τῷ \ δὲ \ ἄφρονι \ διακόνῳ \ χρῆσεται.$$

The context does not indicate what type of servant this is,
and it is likely that διάκονος is used here as a purely
general word for servant without any special nuance.

The other five examples refer to a king's servants,
describing those who were his personal attendants or
assistants, rather than his subjects generally. Four of
these occur in Esther and refer to the servants of king
Ahasuerus, though not always the same servants. In Es. 1.10
we read: ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν τῷ Αμαν καὶ Βαζαν..., τοῖς ἑπτὰ
εὐνούχοις τοῖς διακόνοις τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου. In
this case the king's διάκονοι are defined as the seven
eunuchs, but in the other three references[1] the phrase
οἱ διάκονοι τοῦ βασιλέως is used without further definition.
It cannot be presumed in these other cases that διάκονοι
describes the seven eunuchs, for in Es. 6.5 the king's
διάκονοι speak to the king about Haman whereas in 1.10
Haman is himself one of the διάκονοι.[2]

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1. Es. 2.2,6.3,5.
2. In 1.10 the LXX differs from MT. The latter has Mehuman
   as the first eunuch and the LXX has changed this to the
   similar name Haman.

The other reference to a king's servants is in 4 Ma. 9.17, where the first of the seven martyrs addresses his torturers: οὐχ οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὁ τροχός, ὦ μιαροὶ διάκονοι, ὥστε μου τὸν λογισμὸν ἆγξαι. These men who were servants of Antiochus were a different type of διάκονος to those mentioned in Esther. Instead of being personal attendants or advisers, the διάκονοι in 4 Ma. 9.17 were soldiers and are described in verse 16 as δορυφόροι.

I have been able to find only one example of διάκονος in the Ptolemaic papyri. This is in P.Hib. 226. Fr. 3.2 (iii B.C.). Unfortunately, the word which is itself incomplete stands by itself in this fragment, so that there is no context to show how the word is used.

However, διάκονος is attested elsewhere. In classical literature it is used in the sense of messenger as well as servant,[3] but of more particular interest are several inscriptions from the last three centuries B.C. in which διάκονος is used in a religious context, referring to temple officials.[4] In the light of this usage it is significant that the LXX does not use διάκονος in a religious sense. There is clearly ample scope for such a usage in the LXX.[5] In contrast, in the New Testament and other Christian literature διάκονος is used in a religious context, particularly with the technical meaning "deacon".[6]

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3. See references in LSJ.
4. Several examples are quoted and discussed in MM, s.v. διάκονος.
5. Cf. the use of θεράπων and λειτουργός.
6. See BAG.

7: ΔΟΥΛΗ

This word is used 52 times in the LXX, and its usages may be classified into four groups. There are those who were the female servants of human masters or mistresses: (a) where the master-servant relationship was actively practised, (b) where the master-servant relationship existed but was not actively practised, and (c) where the word describes a relationship of respect rather than service. It is also used of (d) female servants of God.[1]

In the first sense, δούλη occurs twenty times. It is used of groups of slaves. In 2 Ch. 28.10 a prophet rebukes the Israelites over the proposal to make slaves of the captive Jews: νῦν υἰοὺς Ιουδα καὶ Ιερουσαλημ ὑμεῖς λέγετε κατακτήσεσθαι εἰς δούλους καὶ δούλας. Similarly, Is. 14.2 refers to foreign women as slaves of the Jews. The phrase αἱ δοῦλαι αὐτῆς in Na. 2.8 refers to the servants of the city of Nineveh (i.e. the female servants who lived within that city).

There are other references to servants of individual men and women. Δούλη (like ἄβρα and παιδίσκη) describes Judith's servant who accompanied her to Holophernes' camp.[2] It is also used six times to describe Judith herself as Holophernes' servant, as in Ju. 11.5 where Judith speaks

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1. This is not strictly a separate sense. See δοῦλος p.22.
2. Ju. 12.15,19,13.3.

to Holophernes: δέξαι τὰ ῥήματα τῆς δούλης σου, καὶ λαλησάτω ἡ παιδίσκη σου κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου.[3] Judith was not owned by Holophernes, nor was she a personal attendant, but she may be considered an actual servant since she was both under Holophernes' authority (as the commander of the invading army) and was performing the service of offering to show the enemy a way into her city (even if in fact this was only a pretence).

Another example of sense (a) is in 1 Ma. 2.11, where δούλη is used of the city of Jerusalem. It is said of her: ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐγένετο εἰς δούλην. This is different from the other examples in that it refers to a city rather than people, but δούλη is used in the literal sense of being possessed and controlled by others.

The second sense of δούλη is found in twelve examples, all of which refer to a woman in relation to a king. In 1 Ki. 28.21 the medium whom Saul consulted describes herself as Saul's δούλη: ἰδοὺ δὴ ἤκουσεν ἡ δούλη σου τῆς φωνῆς σου.[4] Similarly, δούλη is used to describe a woman of Tekoa in relation to David,[5] and one of the two women who asked Solomon to arbitrate in their dispute concerning the child.[6] None of these women served the king in an active sense, but they were all subject to the king's authority. In two other examples, Bathsheba describes

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3. Also Ju. 11.16,17 (bis), 12.4,6.
4. Also 1 Ki. 28.22.
5. 2 Ki. 14.6,7,12,15 (bis),16,19.
6. 3 Ki. 3.20.

herself as David's δούλη, as in 3 Ki. 1.17, κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ, σὺ ὤμοσας ἐν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου τῇ δούλῃ σου.[7] Though Bathsheba was David's wife and not actually a servant, she was also David's subject and in this sense she can be described as his δούλη.

There are at least six examples of the third sense of δούλη, the respectful use. On three occasions the word describes Ruth in relation to Boaz, as in Ru. 2.13: ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Εὕροιμι χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, κύριε, ὅτι παρεκάλεσάς με καὶ ὅτι ἐλάλησας ἐπὶ καρδίαν τῆς δούλης σου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὡς μία τῶν παιδισκῶν σου.[8] Ruth was not working for Boaz, nor was she under his authority or control, and her use of the word δούλη is merely a polite form of speech. In this verse we observe that while Ruth calls herself Boaz's δούλη, she was not one of his παιδίσκαι (though she confesses her willingness to become a παιδίσκη, i.e. an actual servant).

Likewise, Hannah describes herself as a δούλη of Eli the priest,[9] and so too does the Shunnamite woman in relation to Elisha the prophet.[10] Neither of these women was a slave or servant in any literal sense.

In addition to the examples already mentioned, there are eight examples which are difficult to classify and may be included under either sense (b) or sense (c). For example, in 1 Ki. 25.24 Abigail speaks of herself as David's

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7. Also 3 Ki. 1.13.
8. Also Ru. 3.9 (bis).
9. 1 Ki. 1.16,18.
10. 4 Ki. 4.16.

δούλη: λαλησάτω δὴ ἡ δούλη σου εἰς τὰ ὦτά σου, καὶ

ἄκουσον τῆς δούλης σου λόγον.[11] This was before David

was king, so that she was not technically his subject.

But David was out to take vengeance on her husband Nabal

for an earlier humiliation, so that Abigail may have been

submitting to David's authority in order to appease him

rather than simply showing him respect. But the latter

is a possible interpretation.[12] Similarly, in 2 Ki. 20.17,

a woman in the besieged city of Abel addresses Joab:

ἄκουσον τοὺς λόγους τῆς δούλης σου. Was she only showing

respect to Joab in describing herself as Joab's δούλη, or

did she recognise his authority as the commander of the

besieging army? Another example is in 4 Ki. 4.2, where the

widow of one of the sons of the prophets refers to herself

as Elisha's δούλη. While the sons of the prophets were

Elisha's δοῦλοι in sense (b), in that they accepted his

authority over them,[13] it is less certain that their wives

had the same status, though it is possible. If the widow

was not subject to Elisha's authority δούλη would have

sense (c).

The fourth sense, in which δούλη applies to a servant

of God, is found in six examples. Three times in 1 Ki. 1.11,

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11. Also 1 Ki. 25.25,27,28,31.

12. In 1 Ki. 25.41 where Abigail is again described as
    David's δούλη the situation is different. By this stage
    Abigail was David's wife, and she recognises his authority
    in her willingness to perform actual service.

13. Verse 1 of the same chapter, and also 4 Ki. 6.3.

Hannah describes herself as God's δούλη. Two of these

occur in the following quotation: Αδωναι κύριε ελωαι

σαβαωθ, ἐὰν ἐπιβλέπων ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς

δούλης σου ... καὶ δῷς τῇ δούλῃ σου σπέρμα ἀνδρῶν. There

are also two references to Esther[14] and one to Gentile

women generally.[15]

Concerning the distribution of δούλη, we observe that

over half the examples occur in the books of Kings (28 out

of 52), with fifteen in 1 Kings. The only other signifi-

cant quantity are the nine examples in Judith. Most

examples occur in Thackeray's groups 2 (indifferent Greek)

and 3 (literal or unintelligent versions) - 45 examples.

There are only five examples found in books which represent

good κοινή Greek, and two in Esther which is literary

Greek.

Of the 52 examples of δούλη only twenty have the

meaning slave or servant in a literal sense (sense (a)),

which may be considered the normal Greek usage, the only

sense found outside the LXX and Christian writings.[16]

There are 26 examples of senses (b) and (c), including the

eight uncertain examples, and these all occur in the books

of Ruth and Kings.

The references in the papyri all appear to refer to a

slave-girl who was her master/mistress's property and who

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14. Es. 4.17x, 17y.

15. Is. 56.6.

16. Senses (b) and (c) are found only in the LXX. Sense (d)
    is found also in the New Testament (Luke 1.38,48) and
    in later Christian papyri (see below in the discussion
    of the papyri).

worked for her owner. Thus there are no examples of the
other meanings, senses (b), (c) or (d), which occur in
the LXX.

An example is <u>P.Hal</u>. 1.196 (iii B.C.), where the
punishments are set out for a slave (male or female) who
harms a free man. Thus, we read: Δούλωι ἐλεύθερον
πατάξαντι. ἐὰν ὁ δοῦλος ἢ ἡ δούλη πατάξη[ι τὸν ἐλεύ]
θερον ἢ τὴν ἐλευθέραν, μαστιγούσθω μὴ ἔλασσον P πληγῶν.
The δοῦλος or δούλη was very much an inferior citizen,
for the emphasis is not so much on the action being wrong
as on the fact that a slave did it.

<u>B.G.U.</u> 1109.5 (i B.C.) contains a reference to a
slave-girl who was completely at her master's disposal:
συγχωρεῖ ὁ Γάι[ος Ἰ]γνά⟨τ⟩ιος Μάξιμος παρασχέσθαι τὴν
δούλην αὐ[τ]οῦ Χρωτάριο⟨ν⟩.

In later papyri there are some examples of δούλη
referring to a servant of God. The earliest appears to
be from the fourth century A.D., in <u>P. Oxy</u>. 924.10.

Δούλη	Sense (a)	Sense (b)	Sense (c)	Sense (d)	Uncertain	Total
Exodus	1					1
Leviticus	1					1
Judges	1					1
Ruth			3			3
1 Kings	2	2	2	3	6	15
2 Kings		7			1	8
3 Kings		3				3
4.Kings			1		1	2
2 Chronicles	1					1
2 Esdras	1					1
Esther				2		2
Judith	9					9
1 Maccabees	1					1
Joel	1					1
Nahum	1					1
Isaiah	1			1		2
TOTAL	20	12	6	6	8	52
Hebrew:						
'amah	4	5	3	3	6	21
shipchah	4	7	3		2	16
'ebed	2					2

8: ΔΟΥΛΟΣ

Δοῦλος is used 384 times in the LXX, with several shades of meaning. At the one extreme it means a slave in the harshest sense, and at the other a trusted attendant or officer. In addition there are other types of submission to or dependence on a master or a superior. The following ideas may be distinguished: (a) slave or servant, where the master-servant relationship existed but was not practised; (c) servant, in what may be called a respectful sense, where there was no actual master-servant relationship, although some sort of dependence is usually implied; and (d) servant of God. This fourth meaning is added for the sake of convenience, although it is not strictly speaking a separate sense but a sub-section of sense (a) or sense (b), since those described as δοῦλοι of God either rendered actual service to God or were subject to his authority.

The first sense covers a wide range of references. Groups of people are described as δοῦλοι, such as the Israelites in Egypt. In Le. 26.13 God addresses the Israelites, ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄντων ὑμῶν δούλων. The Israelites were slaves elsewhere. In 2 Es. 9.9 Ezra speaks of God's mercy shown to the Jews who were in exile in Babylon, ὅτι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμᾶς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔλεος ἐνώπιον βασιλέων

Περσῶν. Following their attempt to deceive Joshua, the Gibeonites were made slaves in the service of Israel, as Joshua says in Jo. 9.23, καὶ νῦν ἐπικατάρατοί ἐστε, οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἐξ ὑμῶν δοῦλος οὐδὲ ξυλοκόπος ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ θεῷ μου.

There are numerous references to the individual slaves or servants of individual men. In 2 Ki. 9.10 David instructs Ziba about the service which Ziba and his household would perform for Mephibosheth, καὶ ἐργᾷ αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν, σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου καὶ οἱ δοῦλοί σου... (καὶ τῷ Σιβα ἦσαν πεντεκαίδεκα υἱοὶ καὶ εἴκοσι δοῦλοι).

When δοῦλος refers to the servants of kings or other leaders, there is variety in the type of service rendered. Some δοῦλοι were the king's workmen or labourers, skilled or otherwise. Two examples occur in 3 Ki. 5.20, where Solomon addresses Hiram, καὶ νῦν ἔντειλαι καὶ κοψάτωσάν μοι ξύλα ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου, καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ δοῦλοί μου μετὰ τῶν δοῦλων σου. This refers to the supply of wood from Lebanon which Solomon needed for the construction of the temple. In this context, Hiram's δοῦλοι were his timber cutters, whereas Solomon's may be only unskilled labourers who would be present to assist in the purely physical aspects of the work. In verse 23 of the same passage, Hiram's δοῦλοι (perhaps the same men) were those who would make the timber into rafts and sail them down the coast. A similar type of reference is in 3 Ki. 22.50.[1] In the context of

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1. Verses 47-50 of this passage occur in o[+] only.

the Red Sea being reopened as a base for trading, the king
of Israel suggests to the king of Judah, πορευθήτωσαν
δοῦλοί μου μετὰ τῶν δούλων σου καὶ (sic) ταῖς ναυσίν.
These men may be sailors or traders or even miners.

In 1 Ki. 17.32 David describes himself as Saul's
δοῦλος, as Goliath threatened and challenged the Israelites,
ὁ δοῦλός σου πορεύσεται καὶ πολεμήσει μετὰ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου
τούτου. Perhaps this refers to David's previous responsib-
ility, when he was required to play the harp to calm the
king's troubled mind. It is also possible that David was
referring to his general status as a subject of Saul,[2] or
that he had his immediate task in mind, his offer to fight
Goliath.

Another example where δοῦλος refers to a person who
fought in the service of a king is in 1 Ki. 27.5, where
David speaks to the Philistine king Achish, εἰ δὴ εὕρηκεν
ὁ δοῦλός σου χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, δότωσαν δή μοι τόπον
ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν καὶ καθήσομαι ἐκεῖ· καὶ
ἵνα τί κάθηται ὁ δοῦλός σου ἐν πόλει βασιλευομένῃ μετὰ σοῦ;
David at that time was a mercenary in Achish's service.
Similarly, in 4 Ki. 18.24 the Assyrian leader the Rabshakeh
refers to the Assyrian army officers as δοῦλοι of their
king, as he addresses the Jewish leaders, πῶς ἀποστρέψεις

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2. Sense (b), as described above.

τὸ πρόσωπον τοπάρχου ἑνὸς τῶν δούλων τοῦ κυρίου μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων;

In contrast to these examples where δοῦλος refers to a servant in his capacity as a soldier, there are several references in Judith where δοῦλος describes the personal attendants of Holophernes, the Assyrian army commander. In Ju. 12.10, for example, these δοῦλοι are expressly distinguished from the army officers (who are here described as οἱ πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις), ἐποίησεν Ολοφέρνης πότον τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ μόνοις καὶ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις.

Another type of servant is the man who belongs to the circle of the king's advisers, as in 1 Ki. 16.16, εἰπάτωσαν δὴ οἱ δοῦλοί σου ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ζητησάτωσαν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ἄνδρα εἰδότα ψάλλειν ἐν κινύρᾳ. These servants of Saul may be described as his courtiers.

An unusual example which must be classified under this first sense of δοῦλος is the first occurrence of the word in 3 Ki. 12.7, εἰ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἔσῃ δοῦλος τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ δουλεύσῃς αὐτοῖς καὶ λαλήσῃς αὐτοῖς λογοὺς ἀγαθούς, καὶ ἔσονταί σοι δοῦλοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. This was one piece of advice given to Rehoboam when he began his reign. The suggestion that he be a δοῦλος to his people is meant literally, in the sense that his reign would be for the benefit of his people rather than their harm (as the reign of Solomon his predecessor had tended to be).

A good translation for δοῦλος in the second sense is
(in most cases) "subject (of a king)". In these instances
there is a master-servant relationship, for the person
concerned was subject to the authority of the king and was
potentially an actual servant, even though at the time he
was not directly engaged in the king's service. Thus in
2 Ki. 24.21 Araunah (a private citizen) asks David, τί ὅτι
ἦλθεν ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ;
Araunah recognised David's authority and his own status as
a subject of David, but he was not an actual servant of
the king.

As interesting passage which illustrates two meanings
of δοῦλος is 1 Ki. 29. In verse 3 the Philistine king
Achish asks the Philistine leaders, οὐχ οὗτος Δαυιδ ὁ
δοῦλος Σαουλ βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ; David was at that time
engaged in Achish's service, and δοῦλος is used to describe
David's relationship to Achish in verse 8 of this chapter.
However he was still an Israelite and owed his allegiance
ultimately to Saul, so that he can also be described as
Saul's δοῦλος.

The Moabites and other surrounding peoples, after
their defeat by David, became his δουλοι, as in 2 Ki.
8.14, ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ Ἰδυμαῖοι δοῦλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ.[3]
They were not his actual servants but subject to his rule
and authority.

Even sons and brothers of a king can be described as

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3. Also 2 Ki. 8.2,6.

his δοῦλοι. In 2 Ki. 13.24 Absalom speaks to his father

David, ἰδοὺ δὴ κείρουσιν τῷ δούλῳ σου, πορευθήτω δὴ ὁ

βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου.

Similarly, Solomon is described as the δοῦλος of his father

David[4] and Adonijah as the δοῦλος of his brother Solomon.[5]

In spite of their family relationship to the king, each

of these was still the king's subject.

In this second sense, a king is sometimes described

as the δοῦλος of another king, when he has submitted to the

authority of the more powerful one, Thus Hoshea (king of

Israel) became the Assyrian Shalmaneser's δοῦλος, in 4 Ki.

17.3, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνέβη Σαλαμανασαρ βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ

ἐγενήθη αὐτῷ Ωσηε δοῦλος, and similarly Jehoiakim (king of

Judah) became Nebuchadnezzar's δοῦλος.[6] In one case, a

king describes himself in this way. Ahaz's message to

Tiglath-pileser in 4 Ki. 16.7 is, δοῦλός σου καὶ υἱός σου

ἐγώ. In a similar example, Ben-hadad's messengers describe

Ben-hadad as Ahab's δοῦλος.[7]

There are several examples of the second sense of

δοῦλος where the master or superior is someone other than

a king. In 4 Ki. 4.1 the wife of one of the "sons of the

prophets" addresses the prophet Elisha, ὁ δοῦλός σου ὁ ἀνήρ

μου ἀπέθανεν. Elisha was in some sense the master of this

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4. 3 Ki. 1.19,26.

5. 3 Ki. 1.51.

6. 4 Ki. 24.1.

7. 3 Ki. 21.32.

man and the other "sons of the prophets"[8] and had authority

over them. But they were not his δοῦλοι in the same sense

as Gehazi, who served Elisha directly as his personal

servant,[9] nor as Naaman, who was Elisha's δοῦλος in a

different sense again.[10] Similarly, Obadiah who was a

member of king Ahab's staff recognised the prophet Elijah's

authority over him by describing himself as Elijah's

δοῦλος.[11]

The third sense of δοῦλος is the "respectful" sense,

and there are several references to the servants of

prophets which are relevant here. Fifty soldiers sent to

Elijah by king Ahaz are described by their leader as

Elijah's δοῦλοι, in 4 Ki. 1.13, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐντιμωθήτω

δὴ ἡ ψυχή μου καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν δούλων σου τούτων τῶν πεντήκοντα

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου. With these words the captain was not

placing the soldiers under Elijah's control nor submitting

them to his authority, but was only showing respect in order

to save their lives, since Elijah had called down fire from

heaven on two other groups of fifty which had been sent

to him.

When Naaman the Syrian army commander obeyed Elisha

and was cured of his leprosy, he returned and urged the

prophet to accept a gift, καὶ νῦν λαβὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ

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8. In 4 Ki. 6.3 all the "sons of the prophets" are described
    as Elisha's δοῦλοι.

9. 4 Ki. 5.17,25.

10. Sense (c), discussed below.

11. 3 Ki. 18.9,12.

τοῦ δούλου σου (4 Ki. 5.15),[12] and similarly Hazael who
was soon to be king of Syria speaks of himself as Elisha's
δοῦλος.[13] In these various examples there is no submission
to the prophet's control but only respect for his standing
as a "man of God".

There are other types of examples of this third sense.
In 3 Ki. 21.9 Ahab (king of Israel) sends a message to
Ben-hadad (king of Syria), λέγετε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν Πάντα,
ὅσα ἀπέσταλκας πρὸς τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐν πρώτοις, ποιήσω,
τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦτο οὐ δυνήσομαι ποιῆσαι. Ahab certainly did
not accept Ben-hadad's authority over him, for he was
refusing to comply with Ben-hadad's order. When he describes
himself as Ben-hadad's δοῦλος, he is merely using the
language of diplomacy.

Another example of the "respectful" use of δοῦλος is
when David speaks of himself as Jonathan's δοῦλος though
the respect shown here is of a different type to that in
the previous examples. In 1 Ki. 20.7 David addresses
Jonathan (the subject of the first clause being Saul), ἐὰν
τάδε εἴπῃ Ἀγαθῶς, εἰρήνη τῷ δούλῳ σου.[14] There was no
master-servant relationship in this case, even though
Jonathan was the king's son, but David here expresses his
respect for and devotion to Jonathan which resulted from
their friendship. It is thus a different type of respect

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12. Also verses 17,18 (bis).
13. 4 Ki. 8.13.
14. Also verse 8 (ter).

to the "diplomatic" respect of one king for another or the respect shown to a prophet as a "man of God".

The fourth type of usage is when δοῦλος refers to a servant of God. Some of these δοῦλοι were directly and actively engaged in God's service. Joshua who led the Israelites under God's direction was a δοῦλος in this sense, as in Jd. 2.8, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη δοῦλος κυρίου υἱὸς ἑκατὸν δέκα ἐτῶν.[15] Similar examples are the references to Moses[16] and Nehemiah[17] as God's δοῦλοι, as well as many other individuals. The prophets also were God's δοῦλοι in this sense, acting under God's orders, as we see in Je. 25.4, where God says to the people of Judah, ἀπέστελλον πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφήτας. There are many other references to the prophets generally and several to individual prophets.

Other δοῦλοι were subject to God's authority but not directly involved in serving God, except in a general way such as obeying God's laws. These include the nation of Israel or Judah, as in Je. 3.22, which records the people's response to God's appeal to them to turn back to him, ἰδοὺ δοῦλοι ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθά σοι, ὅτι σὺ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἶ. In the sense of being subject to God's authority, δοῦλος is used with the meaning "worshipper" or "devotee". This is illustrated by three references in 4 Ki. 10.23. As part of his plan to destroy the cult of Baal, Jehu εἶπεν τοῖς

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15. Also Jo. 24.30.
16. Jo. 14.7(A), 3 Ki. 8.53,56, etc.
17. 2 Es. 11.6,11.

δούλοις τοῦ Βααλ Ἐρευνήσατε καὶ ἴδετε εἰ ἔστιν μεθ' ὑμῶν
τῶν δούλων κυρίου, ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ Βααλ μονώτατοι.
He contrasts those whose God was the Lord and those whose
God was Baal. In the same sense, the Psalms contain many
references to a "servant of the Lord". Ps. 26.9 records
part of a worshipper's prayer:

μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς ἐν ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου.

There are several noteworthy facts concerning the
distribution of δοῦλος. The accompanying table shows that
it is by no means evenly distributed throughout the LXX.
Of the 384 examples, 213 are in the books of Kings while
another 54 occur in the Psalms - over two-thirds of the
total number in five books. In contrast, there are only (for
example) three references in the Pentateuch and nine in
the books of Chronicles.

We note also the large number of examples of sense (d),
187 out of 384 (almost half the total), compared to only
132 examples of sense (a).

At this point we simply note these facts without
comment, until comparisons can be made with other words.

Among the Ptolemaic papyri, there is one example of
δοῦλος used of a servant of a god in the sense of "worshipper".
In SB 7898.6[18] (place of origin unknown) we read Κόρραγος,
δοῦλος τοῦ Σαράπιος καὶ τῆς "Ισιος.

Several papyri of the Christian era refer to servants

18. No date is given in SB, but Kiessling (WB) regards it
    as Ptolemaic.

of God or Christ, but with the above exception the Ptolemaic
papyri use δοῦλος only in sense (a). Unlike its use in the
LXX, δοῦλος in the papyri does not refer to men like skilled
workers or advisers or army officers but only to slaves who
were the property of their owner. They may be bought and
sold, as in <u>B.G.U.</u> 1128.9 (i B.C.) which refers to a slave
auction, μὴ ποιῆται τὸν τοῦ δούλου ἀγορασμόν. They may run
away, as in <u>U.P.Z.</u> 121.18 (ii B.C.), ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὁ
συναποδεδρακὼς αὐτῶι Βίων δοῦλος Καλλικράτου, and similarly
<u>B.G.U.</u> 1149.34 (i B.C.). Their inferior status is indicated
in <u>P.Hal.</u> 1 (iii B.C.) which refers to special penalities
which a δοῦλος incurred for harm done to an ἐλεύθερος.
Lines 196-198 state,

> Δούλωι ἐλεύθερον πατάξαντι, ἐὰν ὁ δοῦλος ἢ
> ἢ δούλη πατάξη[ι τὸν ἐλεύ] θερον ἢ τὴν
> ἐλευθέραν, μαστιγούσθω μὴ ἔλασσον Ρ πληγῶν
> ἢ τὴ[ν ζημίαν] διπλασίαν ἀποτεισάτω ὁ δεσπότης
> ὑπὲρ το[ῦ] δούλου.

One papyrus, <u>P.Lille</u> i.29 (iii B.C.), uses δοῦλος
apparently interchangeably with ἀνδράποδον, οἰκέτης and
σῶμα.[19]

The papyri therefore illustrate only some of the LXX
uses of δοῦλος. Sense (a) covers different types of servants,
from trusted attendants and advisers to slaves without rights
or privileges. Only the latter type is mentioned in the
papyri. The New Testament refers to servants of kings, in

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19. Δοῦλος is used in col. 1.19,21,27,29, col. 2.6.
    For a fuller discussion of words for "slave" in <u>P.Lille</u>
    i.29, see under ἀνδράποδον (p.4) and οἰκέτης (p.90).

one place trusted officials to whom he lent money[20] and
in another place messengers sent to invite guests to a
feast.[21]

Sense (b) does not occur in the papyri but is not
confined to the LXX. LSJ state that δοῦλος is used "freq.
of Persians and other nations subject to a despot", and
cite Herodotus, etc. as witnesses, without giving any
actual references.

Sense (c), the "respectful" use of δοῦλος seems to
be confined to the LXX and this suggests the direct
influence of the corresponding Hebrew word ʿebed. It is
significant that all the examples of this sense occur in
books translated from Hebrew and that on all but one
occasion δοῦλος translates ʿebed. The exception is 4 Ki.
1.14, where the use of δοῦλος in this sense is explained
by its use in the same sense in the previous verse.

Sense (d) as we have seen is illustrated by the papyri,
both of the Ptolemaic period and later, and also by the
New Testament and other early Christian writings.

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20. Matthew 18.23 (etc.).
21. Matthew 22.3 (etc.).

	Sense (a)	Sense (b)	Sense (c)	Sense (d)	Uncertain	Total
Leviticus	2					2
Deuteronomy				1		1
Joshua	1			2		3
Judges	3			2		5
1 Kings	26	6	4	7		43
2 Kings	24	22	1	14	5	66
3 Kings	16	12	1	31		60
4 Kings	10	5	7	21	1	44
1 Chronicles				4		4
2 Chronicles	3			2		5
1 Esdras	1					1
2 Esdras	11			8		19
Judith	16	1				17
1 Maccabees				1		1
2 Maccabees				4		4
Psalms	3			51		54
Proverbs				1		1
Ecclesiastes	5					5
Job	1					1
Wisdom	1			1		2
Ecclesiasticus	1					1
Minor Prophets	2			6		8
Isaiah	2			8		10
Jeremiah	1			6		7
Lamentations	1					1
Ezekiel				6		6
Susanna	1					1
Daniel	1			11		12
TOTAL	132	46	13	187	6	384

Hebrew:

	Sense (a)	Sense (b)	Sense (c)	Sense (d)	Uncertain	Total
ᶜebed	102	44	12	160	6	324
ᶜam				6		6
naᶜarah				1		1

9: ΘΕΡΑΠΑΙΝΑ

This word is used eight times in the LXX, each time referring to women who rendered actual service to a human master or mistress. It would be difficult to define the word more precisely than this on the evidence available, although there may be an emphasis on inferior social status.

This point perhaps lies behind the use of θεράπαινα in Ex. 11.5, which refers to those in Egypt who would be affected by God's judgment at the Passover: ἀπὸ πρωτοτόκου Φαραω ... καὶ ἕως πρωτοτόκου τῆς θεραπαίνης τῆς παρὰ τὸν μύλον. These phrases describe the opposite extremes of the social order in Egypt.

However it is impossible to press this point. Even in Ex. 11.5 the idea of social inferiority may be due to the context rather than inherent in the meaning of θεράπαινα. And in other cases θεράπαινα appears to be merely a general word for female slave or servant without any special nuance. Thus in Ex. 21.26 which contains a law concerning the treatment of slaves, θεράπαινα is used as the feminine counterpart to οἰκέτης : ἐὰν δέ τις πατάξῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ οἰκέτου αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς θεραπαίνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτυφλώσῃ, ἐλευθέρους ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτῶν. In Jb. 31.13 θεράπαινα is the feminine counterpart to θεράπων, as Job defends his past behaviour: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐφαύλισα κρίμα θεράποντός μου ἢ θεραπαίνης κρινομένων αὐτῶν πρός με.

The eight examples are distributed over four books: Exodus (3), Proverbs (1), Job (3) and Isaiah (1). No significant conclusion can be drawn from this.

I have been unable to find any example of θεράπαινα in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period. Preisigke lists only three examples, from two iii A.D. papyri: P.Giss. 34.6,8, P.Oxy. 1468.13. The word does not occur in the New Testament. But there are several examples from classical literature, where it is used as a general word for female servant, as in Herodotus 3.134, ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας ..., and in Andocides 1.64, τὰς θεραπαίνας ἔλαβον οἱ πρυτάνεις.[1]

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1. See also Menander,Fr. 64, where θεράπαινα and ἄβρα are used in the same sentence. The sentence is quoted on p.2 above.

10: ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ

There are 67 examples of θεράπων in the LXX, which
may be divided into two groups: (a) those which refer to
the servants of men (in two senses) and (b) those which
refer to the servants of God.

Of the 42 examples in the first group 27 refer to the
servants of Pharaoh. These servants were not his subjects
generally, for several times Pharaoh's θεράποντες are
distinguished from his "people" or "all the Egyptians",
as in Ex. 7.28, where Moses warns Pharaoh about the plague
of frogs, καὶ ἐξερεύξεται ὁ ποταμὸς βατράχους, καὶ
ἀναβάντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τοὺς οἴκους σου...καὶ εἰς τοὺς
οἴκους τῶν θεραπόντων σου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου. The θεράποντες
were the members of Pharaoh's court who had direct access
to their ruler.

There are seven examples in Judith where θεράπων
refers to the servants of king Nebuchadnezzar or of
Holophernes (the king's commander-in-chief). In Ju. 2.2
there is a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's servants, καὶ
συνεκάλεσεν πάντας τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς
μεγιστᾶνας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθετο μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς
βουλῆς αὐτοῦ, and Ju. 7.16 tells us that after Holophernes
heard the Moabites' plan, ἤρεσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον
Ολοφέρνου καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ. In
Ju. 11.20 similarly, it is Holophernes' θεράποντες who

heard Judith's plan. These men were army commanders or military advisers. In Ju. 10.23 they are distinguished from Holophernes' δοῦλοι who would appear to have been his personal attendants:

> ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ Ιουδιθ καὶ τῶν
> θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ, ἐθαύμασαν πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει
> τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῆς· καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον
> προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἤγειραν αὐτὴν οἱ δοῦλοι
> αὐτοῦ.

Thus, θεράπων is shown by its context in Ju. 2.2, 7.16 and 11.20 to refer to army officers, and 10.23 suggests that it has a different meaning to δοῦλος. Elsewhere in Judith δοῦλος refers to the men of the army as Nebuchadnezzar's servants[1] and to Holophernes' personal servants,[2] as well as to others, and παῖς is used once of Judith's servants,[3] but only θεράπων refers to army commanders or advisers, and we may well be justified in regarding this as a specialised meaning. There are three other references[4] to Holophernes' θεράποντες without further definition, and this meaning is suitable in each case.

However we cannot draw an absolute distinction between δοῦλος and θεράπων. Part of Judith's prayer in Ju. 9.10 is, πάταξον δοῦλον...ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ. Here the two words do not apply to different types of servants but are used for the sake of variety. In the references in Proverbs[5] and Job[6] it is hard to distinguish

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1. Ju. 6.3,7.
2. Ju. 6.10,11, 10.23, 12.10, 13.1.
3. Ju. 8.7.
4. Ju. 6.6, 10.20, 12.5.
5. Pr. 18.14, 27.27.
6. Jb. 3.19, 7.2, 19.16, 31.13.

θεράπων on the basis of context from other words used in these books for "servant" (διάκονος, δοῦλος, οἰκέτης and παῖς). Θεράπων here refers to a man's personal servant or attendant.

One other example occurs as a variant reading in 4 Ki. 25.30. The subject of this verse is Jehoiachin (king of Judah) while he was in exile in Babylon: ἡ ἐστιατορία αὐτοῦ ἐστιατορία διὰ παντὸς ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως. In A+ the phrase διὰ παντός is replaced by θεράποντος. With this reading the verse defines the amount of Jehoiachin's allowance as being that which a θεράπων would receive. Without any further information, there is no way of knowing whether θεράπων refers to a personal attendant or perhaps a military figure such as we find in Judith. There is also doubt about the reading. The Hebrew (translated by the R.V. "a continual allowance") would support διὰ παντός, though on the other hand it is perhaps easier to understand a change from θεράποντος to διὰ παντός than the reverse. Nevertheless, I am inclined to regard διὰ παντός as original.

The examples of θεράπων referring to servants of men lack the variety which δοῦλος (for example) shows. Sense (b)[7] and sense (c)[8] of δοῦλος are completely absent.

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7. Servant, where the master-servant relationship exists but is not practised.
8. Servant, in what may be called a respectful sense, where there is no actual master-servant relationship.

θεράπων is used only where the master-servant relationship
is actively practised. It is further restricted in that
it refers only to privileged servants rather than slaves
who were without rights and privileges. The distinctive
point about θεράπων in these references is that (possibly)
it can have a meaning like "army leader".

When θεράπων refers to servants of God, the same two
distinctions apply as we have observed in the case of
δοῦλος. It refers both to those who directly and actively were
engaged in God's service and to others who were subject to
God's authority without being involved in a specific form
of service. The latter group includes people like Isaac
and Joseph's brothers. Ge. 24.44 speaks of Rebekah, ἥν
ἡτοίμασεν κύριος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντι Ισαακ. In Ge 50.17
Joseph's brothers address Joseph, καὶ νῦν δέξαι τὴν ἀδικίαν
τῶν θεραπόντων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρός σου. There are other
references to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Jewish martyrs and
Job.

Moses was one who was more directly involved in
serving God. After the exodus from Egypt, we read in
Ex. 14.31 that ἐφοβήθη δὲ ὁ λαὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐπίστευσαν
τῷ θεῷ καὶ Μωυσῇ τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ. There are two other
references where the people concerned are described as
"servants" rather than explicitly "servants of God".
However they were clearly servants in a religious context.
Ex. 33.11 says, ὁ δὲ θεράπων Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη νέος οὐκ
ἐξεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς, and To. 1.7 (S)[9] refers to

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9. In BA the reading is the participle θεραπεύουσιν.

τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευι τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ. The main
point of interest in these examples is the use of θεράπων
in a religious context to describe one who was a cultic
official. In other respects the examples of θεράπων
referring to servants of God do not significantly differ
from those of δοῦλος, except that they are considerably
fewer in number.

Over half the examples of θεράπων occur in the
Pentateuch (38 out of 63), though they are not distributed
evenly over the five books, since 28 of the references
are found in Exodus (25 describing the servants of Pharaoh).
Eight examples in Judith and ten in Job account for most
of the remainder.

Analysing the examples on the basis of meaning, we
find that 42 refer to servants of men and 25 to servants of
God.

θεράπων does not occur in the Ptolemaic papyri. There
are two examples from the second century A.D. (P.Oxy. 1381.
116, B.G.U. 361.3.18), and the only other two known to me
are from the eighth century A.D. (P.Apoll. 65.13, P.Lond.
1435.118).

In other literature, θεράπων occurs from Homer onwards
in various senses. Referring to servants of men, it means
"henchman, attendant" (LSJ) in several passages in Homer.
In Herodotus 5.105 it refers to the servant of Darius who
was to say to the king, Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
LSJ also give the meaning "companion in arms, squire" in

Homer, and this may be comparable to the idea of "army leader" which we have observed in the LXX.

The restriction of θεράπων in the LXX to the meaning "servant" (rather than "slave") is not paralleled in classical literature. In Lysias 7.34, for instance, the θεράποντες are slaves whom the defendant is willing to hand over to be tortured. In sections 16-17 of the same speech δοῦλος, θεράπων and οἰκέτης are all used without distinction: In a note to Lysias 5.5 Shuckburgh says:

> θεράποντες not originally used properly of slaves...
> But slavery had become so universal in Greece, and so
> common was it for even the poorer families in Athens
> to have at least one slave for domestic purposes, that
> θεράπων had become synonymous with δοῦλος.[10]

There are classical examples of the religious use of θεράπων. In Homer, <u>Iliad</u> 2.110 the Δαναοί are θεράποντες Ἄρηος, and in Homeric Hymn 32.20 the poets are described as Μουσάων θεράποντες. LSJ cite examples of the meaning "worshipper", as in Pindar, <u>Olympian</u> 3.16, which describes the Hyperborean people as Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα. However I do not know any example of θεράπων referring to a cultic official (such as a priest or temple attendant), similar to the LXX.

In the New Testament[11] and other early Christian literature, θεράπων is used only with reference to Moses, without any cultic overtones.

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10. E.S. Shuckburgh, <u>Lysiae Orationes XVI</u> (London, 1961), p.196.

11. Hebrews 3.5 is the only New Testament example.

θεράπων	Servant of man	Servant of God	Total
Genesis		2	2
Exodus	25	3	28
Numbers		4	4
Deuteronomy	2	2	4
Joshua		3	3
4 Kings	1		1
1 Chronicles		1	1
Judith	8		8
Tobit		1	1
4 Maccabees		1	1
Proverbs	2		2
Job	4	6	10
Wisdom		2	2
TOTAL	42	25	67

Hebrew:			
ʿebed	27	18	45
ben ʼadon		1	1
sharath		1	1
naʿarah	1		1

11: ΘΗΛΑΖΩΝ

The verb θηλάζειν occurs 28 times in the LXX, and of
these there are nine examples where the present participle
is used as a substantive. It is used in both masculine and
neuter forms, without any distinction in meaning. Masculine
forms are used in four examples: θηλάζων once[1] and θηλάζοντα
(masculine accusative singular) three times.[2] The neuter
form θηλάζοντα (accusative plural) occurs once.[3] The other
four may be masculine or neuter.[4]

Its strict meaning is "suckling", but to all intents
and purposes it is simply another word for "infant". Twice
it is used in the expression ἀπὸ νηπίου ἕως θηλάζοντος.[5]
Here νήπιος and θηλάζων are not being contrasted but are
parallel and synonymous. The phrase in fact illustrates two
Hebraisms: (a) "from ... to" means "both ... and", and
(b) the common device of parallelism, where the same thing
is said in two parallel words or phrases. On five other
occasions θηλάζων and νήπιος are parallel,[6] as in Ps. 8.3,
ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων καταρτίσω αἶνον.

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1. De. 32.25.
2. Nu. 11.12, Je. 51.7, La. 2.11.
3. Ju. 16.4.
4. θηλάζοντος in 1 Ki. 15.3, 22.19, La. 4.4, and θηλαζόντων
   in Ps. 8.3.
5. 1 Ki. 15.3, 22.19.
6. Ju. 16.4, Ps. 8.3, Je. 51.7, La. 2.11, 4.4.

In one example θηλάζων is contrasted with πρεσβύτης. This is in De. 32.25, which refers to the judgment that would befall Israel for disloyalty to God:

ἔξωθεν ἀτεκνώσει αὐτοὺς μάχαιρα
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ταμιείων φόβος·
νεανίσκος σὺν παρθένῳ,
θηλάζων μετὰ καθεστηκότος πρεσβύτου.

Though the papyri contain several examples of the verb θηλάζειν, I am not aware of any example of the participle used as a substantive. The same is true of classical literature. The only example of this use outside the LXX is in the New Testament, in Matthew 21.16, and even this is a quotation from the LXX (Ps. 8.3).

Θηλάζων	Relevant examples	Total
Genesis		2
Exodus		3
Numbers	1	1
Deuteronomy	1	3
1 Kings	2	3
3 Kings		2
Judith	1	1
2 Maccabees		1
Psalms	1	1
Job		2
Canticles		1
Minor Prophets		1
Isaiah		2
Jeremiah	1	1
Lamentations	2	4
TOTAL	9	28

Hebrew:

yoneq   8

12: ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

By far the majority of the 602 examples of θυγάτηρ in the LXX are used with the meaning "daughter", describing the normal direct family relationship of a girl/woman to her parent(s), as in Ge. 29.18 where Jacob says to Laban, δουλεύσω σοι ἑπτὰ ἔτη περὶ Ραχηλ τῆς θυγατρός σου τῆς νεωτέρας.

Eleven times in the book of Ruth, θυγάτηρ is used not strictly of a daughter but to describe a looser family tie. It is used of Ruth and in some cases Orpah also in relation to Naomi, as in Ru. 2.22, εἶπεν Νωεμιν πρὸς Ρουθ τὴν νύμφην αὐτῆς ᾿Αγαθόν, θύγατερ, ὅτι ἐπορεύθης μετὰ τῶν κορασίων αὐτοῦ (where αὐτοῦ refers to Boaz).[1] As this verse indicates, Ruth was Naomi's daughter-in-law (and the same was true of Orpah). Ruth is also addressed in this way by Boaz, as in Ru. 2.8, εἶπεν Βοος πρὸς Ρουθ Οὐκ ἤκουσας, θύγατερ;[2] Ruth was related by marriage to Boaz, since her father-in-law Elimelech was a kinsman of Boaz. Perhaps however the family relationship is irrelevant in these cases. In each case the vocative form of θυγάτηρ is used, and these instances may be better described as θυγάτηρ used as a form of familiar address.[3] If so, the

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1. Also Ru. 1.11,12,13, 2.2, 3.1,16,18.
2. Also Ru. 3.10,11.
3. Examples of this usage occur in the New Testament. See below, p.49.

fact that Ruth was related to Naomi and Boaz must be regarded as coincidental.

In three references θυγάτηρ refers to a daughter of God, each time in conjunction with υἱός. In Is. 43.6 it refers to Jewish women, in the context of returning from exile: ἐρῶ τῷ βορρᾷ "Ἄγε, καὶ τῷ λιβί Μὴ κώλυε· ἄγε τοὺς υἱούς μου ἀπὸ γῆς πόρρωθεν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μου ἀπ' ἄκρων τῆς γῆς.[4]

In connection with towns or countries, θυγάτηρ is used in several ways in metaphorical senses. First, there are several cases where θυγάτηρ describes the women who lived in or belonged to a particular place. In Ca. 1.5, one of the girls in the king's harem says, μέλαινά εἰμι καὶ καλή, θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλημ. Jerusalem is the city most commonly found in such phrases,[5] though the names of many other towns or cities[6] and countries[7] are used.

Secondly, θυγάτηρ is used to describe the villages or outlying settlements that were attached to a town. So we read of the "daughters" of Jazer in 1 Ma. 5.8, where

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4. Also Wi. 9.7, Is. 45.11.
5. Also Ca. 2.7, 3.10,11, 5.8,16, 8.4, Is. 3.16,17, 4.4, 49.22, 60.4, Ba. 4.10,14, La. 3.51, Ez. 5.14, 16.20, 48, 55, 23.25,47.
6. Tyre (and Sidon): Ps. 44.13, Jl. 4.8, Ez. 26.6,8.
   Asshur: Ez. 16.28.
   Sodom: Ez. 16.46,48,49 (bis), 53,55.
   Samaria: Ez. 16.46,53,55, 23.10 (bis).
   Rabbah: Je. 30.19.
7. Canaan: Ge. 27.46, 28.1,6,8, 34.1.
   Syria: Ez. 16.57.
   Israel/Judah: Ps. 47.12, 96.8, Su. 48,57 (bis).

it is said that Judas Maccabaeus προκατελάβετο τὴν Ιαζηρ
καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς.[8]

Thirdly, there are phrases like "daughter of Zion",
as in Ps. 72.28:

ἐξαγγεῖλαι πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου
ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τῆς θυγατρὸς Σιων.[9]

This phrase is equivalent simply to the name Zion or
Jerusalem. In this way θυγάτηρ is also used with Babylon,[10]
Egypt,[11] and other place names.[12]

There are several other metaphorical uses. Θυγάτηρ is
twice used of daughters of plants. In 4 Ki. 14.9 (and
the parallel account in 2 Ch. 25.18), in king Joash's story,
the thistle's message to the cedar is, δὸς τὴν θυγατέρα σου
τῷ υἱῷ μου εἰς γυναῖκα. The phrase αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ ᾄσματος
in Ec. 12.4 means singing or songs, and in Je. 30.20
θύγατερ ἰταμίας[13] refers to the character of the Ammonite
nation.

The daughters of animals are mentioned four times. In
Pr. 30.15 the word literally means female young: τῇ βδέλλῃ

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8. Also Jd. 1.27(ter), 1 Ma. 5.65. In other passages where
   θυγάτηρ is used in this sense it is not the only reading:
   Jd. 11.26(bis)(A): B reads ὅριον.
   2 Ch. 13.19(A): the others read κώμη.
   2 Es. 21.25(bis), 27,28,30,31: this reading is in S[c]+
   and L+, but omitted from the rest.

9. Also 4 Ki. 19.21(bis), Ps. 9.15, Mi. 1.3, 4.8(bis), 10,13,
   Ze. 3.14(ter), Za. 2.14, 9.9(bis), Is. 1.8, 10.32, 16.1,
   37.22(bis), Je. 4.31, 6.2,23, 38.21(A+), La. 1.6, 2.1,4,8,
   10,13(bis),18, 4.22.

10. Ps. 136.8, Za. 2.11, Is. 47.1, Je. 27.42.

11. Je. 26.11,19,24.

12. Mi. 4.14, Is. 16.2, 23.12, Je. 31.18, La. 1.15, 2.2,5,
    4.21,22.

13. LSJ: ἰταμία (= ἰταμότης) = 1. initiative, vigour:
    2. effrontery. The second is applicable here.

τρεῖς θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἀγαπήσει ἀγαπώμεναι. In the other

three references θυγάτηρ may have this literal meaning but

probably is used metaphorically. In Mi. 1.8 we read of the

reaction to Judah's sin and the impending judgment:

ποιήσεται κοπετὸν ὡς δρακόντων καὶ πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων

σειρήνων.[14] The corresponding Hebrew phrase is <u>bath</u>

<u>ya'anah</u>, which means simply "ostrich", rather than the

female young of the ostrich.[15] BDB lists five other

instances of this phrase,[16] and in these cases the LXX

translation is σειρήν or στρουθός without θυγάτηρ. In the

three examples where θυγάτηρ is used with σειρήν or

στρουθός it seems likely that the same simple meaning

"ostrich" is intended, and if so this usage of θυγάτηρ is a

Hebraism.

Nothing of significance can be deduced from the

distribution of θυγάτηρ in the LXX. It is the normal word

for "daughter" and so is used throughout the LXX. It is

particularly common in Genesis (103 times), which is

explained by the repeated use of the phrase ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς

καὶ θυγατέρας in the genealogical tables (eighteen times)

and by the stories in which daughters played an important

part (e.g. Lot's daughters, mentioned seven times, and

Laban's daughters, mentioned 21 times).

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14. θυγάτηρ is again used with σειρήν in Je. 27.39, and with
    στρουθός in Is. 43.20.

15. BDB, s.v. <u>bath</u>, sect. 6 (p.123b).

16. Singular in Le. 11.16, De. 14.15. Plural in Jb. 30.29,
    Is. 13.21, 34.13.

The literal meaning "daughter" is of course common from Homer onwards. This is the only meaning of θυγάτηρ in the numerous examples of the word in the Ptolemaic papyri. In classical Greek there are examples of metaphorical phrases, as in Pindar, <u>Nemean</u> 4.3, Μοισᾶν θυγατέρες (referring to odes), and Critias, Fragment 1D, πλάστιγξ ἡ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ and phrases referring to animals, as in Simonides 7, θύγατρες ἵππων. In the New Testament θυγάτηρ is used as a form of familiar or friendly address, as in Matthew 9.22 where Jesus addresses a woman, θάρσει, θύγατερ· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. The New Testament also uses θυγάτηρ with the names of towns, both as a description of the town[17] and to refer to the female inhabitants of a town.[18]

Certain LXX usages, not attested elsewhere or attested elsewhere in the New Testament only, may be regarded as Hebraisms. This is true of phrases like "daughter of Zion" (referring to the city and equivalent to the name of the city) and "daughters of ostriches". In both cases the word "daughter(s)" is superfluous. This is a common Hebrew idiom and is attested only in Greek which has a Hebrew background. The use of θυγάτηρ with the names of towns, meaning outlying villages, also seems to be a Hebraism. The two references in 1 Maccabees make this usage a less certain case of Hebraism, but in all other examples the Greek has been translated from Hebrew and it is perhaps best to regard the 1 Maccabees examples also as the result of a Hebraistic manner of thinking.

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17. Matthew 21.5, John 12.15. Both of these are a quotation of Za. 9.9.

18. Luke 23.28.

Θυγάτηρ	Offspring of animals	Other meta-phorical	Total
Genesis		5	103
Exodus			24
Leviticus			17
Numbers			19
Deuteronomy			20
Joshua			7
Judges		5	25
Ruth			11
1 Kings			15
2 Kings			20
3 Kings			13
4 Kings		3	17
1 Chronicles			17
2 Chronicles		2	25
1 Esdras			3
2 Esdras		6	22
Esther			3
Judith			6
Tobit			23
1 Maccabees		2	9
4 Maccabees			1
Psalms		6	12
Proverbs	1		2
Ecclesiastes		1	1
Canticles		7	11
Job			7
Wisdom		1	1
Ecclesiasticus			8
Minor Prophets	1	14	23
Isaiah	1	15	23
Jeremiah	1	11	37
Baruch		2	4
Lamentations		15	22
Ezekiel		21	41
Susanna		3	8
Daniel			2
TOTAL	4	119	602

13: ΚΟΡΑΣΙΟΝ

Κοράσιον occurs 27 times in the LXX. It is a
diminutive of κόρη, which means "girl", "virgin", "young
wife" or "daughter" in classical literature.   Κοράσιον
which first appears in Hellenistic Greek has some of the
same meanings. It is used with an age reference, and this
seems to be its basic meaning, although it is used of
different age groups and refers both to young girls and to
young adult women. It is used also as a relationship word,
though not with the meaning "daughter" but "servant-girl".
There are no examples of the meaning "virgin".

Considering the age references first, we find that there
are only two examples where κοράσιον refers to a young
female child. In Za. 8.5 we read of the Jerusalem of the
future: αἱ πλατεῖαι τῆς πόλεως πλησθήσονται παιδαρίων καὶ
κορασίων παιζόντων ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις αὐτῆς. Similarly in
Jl. 4.3 κοράσιον is used in conjunction with παιδάριον
where the two words mean "girl" and "boy".

Two uncertain examples occur in 1 Ki. 9.11,12. Verse
11 says that when Saul and his servant were looking for
Samuel, αὐτοὶ εὑρίσκουσιν τὰ κοράσια ἐξεληλυθότα ὑδρεύσασθαι
ὕδωρ. We cannot tell whether these κοράσια were girls or
young women.

Those who clearly were young women include Esther and

Sarah. In Es. 2.7 Esther is described as τὸ κοράσιον καλὸν τῷ εἴδει.[1] Esther may not have been very old but she certainly was not a child, as she was soon to become the queen. In the same story the other young women from among whom Esther was chosen to be queen are also described as κοράσια.[2] In the story of Tobias, Sarah is described as a κοράσιον, as in To. 6.12 (BA), where Raphael informs Tobias about Sarah, τὸ κοράσιον καλὸν καὶ φρόνιμόν ἐστιν.[3] Sarah was not a child and had already previously been given in marriage to seven men.

The meaning "servant-girl" is found a number of times. There are four references to Boaz's servants, as in Ru. 2.8, where Boaz says to Ruth, ὧδε κολλήθητι μετὰ τῶν κορασίων μου.[4] In 1 Ki. 25.42 we read of the servants of Abigail, one of David's wives: ἀνέστη Αβιγαια ... καὶ πέντε κοράσια ἠκολούθουν αὐτῇ. There are also references to the servants of Jeroboam's wife,[5] the servants who were appointed to wait on Esther,[6] and the servants of Susanna.[7]

The examples from 1 Ki. 9.11,12 (mentioned above) could also be included under the meaning "servant". We do not know whether they were girls or young women doing a family chore, or servant girls.

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1. Also Es. 2.9.
2. Es. 2.2,3,8,12.
3. Κοράσιον also occurs in S, though the rest of the wording of this quotation differs in S. Other references to Sarah are in To. 6.13(bis)(S), 14 (BA).
4. Also Ru. 2.22,23, 3.2.
5. 3 Ki. 12.24[1].
6. Es. 2.9.
7. Su. 15,17,19,21 (all in TH).

Κοράσιον probably means "servant" also in 1 Ki. 20.30:
ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ Σαουλ ἐπὶ Ιωναθαν σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Υἱὲ
κορασίων αὐτομολούντων. Saul's anger towards Jonathan was
expressed in the words υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων, which
was clearly intended to be an expression of abuse and insult
(though to call him the son of more than one κοράσιον seems
to be going too far!). "Servant" is the only suitable
meaning of κοράσιον which would convey the insult and
contempt that Saul intended.

The same may also apply to Ju. 16.12. Referring to
the fact that victory over the invaders was achieved not
by powerful soldiers or weapons, Judith says, υἱοὶ κορασίων
κατεκέντησαν αὐτούς. This again may be a contemptuous
reference to the sons of slave-girls, but it is equally
possible that κοράσιον means "young woman". The sons of
young women would themselves be very young, the point being
that the enemy had been defeated by people of no great
strength or courage.

The 27 examples of κοράσιον are confined to a
relatively few books, only seven (if we regard the Minor
Prophets as a single unit). There is no obvious reason why
it is used in these books and not others, since the seven
books represent different levels of language. Examples are
found in "literary" books like Esther (7), and in Tobit
which represents the vernacular (4), while another eight
occur in books classed by Thackeray as "indifferent Greek".

One significant fact is that no example is found in the
"good κοινή Greek" of the LXX.

In the Ptolemaic papyri κοράσιον normally means
"servant-girl". A relationship meaning is clearly required
in B.G.U. 1291.5 (ii/i B.C.), in the phrase ταῖς κορασίοις
αὐτοῦ. In SB 6784.11 (iii B.C.)[8] κοράσιον refers to Satyra
who was a harper in the household of Apollonios. As she
writes to Zenon, she describes herself as τοῦ κορα[σίο]υ.
Though this does not express relationship, it is nevertheless
more likely to mean "servant", as a description of her status,
than "young woman", as a description of her age.

A later reference where κοράσιον means "slave" is in
B.G.U. 887.3 (ii A.D.): ἐπρίατο ἐν ἀγορᾷ ... κοράσιον
Σαμβατίδα. In lines 9-10 of this papyrus a sum of 350
denarii is mentioned as the price of the κοράσιον. If the
meaning of κοράσιον in this reference is applicable to the
earlier period, a κοράσιον was as much the property of her
master as any other type of slave or servant. This is
confirmed by the phrase κοράσιον δουλικόν which is
equivalent to δούλη and which occurs in, e.g., P.Strass.
79.2,11 (ii B.C.).

In this phrase κοράσιον δουλικόν, κοράσιον clearly
refers to one who was a slave. But the idea of slavery is
indicated by the adjective, and κοράσιον itself simply means
"girl" or "young woman". This is also the meaning of

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8. SB 6784 = P.Cair.Zen. 59028 (though the lines are
   numbered differently).

κοράσιον in the New Testament, where it refers to the twelve year old daughter of Jairus, the girl Jesus raised from death[9] and to Herodias' daughter who danced at Herod's party.[10]

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9. As in Mark 5.41.
10. As in Mark 6.22.

Κοράσιον	Child (older)	Young Woman	Servant	Total
Ruth			4	4
1 Kings		2	2	4
3 Kings			1	1
Esther		6	1	7
Judith		1		1
Tobit		4		4
Minor Prophets	2			2
Susanna			4	4
TOTAL	2	13	12	27

<u>Hebrew:</u>

	Child (older)	Young Woman	Servant	Total
<u>na'arah</u>		7	6	13
<u>yaldah</u>	2			2

14: ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ

This word occurs fourteen times in the LXX, referring both to servants of men and servants of God. In spite of the small number of references, λειτουργός nevertheless covers a wide range of different types of servants.

In three examples λειτουργός refers to the servants of a king. In 3 Ma. 5.5 the phrase οἵ τε πρὸς τούτοις λειτουργοί describes the servants of Ptolemy Philopator who were in charge of the Jewish prisoners. They may have been soldiers but not necessarily. In 3 Ki. 10.5 we read of τὴν καθέδραν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στάσιν λειτουργῶν αὐτοῦ.[1] The words παῖς and λειτουργός here refer to different types of servants in Solomon's palace, though we cannot be certain as to their respective functions. The words καθέδρα and στάσις may suggest that the παῖδες were ministers of state or advisers, and the λειτουργοί attendants of some sort.

There are other references to those who were servants with official or semi-official status. In Jo. 1.1 (A)[2] Joshua is described as Moses' λειτουργός. Though there is no description of his service here, other passages show that Joshua was not just a personal attendant. In Ex. 17.9 ff.

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1. Also 2 Ch. 9.4.
2. The reading in B is ὑπουργός.

Joshua led the Israelites in battle, under the direction of Moses. He was also associated with Moses in official religious activities. He accompanied Moses when Moses went up to Sinai to receive the tables of the law (Ex. 24.13, cf. 32.15-17), and he was also with Moses in the tabernacle when God spoke to Moses (Ex. 33.11).

The λειτουργοί of a judge should also be understood as having official duties rather than attending to the judge's personal needs. They are mentioned in Si. 10.2: κατὰ τὸν κριτὴν τοῦ λαοῦ οὕτως καὶ οἱ λειτουργοὶ αὐτοῦ.

On the other hand λειτουργός is used of those who were servants in the sense of personal attendants. In 2 Ki. 13.18 it describes the servant of Amnon, David's son, and is equivalent to παιδάριον in the same passage. In verses 17-18 we read:

> ἐκάλεσεν τὸ παιδάριον αὐτοῦ τὸν προεστηκότα
> τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ 'Εξαποστείλατε
> δὴ ταύτην ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἔξω...καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὴν
> ὁ λειτουργὸς αὐτοῦ ἔξω καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν τὴν
> θύραν ὀπίσω αὐτῆς.

Likewise there are references to the servant of Elisha the prophet,[3] and in one of these (4 Ki. 6.15) λειτουργός and παιδάριον are again equivalent.

There are several references to the servants of God, and we continue to note the variety in the types of service covered. In Is. 61.6 the word refers to all the inhabitants of Zion, as the prophet speaks of future deliverance and

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3. 4 Ki. 4.43, 6.15.

glory: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς κληθήσεσθε, λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ.
Λειτουργός here has the connotation of cultic service
(used as it is in conjunction with ἱερεύς). The prophet
is using cultic terminology to describe the future close
relationship the people of Zion will have with God.

The word is also used in a cultic context in 2 Es.
7.24, λειτουργοῖς οἴκου θεοῦ τούτου, 2 Es. 20.40, οἱ
ἱερεῖς οἱ λειτουργοί, and Si. 7.30:

> ἐν ὅλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάπησον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε
> καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς.

In Jo 1.1 (discussed above) λειτουργός describes Joshua as
Moses' servant, and this too may refer to cultic service
as much as other forms of service.

Two other references to God's λειτουργοί are in the
Psalms, where the word describes supernatural beings.
Thus we read in Ps. 102.21:

> εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ,
> λειτουργοὶ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ.

And Ps. 103.4 describes God as

> ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
> καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

There is nothing significant in the distribution of
λειτουργός. No book contains more than two examples, and
there is no concentration of examples within any particular
group of books.

In the Ptolemaic papyri there are several examples
where λειτουργός means "servant" in the sense of a paid
hired hand, a workman or labourer, rather than a slave.

P.Petr. iii.46.4.8 (iii B.C.) mentions the amount paid on the completion of a small building: οικοδομοις και λειτουργοις κ/ξε. Other references where λειτουργός is used in conjunction with οἰκοδόμος, "builder", are P.Petr. ii. 14.3.4 (iii B.C.), iii.46.3.5 (iii B.C.).

It is used in a different way as a sort of military title, as in P.Hib. 96.31 (iii B.C.),[4] ... τῆς ἐπιγονῆς λειτουργός (the phrase being preceded by a person's name). In a note on this papyrus Grenfell and Hunt, after referring to the meaning "workman" in the papyri, say that the word here "is a novel title of a military settler. Probably λειτουργός has no definitely military significance, but this settler had some special duties assigned to him."[5] Other examples in this papyrus are in lines 14, 15 and 33, and SB 599.71 (Ptolemaic), 7409.4 (i B.C.)[6] are other references where λειτουργός is used in a similar way.

There is little in common between the use of λειτουργός in the papyri and the way it is used in the LXX. The nearest parallel to LXX usage is in Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) 2.22, where λειτουργός refers to servants of the gods. In the New Testament there are several references in which λειτουργός has religious connotations.

The word does not seem to have been used by classical authors, though λειτουργία is used, particularly of public service of different kinds.

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4. P.Hib. 96 = C.P.J. 18.
5. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, The Hibeh Papyri (part I) (London, 1906) p.269.
6. SB 7409 = B.G.U. 1745.

Λειτουργός	Servant of man	Servant of God	Total
Joshua	1		1
2 Kings	1		1
3 Kings	1		1
4 Kings	2		2
2 Chronicles		2	2
2 Esdras	1		1
3 Maccabees	1		1
Psalms		2	2
Ecclesiasticus	1	1	2
Isaiah		1	1
TOTAL	8	6	14

Hebrew:

	Servant of man	Servant of God	Total
sharath	6	4	10
pelach		1	1

15: ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΟΝ, ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΣΚΟΣ, ΜΕΙΡΑΞ

These three words occur only eight times in the LXX, once in 2 Maccabees and seven times in 4 Maccabees. They describe one or more of the seven martyrs, whose sufferings and martyrdom are related in these two books.

Μειράκιον is used four times. Twice it refers to the seven,[1] once to the first six only,[2] and once to the last of the seven, in 2 Ma. 7.25. In this last reference νεανίας and μειράκιον are used interchangeably: τοῦ δὲ νεανίου μηδαμῶς προσέχοντος προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν μητέρα παρῄνει γενέσθαι τοῦ μειρακίου σύμβουλον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ.

Μειρακίσκος is used twice. Once it refers to the seven,[3] and in 4 Ma. 11.13 to the sixth of the seven: τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ ἕκτος ἤγετο μειρακίσκος.

Μεῖραξ is also used twice, and on both occasions refers to the seven, as in 4 Ma. 14.8: οὕτως περὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα χορεύοντες οἱ μείρακες ἐκύκλουν τὸν τῶν βασάνων φόβον καταλύοντες.[4] In this same chapter νεανίας and νεανίσκος also describe the seven.[5]

In form μειράκιον and μειρακίσκος are diminutives of μεῖραξ, but there is no difference in meaning. It is impossible to differentiate the three words on the basis of age, since all three refer to the whole seven. Each word

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1. 4 Ma. 8.14, 14.4.
2. 4 Ma. 11.24.
3. 4 Ma. 8.1.
4. Also 4 Ma. 14.6.
5. Νεανίας in verses 9 and 20 (A), and νεανίσκος in verses 4, 12 and 20.

means "youth" or "young man", within the age range from early teens to mid-twenties. These limits are suggested on the following basis, that though the youngest martyr is represented as being quite young he is nevertheless capable of dying for the cause on his own account, and the difference between the first and the seventh would be perhaps ten to fifteen years. All three words refer to age only, and not relationship.

The fact that these words occur only in 2 and 4 Maccabees suggests that they are "literary" in character and not in common use. This is confirmed by the absence of examples in the papyri and the New Testament.

However they are more common in classical literature. They do not refer to a precise age, but may be defined in general terms as describing those who were older than children but not yet fully recognised as adult. Μεῖραξ in classical writers is a feminine noun. The author who uses it most is Aristophanes, as in <u>Ecclesiazusae</u> 611, ἢν μειρακ' ἰδὼν ἐπιθυμήσῃ καὶ βούληται σκαλαθῦραι.[6] Μειράκιον refers to a young man implicated in a murder case in Antipho 3.3.11, and in Plato, <u>Republic</u> 497e, students of philosophy are described as μειράκια ὄντα ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων. Μειρακίσκος, "youth", is contrasted with παῖς, "boy", in Plato, <u>Phaedrus</u> 237b, ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ μειρακίσκος, μάλα καλός. In Satyrus, <u>Vita Euripidis</u> (iii/ii B.C.) μειρακίσκος refers to the young man who seduced Euripides' wife.[7]

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6. Also <u>Thesmophoriazusae</u> 410, <u>Plutus</u> 1071, 1079.

7. Fr. 39.xii.26, published in <u>P.Oxy.</u> 1176.

16: ΝΕΑΝΙΑΣ

Νεανίας occurs 32 times in the LXX. It is basically
an age word and in the majority of cases means "young man",
though there are some examples of the meaning "(older)
child". In several examples it has a relationship reference
and means "servant". We will also consider whether other
specialised meanings are possible in certain cases.

There are only two examples in which νεανίας refers
to children rather than young adults. 1 Es. 8.88 refers
to a gathering of the population of Jerusalem: ἐπισυνήχθησαν
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλημ ὄχλος πολὺς σφόδρα, ἄνδρες καὶ
γυναῖκες καὶ νεανίαι. Here νεανίαι describes the younger
people in the gathering, all those who were not "men and
women". It is not possible to be too precise, since we
do not know whether there were babies present or not. The
translation "children" preserves the imprecise nature of
the reference.

In 1 Ki. 20.37 νεανίας refers to the boy who was with
Jonathan. When Jonathan shot an arrow, ἀνεβόησεν Ιωναθαν
ὀπίσω τοῦ νεανίου καὶ εἶπεν 'Εκεῖ ἡ σχίζα ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ
ἐπέκεινα. This boy is described in verse 35 as a παιδάριον
μικρόν, so that though he was not a baby he was clearly
a young boy.

A borderline case is Da. 1.10 (G) which refers to the
νεανίαι who were with Daniel in Nebuchadnezzar's training
school. They may have been older children (in early

teenage years) but perhaps it is more likely that they were young adults, especially as Daniel and his three Jewish companions were soon to be elevated to important administrative positions in Babylon (Da. 2.49). The Hebrew equivalent of νεανίας is <u>yeled</u>, which more commonly refers to younger children but can also mean "youth".

Most of the examples where νεανίας is used as an age word mean "young man". In 1 Ki. 20.31 Saul gives instructions to Jonathan concerning David: νῦν οὖν ἀποστείλας λαβὲ τὸν νεανίαν, ὅτι υἱὸς θανάτου οὗτος. David was not a child but was married to Saul's daughter by this time (1 Ki. 18.27). In Jd. 17.7 (B) the νεανίας was old enough to leave home and go to live elsewhere: ἐγενήθη νεανίας ἐκ Βηθλεεμ δήμου Ιουδα...καὶ οὗτος παρῴκει ἐκεῖ (ἐκεῖ referring to the territory of Ephraim, verse 8). There are several examples in 2 and 4 Maccabees where νεανίας describes one or more of the seven martyrs.[1]

Other references are of a more general nature but would best apply to young men rather than children. In Ru. 3.10 Boaz commends Ruth: τὸ μὴ πορευθῆναί σε ὀπίσω νεανιῶν. Pr. 7.7 refers to one who is easily seduced (as the following verses show): νεανίαν ἐνδεῆ θρενῶν. Pr. 20.29 says κόσμος νεανίαις σοφία, and Za. 2.8 refers to the νεανίας measuring the boundaries of Jerusalem. All these are best understood as referring to adult young men.

All the examples of νεανίας meaning "servant" occur in the B text of Jd. 19, in verses 3,9,11 and 13. In each

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1. 2 Ma. 7.25,30, 4 Ma. 8.5,27, 9.13,21,25, 14.9,20 (A).

case A reads παιδάριον. In this story the master was a

Levite whose concubine left him and returned to her father's

house. In verse 3 we read that when the Levite went to fetch

her, νεανίας αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. When he found her, verse 9

says that ἀνέστη ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ πορευθῆναι, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ

παλλακὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ νεανίας αὐτοῦ. In verse 11 the pronoun

is not included: εἶπεν ὁ νεανίας πρὸς τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ.

But again the meaning "servant" is required, both by the

proximity of this example to the others where the meaning

is "servant" and the juxtaposition of νεανίας and κύριος.

It is not clear why νεανίας should be used in these

references. The B text of Judges uses other words for

"servant", such as δοῦλος,[2] παιδίον[3] and παῖς,[4] all of

which translate the Hebrew 'ebed.[5] More directly relevant

is the fact that παιδάριον (used in the corresponding

verses in the A version of Jd. 19) is used elsewhere in

B with the meaning "servant".[6] Both νεανίας and παιδάριον

translate the Hebrew na'ar.

There are other examples where νεανίας refers to a

servant, though the meaning "servant" is unlikely apart

from the Jd. 19 references. In other places the meaning

is simply "boy" or "young man". Jd. 16.26 (B) refers to

the young man who was with Samson at the feast: εἶπεν

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2. 6.27, 9.28.

3. 19.19.

4. 3.24.

5. Except that δοῦλος in 9.28 translates the verb 'abad.

6. 7.10,11, 9.54(bis).

Σαμψων πρὸς τὸν νεανίαν τὸν κρατοῦντα τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.
There is little doubt that this νεανίας was a servant or
slave but there is no reason to give the word this meaning.
The νεανίας with Jonathan in 1 Ki. 20.37 (quoted above)
was Jonathan's servant, but again the word νεανίας only
describes him as someone young.

Thus the meaning "servant" occurs only in the Jd. 19
examples, and its use in this passage leaves some un-
answered questions, as we have seen.

It remains to consider whether νεανίας has any other
specialised meanings in the LXX. One possibility is the
meaning "angel". In 2 Ma. 3 we read of two visions which
Heliodorus saw. In each one he saw two νεανίαι, as in
verse 26, ἕτεροι δὲ δύο προσεφάνησαν αὐτῷ νεανίαι τῇ
ῥώμῃ μὲν ἐκπρεπεῖς, κάλλιστοι δὲ τὴν δόξαν, διαπρεπεῖς δὲ
τὴν περιβολήν.[7] It is probably correct to regard these
figures as angels, but the meaning of νεανίας is "young
man". There is no reason why it must mean "angel", even
if these young men were angels.[8]

Another possible meaning is "soldier". There are five
examples where νεανίας refers to soldiers. One is in
1 Ch. 19.10 (where the subject is Joab): ἐξελέξατο ἐκ
παντὸς νεανίου ἐξ Ισραηλ, καὶ παρετάξαντο ἐναντίον τοῦ Σύρου.

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7. Also verse 33.
8. A similar example is the use of νεανίσκος in Mark 16.5,
   which is often understood as referring to an angel though
   νεανίσκος does not mean "angel".

Here the νεανίαι are distinguished from τὸ κατάλοιπον τοῦ
λαοῦ (in verse 11) who were also involved in the battle.
2 Ma. 12.27 refers to Judas' attack on Ephron, and some of
the defenders of the town are described as νεανίαι ῥωμαλέοι
πρὸ τῶν τειχέων καθεστῶτες. In 3 Ki. 12.21 Rehoboam's
army is described as ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες νεανιῶν
ποιούντων πόλεμον.[9] It is clear that these νεανίαι were
the best men to have as soldiers, but again there is not
enough evidence to show that "soldier" is a possible
meaning of νεανίας. Perhaps the need for further
definition in 3 Ki. 12.21 (ποιούντων πόλεμον) suggests that
νεανίας in itself does not mean "soldier".

The 32 examples of νεανίας in the LXX include 13
references in 2 and 4 Maccabees. Another seven occur in
Judges, but no other book contains a significant number of
examples. The word is not used in the Pentateuch, or any
of the other books which Thackeray classes as "good κοινή
Greek".

There is only one possible example of νεανίας in the
Ptolemaic papyri. This is in P.Petr. ii. 4.8.1 (iii B.C.),
which reads Φιλοξ[εν]ος και ο[ι λ]οιποι νεα[νιαι? .
Even in this case, therefore, there is some doubt due to
the state of the text. If νεανιαι is the correct reading,
there is no evidence that it would mean anything other

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9. Also 2 Ki. 10.9 (O) in the parallel account to 1 Ch.
   19.10, and 2 Ma. 10.35.

than "young men". The same meaning is applicable in one other piece of contemporary evidence, from <u>S.I.G.</u> 425.25 (iii B.C.): εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς νεανίοις (sic) στατῆρας δέκα, as well as in the three New Testament examples.[10]

Two other examples occur in later papyri: <u>P.Oxy.</u> 471.114 (ii A.D.), in a restored text, and <u>SB</u> 8542.8 (Roman).

In earlier literature νεανίας occurs from Homer onwards, and LSJ cite examples of the meaning "young man" from Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides and Xenophon. The classical sense of a youth in character (in a good or bad sense) and the use of νεανίας as a masculine adjective do not appear to have occurred in later literature.

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10. Acts 7.58, 20.9, 23.17.

Νεανίας	Child (older)	Young man	Servant	Total
Judges		3	4	7
Ruth		1		1
1 Kings	1	1		2
2 Kings		2		2
3 Kings		1		1
1 Chronicles		1		1
1 Esdras	1			1
2 Maccabees		6		6
4 Maccabees		7		7
Proverbs		2		2
Minor Prophets		1		1
Daniel		1		1
TOTAL	2	26	4	32

Hebrew:

	Child (older)	Young man	Servant	Total
na'ar	1	5	4	10
bachur		6		6
yeled		1		1

17: <u>NEANIΣ</u>

This word is found thirty times in the LXX, where it refers to a wide variety of females who differ in several respects. The common factor is that they are all young, and the basic meaning is therefore "young female". There is one reference where the meaning "daughter" is required.

With regard to the age reference of νεᾶνις we find that there are four examples where the meaning is "child" (older than infant but not yet a young woman). In 4 Ki. 5.2 we read of the Israelite girl who was taken prisoner in war and waited on Naaman's wife:

ᾐχμαλώτευσαν ἐκ γῆς Ισραηλ νεάνιδα μικράν, καὶ ἦν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς Ναιμαν.[1] The adjective μικρά indicates that she was only a child. In Ex. 2.8, Moses' sister Miriam may have been older than the girl in the previous example but she was still a child. The νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν in Ps. 67.26 were girls rather than young women.

Most examples of νεᾶνις (24 out of thirty) refer to adult young women. In De. 22, for example, there are several laws dealing with various sexual offences. Νεᾶνις occurs eight times in this section and describes a young woman of marriageable age, as in verse 19, which refers to the fine on a man who falsely accused his bride of not being

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1. Also 4 Ki. 5.4.

a virgin: ζημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκατὸν σίκλους καὶ δώσουσιν

τῷ πατρὶ τῆς νεάνιδος.[2]   3 Ma. 4.6 refers to young women

who had been recently married: αἱ δὲ ἄρτι πρὸς βίου

κοινωνίαν γαμικὸν ὑπεληλυθυῖαι παστὸν νεάνιδες.

As previously mentioned, the meaning "daughter" is

possible in two cases. In Ru. 2.5 Boaz asks his servant

concerning Ruth, τίνος ἡ νεᾶνις αὕτη; The wording here with

the genitive τίνος suggests that νεᾶνις is used in a

relationship sense, such as "daughter" (or perhaps even

"servant"). However it is quite possible that νεᾶνις, though

referring to a relationship, retains the usual meaning

"young woman". In this case Boaz's question may be trans-

lated, "To whom does this young woman belong?" Ruth was a

stranger to Boaz. He did not know whether she was a

daughter of anyone or perhaps someone's servant. Hence he

uses the word νεᾶνις which means "young woman" and covers

every possibility.[3]

The other reference is 3 Ma. 5.49, γονεῖς παισὶν καὶ

μητέρες νεάνισιν. The first three substantives in this

expression are relationship words, "parents", "children"

and "mothers", and a relationship meaning is necessary for

νεᾶνις also. This conclusion would be strengthened if

γονεῖς παισίν means "fathers with sons" (as is quite possible)

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2. Also De. 22.20,21,24,26(bis), 27,29.

3. The examples of παρθένος which refer to a relationship
   are identical, in that the meaning "young woman" is
   still applicable.

rather than more generally "parents with children". In
this case it would be absolutely certain that νεᾶνις means
"daughter" to balance παῖς "son". However, this example
is unique, and the use of νεᾶνις in this sense is to be
regarded as a peculiarity of 3 Maccabees, a book which
C.W. Emmet describes as " a product of Alexandrian literature,
exemplifying in its extremest form the pseudo-Classicalism
of the Atticists".[4] The description "pseudo-Classicalism"
is particularly appropriate here, since νεᾶνις is not used
with the meaning "daughter" in classical literature (or
elsewhere).

Two other distinctions may be observed in the types
of women/girls described as νεάνιδες. The first is between
those who were virgins and those who were not. In the laws
in De. 22, the eight examples of νεᾶνις refer to young
women who were virgins, as the use of παρθένος in three
places[5] makes clear. In Jd. 21.12 the 400 girls from the
town of Jabesh-gilead are described as τετρακοσίας νεάνιδας
παρθένους. Likewise, Abishag, the girl found for king
David in his old age, was a virgin: παρθένον νεάνιδα (3 Ki.
1.2).[6] In these examples, the need to add παρθένος
indicates that νεᾶνις itself does not mean "virgin" but
only "young woman". The phrase ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα
occurs in Si. 20.4, and here too νεᾶνις does not mean
"virgin" but is seen to refer to a virgin by the use of the

4. In R.H. Charles (ed.), Apocrypha (Oxford, 1913), p.161.
5. De. 22.19,23,28.
6. Also 1 Ki. 1.3,4.

verb ἀποπαρθενόω.

On the other hand there are several examples where the νεᾶνις is explicitly not a virgin. Six of these are Jd. 19[7] and refer to one who was a concubine (παλλακή in verse 1, etc.), and in 3 Ma. 4.6 (quoted above) νεᾶνις describes a recently married young woman.

The other distinction in the use of νεᾶνις is that it describes both free women and servants. Ruth was a free young woman, whereas the Israelite girl who waited on Naaman's wife was a servant. However νεᾶνις itself does not convey either of these ideas. In 4 Ki. 5.2 the phrase νεᾶνιδα μικράν describes the Israelite girl simply as a young girl. The fact that she was also a servant is indicated by the verb αἰχμαλωτεύω in the same verse.

In classical literature the word is poetic. LSJ cite no example from any classical prose author. However, in the LXX its use is not restricted to books which are literary or poetic in character, and on the contrary nine examples out of thirty are found in the Pentateuch.

I am not aware of any example of νεᾶνις in any papyrus of any period, and it does not occur in the New Testament.

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7. Jd. 19.3,4,5,6,8,9.

Νεᾶνις	Child (older)	Young Woman	Daughter	Total
Exodus	1			1
Deuteronomy		8		8
Judges		8		8
Ruth		1		1
3 Kings		3		3
4 Kings	2			2
3 Maccabees		1	1	2
Psalms	1			1
Canticles		2		2
Ecclesiasticus		1		1
Daniel		1		1
TOTAL	4	25	1	30

Hebrew:

ʿalmah	2	2		4
naʿarah	2	19		21

18: ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

There are 106 examples of νεανίσκος in the LXX. It
is essentially an age word, referring in all but a few cases
to young men of adult age (or approaching that age). Several
references describe children of a younger age, while others
describe young men who were soldiers and we will consider
whether the meaning "soldier" is possible. There is no
clear example where the meaning "servant" applies.

Referring to young people below adult age, νεανίσκος is
used in 2 Es. 10.1 which describes the gathering of the
inhabitants of Jerusalem: ἐκκλησία πολλὴ σφόδρα, ἄνδρες
καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ νεανίσκοι. This account is parallel to 1
Es. 8.88 where νεανίαι is used instead of νεανίσκοι.
Νεανίσκοι here refers to all in the assembly who were not
adults, though it is not stated how young the youngest ones
were. However it is not necessary to define a precise age
group, for νεανίσκοι means "children" generally (that is,
not adults).

There are three references in which νεανίσκος is used
in contrast with πρεσβύτης or πρεσβύτερος where the two words
denote the opposite extremes of age, from young children to
those of advanced years. When Moses spoke to Pharaoh about
the Israelites leaving Egypt, he said, in Ex. 10.9, σὺν
τοῖς νεανίσκοις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις πορευσόμεθα, σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς

καὶ θυγατράσιν καὶ προβάτοις καὶ βουσὶν ἡμῶν.[1] Other
examples of contrast between νεανίσκος and a word for "old
man" are discussed below.

An example referring to specific individuals is in
Ge. 25.27 where νεανίσκος refers to Jacob and Esau. Following
the story of their birth, the narrative continues ηὐξήθησαν
δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι. It is difficult to define νεανίσκος
precisely here. In order to do so it would be necessary to
decide whether νεανίσκοι refers to them at the start of the
process of growth (i.e. these children, whose birth has just
been related, grew up) or at the end (i.e. they grew and
became young men). However this seems a rather artificial
distinction which a writer of a narrative like this would be
hardly likely to make. More probably νεανίσκος refers to
them during the period of growth and means "child" in a
general sense, like the example in 2 Es. 10.1 (discussed
above).

In the text of OL, νεανίσκος occurs in 1 Ki. 17.55,56
to describe David when as a youth he fought Goliath.

By far the majority of examples of νεανίσκος refer to
young men who were adults. In Jo. 2.1 we read that πορευθέντες
εἰσῆλθοσαν οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι εἰς Ιεριχω. This refers to the
spies whom Joshua sent on a reconnaisance mission before the
Israelites entered Canaan.[2] In 1 Es. 4.58 νεανίσκος describes

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1. Also Jo. 6.21, Is. 20.4.
2. Also Jo. 2.1,23, 6.22,23.

Zerubbabel who led the Jewish exiles back to Jerusalem, and in To. 7.2 Raguel says of Tobias, ὡς ὅμοιος ὁ νεανίσκος Τωβιτ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ μου.[3] In Ge. 41.12 Pharaoh's butler refers to Joseph and his ability to interpret dreams: ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν νεανίσκος παῖς Εβραῖος τοῦ ἀρχιμαγείρου, καὶ διηγησάμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ συνέκρινεν ἡμῖν. None of the people in these examples was a child.

Apart from the three examples mentioned above, where νεανίσκος means "child" in contrast with πρεσβύτης or πρεσβύτερος, there are four other examples where νεανίσκος is contrasted with one of these words and refers to an adult young man. Thus in Ge. 19.4 we read of the attempt of the men of Sodom to gain access to Lot's guests: οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως οἱ Σοδομῖται περιεκύκλωσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου.[4] The last four words describe οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως and do not include children.

On other occasions νεανίσκος is used as the male counterpart of παρθένος, as in 1 Es. 1.50, where it is said that the Babylonians οὐκ ἐφείσαντο νεανίσκου καὶ παρθένου καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ νεωτέρου.[5] Since παρθένος does not mean "girl" but "young woman", we may assume that νεανίσκος in these examples means "young man" and not "boy". This is confirmed by the fact that where there is a Hebrew

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3. This is the wording of the BA text, though νεανίσκος also occurs in S in this verse. Other references to Tobias are in To. 5.5,7, 8.1, all in the S text only.

4. Also in 1 Ma. 14.9, Jl. 3.1, Ez. 9.6, Si. 32.7 (in this passage the πρεσβύτερος is mentioned in verse 3).

5. Also De. 32.25, 1 Ma. 1.26, Ps. 148.12, Is. 23.4, 62.5, Je. 28.22, 38.13, La. 1.18, 2.21, Ez. 9.6.

equivalent, it is <u>bachur</u> (a choice young man in the prime of life), a word which is not used of children of younger age.

As in the case of νεανίας, we must again consider the possibility of the meaning "soldier". There are many examples where νεανίσκος refers to soldiers, as in Jd. 20.15 (A). Verses 15-16 are speaking of the inhabitants of Gibeah: οὗτοι ἐπεσκέπησαν ἑπτακόσιοι ἄνδρες νεανίσκοι ἐκλεκτοὶ ἀμφοτεροδέξιοι· πάντες οὗτοι σφενδονῆται βάλλοντες λίθους. Another example is in 2 Ma. 13.15 which describes one of Judas' battles: μετὰ νεανίσκων ἀρίστων κεκριμένων ἐπιβαλὼν νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀνεῖλεν εἰς ἄνδρας δισχιλίους.[6] It is possible that νεανίσκος does not mean "soldier", but retains the meaning "young man" even when it refers to soldiers. However, since it describes young men in the prime of life, it seems to have been regarded as a particularly appropriate word to use of soldiers, as we see in the papyri (see below) as well as the LXX. Thus the possibility should be allowed that νεανίσκος has acquired the specialised meaning "soldier". It is more likely for νεανίσκος than νεανίας, since there are fewer examples of νεανίας in the LXX and no support from elsewhere.

There appear to be no examples in the LXX where νεανίσκος means "servant", although in a few cases νεανίσκος

6. Other examples are 2 Ki. 10.9, 2 Ch. 11.1, 1 Es. 3.4,15, 4 Ma. 3.12, and, less certainly 2 Ch. 36.17, Ju. 2.27, 16.4,6, 1 Ma. 14.9, Is. 31.8, Je. 31.15, Ez. 23.6,12,23.

refers to a boy or young man who was a servant. Ge 14.24 refers to the young men who were Abraham's servants and helped him rescue Lot. 1 Ki. 9.27 refers to the young man with Saul (a servant of Saul's father Kish) who helped Saul look for his father's asses. 1 Ki. 20.22 refers to the boy who was with Jonathan and fetched his arrows. All these people were servants, but in no case is there an explicit indication of relationship which would show that νεανίσκος means "servant".

The 106 examples of νεανίσκος are very evenly distributed throughout the LXX, with Jeremiah containing the greatest number of references (11). Though there are some individual books which contain no examples, there is no section of the LXX (following Thackeray's grouping) in which νεανίσκος does not occur.

Most of the examples in the papyri mean "young man". There are not many precise indications of the ages of those described as νεανίσκοι, though P.Mich.Zen. 85.4 (iii B.C.) refers to a young man in prison: διέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς. We may assume that this νεανίσκος was an adult, and as there are no certain references to children it would seem that the word normally refers to adults.

There are references to soldiers in several papyri. In P.Cair.Zen. 59254.2 (iii B.C.) νεανίσκος refers to certain people who have received allotments: τοὺς κεκληρουχημένους ἐν τῶι Ἀρ[σινοίτηι] νομῶι νεανίσκους διέγνωκα
πάντας ἀρ[ι]θμήσω. The νεανίσκοι were military recruits

of some kind. <u>P.Amh.</u> 39.2 (ii B.C.) refers to soldiers who served with a certain Porteis: Πόρτεις ἡ[γ]εμὼν τῶν ἐν προχειρισμῶι καὶ οἱ [ἐκ] τοῦ σημείου νεανίσκοι. The νεανίσκοι from the gymnasium in <u>B.G.U.</u> 1256.29 (ii B.C.) were probably military trainees: ἐπί τε τὸν γυμνασίαρχον καὶ [ἐ]πὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῆι Φιλαδελφείαι γυμνασίου νεανίσκους.

As in the LXX, the papyri do not contain any certain example of the meaning "servant", though in <u>P.Cair.Zen.</u> 59018.6 (iii B.C.) νεανίσκος refers to a servant: συναπέστειλα [δὲ Στ]ράτωνι [παρ' ἡ]μῶν νεανίσκον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἔγρ[α]ψα πρὸς Ἰεδδοῦν. This papyrus is republished as <u>SB</u> 6710 (as well as <u>C.P.J.</u> 6), and instead of [παρ' ἡ]μῶν, <u>SB</u> 6710 restores [τῶν ἐ]μῶν which would give νεανίσκος the meaning "servant" ("one of my servants").

In earlier literature, the meaning "young man" or "youth" is attested from Herodotus onwards, including references in Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon and Antipho. The meaning "servant" is not attested in classical literature and as we have seen is doubtful in the Ptolemaic period. The first clear example seems to be from Lucian, <u>Alexander</u> 53 (ii A.D) where the phrase ὁ ἐμὸς νεανίσκος occurs.

Νεανίσκος	Child (older)	Young Man	Total
Genesis	1	5	6
Exodus	1	1	2
Numbers		1	1
Deuteronomy		1	1
Joshua	1	5	6
Judges		5	5
1 Kings	2	2	4
2 Kings		1	1
2 Chronicles		2	2
1 Esdras		6	6
2 Esdras	1		1
Judith		7	7
Tobit		4	4
1 Maccabees		3	3
2 Maccabees		2	2
4 Maccabees		6	6
Psalms		2	2
Proverbs	1		1
Ecclesiastes		2	2
Job		1	1
Ecclesiasticus		1	1
Minor Prophets		6	6
Isaiah	1	7	8
Jeremiah		11	11
Lamentations		3	3
Ezekiel		5	5
Susanna		4	4
Daniel		5	5
TOTAL	8	98	106
Hebrew:			
na'ar	6	17	23
bachur		36	36
yeled	1	6	7
'elem	1	1	2
'enosh		3	3

19: ΝΕΟΣ

This adjective is often used as a substantive in the LXX. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether νέος is being used as an adjective or a substantive. However I have attempted to do so, and have listed the relevant examples in the table immediately following this chapter. The list includes eight examples where νέος translates a Hebrew noun, although considered apart from the Hebrew they would probably be regarded as adjectival uses. Also included are several examples of the comparative form νεώτερος either used as a substantive or translating a Hebrew noun. There is a total of 36 relevant examples.

The word is used with an age reference, with the exception of one instance in Jb. 24.5. Here in the sentence ἠδύνθη αὐτῷ ἄρτος εἰς νεωτέρους, the word refers to a man's children, although the relationship is not made explicit.

In the other examples, a variety of age groups is covered. Νέος does not refer to babies, but there are several examples referring to young children. In 1 Ma. 11.57 Antiochus is described as ὁ νεώτερος. He was about four or five years old at this time.[1] In De. 28.50 νέος refers to someone young and defenceless: ἔθνος ἀναιδὲς προσώπῳ, ὅστις οὐ θαυμάσει πρόσωπον πρεσβύτου καὶ νέον οὐκ ἐλεήσει. Pr. 22.15 speaks of a young person who is old enough (or, from

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1. See J.R. Bartlett, The First and Second Books of the Maccabees (Cambridge, 1973), pp.158-9 (notes on 1 Ma. 11.39 and 54).

another point of view, young enough) to be beaten and
disciplined:

> ἄνοια ἐξῆπται καρδίας νέου,
> ῥάβδος δὲ καὶ παιδεία μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

At a later age, Joseph was seventeen years old when
described as a νέος (Ge. 37.2), and Jeremiah was perhaps
about the same age (Je. 1.6,7). Gideon's son Jether was
old enough to carry a sword but not accustomed to using
it (Jd. 8.20).

Νέος also refers to young men who were adults. Joshua
was a θεράπων with Moses (Ex. 33.11): ὁ δὲ θεράπων Ἰησοῦς
υἱὸς Ναυη νέος. Zadok was a man of strength and a leader
(1 Ch. 12.29): Σαδωκ νέος δυνατὸς ἰσχύι. The word also
describes Solomon at the beginning of his reign (1 Ch.
29.1), Rehoboam's contemporaries who were his advisers
(2 Ch. 10.14), Rehoboam himself (2 Ch. 13.7), and Daniel
in the story of Susanna (Su. 52,55,60 - all in G only).

<div align="center">Relevant examples of νέος :</div>

Ge. 37.2 †	2 Ma. 5.24*	Jb. 24.5*
Ex. 33.11	6.24	Si. 42.8
De. 28.50	6.28	Is. 40.30*
Jd. 8.20*†	6.31	65.20
1 Ch. 12.29†	15.17	Je. 1.6*†
29.1†	4 Ma. 6.19	1.7*†
2 Ch. 10.14*	Ps. 36.25*	Su. 52 (G)*
13.7*†	118.9*	55 (G)*
15.13*	148.12*	60 (G)*
1 Es. 1.50*	Pr. 7.10	63 (G)*
1 Ma. 11.57*	22.15	63 (G)*
2 Ma. 5.13	Ec. 10.16*†	63 (G)*

* denotes the comparative form νεώτερος.

† denotes an example which may be regarded as an adjective but which
has been included because it translates a Hebrew noun.

Νέος	Child (older)	Young man	Child (relationship)	Total
Genesis	1			1
Exodus		1		1
Deuteronomy	1			1
Judges	1			1
1 Chronicles		2		2
2 Chronicles	1	2		3
1 Esdras	1			1
1 Maccabees	1			1
2 Maccabees	5	1		6
4 Maccabees	1			1
Psalms	2	1		3
Proverbs	1	1		2
Ecclesiastes	1			1
Job			1	1
Ecclesiasticus	1			1
Isaiah	1	1		2
Jeremiah	2			2
Susanna		6		6
TOTAL	20	15	1	36

Hebrew:

	Child (older)	Young man	Child (relationship)	Total
na'ar	10	6	1	17
yeled		1		1
qaton	1			1

20: ΝΗΠΙΟΣ

Νήπιος is used 49 times in the LXX. It is used:

(a) of an unborn, or more precisely, a stillborn child;

(b) of a living child in the earliest stages of life; and

(c) of an older child.

The word was originally an adjective, and this accounts for the different forms which appear in the LXX. There are five examples that are masculine: νήπιος twice,[1] νήπιοι once,[2] and νηπίους twice.[3] In 23 examples the form is definitely neuter: νήπιον (nominative) once,[4] and νήπια 22 times.[5] The remainder are masculine or neuter. The feminine form νηπίας occurs in one papyrus example, U.P.Z. 20.22 (ii B.C.). However, with one exception, νήπιος is used in the LXX as a substantive. The exception is Is. 11.8, where the phrase παιδίον νήπιον ("young child") occurs.

The first meaning of νήπιος is seen in only one example, Jb. 3.16:

> ἔκτρωμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός,
> νήπιοι, οἳ οὐκ εἶδον φῶς.

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1. Si. 30.12, Ho. 11.1.
2. Jb. 3.16.
3. Ps. 118.130, Pr. 1.32.
4. Is. 11.8.
5. 4 Ki. 8.12, Es. 8.11 (S[c]+), Ju. 4.10,12, 7.22, 16.4, 1 Ma. 2.9, 3 Ma. 5.50, Ps. 18.8, 114.6, 136.9, Jb. 31.10, Wi. 18.5, Jl. 2.16, Na. 3.10, Je. 6.11, 9.20, 50.6, La. 1.5, 2.20, 4.4, Ez. 9.6.

The reference to ἔκτρωμα (LSJ: "untimely birth") in the
first part of this verse makes it clear that the νήπιοι
who have not seen the light were stillborn babies.[6]

The second sense is by far the most common, and may be
illustrated by some examples which refer to a νήπιος
feeding at its mother's breast. In 3 Ma. 5.50 we read of
the reaction of the Jewish women to their impending fate:
τὰ νήπια χωρίσαντες τῶν μαστῶν ἀνεβόησαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
σφόδρα.[7] In Jl. 2.16 νήπιος is qualified by the participle
θηλάζων: συναγάγετε νήπια θηλάζοντα μαστούς. There are
several other examples where νήπιος is parallel to θηλάζων
used as a substantive.[8] Once it is parallel to ὑπομαστίδιος,
in 3 Ma. 3.27: ἀπὸ γεραιοῦ μέχρι νηπίου καὶ μέχρι τῶν
ὑπομαστιδίων.

In several cases νήπιος conveys the idea of a babe in
understanding, as in Ps. 118.130:

> ἡ δήλωσις τῶν λόγων σου φωτιεῖ
> καὶ συνετιεῖ νηπίους.[9]

There are only a few references to an older child.

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6. This example is not separated from the examples of sense
   (b) for the purpose of the table at the end of this
   present chapter or the tables of references included later.

7. In spite of the masculine participle χωρίσαντες, the sense
   of the sentence requires that the subject be understood
   as the Jewish women.

8. 1 Ki. 15.3, 22.19, Ju. 16.4, Ps. 8.3, Je. 51.7, La. 2.11,
   4.4. In the first two of these references the phrase
   ἀπὸ νηπίου ἕως θηλάζοντος occurs. Two Hebraisms are
   illustrated here: (a) "from...to" = "both ... and", and
   (b) the use of parallelism. Thus νήπιος and θηλάζων are
   not being contrasted, but are equivalent to each other.

9. Also, e.g., Ps. 8.3, 18.8.

Pr. 23.13 contains the instruction:

μὴ ἀπόσχῃ νήπιον παιδεύειν
ὅτι ἐὰν πατάξῃς αὐτὸν ῥάβδῳ, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ.

And another instruction is given in Si. 30.12:

θλάσον τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἔστιν νήπιος,
μήποτε σκληρυνθεὶς ἀπειθήσῃ σοι.

The references to disciplining and beating a νήπιος in these two examples would apply more suitably to an older child than a baby.

Another likely example is in Es. 8.11 (S^c+), where the Jews were allowed to take vengeance on their enemies' νήπια καὶ γυναῖκας. Νήπια here refers to children generally rather than young children/infants specifically. This phrase is similar to the English expression "women and children".

No examples of νήπιος occur in the Pentateuch, but otherwise it is distributed fairly evenly throughout the LXX, including references in Isaiah and 1 Maccabees (which, like the Pentateuch, Thackeray regards as examples of "good κοινή Greek").

In contemporary Hellenistic Greek, I can find only two papyrus examples. In U.P.Z. 20.22 (ii B.C.) νήπιος refers to young (female) children, possibly emphasising their legal status as minors: ...] χρείας ἔτι νηπίας οὔσας τὸ θεῖον βραβεύσας. In P.Mich.Zen. 67.23 (iii B.C.) it refers to new-born animals: καὶ ἐρίφων κεφάλαιον σο χωρὶς τῶν ι τῶν νηπίων.

The word is found in classical Greek, mainly in the

poets (e.g. Homer, Pindar, the fifth century tragedians, Aristophanes) but also in Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates. The meanings seen in the LXX and the papyri are all illustrated from earlier writings.

Νήπιος also occurs in the New Testament where it particularly emphasises the ideas of childishness in understanding and lack of legal status.[10]

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10. See BAG.

Νήπιος	Child (new-born)	Child (older)	Total
1 Kings	2		2
4 Kings	1		1
Esther		1	1
Judith	5		5
1 Maccabees	1		1
2 Maccabees	3		3
3 Maccabees	3		3
Psalms	7		7
Proverbs	1	1	2
Job	4		4
Wisdom	4		4
Ecclesiasticus		1	1
Minor Prophets	3		3
Isaiah	1		1
Jeremiah	4		4
Lamentations	5		5
Ezekiel	2		2
TOTAL	46	3	49

Hebrew:

	Child (new-born)	Child (older)	Total
ʻolel	17		17
taph	2	1	3
pethi	5		5
naʻar	2	1	3
yanaq	1		1

21: ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

Οἰκέτης occurs 55 times in the LXX, and is used to describe the servants of men and of God. The same distinctions are found as apply to other "servant" words, such as δοῦλος and παῖς, so that we have the following classification: (a) slave or servant, where the master-servant relationship exists but is not practised; (b) servant, where the master-servant relationship exists but is not actively practised; (c) servant, in what may be called a respectful sense, where there is no actual master-servant relationship; and (d) servant of God.[1]

By far the majority of examples of οἰκέτης refer to servants who perform actual service. Because of its derivation (from οἶκος) and its usage in classical literature ("household slave" - LSJ), we might expect οἰκέτης to be used in the LXX primarily of household slaves or servants. This is often the case, as in To. 8.18 (S). A grave had been dug for Tobias, on the assumption that he would be the eighth husband of Raguel's daughter Sarah to die on the wedding night. When this did not eventuate, Raguel gave new instructions: τότε εἶπεν τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ χῶσαι τὸν τάφον πρὸ τοῦ ὄρθρον γενέσθαι. There are twenty references of a general nature in Proverbs and

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1. This fourth sense is not strictly separate. The same comments as apply to δοῦλος are relevant here.

Ecclesiasticus which refer to household servants.

But οἰκέτης is not restricted to household servants. Several times in Exodus and Deuteronomy it refers to the Israelites as slaves in Egypt. Ex. 5.16 records the Israelites' complaint to Pharaoh about the work they were expected to do: ἄχυρον οὐ δίδοται τοῖς οἰκέταις σου, καὶ τὴν πλίνθον ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ποιεῖν. Six times in Deuteronomy, the Israelites are instructed: μνησθήσῃ ὅτι οἰκέτης ἦσθα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.[2] Similarly, Is. 36.9 refers to the Jews becoming slaves (to the Assyrians) if they rely on Egyptian support: οἰκέται εἰσιν οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην.

There are several references where the emphasis is not on the type of service an οἰκέτης performed but on his status. In 1 Es. 3.19 οἰκέτης is opposed to ἐλεύθερος. The verse speaks of the effect of wine: τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ ποιεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν μίαν, τήν τε τοῦ οἰκέτου καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου. Οἰκέτης thus emphasises a person's status as one who is not free. Another example is Le. 25.42, where God says, διότι οἰκέται μού εἰσιν οὗτοι..., οὐ πραθήσεται ἐν πράσει οἰκέτου. An Israelite cannot be sold as an οἰκέτης (to another Israelite), because he was already God's οἰκέτης. The emphasis of οἰκέτης in these examples is that the person so described is someone's property. There is no interest in what he might do in

2. De. 5.15, 15.15, 16.12, 24,18, 20,22. Sometimes Αἰγύπτῳ is replaced by Αἰγύπτου.

that condition.

There is one definite example of οἰκέτης used in sense (b), and one other possibility. In Ge. 50.18 we read that on the death of their father Jacob Joseph's brothers came to Joseph and said, οἵδε ἡμεῖς σοι οἰκέται. While Jacob was still alive, Joseph's brothers felt secure against the threat of revenge for what they had done to Joseph in earlier years. But now they did not feel quite as safe, and they sought to safeguard themselves by assuring Joseph of their loyalty and submitting to his authority. They were not Joseph's servants in the sense of working for him.

The other possible reference to be included under sense (b) is Nu. 32.5. Here the people of the tribes of Reuben and Gad speak to Moses concerning the land east of the Jordan: εἰ εὕρομεν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, δοθήτω ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῖς οἰκέταις σου ἐν κατασχέσει. These men were not Moses' servants in sense (a), but their relationship to Moses was more than one of mere respect. There was a real master-servant relationship: the fact that they made this request of Moses shows that they acknowledged him as their leader. We see also in verse 25 of this chapter (where παῖς is used rather than οἰκέτης) that they were willing to follow his direction: οἱ παῖδές σου ποιήσουσιν καθὰ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐντέλλεται. For these reasons we cannot make a very great distinction between this example and those in which actual service is rendered.

The third sense of οἰκέτης is represented by only two examples, Jo. 9.8,11, where οἰκέτης describes the Gibeonites in relation to Joshua. In verse 11 they say to Joshua, οἰκέται σου ἐσμεν, καὶ νῦν διάθεσθε ἡμῖν διαθήκην. It is possible that the Gibeonites were submitting to Joshua's authority and that these examples should be included under sense (b). But they were claiming to have come from a distance, and it is more likely that they were using the respectful language of diplomacy in order to secure an agreement with Joshua and the Israelites. Later in the story the situation changed and the Gibeonites became servants who performed actual service.[3]

Οἰκέτης refers to different types of servants of God. It describes those who served God in a specific way, such as leaders like Moses[4] and Zerubbabel.[5] We include in this group Joshua, who says in Jo. 5.14, δέσποτα, τί προστάσσεις τῷ σῷ οἰκέτῃ. Joshua was addressing the one who is described in the same verse as ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου. He understood the occasion as a theophany and it was his relationship to God to which he was referring in the phrase ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης.

In other references οἰκέτης describes those who were God's servants in a more general way, in that they were

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3. In this story other words describe the Gibeonites as slaves/servants to Joshua/the Israelites. Παῖς is used in a respectful sense (Jo. 9.9) while δοῦλος (Jo. 9.23) and παῖς (Jo. 10.6) are both used of actual service rendered.

4. De. 34.5.

5. 1 Es. 4.59.

under God's authority but did not have a particular service to perform. An example is Le. 25.42, where God says of the Israelites, οἰκέται μού εἰσιν οὗτοι.

We have noticed the problems in classifying the Nu. 32.5 example under sense (b) and in trying to distinguish it from sense (a). Apart from the particular difficulties involved in this case, the general distinction between sense (a) and sense (b) will be even more blurred, if the fact of ownership[6] is recognised as a significant element in οἰκέτης. If the emphasis is on the fact that a person was not free but the property of another, then it is a secondary issue whether he performed actual service for his master or not. This observation also applies to the references to servants of God. If the emphasis is on the fact that they belonged to God, the distinction between those who served God in a specific way and those who were merely under God's authority in a general way is likewise a secondary one.

However it is difficult to see any reference to ownership when οἰκέτης is used in sense (c). The Gibeonites did not belong to Joshua (at the stage of the story when οἰκέτης is applied to them). For this reason we must hesitate before regarding ownership as an essential element in the meaning of οἰκέτης.

Of the 55 examples of οἰκέτης, almost half (25) occur

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6. This point has been discussed above in relation to Le. 25.42 and 1 Es. 3.19.

in the Pentateuch, while there are another eight in
Proverbs and twelve in Ecclesiasticus. It is not used
at all in the books of Kings and Chronicles, and only
once in the Prophets.

The majority of references come under sense(a), with
45 in this sense, two in sense (b), two in sense (c), and
six in sense (d).

There are only a few examples in the Ptolemaic papyri
but sufficient to show that οἰκέτης refers to different
types of slaves or servants. In P.Lille i.29 (iii B.C.)
οἰκέτης is used in lines 2 and 11, and refers to the same
people as ἀνδράποδον, δοῦλος and σῶμα refer to. The people
so described were slaves without rights or privileges, who
were subject to examination by torture.[7] On the other hand,
in P.Col.Zen. 83.6 (iii B.C.) we read of Μενεστρατον τινα
ημετερον οικε[τη]ν. In a note the editors state,
"Menestratos was a servant (οικετην) attached in some way
to the household of Antipatros, probably not a slave."[8]

As in the LXX, some of the papyri suggest that (at
least sometimes) the emphasis in οἰκέτης is on the man's
status rather than the nature of his service. Thus in
P.Lille i.29, although οἰκέτης refers to the same people as
other words for "slave", the particular point about οἰκέτης

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7. See further on P.Lille i.29 under ἀνδράποδον (p.4).
8. W.L. Westermann, C.W. Keyes and H. Liebesny, Zenon
   Papyri (vol.II) (New York, 1940), p.84.

is that it is used in contrast to ἐλεύθερος. The papyrus begins ἐὰν δέ τις περὶ ἀδικήματος ἐ[τέ]ρο[υ] οἰκέτηι ὄντι δίκην γραψάμενος, ὡς ἐλευθέρωι, καταδικάσηται, ἐξέστω τῶι κυρίωι ἀναδικῆσαι ἐν ἡμέραις ε. In P.Cair.Zen. 59369.3 (iii B.C.) a certain Philemon writes, κατηγόρησέν μου ὅτι εἰμὶ οἰκέτης. The accusation does not imply that Philemon was an οἰκέτης rather than any other sort of slave, but that he was a slave rather than a free man.[9]

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9. Other examples of οἰκέτης in the Ptolemaic papyri include U.P.Z. 158B. 39 (iii B.C.), P.Tebt. 739.33, 37 (ii B.C.), SB 9934.68 (ii/i B.C.).

Οἰκέτης	Sense (a)	Sense (b)	Sense (c)	Sense (d)	Total
Genesis	4	1			5
Exodus	5			1	6
Leviticus	2			2	4
Numbers		1			1
Deuteronomy	8			1	9
Joshua			2	1	3
1 Esdras	1			1	2
Tobit	4				4
Proverbs	8				8
Ecclesiasticus	12				12
Isaiah	1				1
TOTAL	45	2	2	6	55

Hebrew:

	Sense (a)	Sense (b)	Sense (c)	Sense (d)	Total
ʿebed	26	2	2	5	35

22: ΟΙΚΕΤΙΣ

Οἰκέτις is used only three times in the LXX and in each case it refers to a girl or woman who was literally a servant.

In Ex. 21.7 we read: ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποδῶται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκέτιν, οὐκ ἀπελεύσεται ὥσπερ ἀποτρέχουσιν αἱ δοῦλαι. The point of this verse is obscured by a mistranslation in the LXX, which translates ʻebed (R.V. "menservants") by δοῦλαι. Thus in the Hebrew text the verse contrasts male and female servants, whereas in the LXX the contrast is between two different types of female servant, though there is no indication as to what the difference between an οἰκέτις and a δούλη actually was (or what the LXX translator thought it was). Nevertheless the basic meaning of οἰκέτις is clear enough, and the word refers to a woman who was the property of another.

A second example of οἰκέτις occurs in another law in Le. 19.20

ἐὰν δέ τις κοιμηθῇ μετὰ γυναικὸς κοίτην σπέρματος καὶ αὐτὴ οἰκέτις διαπεφυλαγμένη ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ αὐτὴ λύτροις οὐ λελύτρωται ἢ ἐλευθερία οὐκ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ, ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἀποθανοῦνται, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηλευθερώθη.

In these verses the same is true of οἰκέτις as we have already observed in the case of οἰκέτης, that the word stresses the status of the person concerned. There is no interest in these verses in the nature of the woman's service, but only in her status - in Ex. 21.7 the fact that she has been sold and is therefore the property of another, and in Le. 19.20 the fact that she has not been set free.

The other example is in Pr. 30.23 where again the emphasis is on the woman's status, as οἰκέτις is contrasted with κυρία:

καὶ οἰκέτις ἐὰν ἐκβάλῃ τὴν ἑαυτῆς κυρίαν,
καὶ μισητὴ γυνὴ ἐὰν τύχῃ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

There are no examples of this word in the Ptolemaic papyri, and in later papyri the only example of which I am aware is from the third century A.D., P.Strass. 285.16. The word does not occur in the New Testament, but there are several references in classical literature, as in Euripides, Electra 104, ἢ γάρ τις ἀροτὴρ ἢ τις οἰκέτις γυνὴ φανήσεται νῷν. In Theocritus 18.38 (ὦ καλὰ ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα, τὺ μὲν οἰκέτις ἤδη) it seems to mean "housewife", a meaning not otherwise attested for this word.

23: <u>ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΝ</u>

Παιδάριον occurs 229 times in the LXX. As a diminutive of παῖς, it might be expected to mean "little or young boy" or "little or young servant" or "little or young child" (where "child" denotes relationship rather than age). All these meanings occur, but it is not confined to those who are young. On the one hand, it is used as an age word not only to refer to children (whether new-born or very young, or older children) but also to refer to young men. On the other hand, it is used as a relationship word, not only to refer to young servants, but also to older servants, and likewise not only of young children but older ones as well.

Considering the age references first, we find a number of examples where παιδάριον would best be translated "baby". In 1 Ki. 1.22, Hannah refers to her son Samuel. She did not go to the tabernacle at Shiloh ὅτι εἶπεν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς "Εως τοῦ ἀναβῆναι τὸ παιδάριον, ἐὰν ἀπογαλακτίσω αὐτό, καὶ ὀφθήσεται τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου. 1 Ki. 4.21 refers to the circumstances in which Phinehas' wife named her new-born son: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ παιδάριον Οὐαὶ βαρχαβωθ ὑπὲρ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. In the story of Naaman, it is said that κατέβη Ναιμαν καὶ ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῷ Ιορδάνῃ...καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ὡς σὰρξ παιδαρίου μικροῦ (4 Ki. 5.14). It is preferable to take this to mean a very young child rather

than someone older. This is the more natural sense and it
is supported by a similar reference where νήπιος is used:
ἀπαλυνεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς σάρκας ὥσπερ νηπίου (Jb. 33.25).

Παιδάριον also refers to older children (not babies).
It again describes Samuel in 1 Ki. 2.11: τὸ παιδάριον ἦν
λειτουργῶν τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου ἐνώπιον Ηλι τοῦ ἱερέως.[1]
At this stage Samuel was old enough to share in the
religious duties at the tabernacle. In 4 Ki. 2.23 it
refers to the children who mocked the prophet Elisha:
παιδάρια μικρὰ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ κατέπαιζον αὐτοῦ.
Antiochus (who became Antiochus VI) was only four or five
years old[2] when he is described as a παιδάριον in 1 Ma. 11.54:
ἀπέστρεψεν Τρύφων καὶ Ἀντίοχος μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ παιδάριον νεώτερον.
All the examples of παιδάριον in the Pentateuch describe
children in this age group, as in Ge. 22.12 which refers to
the boy Isaac.[3] The angel spoke to Abraham as he was about
to sacrifice Isaac, in the words: μὴ ἐπιβάλῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ
παιδάριον (To. 7.11 - A*+) should be included here. Though
Sarah was not in fact a child - she had already been given
in marriage to seven husbands - it is likely that her father
Raguel thought of her as a child and that παιδάριον on his
lips has this meaning. Alternatively, it would mean "young
woman".

In the next age group παιδάριον is used to describe those

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1. Also 1 Ki. 1.24,25(bis),27, 2.18,21,26, 3.1,8.
2. See J.R. Bartlett, The First and Second Books of the
   Maccabees (Cambridge, 1973), pp.158-9 (notes on 1 Ma.
   11.39,54).
3. Also Ge. 22.5.

who were young men rather than babies or children. In 2 Ki. 13.32 David's sons are described as παιδάρια : μὴ εἰπάτω ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πάντα τὰ παιδάρια τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐθανάτωσεν, ὅτι Αμνων μονώτατος ἀπέθανεν. The background to this statement is that David's son Amnon had raped his half-sister Tamar (the sister of Absalom, another of David's sons), and consequently Absalom had killed Amnon. These παιδάρια (and David's other sons) were young adults. In the stories of Absalom's revolt against David, he is described as "the young man Absalom" on several occasions, as in 2 Ki. 14.21 where David instructs Joab: πορεύου ἐπίστρεψον τὸ παιδάριον τὸν Αβεσσαλωμ.[4] When Rehoboam came to the throne, he sought advice from his contemporaries, and in 3 Ki. 12.14 we read that he spoke to the people κατὰ τὴν βούλην τῶν παιδαρίων (i.e. his contemporaries).[5] Two other young men are described as παιδάρια who were old enough to go on journeys away from their homes and families: the young man in the story of Jd. 17,[6] and Tobias.[7] Several times παιδάριον describes a messenger or watchman, as in 2 Ki. 13.34: ἦρεν τὸ παιδάριον ὁ σκοπὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ.[8] There are eight examples where παιδάριον refers

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4. Also 2 Ki. 18.5,12,29,32(bis).
5. Also 3 Ki. 12.8,10,24s, 2 Ch. 10.8,10.
6. Jd. 17.7,11,12.
7. To. 5.17(BA), 6.2(BA),2,3(S),3,5,7,11,14(BA).
8. Also 1 Ki. 4.17, 2 Ki. 1.5,6,13.

to soldiers. 1 Ki. 30.17 refers to 400 of the Amalekite
raiding party which destroyed David's city Ziklag:
οὐκ ἐσώθη ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ τετρακόσια παιδάρια, ἃ
ἦν ἐπιβεβηκότα ἐπὶ τὰς καμήλους καὶ ἔφυγον.[9] But though
παιδάριον refers to soldiers, there is little evidence that
it actually means "soldier".[10]

Another example of παιδάριον which has an age reference
is in Je. 31.11: ἀνεπαύσατο Μωαβ ἐκ παιδαρίου καὶ πεποιθὼς
ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. The prophet is speaking of the
freedom from invasion and exile that Moab had enjoyed, and
this had been the situation ἐκ παιδαρίου, from earliest
times. This phrase occurs in classical literature in a
similar sense.[11]

As a relationship word, παιδάριον means "servant" far
more often than "child" (in a relationship sense).
Παιδάριον refers only to servants who were actively engaged
in serving another, and none of the other senses (which
we see in the use of δοῦλος, οἰκέτης and παῖς, and to a
lesser extent θεράπων and λειτουργός) occurs in the case of
παιδάριον.

The following examples refer to servants who were also
young. Jonathan's servant who fetched his arrows was young,
as the adjective μικρός makes clear in 1 Ki. 20.35:

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9. Also 2 Ki. 2.14,21, 18.15, 3 Ki. 21.14,15,17,19.

10. The meaning "soldier" is more likely in certain examples
    of νεανίας and νεανίσκος. See discussion under these
    two words.

11. Compare Plato, Symposium 207d, and ἐκ μικροῦ παιδαρίου
    in Demosthenes 53.19.

ἐξῆλθεν Ιωναθαν εἰς ἀγρόν, ... καὶ παιδάριον μικρὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ.[12] We may suppose that the servant of Kish who helped Saul look for his father's asses was reasonably young,[13] and likewise the servants who accompanied David when he was a fugitive from Saul, as in 1 Ki. 25.12, where the servants of David spoke to Nabal and then τὰ παιδάρια Δαυιδ ... ἦλθον καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Δαυιδ κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.[14]

There are other examples where παιδάριον describes servants who were not young. The clearest case is Ziba who was a servant to Saul and (later) to Jonathan's son Mephibosheth.[15] His age is suggested by the information in 2 Ki. 9.10 that he had fifteen sons.

Παιδάριον refers to different types of servants. It refers occasionally to a king's courtiers. When Saul asked his servants to provide for him one who could play the harp, 1 Ki. 16.18 says that ἀπεκρίθη εἷς τῶν παιδαρίων αὐτοῦ.[16] It refers also to a man's personal attendants, such as the men who accompanied Naaman when he came to Elisha to seek a cure for his leprosy[17] and Gehazi the servant of Elisha.[18]

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12. Also 1 Ki. 20.21(bis), 36(bis),37,38(bis),39,40(bis),41. It is possibly the same servant who appears in 1 Ki. 14.1,6.
13. 1 Ki. 9.3,5,6,7,8,10,22, 10.14.
14. Also 1 Ki. 25.5(bis),8,9,25,27.
15. 2 Ki. 9.9, 16.1, 19.18.
16. In this passage the same servants are described by δοῦλος in verse 16 and παῖς in verses 15 and 17.
17. 4 Ki. 5.23.
18. E.g. 4 Ki. 4.12,14,25.

Other servants were workmen of different kinds. Doeg's
position as Saul's servant was νέμων τὰς ἡμιόνους (1 Ki.21.8).
In Ru. 2.5 we read of one of Boaz's servants: εἶπεν Βοος
τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐφεστῶτι ἐπὶ τοὺς θερίζοντας.

The meaning "child" referring to relationship rather
than age is rare. There are many references to a person's
child or children, but in most cases παιδάριον means "young
person" (of one age or another) and so has an age rather than
a relationship reference. There are only two certain examples
where the relationship is made explicit. 3 Ki. 12.24g
refers to Jeroboam's son Abijah, and in this verse παιδάριον
is used both as a relationship word and an age word:
καὶ ἠρρώστησε τὸ παιδάριον αὐτοῦ ἀρρωστίαν κραταιὰν σφόδρα·
καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ιεροβοαμ ἐπερωτῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου. The
other is in Jd. 8.20(A), where Gideon's son Jether is
described as τὸ παιδάριον αὐτοῦ. (In B, the word αὐτοῦ is
omitted.)

On the distribution of παιδάριον, we note a concentration
on the books of Kings, where 158 of the 228 examples occur.
Another 22 are found in Judges, and ten in Tobit, thus
leaving only 38 for the rest of the LXX. There are only
eight in the Pentateuch (all in Genesis) and four in the
books of Chronicles, and none at all in 2-4 Maccabees, the
Wisdom literature, Isaiah or Ezekiel.

An analysis on the basis of meanings shows that the
age references are predominant, with 141 examples (twenty
new-born or very young child, 57 older child, and 64 young

man). There are 86 examples of the meaning "servant" and one of "son". Of the 86 examples of "servant", 38 are from 1 Kings and 68 from 1-4 Kings.

The references to παιδάριον in the papyri cover several meanings. Some examples refer to age, and most of these mean "older child" (as distinct from "baby" and "young man"). In P.Tebt. 793.8.24 (ii B.C.) we read: Πτολεμαῖος τῆι βίαι χρώμενος ἀφελ[ὼν τὴν] ῥάβδον [πα]ρὰ τοῦ παιδαρίου ἤλασεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴ[ν διώρυγα]. Here τοῦ παιδαρίου refers to the writer's son Puepheros (who was not a servant), and αὐτά to Puepheros and his companion. Another example is P.Mich.Zen. 77.4 (iii B.C.): περὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου οὖ Φίλων σοι ὁ διδάσκαλος προσήγαγεν. Other examples of this meaning are P.Hib. 207.13,18 (iii B.C.) and P.Mich.Zen. 49.14,16 (iii B.C.).

A possible reference to a baby is in SB 6762.4 (iii B.C.): Νίκων δὲ ὁ κρινόμενος πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἔφατο εἰληφέναι τὸ παιδάριον παρ' αὐτῶν. Antipatros' son Theodosios, to whom this refers, may have been a baby, but it is also possible that he was an older boy. Another example is SB 6763.4 (iii B.C.),[19] which refers to the same situation.

There are no certain examples where παιδάριον means "young man".

Παιδάριον often means "servant". Several times this is clear when the servant's master is named, as in P.S.I.

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19. SB 6763 = P.Cair.Zen. 59347.

580.8 (iii B.C.), καὶ τῶι Δημητρίου παιδαρίωι, and similarly U.P.Z. 39.19 (ii B.C.)[20] and P.Col.Zen. 77.21, 22 (iii B.C.), or when a personal pronoun indicating relationship is used, as in P.Tebt. 798.11 (ii B.C.). On other occasions the relationship is not explicitly expressed but the meaning "servant" or "slave" is clear from the context. In P.Cair.Zen. 59076.6 (iii B.C.) Toubias writes to Apollonios and gives the descriptions of four slaves: τὰς εἰκόνας [[αὐ]] τῶν π[αιδαρ]ίῳν ἵνα εἰδῆις.[21] P.S.I 340.24 (iii B.C.) contains another reference to a slave: ἀπόστειλον δ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ὃ ἐδείκνυές μοι, ἵνα προσάγωμεν καὶ τοῦτον πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα.

There are several cases where παιδάριον means "child" (in a relationship sense), as in P.Cair.Zen. 59498.11 (ii B.C.), χρείας παρέχομαι καὶ τὰ παιδάριά μου. Another example where the relationship is made explicit is SB 8427.11 (i B.C.): προσκεκύνηκα τὴν κυρίαν ᾽Ισιν σὺν ᾽Ιουλίωι τῶι υἱῶι καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου υἱοῦ ... καὶ τῶν παιδαρίων μου πάντων. In other references the relationship is not made explicit but the context requires that παιδάριον be understood as referring to relationship rather than age. An example is C.P.J. 12.13 (iii B.C.) where the writer says, οὐχ ἱκανὸν οὖν [ἐστ]ιν οὐδὲ τὰ παιδάρια [διαβό]ϭκειν.

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20. U.P.Z. 39 = P.Lond.33.
21. P.Cair.Zen. 59076 = SB 6790.

In earlier Greek it would seem that the age reference of παιδάριον was the more important. Most of the references from classical authors in LSJ are listed under the meanings "little boy/girl" or "young children". Even the two examples in LSJ where παιδάριον means "slave" are listed under the heading "young slave".

It cannot be said that the same emphasis is evident in the Ptolemaic period. There are many LXX references which refer only to age. In Ge. 33.14, when Jacob tells Esau that he will follow κατὰ πόδα τῶν παιδαρίων, he is not referring to the relationship between the παιδάρια and himself, but to their age: because they were παιδάρια, and therefore young, their pace was slow. When Solomon at the start of his reign refers to himself as a παιδάριον μικρόν (3 Ki. 3.7), he is speaking of his lack of wisdom (characteristic of a young person). The phrase ἐκ παιδαρίου (Je. 31.11) clearly refers to age only and has no reference to relationship.

However we have already noticed that though some of the examples where παιδάριον describes a servant refer to young servants, this is not always the case. It is evident that some servants could not have been very young. Among those already mentioned, there is Ziba who had fifteen sons, the servants who were Saul's courtiers and advisers, and Boaz's servant who was in charge of the activities of the reapers.

Thus the diminutive force of παιδάριον which gives the

meaning "little" or "young" has not disappeared and on the contrary is present in the majority of examples. However there is evidence that this factor is tending to become less significant, in that παιδάριον is often used to describe a person's relationship or status as a slave or servant, irrespective of his age.

Παιδάριον	Child (new-born)	Child (older)	Young Man	Servant	Son	Total
Genesis		8				8
Judges	4	1	9	8	1	23
Ruth				6		6
1 Kings	2	13	8	38		61
2 Kings	13		15	10		38
3 Kings		13	9	6	1	29
4 Kings	1	13	2	14		30
1 Chronicles			1			1
2 Chronicles			3			3
2 Esdras				1		1
Tobit		1	9			10
1 Maccabees		6		1		7
Minor Prophets		2				2
Jeremiah			1			1
Lamentations			1			1
Susanna			1			1
Daniel			5	1		6
Bel				1		1
TOTAL	20	57	64	86	2	229

Hebrew:						
na'ar	8	29	44	71		152
yeled	11	13	10			34
'ebed				3		3
'ish-na'ar			1			1
ne'urim			1			1.

24: ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

There are 163 examples of παιδίον in the LXX. Like παιδάριον, it is a diminutive of παῖς, and often refers to those who were little or young but by no means always. Referring to age, παιδίον describes new-born or very young children, children who were older, and (rarely) young men. It also has a relationship reference, and means "child" (male or female) in numerous cases, as well as "child" in a metaphorical sense, "servant" (in only one example of which we can be certain) and the "offspring" or "young" of animals.

At the youngest age level, παιδίον refers to children even before birth, as in Ge. 25.22 which refers to Jacob and Esau: ἐσκίρτων δὲ τὰ παιδία ἐν αὐτῇ. There are references to children at the time of birth, as in the law recorded in Ex. 21.22: ἐὰν δὲ μάχωνται δύο ἄνδρες καὶ πατάξωσιν γυναῖκα ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξεικονισμένον, ἐπιζήμιον ζημιωθήσεται. Ru 4.16 refers to the child Ruth bore to Boaz, immediately after birth: ἔλαβεν Νεωμιν τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἔθηκεν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς.

There are several references to children in the first few months of their life. Ge. 17.12 contains portion of the instructions given to Abraham concerning circumcision: παιδίον ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν περιτμηθήσεται ὑμῖν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν.

The child of David and Bathsheba, in 2 Ki. 12.15, was
also only a few days old: ἔθραυσεν κύριος τὸ παιδίον, ὃ
ἔτεκεν ἡ γυνὴ Ουριου τῷ Δαυιδ, καὶ ἠρρώστησεν. Moses is
described as a παιδίον in Ex. 2.3 when his mother hid him
in an ark in the river: ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ θῖβιν
... καὶ ἐνέβαλεν τὸ παιδίον εἰς αὐτήν[1]. And παιδίον
describes Isaac when he was being weaned, in Ge. 21.8:
ηὐξήθη τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἀπεγαλακτίσθη.[2]

Παιδίον is used of children at a later age,
describing those who were boys or lads rather than babies.
When Ishmael was left by his mother Hagar to die, he cried
out, and God heard τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδίου (Ge. 21.17).[3]
When Abraham and Isaac went to sacrifice, Abraham said to
his servants, καθίσατε αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ὄνου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
τὸ παιδίον διελευσόμεθα ἕως ὧδε (Ge. 22.5 - A+). And
when Joseph told his brothers to bring Benjamin to Egypt,
they said, οὐ δυνήσεται τὸ παιδίον καταλιπεῖν τὸν πατέρα
(Ge. 44.22).[4]

There are only four examples where παιδίον means
"young man". In the incident when Absalom killed his
brother Amnon, the message was brought to David, in 2 Ki.
13.32, μὴ εἰπάτω ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πάντα τὰ
παιδία τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐθανάτωσεν, ὅτι Αμνων
μονώτατος ἀπέθανεν. Παιδία here is the reading in A+,

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1. Also Ex. 2.6,7,8,9(bis),10.
2. Also Ge. 21.7.
3. Also Ge. 21.12,14,15,16,18,19,20.
4. Also Ge. 44.32,33(bis),34.

instead of παιδάρια. The sons of king David were at this stage young adults rather than children. Also in A+, παιδίον refers to the young men with David in 1 Ki. 21.5. The other two references are in the S text of To. 6.1,2,[5] which is part of the account of Tobias and the angel Raphael's journey. In verse 1 we read, ἐξῆλθεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος μετ' αὐτοῦ and in verse 2, κατέβη τὸ παιδίον περινίψασθαι τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμόν. Tobias was an adult young man: he was not only undertaking a journey which a child would not, but he was also soon to marry Raguel's daughter Sarah. Thus D.C. Simpson's translation "young man"[6] is preferable to "boy" in N.E.B.

The meaning "child" (in a relationship sense) is the most common use of παιδίον in the LXX. When he was aware that Esau was near, Jacob arranged his family in the order described in Ge. 33.2: ἐποίησεν τὰς δύο παιδίσκας καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ Λειαν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς ὀπίσω καὶ Ραχηλ καὶ Ιωσηφ ἐσχάτους. In Jb. 1.19 παιδία refers to Job's sons and daughters as they feasted: ἔπεσεν ἡ οἰκία ἐπὶ τὰ παιδία σου, καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. Several times παιδίον refers to Raguel's daughter Sarah, as in To. 7.10 (BA), where Raguel speaks to Tobias concerning Sarah, σοὶ γὰρ καθήκει τὸ παιδίον μου λαβεῖν.[7] In these references παιδίον means "child" (who happens to be female)

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5. Παιδίον in verse 1 has no direct equivalent in BA, where there is simply a plural verb, with no nominative nouns. In verse 2 BA read παιδάριον.

6. In R.H. Charles (ed.), Apocrypha (Oxford, 1913), p.217.

7. Θυγάτηρ is used in the S text at this point.

rather than "daughter". There are many examples in Tobit where παιδίον is used as a vocative, as in To. 14.11, where the dying Tobit addresses Tobias and his sons, καὶ νῦν, παιδία, ἴδετε τί ἐλεημοσύνη ποιεῖ.

In ten cases παιδίον means "child" in a metaphorical sense. In Ge. 44.20 it occurs in a phrase describing Benjamin and the circumstances of his birth: παιδίον γήρως νεώτερον αὐτῷ. In Is. 66.8 it refers to the children of Jerusalem: ἔτεκεν Σιων τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς. The other example is in Je. 38.20 which describes Ephraim as God's child: υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς Εφραιμ ἐμοί, παιδίον ἐντρυφῶν. The relationship is not made explicit here, but the meaning "child" in a relationship sense is required. It is difficult to see how παιδίον could refer to age in this example. The other seven examples are in Tobit (S), where παιδίον is used as a form of familiar address.

There are six references where παιδίον refers to the offspring or young of animals. In Is. 34.15, for example, there is reference to the young of the ἐχῖνος (hedgehog?): ἐκεῖ ἐνόσσευσεν ἐχῖνος, καὶ ἔσωσεν ἡ γῆ τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας.[8]

The other relationship meaning of παιδίον is "servant". The only certain example is in Jd. 19.19 (B), in the phrase τῷ νεανίσκῳ μετὰ τῶν παιδίων σου, which refers to the servants of the man of Gibeah. The phrase in A reads

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8. Also Ge. 32.16, Le. 22.28, De. 22.7, Jb. 39.3, Is. 11.7.

τῷ παιδαρίῳ τοῖς δούλοις σου, which confirms that the
meaning of παιδίον in this reference is "servant" rather
than "child". Another possible example is in Si. 21.19:
πέδαι ἐν ποσὶν ἀνομία τοῦ παιδίου. However this verse is
ambiguous and παιδίον could mean "child" as well as
"servant". There is also doubt about the correct reading.
The words quoted above are found in A+, but instead of
ἀνομία τοῦ παιδίου, B reads ἀνοήτοις παιδεία. Rahlfs
emends to ἀνοήτου παιδεία.

It is difficult to determine whether παιδίον primarily
denotes age (emphasising the youth of the person concerned)
or relationship (emphasising the connection with the
parent(s) or others). In many cases παιδίον refers to
both age and relationship. Thus in Ex. 21.22 (quoted
above), παιδίον clearly refers to the age of the child
but the phrase τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς also emphasises the child's
relationship to its mother. In Ge. 21 παιδίον occurs
several times in the same passage, sometimes referring
mainly to Ishmael's age but in other cases emphasising his
position as Hagar's child. In the first part of verse 17
(quoted above) Ishmael is simply τὸ παιδίον, but in the
second part the addition of a pronoun makes a significant
difference and alters the emphasis: ἐπακήκοεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδίου σου.

There are examples where παιδίον refers only to age.
In Ex. 2.9 Pharaoh's daughter refers to Moses: διατήρησόν

μοι τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο καὶ θήλασόν μοι αὐτό. She did not
know that she was speaking to Moses' mother, and so her
words can refer only to Moses' age as a baby rather than his
position as the woman's child. In two references παιδίον
is used in contrast to πρεσβύτης. Is. 3.5 describes the
chaos which would result from God's judgment on Jerusalem:
προσκόψει τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην, ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς
τὸν ἔντιμον.[9] The contrast is clearly one of age and
nothing else. In Is. 46.3 the phrase ἐκ παιδίου means
from the earliest age onwards: οἶκος τοῦ Ιακωβ καὶ πᾶν τὸ
κατάλοιπον τοῦ Ισραηλ οἱ αἰρόμενοι ἐκ κοιλίας καὶ
παιδευόμενοι ἐκ παιδίου. Even if such a stock phrase
should not be given too precise a meaning, it nevertheless
refers only to age. (However there are enough examples of
παιδιον referring to a very young child to suggest that
ἐκ παιδίου should not only be regarded as a stock phrase
carried over from earlier usage but also as additional
evidence for normal contemporary usage.)

On the other hand there are cases where παιδίον has
little or no reference to age but only to relationship.
In Ge. 50.23 we read of Ephraim's descendants: Εφραιμ παιδία
ἕως τρίτης γενεᾶς. This phrase includes some who would
have been young, but others would not have been. In any
case the age factor is irrelevant here and the emphasis is

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9. Ba. 4.15 also.

on their descent from Ephraim. Another example involving
Ephraim is in Je. 38.20 (quoted above) where Ephraim is
described as God's child. Ephraim refers to the nation
of Israel rather than the son of Joseph of that name, and
παιδίον has no reference to the youth of the nation but
her relationship to God. In Ge. 31.28 Laban reproaches
Jacob for his hasty departure from Laban's camp, οὐκ
ἠξιώθην καταφιλῆσαι τὰ παιδία μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μου.
The use of θυγάτηρ indicates that παιδίον here refers only
to male children and is equivalent to υἱός, which is a
relationship word. In several examples it is stated that
people had no children, as in Nu. 3.4 which refers to
Nadab and Abihu, καὶ παιδία οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς.[10] Again the
age factor is irrelevant, the point being that they had no
offspring at all (young or old).

We see therefore that there are many examples of
παιδίον which have an age reference or a relationship
reference (to the exclusion of the other), and so it is not
possible to say that one has the priority.

The 163 examples of παιδίον tend to be concentrated
in several parts of the LXX. The Pentateuch contains 61
examples, Tobit 48, and Isaiah sixteen, while the other
48 are scattered in small quantities among the other books.

The most common meaning is "child" ("son" or "daughter")
with 94 examples. The other relationship senses are

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10. Also 1 Ki. 1.2,5,6, 2 Ki. 6.23, To. 3.15(BA).

"servant", with one example, "offspring or young" of
animals, with six, and "child" (in a metaphorical sense),
with ten. The age meanings are "child" (new-born or very
young), with 26 examples, "child" (older), with 22, and
"young man", with four.

Concerning the distribution of meanings among the
books, we observe that fifteen of the 22 examples of
"child" (older) occur in Genesis, and 39 of the 94
examples of "child" (in a relationship sense) occur in
Tobit.

Most of the papyrus examples of παιδίον mean "child",
referring to the relationship with the parent(s). P.Tebt.
800.30 (ii B.C.) contains a reference to an unborn child
still in the womb: κινδυνεύει [ὅ] ἔχει ἐγ γ[α]στρὶ
παιδίον ἔκ[τ]ρωμα γί[νεσ]θα[ι]. Another example is in
B.G.U. 1244.15 (ii B.C.). In several cases the age of
the παιδίον is indicated by the adjective ὑποτί(τ)θιος.
B.G.U. 1058.12 (i B.C.), for instance, mentions ἑατοῦ
δουλικὸν παιδίον ὑποτίθιον θῆλυον, and similar examples
are B.G.U. 1107.9 (i B.C.) and P.Giss. 2.1.13 (ii B.C.).
In other references the age of the παιδίον is not made
clear, though the contexts would suggest ages up to
teenage years rather than beyond.

The age reference does not seem to be as prominent
in the papyri as the relationship aspect. Sometimes
the relationship is made explicit by the use of a personal

pronoun. An example is U.P.Z. 60.4 (ii B.C.): αὐτὸς δ'
ὑγίαινον καὶ Εὐδαιμονὶς καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ ᾿Ισιὰς καὶ
τὸ παιδίον σου καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκωι πάντες. Other examples
are B.G.U. 1058.12 (i B.C.), quoted above, and the
references in B.G.U. 1107 and P.Giss. 2 already cited.
In most cases the relationship is not made explicit, but
the context indicates that it is a person's child or
children that is meant and not merely someone young, as
in SB 8850.5 (iii B.C.): [ὑπὲ]ρ αὐτοῦ καὶ [τῆς γυ]ναικὸς
καὶ [τῶν π]αιδίων.

There are at least three other examples where the
meaning is "servant" or "slave". P.Col.Zen. 81.24
(iii B.C.) contains one such reference: Χιλων δ' ουκ
εφη δυνασθαι προς σε ηξειν. το [[τα]] γαρ παιδιον αυτου
περι αυτα εφη ειναι. The παιδίον of Chilon who was
occupied with the jars (αὐτά) was a servant rather than
a child. P.Ryl. 593.5 (i B.C.) mentions τῶι ἐπιστάτηι
τοῦ παιδίου, the "slave supervisor". The other example
is in P.Oxy. 2979.9 (i B.C.), where Aphynchis asks Apis
to come himself or send his παιδίον (ἤτε σὺ ἤ τὸ παιδίον
σου) in order to arrange a lease, where παιδίον again
refers to a servant and not a son.

Παιδίον	Child (new-born)	Child (older)	Young Man	Servant	Son (literal)	Son (metaphorical)	Daughter	Offspring of animals	Total
Genesis	4	15			14	1		1	35
Exodus	7				8				15
Leviticus					1			1	2
Numbers					3				3
Deuteronomy	1				4			1	6
Joshua					2				2
Judges	2			1					3
Ruth	1								1
1 Kings	1		1		5				7
2 Kings		1	1		1				3
3 Kings	3	1							4
2 Chronicles					1				1
Judith					2				2
Tobit			2		35	7	4		48
2 Maccabees					1				1
4 Maccabees	1				1				2
Job					3			1	4
Ecclesiasticus					1				1
Isaiah	6	4			3	1		2	16
Jeremiah						1			1
Baruch		1							1
Lamentations					1				1
Epistle of Jeremiah					1				1
Susanna					1				1
Bel					2				2
TOTAL	26	22	4	1	90	10	4	6	163

Παιδίον	Child (new-born)	Child (older)	Young Man	Servant	Son (literal)	Son (metaphorical)	Daughter	Offspring of animals	Total
Hebrew									
ben	3	1			10	1		3	18
yeled	13	2			19	2		2	38
na'ar	5	16	2		2				25
taph	1				8				9
bekor					1				1
'ebed				1					1
na'arah					1				1
yoneq	2								2
racham	1								1
'ul					1				1

25: ΠΑΙΔΙΣΚΗ

By far the majority of the 93 examples of παιδίσκη
in the LXX describe a woman who was a female servant in
a household, but there are also examples of the meaning
"servant of God" and others where παιδίσκη refers to
young women who were not servants. Although it is a
diminutive of παῖς, there is little evidence that παιδίσκη
is restricted in terms of age. In most cases in fact
it refers to women who are not children but young adults
(or older).

There are many references to female servants in the
households of the patriarchs. Hagar was Sarah's servant.
When Sarah had produced no children after a long time,
she said to Abraham, εἴσελθε οὖν πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου
(Ge. 16.2). In some cases Hagar is described as "the
παιδίσκη" rather than "Sarah's παιδίσκη", as in Ge. 21.10
when Sarah tells Abraham, ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην ταύτην
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς. But though in such cases the relation-
ship between servant and mistress is not made explicit,
there is no doubt about Hagar's status as a servant.[1]

Similarly there are references to Zilpah as παιδίσκη
to Laban or Leah,[2] Bilhah to Laban or Rachel,[3] and the
παιδίσκαι of Abimelech.[4]

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1. Other references to Hagar are in Ge. 16.1,3,5,6,8,
   21.10,12,13, 25.12.
2. Ge. 29.24(bis), 30.9,10,12,18, 35.26.
3. Ge. 29.29(bis), 30.3,4,5,7, 35.25.
4. Ge. 20.17.

Outside the Pentateuch there are references to the
servants of Judith,[5] Raguel[6] and Susanna,[7] to mention
some examples. The references to Judith's servants
include all her παιδίσκαι, as in Ju. 8.7, where it is
said that Manasseh (her deceased husband) left her παῖδας
καὶ παιδίσκας, as well as the particular παιδίσκη who
accompanied her to the camp of the Assyrians, as in Ju.
10.10, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ιουδιθ, αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῆς
μετ' αὐτῆς.

There are also other references of a more general
nature, and in several cases παιδίσκη is used in con-
junction with παῖς, as in Jd. 8.7 (quoted above) and in
Ex. 20.10, referring to the law of the Sabbath, οὐ
ποιήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν ἔργον, σὺ καὶ ὁ υἱός σου καὶ ἡ
θυγάτηρ σου, ὁ παῖς σου καὶ ἡ παιδίσκη σου.[8] It is also
used in conjunction with δοῦλος, as in 2 Es. 2.65. After
numbering the returning Jewish exiles, the passage
continues χωρὶς δούλων αὐτῶν καὶ παιδισκῶν αὐτῶν.[9]

In Ju. 11, παιδίσκη is used in a different type of
context when referring to Judith as Holophernes' παιδίσκη.

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5. Ju. 8.7, 10.10.
6. To. 3.7, 8.12,13,14(S), 10.10(S).
7. Su. 30(G), 36(bis)(TH).
8. Also Ge. 12.16, 20.14,24,35, 30.43, 32.6, Ex. 20.17,
   21.20,32, Le. 25.6,44, De. 5.14(bis),21, 12.12,18,
   16.11,14, 28.68, 4 Ki. 5.26, 1 Es. 5.1,41(bis), Es. 7.4,
   To. 10.10(S), Je. 41.9,10,11,16.
9. Also 2 Es. 17.67, Ps. 122.2, Ec. 2.7.

In Ju. 11.5 Judith says to Holophernes, δέξαι τὰ ῥήματα
τῆς δούλης σου καὶ λαλησάτω ἡ παιδίσκη σου κατὰ πρόσωπόν
σου.[10] Judith was not Holophernes' servant by virtue
of being owned by him or attending on him regularly.
But she was nevertheless his servant, because, first,
she was at the time under his authority, and secondly,
she was (in appearance at least) rendering the service
of showing his army a way into her town.

We note among these above mentioned examples that
παιδίσκη refers to different sorts of servants. It
refers on the one hand to women who were personal
attendants or favourite slaves, such as Hagar, Zilpah,
and Bilhah to their respective masters or mistresses,
and Judith's servant. Other παιδίσκαι on the other
hand did not enjoy the same status but were apparently
household servants employed in more general tasks.

There are three examples where παιδίσκη describes
a servant of God. Wi. 9.5 records a worshipper's prayer,
ἐγὼ δοῦλος σὸς καὶ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης σου. The
identical phrase υἱὸς (or υἱὸν) τῆς παιδίσκης σου occurs
in the other two references.[11]

Three other references show that παιδίσκη can be
used to describe a young woman who was not a servant.
In Ge. 34.4 Shechem uses the word of Leah's daughter

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10. Also Ju. 11.6. Apart from the verse quoted, δούλη
     is used in the same way as παιδίσκη in Ju. 11.16,
     17(bis), 12.4,6.
11. Ps. 85.16, 115.7.

Dinah, as he speaks to his father, λαβέ μοι τὴν παιδίσκην ταύτην εἰς γυναῖκα. In Ru. 4.12 the people of Bethlehem speak of Ruth in a similar way, as they express their wish for Boaz, γένοιτο ὁ οἶκός σου ὡς ὁ οἶκος Φαρες ... ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος, οὗ δώσει κύριός σοι ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης ταύτης. In neither case were the women servants, nor do the Hebrew equivalents require this meaning.[12] It is unlikely that the women were being described contemptuously. Shechem was in love with Dinah (as the previous verse indicates), and there is no suggestion that the people of Bethlehem had anything but a very high regard for Ruth. It is possible that the translators have misunderstood the original stories, though this conclusion is not necessary. It is more likely that they have deliberately and consciously used παιδίσκη with the meaning "young woman", without the connotation of slavery.

The other example is in Ju. 12.13, where Bagoas says to Judith, μὴ ὀκνησάτω δὴ ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ καλὴ αὕτη ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν κύριόν μου δοξασθῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. Here παιδίσκη describes Judith not as a slave (as it does in the previous chapter[13]) but as a young woman. Bagoas was trying to persuade Judith to enjoy Holophernes' company, and it is hardly likely that in this context he would refer to her as a slave-girl.

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12. In Ge. 34.4 the Hebrew is <u>yaldah</u> and in Ru. 4.12 <u>na'arah</u>. The latter can mean "servant-girl" but need not.

13. Ju. 11.5,6.

With regard to the distribution of παιδίσκη, 53 of the 93 examples are in the Pentateuch, including 37 in Genesis. The other references are scattered throughout the LXX, except that there are several books (such as Chronicles and Maccabees) in which it does not occur.

As we have already observed, the meaning "female servant"(with a human master or mistress) accounts for the majority of the references, 87 out of 93, with the other two meanings ("servant of God" and "young woman") having three examples each.

In the papyri, παιδίσκη usually refers to a slave-girl, who could be bought and sold and was the possession of her master. SB 6771.48 (iii B.C.)[14] refers to the price of a παιδίσκη : [εἰς τὸ δ]ά̣νειο̣ν̣ π̣ρ̣ο̣σδεχόμ[εθα τι]μ̣ὴ̣[ν π]αιδίσκης α. Similarly, SB 6709.22 (iii B.C.)[15] reads ὠνὴ παιδίσκη[ς], and P.S.I. 406.25 (iii B.C.) states: Δριμύλος παιδίσκην ἠγόραζεν ⊢Τ. The work done by some παιδίσκαι is indicated in SB 6730.2 (iii B.C.)[16]: δόντες τὰ Μιλήσια ἔρια ταῖς ἐμ Μέμφει παιδίσκα[ι]ς, and similarly SB 7639.10 (iii B.C.).[17]

There is another instance, SB 5103.12 (iii B.C.),[18]

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14. SB 6771 = P.Cair.Zen. 59355.
15. SB 6709 = P.Cair.Zen. 59003.
16. SB 6730 = P.Cair.Zen. 59142.
17. SB 7639 = P.Ryl. 556.
18. SB 5103 = U.P.Z. 1.

which Preisigke, WB, lists under the meaning "daughter".
Παιδίσκη occurs in the phrase ὁ πατὴρ τῆς παιδίσκης, and
it clearly refers to the man's daughter (cf. line 2,
τõ (sic) πατρὸς τῆς θυγατρός), but παιδίσκη need not
actually mean "daughter" and probably means "girl".

Thus we see in Hellenistic Greek the same basic
meanings as in earlier writings (young girl or woman,
and female slave), although there is no longer any
emphasis on youth. We might almost say there is little
or no reference to youth at all. LSJ mentions another
meaning, "prostitute" (with examples from Herodotus and
Isaeus from classical times). This meaning does not
occur in the LXX or contemporary writings, though LSJ
cite later references from Plutarch.

Παιδίσκη	Young Woman	Servant of man	Servant of God	Total
Genesis	1	36		37
Exodus		5		5
Leviticus		2		2
Deuteronomy		9		9
Judges		2		2
Ruth	1	1		2
1 Kings		1		1
2 Kings		3		3
4 Kings		1		1
1 Esdras		3		3
2 Esdras		2		2
Esther		1		1
Judith	1	4		5
Tobit		6		6
Psalms		1	2	3
Ecclesiastes		1		1
Wisdom			1	1
Ecclesiasticus		1		1
Minor Prophets		1		1
Jeremiah		4		4
Susanna		3		3
TOTAL	3	87	3	93

Hebrew:

shipchah		40		40
ᵓamah		28	2	30
yaldah	1			1
naᶜarah	1	1		2

26: ΠΑΙΣ

The 467 examples of παῖς in the LXX may be divided
into two main categories: (a) examples where it refers
to age (meaning "child" or "young adult", whether male
or female), and (b) examples where it refers to
relationship (meaning "servant" in various senses, or
"child", whether "son" or "daughter").

The age references account for only 28 examples
of παῖς. The word does not refer to new-born or very
young children, but in nine cases it refers to older
children. In 4 Ki. 4.24 we read that after Elisha
cursed the children who mocked him, ἐξῆλθον δύο ἄρκοι
ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ ἀνέρρηξαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ
δύο παῖδας. That they were young children is shown by
the phrase παιδάρια μικρά in the preceding verse. I
have included in the nine references to older children
four examples of παῖς in the phrase ἐκ παιδός. The
contexts in which this phrase occurs suggest that an
age later than infancy but earlier than adolescence is
intended. In Ge. 46.34, for example, Joseph's brothers
speak of themselves: ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι ἐσμὲν οἱ παῖδές
σου ἐκ παιδὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν.[1] However this is a stock

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1. Other examples of this phrase are in 2 Ma. 6.23,
   15.12, Pr. 29.21.

phrase and the contexts in which it occurs may not be
relevant. It may simply refer to a youthful age generally
without necessarily being restricted to any particular
age.

Παῖς is applied to youths or young men in nine
examples. There are several references to the martyrs
in the story in 2 and 4 Maccabees.[2] In 4 Ma. 12.9 we
read of the reaction of the persecutors when it seemed
that one of the martyrs was willing to renounce his
religion and eat the polluted food: καὶ ἐπιχαρέντες
μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ταχέως ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.
In To. 7.10(S) Tobias is described as ὁ παῖς : Ραγουηλ...
εἶπεν τῷ παιδί (in BA, εἶπεν Ραγουηλ πρὸς Τωβιαν).
Another example is in Ec. 4.13:

$$\text{ἀγαθὸς παῖς πένης καὶ σοφὸς}$$
$$\text{ὑπὲρ βασιλέα πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἄφρονα.}$$

Here παῖς could mean "son" but it is more likely to
refer only to age. The point of contrast is between
the youthful age of the παῖς and the age of the βασιλεύς
who is πρεσβύτερος.

There are ten examples where παῖς refers to a young

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2. Παῖς referring to the martyrs sometimes means "youth"
   and sometimes "son". Where a relationship to the mother
   is expressed, as in 4 Ma. 16.9, τῶν ἐμῶν παίδων, it
   clearly means "son". There are other examples, such as
   4 Ma. 12.9 (quoted above), where no relationship is
   expressed or implied and where παῖς means "youth".
   In other cases however either meaning is possible, and
   it is merely a question of personal preference as to
   which is chosen.

woman. Six of these are in De. 22, where there is a series
of laws concerning sexual offences to do with young women.
Παῖς is used in this section[3] to describe an unmarried
girl of marriageable age (who in some cases was betrothed
and in others not). Θυγάτηρ and νεᾶνις are also used.
Θυγάτηρ[4] describes the relationship between the girl and
her parent(s), but νεᾶνις[5] is used interchangeably with
παῖς to describe the age of the girl. One of the laws
(in verses 25-26) states:

ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ εὕρῃ ἄνθρωπος
τὴν παῖδα τὴν μεμνηστευμένην καὶ
βιασάμενος κοιμηθῇ μετ' αὐτῆς,
ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ... καὶ
τῇ νεάνιδι οὐ ποιήσετε οὐδέν.

Other young women are described by παῖς. In Ru. 2.6
Boaz's servant informs his master about Ruth: ἡ παῖς ἡ
Μωαβῖτίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀποστραφεῖσα μετὰ Νεωμιν ἐξ ἀγροῦ Μωαβ.
Similarly, παῖς refers to Rebekah[6] and Dinah.[7]

The first (and most common) meaning in the category
of relationship references is "servant". The same shades
of meaning which we see in the use of δοῦλος and οἰκέτης
occur also in the use of παῖς: (a) slave or servant, where
the master-servant relationship was actively practised;
(b) servant, where the master-servant relationship existed
but was not practised; (c) servant, in what may be called
a respectful sense, where there was no actual master-

3. In verses 15(bis),16,23,25,28.
4. In verses 16,17(bis).
5. In verses 19,20,21,24,26(bis),27,29.
6. Ge. 24.28,57.
7. Ge. 34.12.

servant relationship; and (d) servant of God.

In sense (a) παῖς describes several different types of servants. On at least one occasion it refers to a man's personal attendants. In Jd. 3.24 the παῖδες of Eglon (king of Moab) are those who came to wait on Eglon after Ehud had left his presence. Somewhat similar to this example are the references to a king's courtiers, although these men were ministers of state or advisers rather than personal servants. Thus, in Ge. 41.37 the effect of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream and his suggested plan was that ἤρεσεν δὲ τὰ ῥήματα ἐναντίον Φαραω καὶ ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ. There are similar references to the courtiers of Saul,[8] David[9] and Solomon,[10] as well as others.

Παῖς is used in a different way to refer to workmen. Often they were skilled men, such as Egyptian embalmers in Ge. 50.2, προσέταξεν Ιωσηφ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐνταφιασταῖς ἐνταφιάσαι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, or Pharaoh's butler and baker in Ge. 41.10, where the butler says, Φαραω ὠργίσθη τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἀρχιμαγείρου, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὸν ἀρχισιτοποιόν. Others would appear to have been unskilled, such as Isaac's παῖδες in Ge. 26.19, ὤρυξαν οἱ παῖδες Ισαακ ἐν τῇ φάραγγι Γεραρων καὶ εὗρον ἐκεῖ φρέαρ ὕδατος ζῶντος.

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8. E.g. 1 Ki. 16.15.

9. E.g. 2 Ki. 12.19.

10. E.g. 3 Ki. 10.5.

In other cases a man's παῖδες were the soldiers
of his army. 2 Ki. 2.17 describes one of the battles
which was part of the civil war after the death of Saul
before David's authority was finally accepted:
ἐγένετο ὁ πόλεμος σκληρὸς ὥστε λίαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ,
καὶ ἔπταισεν Αβεννηρ καὶ ἄνδρες Ισραηλ ἐνώπιον παίδων Δαυιδ.
A similar example is 1 Ki. 22.17. When Saul gave orders
to kill the priests, οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν οἱ παῖδες τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς τοὺς
ἱερεῖς κυρίου. These παῖδες were members of Saul's
bodyguard and are described earlier in the same verse as
οἱ παρατρέχοντες οἱ ἐφεστηκότες ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα.

There are several examples where παῖς refers to
tribes or nations or large groups of people who were in
bondage. After their attempt to deceive the Israelites
was discovered, the Gibeonites were made their slaves,
so that when they needed protection they appealed to
Joshua for help, in Jo. 10.6: μὴ ἐκλύσῃς τὰς χεῖράς σου
ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων σου. In Ex. 5.16 παῖς is used of the
Israelites in Egypt: ἄχυρον οὐ δίδοται τοῖς οἰκέταις σου,
καὶ τὴν πλίνθον ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ποιεῖν, καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ παῖδές
σου μεμαστίγωνται. However παῖς is not synonymous with
οἰκέτης here, for οἰκέτης refers to all the people but
παῖς only to the leaders. The leaders were complaining
that they were being beaten (verse 14) because the people
could not meet the impossible demands made on them.

The Egyptian people are also described as παῖδες.

Joseph τὸν λαὸν κατεδουλώσατο αὐτῷ (Pharaoh) εἰς παῖδας
ἀπ' ἄκρων ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου ἕως τῶν ἄκρων (Ge. 47.21).
In the period of famine in Egypt, the people became
completely dependent on the food provided by Pharaoh
through Joseph, and this verse describes how after a
few years they could pay for it only by becoming slaves
to Pharaoh.

In sense (b) παῖς is used frequently to describe
the relationship of Joseph's brothers to Joseph (when
he was in power in Egypt). After Joseph accused them
of being spies, they denied and said, οἱ παῖδές σου
ἤλθομεν πρίασθαι βρώματα (Ge. 42.10).[11] They were not
literally Joseph's servants but were hoping to return
to Canaan where they would have nothing to do with
Joseph. But at the time they were subject to Joseph's
authority. At a later stage, when the family came to
live in Egypt, the brothers are described as Pharaoh's
παῖδες. In Ge. 46.34 Joseph instructs his brothers to
say to Pharaoh, ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι ἐσμὲν οἱ παῖδές σου.[12]
They were thus accepting Pharaoh's authority over them
without being actively engaged in working for him.

Also in sense (b), παῖς describes the relationship
of a conquered people to a king, as in 1 Ch. 18.2:

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11. Also Ge. 42.11,13, 44.7,9,16,18(bis),19,21,23,32.
12. Also Ge. 47.3,4(bis),19.

ἐπάταξεν τὴν Μωαβ, καὶ ἦσαν Μωαβ παῖδες τῷ Δαυιδ
φέροντες δῶρα. It also refers to an individual as
subject to his king. In 2 Ki. 19.20 Shimei (who was not
the king's servant in a direct and active sense) appeals
to David, μὴ μνησθῇς ὅσα ἠδίκησεν ὁ παῖς σου ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεπορεύετο ἐξ
Ιερουσαλημ. There is one other example where παῖς
describes the relationship of the "sons of the prophets"
to the prophet Elisha.[13]

The third sense in which παῖς means "servant" is
the "respectful" use of the word. Most of these examples
are found in Genesis and refer to Jacob. First, Jacob
is described as παῖς to his brother Esau. In Ge. 32.5
we read of Jacob's message to Esau: οὕτως λέγει ὁ παῖς
σου Ιακωβ Μετὰ Λαβαν παρῴκησα καὶ ἐχρόνισα ἕως τοῦ νῦν.[14]
This was the first contact between the two brothers
since Jacob had cheated Esau of his father Isaac's
blessing. Jacob thought that Esau would still be seeking
revenge and at this first meeting tried to placate his
brother. Thus the use of παῖς here does not mean that
Jacob was submitting to Esau's authority and control
over him, but that he was showing extreme respect in a
delicate situation.

Jacob is also described as his son Joseph's παῖς.

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13. 4 Ki. 2.16. For examples of δοῦλος describing the
   "sons of the prophets" in relation to Elisha, and
   discussion of this point, see p. 27.
14. Also Ge. 32.6,19,21, 33.5,8,14.

In Ge. 43.28 Joseph's brothers are speaking to Joseph
about Jacob: ὑγιαίνει ὁ παῖς σου ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ἔτι ζῇ.[15]
Jacob himself was many miles away at the time and not
under Joseph's authority. The brothers were merely being
polite as they spoke to the ruler of Egypt.

Another example is in 4 Ki. 18.26, where the Jewish
leaders say to the Assyrian Rabshakeh, λάλησον δὴ πρὸς
τοὺς παῖδάς σου Συριστί.[16] Jerusalem was under siege
at the time and the Assyrians were certainly in the
better position. However the Jews had in no sense
submitted to the Assyrians and the language used here
is merely diplomatic.

In the fourth sense, παῖς is applied to servants
of God, both those who had a specific work to do in
God's service and those who were God's servants in the
more general sense of being under God's authority. The
former group includes the prophets. In 1 Es. 8.79
Ezra confesses, παρέβημεν γὰρ τὰ προστάγματά σου, ἃ
ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ τῶν παίδων σου τῶν προφητῶν. Kings
and other leaders (such as Moses, Joshua, David and
Nehemiah) are described as God's παῖδες, as in Jo. 1.17
where God is instructing Joshua: ἴσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου
φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καθότι ἐντείλατό σοι Μωυσῆς ὁ
παῖς μου.

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15. Also Ge. 44.24,27,30,31.
16. The identical words are used in the parallel account
    in Is. 36.11.

God's servants in the more general sense include
the Israelites as a nation. In his prayer at the
dedication of the temple, Solomon says, σὺ εἰσακούσῃ ἐκ
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἵλεως ἔσῃ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις τῶν παίδων σου
καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου Ισραηλ (2 Ch. 6.27).

The second way in which παῖς is used as a relation-
ship word, is to describe the relationship of a child to
his parent(s). We have already noted the use of παῖς
to describe the seven martyrs. At the end of 4
Maccabees, they are described as sons or children of
their mother, τοὺς ἑπτὰ παῖδας τῆς Αβρααμίτιδος (18.20),
and then as sons of Abraham, οἱ δὲ Αβραμιαῖοι παῖδες
(18.23). In Pr. 4.1 a teacher addresses his pupils:
ἀκούσατε, παῖδες, παιδείαν πατρός. Here παῖς means "son",
although it is used metaphorically and does not describe
a literal father-son relationship. Other examples are
in To. 11.5(BA), Αννα ἐκάθητο περιβλεπομένη εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν
τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς and Jb. 29.5, where Job is speaking of
his life in the past:

> ὅτε ἤμην ὑλώδης λίαν,
> κύκλῳ δέ μου οἱ παῖδες.

A difficult example is in Es. 2.7, where Esther is
described as Mordecai's παῖς, in the phrase ἦν τούτῳ παῖς
θρεπτή. The wording here indicates a relationship of
some sort, but παῖς does not mean "child" or "daughter",
since we are told in the same verse that Esther was the
daughter of Aminadab (Mordecai's uncle), so that Esther

was Mordecai's cousin. There are several possibilities here: (i) παῖς is used loosely, with a meaning like "adopted daughter" or "kinswoman";[17] (ii) παῖς means "servant" (though nothing in the story of Ruth suggests this); (iii) we may ignore the indication of relationship and translate παῖς as "girl" or "young woman".

Concerning the distribution of παῖς, the Pentateuch accounts for 124 examples (over one quarter of the total), though within the Pentateuch the distribution is not very even since there are 93 examples in Genesis. The books of Kings contain 111 examples and the books of Chronicles 62, with other worthwhile contributions by Joshua (14), 4 Maccabees (24), Isaiah (21) and Jeremiah (19).

With regard to the meanings, the statistics show that παῖς is predominantly a relationship word, since there are only 28 cases in which it describes age, and furthermore it means "servant" (402 times) far more often than it means "child" or "son" (30 times). Within the references to servants, we notice too that sense (a) predominates over the others in a ratio of about two to one.[18]

Some further observations may be made about the distribution of meanings within particular books. The

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17. Θυγάτηρ is used in a similar way of Ruth in relation to Naomi and Boaz. See p. 45.

18. In contrast to δοῦλος, where the ratio of sense (a) to the others is only one to two.

meaning "servant of God" occurs in twelve of the four-
teen examples of Joshua and eighteen of the 21 in Isaiah.
There are 22 examples of this meaning in Chronicles,
whereas there is none in Kings.

The usage of παῖς in 2-4 Maccabees is most unusual,
especially the 24 examples in 4 Maccabees. Of these 24,
five mean "young man" (out of a total of nine examples of
παῖς with this meaning) and eighteen mean "son" (out of
a total of 29). In no case in 4 Maccabees does παῖς mean
"servant", and if we include 2 and 3 Maccabees, there is
only one example out of 29 in these three books where
παῖς has this meaning.

In the papyri there seems to be only one Ptolemaic
example where παῖς has an age reference. The phrase ἐκ
παιδός occurs in <u>U.P.Z.</u> 144.19 (ii B.C.): μεμνημένον
τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς πρός τε τὸν ἡμέτερον πατέρα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
⟦ἐκεῖ⟧ ἐκείνην φιλίας.

However there are several examples in <u>P.Oxy.</u> 275
(i A.D.), which is only slightly later than our period.
This papyrus is a contract in which Tryphon apprentices
his son Thoonis to the weaver Ptolemaeus, and παῖς is
used with the meaning "boy" to describe Thoonis, in
lines 14, 17 and 23. Thus in line 23 we read of one of
the conditions: οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ Τρύφωνι ἀποσπᾶν τὸν παῖδα
ἀπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.

By far the majority of examples of παῖς in the
papyri refers to servants. People of different status

are described. On the one hand(and in most cases)
there are slaves who were the property of their master.
In this sense there are several references to slaves who
had run away, as in P.Cair.Zen. 59015. verso.3 (iii B.C.),[19]
ὅτι οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἀποδράντες μηνυτρίζοιντο, and similarly
in SB 9779.2 (iii B.C.) and P.S.I. 637.4 (iii B.C.).
But on the other hand, παῖς is sometimes used to describe
a servant who was a workman rather than a slave. One
such example is in P.Col.Zen. 87.23 (iii B.C.): αλλα
τους ⟨Σ⟩υρους παιδας ους γραφετε εν τωι απολογισμωι
των σωματων. The editors' note states: "The παιδας we
understand to be the regular paid hands of the former
great farm of Apollonios."[20] Other examples of παῖς
used in this way are in P.Cair.Zen. 59043.7 (iii B.C.),
59751.12 (ii B.C.).

There is one other example (and possibly a second)
where παῖς is used of other relationships. SB 4312
(Ptolemaic) is an inscription from a tombstone (from
Alexandria). It begins:

Παῖδά με Δωσιθέαν τὴν Οἰκ[ονόμου μάθε φῦναι]
λεύσσων εἰς ξεστῆς γράμ[ματα τῆσδε(?) πλακός].

Here παῖς means "daughter". The other possibility is SB
8545.8, τούς τε νέους αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ
παρθένους. This may well mean "sons" but could also mean

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19. P.Cair.Zen. 59015 = SB 6782.
20. W.L. Westermann, C.W. Keyes and H. Liebesny, Zenon
    Papyri (vol. II) (New York, 1940), p.96.

"servants". There is also some uncertainty about the date of this papyrus. In SB its date is given as iii B.C. or i A.D.

We conclude therefore that in this period the meaning "servant" has come to predominate. This contrasts with earlier usage. In LSJ this meaning occupies only three lines in an article of half a column, with references from Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Epicrates (iv B.C. comedian). The main meanings in classical literature are "son" or "daughter", and "boy" or "girl".

The use of παῖς as an age word has almost disappeared in the Ptolemaic period. The one papyrus example is in the stock phrase ἐκ παιδός, which is not necessarily evidence of general contemporary usage of the word. In the LXX, the nine examples classified as "older child" include four examples of ἐκ παιδός, and three others from books which Thackeray classes as literary (4 Maccabees, Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon). Six of the nine examples of "young man" are from literary books (2 and 4 Maccabees). The meaning "young woman" is better attested, with nine examples from the Pentateuch (good κοινή Greek, according to Thackeray) and one other from Ruth (a literal or unintelligent version, in Thackeray's list).

Similar points may be made about παῖς meaning "child" ("son" or "daughter"). Outside the LXX, the one certain example, SB 4312, may be described as a semi-

literary usage, while <u>SB</u> 8545 is doubtful evidence for the two reasons noted above. The thirty LXX examples include 27 from literary books, the other three being one each from Judith and Tobit, and the example in Es. 2.7 where the meaning is uncertain.

In spite of this tendency in Ptolemaic times, the New Testament contains examples of the meanings "boy",[21] "girl",[22] and "son",[23] as well as the more common "servant" in various senses.[24]

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21. E.g. Matthew 2.16.
22. Luke 8.51,54.
23. John 4.51.
24. For fuller information on all meanings, see BAG.

Παῖς	Child (older)	Young Man	Young Woman	Servant sense (a)	Servant sense (b)	Servant sense (c)	Servant sense (d)	Son (literal)	Son (metaphorical)	Uncertain	Total
Genesis	1		3	52	18	12	7				93
Exodus				8							8
Leviticus				2			1				3
Numbers				2	4		1				7
Deuteronomy			6	7							13
Joshua				1		1	12				14
Judges				2							2
Ruth			1								1
1 Kings				22		1					23
2 Kings				43	2						45
3 Kings	1	1		21	1						24
4 Kings	1			16	1	1					19
1 Chronicles				9	5		10				24
2 Chronicles				24	2		12				38
1 Esdras				8	1		4	1			14
2 Esdras				4			5				9
Esther				2						1	3
Judith				3				1			4
Tobit		1		2				1			4
1 Maccabees		1		3							4
2 Maccabees	2			1				1			4
3 Maccabees				3							3
4 Maccabees	1	5						18			24
Psalms							4				4
Proverbs	2							4	1		7
Ecclesiastes		1									1
Job	1			2			3				6
Wisdom				1				2		6	9
Ecclesiasticus						1					1
Isaiah				3			18				21
Jeremiah				15			4				19
Baruch							5				5
Ezekiel				1							1
Susanna				1							1
Daniel				5			6				11
TOTAL	9	9	10	260	34	16	92	29	1	7	467

Hebrew:										
ʿebed	1			218	32	14	80			344
yeled	2	1								2
naʿar		1		7				2		12
naʿarah			10							10
noʿar	1									1
neʿurim	1									1
ben				1				1	1	2
ʾish				1						1
ʾenosh				1						1
ʿam				1						1
chayil				1						1
malʾak				1						1
le										1

27: ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ

There are 65 examples of παρθένος in the LXX. Its primary meaning is "young woman", but it also means "virgin" (both literally and in a metaphorical sense). It is best to take "young woman" as the primary meaning since it is the more general sense. "Young woman" applies in all cases whereas "virgin" is a specialised meaning which applies only in some.

This basic meaning "young woman" is seen in fourteen examples where νεανίσκος and παρθένος are used in juxtaposition as male and female counterparts. 1 Ma. 1.26 describes the effect of Antiochus' plunder of Jerusalem and the temple: ἐστέναξαν ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, παρθένοι καὶ νεανίσκοι ἠσθένησαν.[1] Similarly, παρθένος and νήπιος are used together in 2 Ma. 5.13 which refers to another attack by Antiochus' army on Jerusalem: ἐγίνετο δὲ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀναίρεσις, ἀνήβων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀφανισμός, παρθένων τε καὶ νηπίων σφαγαί. In these examples there is no reference to virginity, and παρθένος conveys the fact that the people were young and female.

We see from Ge. 34.2-3 that "virgin" is not the essential meaning of παρθένος, for here the word describes

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1. Also De. 32.25, 1 Es. 1.50, Ju. 16.4, Ps. 77.63, 148.12, Am. 8.13, Za. 9.17, Is. 23.4, 62.5, Je. 28.22, 38.13, La. 1.18, Ez. 9.6.

Dinah after she had been raped by Shechem: λαβὼν αὐτὴν ἐκοιμήθη μετ' αὐτῆς ... καὶ προσέσχεν τῇ ψυχῇ Δινας τῆς θυγατρὸς Ιακωβ καὶ ἠγάπησεν τὴν παρθένον.

In view of these facts, the meaning "virgin" should not be given to παρθένος unless the context demands it. Thus in Ju. 16.4, in Judith's song of praise, the R.V. translation of the phrase τὰς παρθένους μου σκυλεῦσαι is "make my virgins a spoil". There is no reason why παρθένος may not mean "virgin" here, but there is also no reason why it must mean this. The N.E.B. "take ... my maidens as spoil" is better.

The same principle applies to the much disputed Is. 7.14, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει. It is commonly supposed that παρθένος here means "virgin", both in the LXX itself and in Matthew 1.23 where this verse is quoted.[2] However the context of Is. 7.14 does not require the meaning "virgin", but rather the opposite, that "virgin" is not the meaning.[3] This is confirmed by the Hebrew equivalent 'almah, which does not mean "virgin" but "young woman". (Even in Matthew 1.23 παρθένος does not necessarily mean "virgin". The main point of Matthew's quotation of

2. See, e.g., O. Kaiser, Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary (London, 1972), p.100: "the Greek translation, which translates the Hebrew word...as 'virgin'." Also, in their comments on and/or translation of Matthew 1.23: W.C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew (3rd ed.)(Edinburgh, 1912), R.V.G. Tasker, The Gospel According to St. Matthew (London, 1961), F.V. Filson, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew (2nd ed.)(London, 1971).

3. This is recognised by, e.g, A.H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew (London, 1915), pp.9-10.

Is. 7.14 may be in the second part of the verse: καλέσεις
(Matthew καλέσουσιν) τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εμμανουηλ, the last
word meaning (as Matthew explains) μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. But
though the meaning "young woman" does not contradict
Matthew's account of the virgin birth in the preceding
verses, it is perhaps more likely that Matthew uses
παρθένος with the meaning "virgin".)

However there are unambiguous examples where παρθένος
means "virgin". In Jd. 19.24 a man describes his daughter
as ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ἡ παρθένος. He did not mean that his
daughter was a young woman (which we may assume was obvious
to his fellow townsmen, to whom he was speaking) but that
she was a virgin. There is a similar reference to David's
daughters in 2 Ki. 13.18, αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ βασιλέως αἱ
παρθένοι.

In several places παρθένος describes the type of
woman suitable to be the wife of a high priest. Thus in
Le. 21.14 we read, χήραν δὲ καὶ ἐκβεβλημένην καὶ
βεβηλωμένην καὶ πόρνην, ταύτας οὐ λήμψεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ παρθένον
ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ λήμψεται γυναῖκα.[4] In Ju. 9.2 Judith
complains of the Gentiles οἳ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς
μίασμα. There are several passages where παρθένος is used
in addition to νεᾶνις and παῖς, as in De. 22.28 (one of
the laws concerning sexual offences), ἐὰν δέ τις εὕρῃ

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4. Also Le. 21.13, Ez. 44.22.

τὴν παῖδα τὴν παρθένον.[5] In these references νεᾶνις and
παῖς both mean "young woman", so that παρθένος means
"virgin", unless it is merely tautologous.

Παρθένος meaning "virgin" is also used in a meta-
phorical sense in connection with the names of nations or
cities, in phrases like παρθένος (θυγάτηρ) Σιων.[6] There is
no evidence of this usage outside the LXX and since all the
LXX examples occur in passages translated from a Hebrew
original it is safe to assume that this usage is a
Hebraism. Such phrases are in general terms equivalent to
the name of the nation or city but the precise force of
παρθένος (or the underlying Hebrew idea) is not easy to
determine. In HDB[7] it is suggested that the term "virgin"
is used of Zion, Judah and Israel "originally, it would
seem, in the sense of not yet subdued by an enemy...; but
sometimes (it refers) to other nations...and sometimes (is
used) even where the original intention of the metaphor
is lost, as in Je. 31.4, where the restoration of captive
Israel is promised." God's promise referred to here is:
ἔτι οἰκοδομήσω σε, καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ, παρθένος Ισραηλ.
Perhaps here and in the context of defeat (as in Am. 5.2,
ἔπεσεν οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῇ τοῦ ἀναστῆναι παρθένος τοῦ Ισραηλ)

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5. With νεᾶνις, in De. 22.19, 3 Ki. 1.2, With παῖς, also
   in De. 22.23.
6. The references are listed in subsequent footnotes but
   are not included in any later lists.
7. Article, "Virgin". The reference cited, Je. 31.4, is
   Je. 38.4 in the LXX.

it is not that the original force of the metaphor has been
lost, but that παρθένος draws attention to the rightful
situation of the nation (i.e., in Am. 5.2, Israel which
should be unconquered has been conquered).[8] Places
referred to in this way are Zion,[9] Israel,[10] Judah,[11]
Babylon[12] and Egypt.[13]

In six examples there is an indication of relationship
but in no case does παρθένος mean anything but "young
woman". Thus in Ju. 16.4 where Judith says τὰς παρθένους
μου σκυλεῦσαι she is not referring to her own daughters
or servants but the young women who belong to her city.
In Lamentations[14] the παρθένοι of Jerusalem are the young
women who lived there, and in the two other references
"their παρθένοι " are the young women of Israel.[15]

The 65 examples of παρθένος are distributed fairly
evenly, and cover most parts of the LXX. The greatest
concentration is in the Pentateuch where there are sixteen
examples.

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8. For a summary of suggestions, see W.R. Harper, A Critical
   and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea (Edinburgh,
   1905), p.107.
9. 4 Ki. 19.21, Is. 37.22, La. 2.13.
10.Am. 5.2, Je. 18.13, 38.4,21.
11.La. 1.15.
12.Is. 47.1. In this verse in S*+ there is a second example,
   in the phrase παρθένος θυγάτηρ Χαλδαίων.
13.Je. 26.11.
14.La. 1.4,18, 2.21.
15.2 Ch. 36.17, Ps. 77.63.

Leaving aside the examples of the meaning "virgin" (since παρθένος was the only word available for this sense), we note that the 35 examples of the meaning "young woman" are likewise evenly distributed. Thus there are ten examples in books classified by Thackeray as "good κοινή Greek", and seven in "literary" books (Thackeray's groups 4 and 5), and similarly with other groups. There are no examples in Tobit (which is "vernacular").

In other contemporary Greek, most of the extant examples of παρθένος occur in <u>SB</u> 8858 (iii B.C.),[16] which refers to παρθένοι who were engaged in religious ritual. Βερενίκη was both a παρθένος herself (line 47) and also ἄνασσα παρθένων (lines 61 and 65). The παρθένοι are described as "holy" (ἱερός, lines 67 and 68), and as τὰς παρθένους τῶν ἱερέων (line 65). This latter phrase Preisigke (<u>WB</u>) takes to mean "daughters of the priests". There is certainly a relationship expressed here, and it is hard to see what παρθένος could mean other than "daughter", unless it means "servant-girl".

Another example where παρθένος expresses a relationship is <u>SB</u> 8545.8, τούς τε νέους αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ παρθένους. The meaning here could be "daughter" or "servant-girl". If νέους refers to children generally, παῖδας καὶ παρθένους would probably mean "male and female

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16. <u>SB</u> 8858 = <u>O.G.I.S.</u> 56.

servants", but νέους may refer to young children specifically in which case παῖδας καὶ παρθένους could refer to older sons and daughters. There is some doubt about the date of this papyrus, which is given as iii B.C. or̃i A.D.

The phrase παρθενην α occurs in U.P.Z. 101.21 (ii B.C.), in a list of some kind. Not only the meaning but also the form is doubtful here. The apparatus criticus suggests παρθενικὴν or παρθένειον as alternative readings. LSJ (s.v. παρθενην) regard it as a possible misspelling of παρθένειον and supply ζώνην.

In classical literature παρθένος occurs from Homer onwards meaning "maiden, girl". Sometimes it means "virgin" (LSJ cite examples fromSophocles and Theocritus) but it also refers to those who were not virgins.

In later Greek παρθένος means "girl, young woman", as in P.Fay. 102.30 (ii A.D.), παρθέ(νωι) λικνιζουσῶ(ν), "girls winnowing"; and also "virgin", as in the New Testament, and in P.Ryl. 125.23 (i A.D.), where παρθένος is used as an adjective or a substantive in apposition, in the phrase διὰ τῆς ἑατοῦ θυγατρὸς παρθένου, "by his unmarried daughter".

Παρθένος	Young Woman	Virgin (literal)	Virgin (metaphorical)	Total
Genesis	6	1		7
Exodus		2		2
Leviticus		3		3
Deuteronomy	1	3		4
Judges		3		3
2 Kings		2		2
3 Kings		1		1
4 Kings			1	1
2 Chronicles	1			1
1 Esdras	1			1
Esther	1			1
Judith	1	1		2
1 Maccabees	1			1
2 Maccabees	2			2
3 Maccabees	1			1
4 Maccabees		1		1
Psalms	3			3
Job	1			1
Ecclesiasticus	2			2
Minor Prophets	2		1	3
Isaiah	3		3	6
Jeremiah	3		4	7
Lamentations	4	1	2	7
Epistle of Jeremiah	1			1
Ezekiel	1	1		2
TOTAL	35	19	11	65

Hebrew:

	Young Woman	Virgin (literal)	Virgin (metaphorical)	Total
bethulah	19	16	10	45
na'arah	5			5
'almah	2			2

28: ΣΠΕΡΜΑ

There are 263 examples of σπέρμα in the LXX. Most of these refer to human offspring (and in some cases animal offspring) rather than agricultural seed or produce. Only about thirty examples occur in an agricultural context, as in Ez. 17.5: ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ πεδίον φυτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι πολλῷ. In one example σπέρμα occurs in an agricultural context, though it is used metaphorically to refer to people: ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυήσουσιν ῥίζαν κάτω καὶ ποιήσουσιν σπέρμα ἄνω (Is. 37.31).

In eight references σπέρμα occurs in the phrase κοίτη σπέρματος which refers to the male semen. An example is Le. 15.16: ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοίτη σπέρματος, καὶ λούσεται ὕδατι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται ἕως ἑσπέρας.[1] In this expression σπέρμα refers to what is literally seed, though not of the agricultural variety, and this usage may be regarded as the link between the ideas of agricultural seed and human offspring.

The meaning "human offspring, descendants" applies in

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1. Also Le. 15.17,18,32, 18.20, 19.20, 22.4, Nu. 5.13.

194 cases. A few examples only need be given. Ge. 12.7
contains God's promise to Abraham, τῷ σπέρματί σου δώσω
τὴν γῆν ταύτην. Another divine promise is addressed to
David in 2 Ki. 7.12, ἔσται ἐὰν ... κοιμηθήσῃ μετά τῶν
πατέρων σου, καὶ ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σέ, ὃς ἔσται
ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου.

In Je. 38.27 there is another promise in which God
speaks of the future prosperity of his people: σπέρω τὸν
Ισραηλ καὶ τὸν Ιουδαν σπέρμα ἀνθρώπου καὶ σπέρμα κτήνους.
Here σπέρμα refers to animal offspring[2] as well as human
offspring.

There are several other examples in which σπέρμα
refers to human offspring in phrases which are metaphorical.
Thus, 1 Ki. 2.31 refers to the offspring of a house. This
verse is God's forecast of judgment on Eli: ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι
ἔρχονται καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσω τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ τὸ σπέρμα οἴκου
πατρός σου.[3] Here "your seed" and "the seed of your
father's house" are parallel expressions meaning "future
members of your family". In 3 Ki. 11.14 one of Solomon's
opponents is described as Αδερ ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος ἐκ τοῦ
σπέρματος τῆς βασιλείας ἐν Ἰδουμαίᾳ. Here, and elsewhere,[4]
"seed of the kingdom" means "royal family".

Another use of σπέρμα is found in seven references

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2. Also Ge. 3.15, 7.3, Is. 14.29.
3. Also To. 6.19(S), Ez. 20.5.
4. 4 Ki. 11.1, 2 Ch. 22.10, Ez. 17.13, Da. 1.3(TH).

and may be described as a "colourless" use. In these
σπέρμα refers to people, but the notion of descent has
largely disappeared and the word means simply "nation"
or "people" rather than "offspring". 1 Es. 8.67 refers
to intermarriage between the returned Jewish exiles and
the surrounding peoples: ἐπεμίγη τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς
τὰ ἀλλογενῆ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.[5] Wi. 10.15 describes the
blessings that Wisdom has brought:

> Αὕτη λαὸν ὅσιον καὶ σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον
> ἐρρύσατο ἐξ ἔθνους θλιβόντων.

Wi. 12.11 refers to judgment on the heathen in Canaan:
σπέρμα γὰρ ἦν κατηραμένον ἀπ'ἀρχῆς. Other phrases are
σπέρμα πονηρόν,[6] and σπέρμα ἄνομον.[7] The idea of descent
has not entirely disappeared: the phrase "holy seed", for
example, when applied to the Jews, contains the idea of
descent from and therefore relation to God. But the idea
is certainly not prominent in these phrases.

The distribution of σπέρμα in the LXX follows no
particular pattern. It occurs in most books, though it is
used most frequently in the Pentateuch (115 examples,
including 61 in Genesis), Isaiah (35), Psalms (18) and
Ecclesiasticus (15).

Outside the LXX, σπέρμα is common in the papyri,
though in the Ptolemaic period is used only of agricultural

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5. Also 2 Es. 9.2.
6. Is. 1.4, 14.20.
7. Is. 57.4.

seed or produce in a literal sense. The common use of the word in the LXX to refer to human offspring may therefore be regarded as due to Hebrew influence, since the corresponding Hebrew word zera`, "seed", is commonly used in this way. However it would not be correct to conclude that this use of σπέρμα is due solely to Hebrew influence, since it occurs in classical times, particularly in the poets, as in Aeschylus, Fragment 399, τὸ βρότειον σπέρμα and Aeschylus, Choephori 503, σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν. There is one example of this sense in Plato in Leges 853c, ἀνθρώπων σπέρμασι νουθετοῦμεν.

A different type of metaphorical use (not with reference to persons) occurs in a sixth century A.D. papyrus, in the phrase πᾶν σπέρμα δίκης (P.Monac. 1.43).

Σπέρμα	Human Offspring	Offspring of animals	Metaphorical	Κοίτη σπέρματος	Colourless	Agricultural	Total
Genesis	49	2				10	61
Exodus	4					1	5
Leviticus	9			7		4	20
Numbers	10		1	1		1	13
Deuteronomy	13					3	16
Joshua	1						1
Ruth	1						1
1 Kings	6		1			1	8
2 Kings	3						3
3 Kings	4		1			1	6
4 Kings	2		3				5
1 Chronicles	2						2
2 Chronicles	1		1				2
1 Esdras	1				1		2
2 Esdras	2				1		3
Esther	1						1
Tobit	6		1				7
1 Maccabees	2						2
2 Maccabees	1						1
3 Maccabees	1						1
4 Maccabees	1						1
Psalms	18						18
Proverbs	1						1
Ecclesiastes						1	1
Job	1						1
Wisdom	3				2		5
Ecclesiasticus	15						15
Minor Prophets	1						1
Isaiah	24	1	1		3	6	35
Jeremiah	3	1	2			3	9
Ezekiel	2		3			1	6
Susanna	1		1				2
Daniel	5		1			2	8
TOTAL	194	4	16	8	7	34	263

Hebrew:

	Human Offspring	Offspring of animals	Metaphorical	Κοίτη σπέρματος	Colourless	Agricultural	Total
zera⁏	140	3	10	8	4	29	194
ʾacharith	1		1				2
ben	1						1
neked + nin	1						1
basar	1						1
zero·im						1	1
zere·onim						1	1
zeru·a						1	1

29: ΣΩΜΑ

Most of the examples of σῶμα in the LXX are irrelevant to this study. The most common meaning is "body". Le. 6.3, for example, refers to the clothing a priest was to wear περὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. There are several other examples where the meaning is "person", as in 2 Ma. 12.26, which states that Judas κατέσφαξεν μυριάδας σωμάτων δύο καὶ πεντακισχιλίους.[1]

However there are probably four examples which are relevant, where σῶμα means "slave". Ge. 34.29 lists those who were taken captive by Jacob's sons Simeon and Levi in a raid on one of the Canaanite cities: πάντα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ᾐχμαλώτευσαν. The Hebrew word translated by σώματα is chayil, which is translated "wealth" in the R.V. The LXX has taken it to refer not to material possessions but to persons. The question arises whether it is the first item in a list of three, or a description of all the captives, being defined by the two words which follow. In the latter case σώματα would mean "persons". But this seems unlikely, as it would make σώματα superfluous. It is probable that we have a list of three types of captives, with σώματα meaning "slaves".

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1. Also Ge. 36.6, 47.12, Bel. 32.

In To. 10.10, σώματα occurs in BA: ἀναστὰς δὲ
Ραγουηλ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Σαρραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἥμισυ
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, σώματα καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀργύριον. In place
of the last five words, S has an extended list: παῖδας
καὶ παιδίσκας, βόας καὶ πρόβατα, ὄνους καὶ καμήλους,
ἱματισμὸν καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ σκεύη. If the BA version is an
abbreviated account of the story in S, then σώματα has
replaced παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας and "servants" is the
required meaning. In any case "servants" makes the best
sense, as "persons" is too vague and indefinite in the
context.

The other two examples both occur in 2 Ma. 8.11: εὐθέως
δὲ εἰς τὰς παραθαλασσίους πόλεις ἀπέστειλεν προκαλούμενος
ἐπ' ἀγορασμὸν Ιουδαίων σωμάτων ὑπισχνούμενος ἐνενήκοντα
σώματα ταλάντου παραχωρήσειν. The subject of this
sentence is Nicanor, who was sent to defeat the Jews, and
here he makes arrangements for selling the captives.
"Slave" appears to be the only possible translation of
σώματα here.

The examples of σῶμα is the Ptolemaic papyri
illustrate several meanings. There is the basic meaning
"body", which is found where a writer expresses concern
for the health of a friend, as in U.P.Z. 61.30 (ii B.C.),
ἐπιμέλου δὲ τοῦ σώματος or in references to corpses, as
in U.P.Z. 162.2.22 (ii B.C.), τῆς Ἥρας καὶ Δήμητρος τῶν
μεγίστων θεῶν, αἷς ἀθέμιτά ἐστιν νεκρὰ σώματα καὶ οἱ ταῦτα
θεραπεύοντες.

The word also means "slave", as is seen in references
to the purchasing of slaves. An example is <u>SB</u> 6771.68
(iii B.C.), ἐὰν δὲ τὰ β σώματα βούληται κομίσασθαι. In
<u>P.Lille</u> i.29.1.23 (iii B.C.) σῶμα is used in the context of
the torture of slaves and appears to be synonymous with
δοῦλος : τῶν δὲ δούλων τῶν μαρτυρησάντων οἱ δικασταὶ τὴν
βάσανον ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ποείσθωσαν. In <u>P.Col.</u> i.3 (ii B.C.)
it occurs in the phrase πράξονται τῶν σωμάτων, and in this
context is synonymous with ἀνδράποδον.[2]

In other places σῶμα means "workman", not a slave but
a hired hand. Thus, <u>SB</u> 6716.10 (iii B.C.) refers to the
wages paid to such people, περὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων τῶν τοῖς
σώμασιν. Likewise, in <u>P.Col.Zen.</u> 87.24 (iii B.C.), where
σῶμα occurs in the phrase ἐν τῶι ἀπολογισμῶι τῶν σωμάτων,
it refers to the paid labourers on the farm of Apollonios.

Another meaning is "person", without reference to
status or work, as in <u>P.Petr.</u> iii.59b.2 (iii/ii B.C.):

σωματα ερσενικα. Β′ ρ η
αφ ων εστιν των μη τελουν-
των ιερα εθνη.

In <u>P.Rev.</u> 50.9 (iii B.C.) the phrase κατὰ σῶμα, "per person",
"per head", is used.

In classical writings, σῶμα means "person" as well as
"body". The meaning "person" is seen, for example, in
Sophocles, <u>Antigone</u> 676 (τὰ πολλὰ σώματα, which is equivalent
to οἱ πολλοί), Aeschines 3.78 (τὰ φίλτατα σώματα, referring
to children), and Xenophon, <u>Hellenica</u> 2.1.19 (ἐλεύθερα σώματα)

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2. See under ἀνδράποδον, p.4.

It is not used absolutely for "slave" but with a defining adjective it refers to slaves as in Demosthenes 20.77 (αἰχμάλωτα σώματα). In such cases the meaning of σῶμα is again "person". The meaning "workman" is not classical.

Thus the LXX and the papyri both bear witness to post-classical developments in the meaning of σῶμα .

30: <u>TEKNON</u>

Τέκνον occurs 312 times in the LXX, meaning "child", "descendant" or "offspring". It denotes relationship rather than age. Though as we might expect it often refers to children who were young, the age factor is irrelevant, and on many other occasions it is used of children who were not young. It is also used in metaphorical phrases, where it is clearly a relationship word.

It is commonly used of a person's direct issue, as in 2 Ch. 28.3, where it is said of king Ahaz, διῆγεν τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ διὰ πυρός. Es. 9.25 describes the fate of Haman and his family: ἐκρεμάσθη αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. When Jacob blessed his sons shortly before his death, he referred to Reuben as ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου (Ge. 49.3).

In many cases τέκνον is used not only of a person's immediate offspring but of later generations as well, and in such cases it is perhaps better translated "descendants" than "children". Jo. 14.9 records the promise made by Moses to Caleb: ἡ γῆ, ἐφ' ἣν ἐπέβης, σοὶ ἔσται ἐν κλήρῳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 3 Ki. 8.25 refers to the obligation on David and future generations of his descendants to keep God's commandments: οὐκ ἐξαρθήσεταί σοι ἀνὴρ ἐκ προσώπου μου καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου Ισραηλ, πλὴν ἐὰν φυλάξωνται τὰ τέκνα σου τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ.

Τέκνον is used not only of a person's literal children or descendants, but is also used in different types of metaphorical phrases. Some of these describe character. In 4 Ki. 2.24 (A +) the children who mocked Elisha are called τέκνα παραβάσεως καὶ ἀργίας. The Israelites are described as τέκνα ἀδικίας in Ho. 10.9.

Another type of example is in Ho. 1.2,[1] where God instructs Hosea, λαβὲ σεαυτῷ γυναῖκα πορνείας καὶ τέκνα πορνείας. The genitive πορνείας is used in two ways. In the first phrase it describes the character of Hosea's wife,[2] whereas in the second it has nothing to do with the children's character but refers to the fact that they were (or would be) produced by an immoral woman.

In Is. 57.4 the wicked are described as τέκνα ἀπωλείας, "children of destruction", which has two possible meanings. It may refer to their character and mean "those who destroy". The Hebrew phrase refers to character, for the word pesha', "transgression", is used. But ἀπώλεια does not mean the same as pesha' and there is another possibility, that the phrase means "worthy to be destroyed". An analogy is the phrase υἱὸς θανάτου which means "worthy to die".[3]

The inhabitants of a town or city are sometimes described as its τέκνα. The town of Lachish is addressed in Mi. 1.16:

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1. Also Ho. 2.6.

2. The precise meaning of this phrase has been the subject of a lengthy debate. For a recent view, see J.L. Mays, Hosea (London, 1969), ad. loc. This point does not affect our discussion.

3. See under υἱός, p. 161.

ξύρησαι καὶ κεῖραι ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα τὰ τρυφερά σου. 1 Ma.
1.38 refers to Jerusalem and describes the effect of one
of Antiochus' campaigns: τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτήν.

Another type of metaphorical usage is in the four
examples where τέκνον describes the relationship between
God and the people of Israel as his children. Thus, in
Is. 63.8 God asks concerning the Jews, οὐχ ὁ λαός μου
τέκνα οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσωσιν;[4]

Perhaps also to be classed as metaphorical are those
examples where τέκνον is used in the vocative as a form
of familiar address, particularly in the context of a
teacher instructing a pupil (Si. 2.1):

τέκνον, εἰ προσέρχῃ δουλεύειν κυρίῳ,
ἑτοίμασον τὴν ψύχην σου εἰς πειρασμόν.

In a different context, Eli the priest addresses Samuel his
assistant, in 1 Ki. 3.16: εἶπεν Ηλι πρὸς Σαμουηλ Σαμουηλ
τέκνον.

In ten other examples τέκνον refers to the offspring
or young of animals. Among the animals provided for the
Passover celebration were ἐρίφους ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν
(2 Ch. 35.7). 4 Ma. 14.17 describes the protection that
birds give their young when the nest is attacked:

εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δύναιντο κωλύειν, περιιπτάμενα
κυκλόθεν αὐτῶν ἀλγοῦντα τῇ στοργῇ ἀνακαλούμενα
τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ, καθ' ὃ δύναται, βοηθεῖ τοῖς τέκνοις.[5]

The papyri contain numerous examples of τέκνον, but
as far as I am aware only with the meaning "child" or

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4. Also De. 32.5, Wi. 16.21, Is. 30.1.
5. Also De. 22.6, 1 Ki. 6.7(bis),10,14,32, 4 Ma. 14.18,
   Jb. 39.4,16.

"descendant" in a literal sense. However other uses are attested outside the LXX.

In classical Greek there are references to the young of animals in both poets and prose authors from Homer onwards.[6] There are also metaphorical phrases, such as γαίας τέκνα referring to flowers (Aeschylus, Persae 618), αἰθέρος τέκνα referring to birds (Euripides, Electra 897), and λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα referring to frogs (Aristophanes, Ranae 211).

The New Testament contains quite a few examples of τέκνον used other than in a literal sense. It is used in the vocative as a form of familiar address, in the phrase τέκνα (τοῦ) θεοῦ and similarly τὰ τέκνα τοῦ διαβόλου, with the names of towns in phrases describing the inhabitants of towns, and with abstract nouns in phrases describing character.[7]

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6. For details, see LSJ.
7. For details, see BAG.

Τέκνον	Son (human)	Offspring of animals	"Son of God"	Vocative as familiar address	Other metaph- orical	Total
Genesis	20			1		21
Exodus	8					8
Leviticus	2					2
Numbers	3					3
Deuteronomy	12	1	1			14
Joshua	7					7
Judges	1					1
1 Kings	4	4		8		16
3 Kings	10					10
4 Kings					1	1
1 Chronicles	3					3
2 Chronicles	4	1				5
1 Esdras	6					6
2 Esdras	2					2
Esther	3					3
Judith	3					3
Tobit	10			2		12
1 Maccabees	12				2	14
2 Maccabees	7					7
3 Maccabees	5					5
4 Maccabees	18	2				20
Psalms	5					5
Proverbs	7			3		10
Job	2	2				4
Wisdom	8		1			9
Ecclesiasticus	26			21		47
Minor Prophets	17				6	23
Isaiah	12		2		5	19
Jeremiah	9					9
Baruch					7	7
Ezekiel	9				2	11
Susanna	1					1
Daniel	1					1
Bel	3					3
TOTAL	240	10	4	35	23	312

Hebrew:

ben	108	7	3	8	10	136
yeled	7				2	9
taph	5					5
bar				3		3
bayith	1					1
'acharith	2					2
dor	1					1
'olel	1					1
peri-beten	1					1
se'esa'im	3					3

31: ΥΙΟΣ

Υἱός is by far the most common of the words
covered by this study, with 5068 examples. The vast
majority of these can be dealt with briefly, as examples
where υἱός has the normal meaning "son" and describes
the direct family relationship between a person and his
parent(s). Thus in Ge. 4.25 we read, ἔγνω δὲ Αδαμ
Ευαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱόν,
and in Ge. 6.10, ἐγέννησεν δὲ Νωε τρεῖς υἱούς, τὸν Σημ,
τὸν Χαμ, τὸν Ιαφεθ. In some cases υἱός is used of
the relationship with a more distant ancestor meaning
"descendant" rather than "son", as in 1 Ch. 6.42,
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ααρων ἔδωκαν τὰς πόλεις τῶν φυγαδευτηρίων.
This refers to the allotment of cities in Palestine
long after Aaron's death, so that Aaron's υἱοί in this
verse are not his immediate sons but descendants of a
later generation.

There are 351 examples (less than 10% of the total)
where the normal meaning does not apply. This number is
comprised of 35 references to sons of God, 165 examples
of the phrases "son of man" and "sons of men", 36 examples
where the vocative form is used as a form of familiar
address, five references to the young of animals, and 110
other examples where υἱός is used metaphorically to
describe a relationship other than the literal father-son

relationship.

Different individuals and groups are described as sons of God. In De. 14.1 Moses describes the Israelites in this way: υἱοί ἐστε κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν.[1] The description is applied to an individual worshipper in Pr. 3.12:

> ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει,
> μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.[2]

King Solomon is described as God's son in 1 Ch. 22.10: οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου, καὶ οὗτος ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱὸν κἀγὼ αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα. Likewise, Ps. 2.7 refers to an unnamed king in the same way. Another example to be included here is Si. 4.11, where Wisdom's devotees are described as her sons:

> ἡ σοφία υἱοὺς αὐτῆς ἀνύψωσεν
> καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῶν ζητούντων αὐτήν.

Thus this description is applied to different people who stood in a special relationship to God.

The 165 examples of "son of man" or "sons of men" include 95 in the book of Ezekiel, the form of address used by God when speaking to Ezekiel, as in Ez. 2.1: εἶπεν πρός με Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου, καὶ λαλήσω πρός σε. Likewise, the angel Gabriel addresses Daniel in the

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1. Also De. 32.19,20,43(bis), 2 Ch. 6.41, Es. 8.12g, Ju. 9.13, 3 Ma. 6.28, Wi. 9.7, 18.4,13, Ho. 2.1, Is. 30.9, 43.6, 45.11, Je. 38.20.
2. Also Wi. 2.18.

same way in Da. 8.17.   On many occasions the phrases
refer to men as a class or men as human beings.   In Ge.
11.5 for example, in the tower of Babel incident we read,
κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον, ὃν
ᾠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (In these phrases the
word for "man" is ἄνθρωπος, except in La. 3.33: ὅτι οὐκ
ἀπεκρίθη ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐταπείνωσεν υἱοὺς ἀνδρός.)

The vocative is used as form of familiar address
especially in the Wisdom literature to describe the
relationship between a teacher and pupil (or author and
reader).   An example is Si. 7.3: υἱέ, μὴ σπεῖρε ἐπ'
αὔλακας ἀδικίας.   In some cases the teacher-pupil
relationship may also be a literal father-son relationship,
as in Pr. 1.8: ἄκουε, υἱέ, παιδείαν πατρός σου.   However
it is perhaps more likely in verses like this that πατήρ
and υἱός are both used in a metaphorical sense.

An example where υἱός refers to the offspring or
young of animals is 2 Es. 6.9 which contains a list of
animals for sacrifice: υἱοὺς βοῶν καὶ κριῶν καὶ ἀμνοὺς
εἰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.[3]

The 110 other examples where υἱός is used meta-
phorically cover a variety of different uses.   First
the word refers to those who were sons in the literal
sense but does so by means of a metaphorical phrase which

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3. Also De. 32.14, Ps. 28.1, Si. 38.25.

describes the circumstances of the person's birth. Thus
Ge. 37.3 gives the reason for Jacob's preference for
Joseph: Ιακωβ δὲ ἠγάπα τὸν Ιωσηφ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς
αὐτοῦ, ὅτι υἱὸς γήρους ἦν αὐτῷ. Similarly, in Ge. 35.18
Rachel describes her son Benjamin as υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου.

There are 13 examples of the phrase "sons of the
prophets", as in 4 Ki. 6.1: εἶπον οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν
πρὸς Ελισαιε. This expression describes the prophets
who were grouped under the leadership of another prophet.
These men were not (necessarily) in the literal sense
sons of prophets, but in the context the word "sons"
does have something of the idea of family relationship
which we might retain by calling them a religious
fraternity.

A different type of example is in To. 4.12 (BA),
where Tobit says of the Jews, υἱοὶ προφητῶν ἐσμεν.
Here υἱός is used with a sense like "spiritual
descendant".[4]

Other phrases describe physical or moral attributes.
In 1 Ki. 10.26 we read, that ἐπορεύθησαν υἱοὶ δυνάμεως,
ὧν ἤψατο κύριος καρδίας αὐτῶν, μετὰ Σαουλ. Here υἱοὶ
δυνάμεων means "strong men". Similar phrases which
describe moral attributes are υἱὸς ἀδικίας,[5] υἱὸς ἀνομίας,[6]

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4. Also 3 Ki. 21.35, 4 Ki. 2.3,3(O),5,7,15, 4.1,38(bis),
   5.22, 9.1.
5. 2 Ki. 3.34. 7.10, 1 Ch. 17.9(L).
6. Ps. 88.23.

and υἱὸς τῆς ὑπερηφανίας.[7] Another phrase which
describes some sort of attribute is in Za. 4.14: οὗτοι
οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος παρεστήκασιν τῷ κυρίῳ πάσης
τῆς γῆς. The meaning of υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος is by no
means clear. The corresponding Hebrew phrase is "sons
of oil" which probably means "anointed ones". However
πιότης means "richness" or "fatness", not "oil".
Possibly the LXX translator used the phrase υἱοὶ τῆς
πιότητος with the meaning "anointed ones", but it is
far more likely that he meant something else, such as
"men who dispense richness". At best the phrase remains
obscure. Also describing a person's character is the
phrase υἱὸς θανάτου or υἱὸς θανατώσεως as Saul describes
David in 1 Ki. 20.31.[8] This expression does not mean
"dead person" but "worthy to die".

Other phrases describe circumstance. In 1 Es. 7.12
we read that the Levites ἔθυσαν τὸ πασχα πᾶσιν τοῖς
υἱοῖς τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας.[9] This, and similar phrases
using the words ἀποικεσία,[10] παροικία,[11] and ἀποικία,[12]
refer to the Jews in exile.

Υἱός is used with place names, with the meaning
"belonging to" as well as "living in". The most common
place is Jerusalem (or Zion), as in Is. 62.5 (which is

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7. 1 Ma. 2.47.
8. Also 1 Ki. 26.16, 2 Ki. 12.5.
9. Also 1 Es. 7.11, Da. 1.3(TH),2.25(TH), 5.13(TH), 6.14(TH).
10. 2 Es. 6.16,19,20.
11. 2 Es. 8.35.
12. 2 Es. 10.7,16.

addressed to Jerusalem): ὡς συνοικῶν νεανίσκος παρθένῳ, οὕτως κατοικήσουσιν οἱ υἱοί σου μετὰ σοῦ.[13] The word is used with the names of other cities,[14] countries,[15] and areas.[16] In the phrase (οἱ) υἱοὶ τῆς χώρας,[17] which refers to the Jews in their place of exile, there is only the meaning "living in" rather than also "belonging to".

A different type of expression is the formula "son of x years", the normal Hebrew way of indicating age. Ge. 11.10 contains one example of this formula (which occurs 32 times): Σημ υἱὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ὅτε ἐγέννησεν τὸν Αρφαξαδ.

In Ez. 30.5 the phrase "sons of God's covenant" means those who are related to God because of his covenant with them: Πέρσαι καὶ Κρῆτες...καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπίμικτοι καὶ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς διαθήκης μου μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται ἐν αὐτῇ.

In two references (parallel accounts of the same story), υἱός refers to a plant. Thus, in king Joash's story, the message of the thistle to the cedar is δὸς τὴν θυγατέρα σου τῷ υἱῷ μου εἰς γυναῖκα.[18]

One other phrase worth mentioning occurs in 4 Ki.

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13. Also To. 13.10, Ps. 149.2, Is. 49.20,22,25, 51.18,20, 54.13, 60.4, La. 4.2.
14. To. 14.15 (Nineveh), Ez. 23.17,23 (Babylon).
15. Ez. 16.26 (Egypt), Da. 2.25(G)(Judea).
16. Jd. 6.3,33, 7.12, 8.10(A)("sons of the east").
17. 2 Es. 2.1, 17.6.
18. 4 Ki. 14.9, 2 Ch. 25.18.

14.14. When Joash (king of Israel) had successfully attacked Jerusalem, ἔλαβεν...τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν συμμίξεων καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.[19] The corresponding Hebrew phrase is "sons of pledges", which means "hostages", but the LXX has made nonsense of the sentence by translating the word ta'arubah, "pledge", as if it were 'ereb, "mixture, mixed company".

In its normal literal meaning "son", υἱός is of course well attested elsewhere. Many of the other expressions are Hebraistic, and we would not expect to find them used outside the LXX or other Greek influenced by Hebrew thought forms (such as the New Testament).

However not every use of υἱός other than the literal sense is to be explained as a Hebraism. The phrase "son of God" occurs in several contexts. It is used as a description of the Roman emperor, as in B.G.U. 543.3 (i B.C.), ὄμνυμι Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱόν. It is also used of the pupils and helpers of Asclepius in S.I.G. 1169.12 (Epidaurus).[20] Phrases such as υἱὸς τῆς πατρίδος, Insc.Magn. 167.5 (i A.D.), are used as titles of honour.[20]

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19. Also 2 Ch. 25.24.
20. For further references and quotations, see LSJ, BAG, MM.

Yἱός	Son (human)	Offspring of animals	"Son of God"	"Son of man"	Vocative as familiar address	Other Metaphorical	Total
Genesis	328		2	1		3	334
Exodus	218						218
Leviticus	133						133
Numbers	489			1			490
Deuteronomy	111	1	5				117
Joshua	230						230
Judges	223					7	230
Ruth	9						9
1 Kings	130			1	1	6	138
2 Kings	214			1	1	10	226
3 Kings	224			1		7	232
4 Kings	207					30	237
1 Chronicles	673		1			2	676
2 Chronicles	170		1	1		9	181
1 Esdras	169			1		2	172
2 Esdras	462	1				8	471
Esther	7		1				8
Judith	58		1	2			61
Tobit	54					3	57
1 Maccabees	60					1	61
2 Maccabees	9						9
3 Maccabees	1		1				2
4 Maccabees	13						13
Psalms	63	2	5	30		2	102
Proverbs	29		1	2	31		63
Ecclesiastes	4			10	1		15
Canticles	2						2
Job	31			3			34
Wisdom	1		9	1			11
Ecclesiasticus	35	1	2	2	2		42
Minor Prophets	52		1			1	54
Isaiah	43		3	2		8	56
Jeremiah	158		1	5			164
Baruch	16					1	17
Lamentations	1			1		1	3
Ezekiel	77			95		4	176
Susanna	4						4
Daniel	7		1	5		5	18
Bel	2						2
TOTAL	4717	5	35	165	36	110	5068

Hebrew:

ben *		4	18	152	9	98	
bar	3		1	1	1		6
yeled	3						3
yalid	1						1
'ish	13						13
bayith	15						15
mishpachah	2						2
zera'	1						1

* Because of the large number of examples involved, no attempt has been made to calculate the number of times that υἰός (with the normal literal meaning "son") translates ben, and so there is no total for ben.

32: ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ

There are only four examples of this word in the LXX, three referring to servants of men and one to servants of God.

Its use in Is. 32.5 is somewhat obscure. The verse reads καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ εἴπωσιν τῷ μωρῷ ἄρχειν, καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ εἴπωσιν οἱ ὑπηρέται σου Σίγα, "and let them no longer tell the fool to rule, and let your servants no longer say, 'Be silent'". The first part of the verse is clear, for the paragraph is speaking of the reign of a βασιλεὺς δίκαιος (verse 1). In these circumstances there would be no opportunity for a μωρός to rule. But it is by no means clear what the second part means. To whom does the second person σου refer? It is not the Lord, who is the speaker (31.9), nor the king, who is spoken of in the third person. I can see no other possibility, and so it is impossible to say whose servants these ὑπηρέται were or what sort of servants they were.

We note that the LXX is different from the Hebrew. The latter (as translated by the R.V.) reads, "The vile person shall no more be called liberal, nor the churl said to be bountiful." The LXX translators may have mistranslated the Hebrew, or perhaps they had a different form of the text, but in any case there is no help to be gained on this point from the Hebrew.

In contrast, Da. 3.46 is clear and refers to the servants of the Babylonian king who threw the three Jews into the furnace: οὐ διέλιπον οἱ ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέται τοῦ βασιλέως καίοντες τὴν κάμινον. These ὑπηρέται are described in 3.20 as ἄνδρας ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει, that is, soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar's army.

The other reference to a servant of a human master is in Pr. 14.35, again referring to a king's servant: δεκτὸς βασιλεῖ ὑπηρέτης νοήμων.

The final example is in Wi. 6.4, where kings are described as ὑπηρέται ὄντες τῆς αὐτοῦ (God's) βασιλείας, and so virtually servants of God himself.

The word is rather more common in the papyri. Sometimes it refers to a servant of a private individual, as in P.Cair.Zen. 59062b.14 (iii B.C.). This papyrus concludes:

Θεύδωρος ὑπηρέτης περὶ τῶν   Ζήνωνι
'Α ⊢ ὧν ἔχει παρὰ Πύθωνος

This man Theodorus, writing to Zenon about a sum of 1,000 drachmae, must have been an assistant of some standing in the household of Apollonios, rather than a mere slave.

More often in the papyri, ὑπηρέτης refers to a public official who was subordinate to someone else in authority. Thus, in P.Princ. ii. 16 (ii B.C.), which is a report of legal proceedings, the ὑπηρέτης Pelops mentioned in line 8 was a court messenger. In U.P.Z. 15.20 (ii B.C.)

it refers to a paymaster: ὑπὸ δὲ τῶ[ν ὑ]πηρετῶν
περισπᾶται εἰς τὰς λε[ι]τουργίας. In P.Cair.Zen. 59291.4
(iii B.C.), a petition to Zenon refers to Ὥρου τοῦ σοῦ
ὑπηρέτου. Horos was Zenon's foreman. In other places
the word refers to military officials, in different
phrases: ὑπηρέτης τάγματος (P.Rein. 14.31 (ii B.C.),
U.P.Z. 215.2 (ii B.C.)) and ὑπηρέτης προστάγματος
P.Rein. 15.30 (ii B.C.)). It refers to an assistant
or subordinate of a λογευτής in P.Rev. 13.2 (iii B.C.),
a πράκτωρ in P.Tebt. 814.2,27,40 (iii B.C.), P.Cair.Zen.
59460.11 (ii B.C.), SB 7450.50 (iii B.C.), and a σιτολόγος
in P.Cair.Zen. 59497.7 (ii B.C.).

Ὑπηρέτης is also used of religious officials, in
pagan, Jewish and Christian contexts. The early chapters
of Luke contain several examples. Luke 1.2 uses the word
in a Christian setting, in the phrase ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου,
while Luke 4.20 refers to a Jewish synagogue attendant.
Several references are given in LSJ, BAG and MM to pagan
cult officials, but I have not been able to check any
of these.

33: ΥΠΟΜΑΣΤΙΔΙΟΣ

This word is an adjective meaning "under the breast".
It occurs only once in the LXX, in 3 Ma. 3.27, where it
is used as a substantive meaning "suckling":

ὃς δ' ἂν σκεπάσῃ τινὰ τῶν Ιουδαίων ἀπὸ γεραιοῦ
μέχρι νηπίου καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπομαστιδίων, αἰσχίσταις
βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικίᾳ.

Thus it is used in contrast with γεραιός and is parallel
to νήπιος. C.W. Emmet translates these words "old man
and child and very suckling",[1] and so attempts to
distinguish νήπιος from ὑπομαστίδιος, but no meaningful
distinction can be made. Although ὑπομαστίδιος strictly
means "suckling", in this context it is used simply as
an alternate word for "infant".

The word is cited here in the form in which it
appears in the text of Rahlfs' edition, the form suggested
by W. Schulze. The MSS forms (as listed by Rahlfs) are
ὑπομαστιαίων (AL) and ὑπομασθίων (V+).

There are no examples of this word in any papyrus
of any period, nor in any other Greek literature. It is
not listed in LSJ. Several related words occur:

ὑπομάζιος: Diodorus Siculus 34.2 (i B.C.), Conon 44
(i B.C./ i A.D.), Josephus, Bellum Judaicum 6.3.4
(v.l.) i A.D.).

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1. In R.H. Charles (ed.), Apocrypha (Oxford, 1913), p.167.

ὑπομάσθιος : 3 Ma. 3.27 (V+), Conon 44 (i B.C./ i A.D.),
Josephus, <u>Bellum Judaicum</u> 6.3.4 (i A.D.).

ὑπομαστίαιος : 3 Ma. 3.27 (AL).

ὑπομάστιος : Josephus, <u>Bellum Judaicum</u> 6.3.4. (v.l.)
(i A.D.), <u>IG</u> 12 (7). 53.6 (Amorgos, iii A.D.).

34 : ΥΠΟΤΙΤΘΙΟΝ

The adjective ὑποτίτθιος means "under the breast",
and in its only occurrence in the LXX it is used as a
substantive meaning "child at the breast, suckling". It
is used in Ho. 14.1 which is a prophecy of doom against
Samaria and speaks of the destruction of the city and its
people. In this context it is said that τὰ ὑποτίτθια
αὐτῶν ἐδαφισθήσονται.

The basic meaning of the word as suggested by its
etymology indicates that it has primarily an age reference,
but here the addition of the pronoun αὐτῶν (referring to
the people of Samaria) gives it also a relationship
reference; that is, it not only refers to infants, but to
particular people's children.

The papyri contain several examples of the adjective
ὑποτί(τ)θιος but no examples where it is used as a
substantive. In P.Cair.Zen. 59292.302 (iii B.C.) we read
of a γυναικὶ καὶ θυγα[τρί]ωι ὑποτιτθίω[ι], and the phrase
δουλικὸν παιδίον ὑποτίθιον occurs in B.G.U. 1058.12
(i B.C.) and in three other first century B.C. papyri.[1]

There is one later example of the substantival use,
in the grammarian Athenaeus 2.46e (ii/iii A.D.), but no
examples earlier than the LXX.

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1. B.G.U. 1106.13, 1107.9, 1110.6.

35 : ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ

There is only one example of this word in the LXX.
It occurs in the B text of Jo. 1.1 as a variant for
λειτουργός : μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Μωυσῆ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ
Ἰησοῖ υἱῷ Ναυη τῷ ὑπουργῷ Μωυσῆ. No description is
given in this passage of the nature of Joshua's service,
though it appears from other passages that he was not
basically a private and personal servant but that he
assisted Moses in an official or semi-official capacity.[1]

The word occurs more frequently in the Ptolemaic
papyri, where it refers to a servant who was a workman or
assistant rather than a slave. In P.Cair.Zen. 59176
(iii B.C.), for example, there is a list of workmen who
were paid wages, as in line 232, Κομοάπιος ὑπουργῶι
Μοσχίωνι ⊢ β.[2]

Different types of workmen are described as ὑπουργοί.
In P.Col.Zen. 69.65.66 (iii B.C.) we read of payment made
τεκτονι και τωι υπουργωι. In P.Cair.Zen. 59752 (iii B.C.)
the ὑπουργοί mentioned in lines 8 and 24 were assistants
to the vinedresser Andronicus (line 5), and in P.Cair.Zen.
59760 (iii B.C.), which is a fragment of a building account,
the ὑπουργοί of line 4 were presumably builders' labourers.

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1. For details see under λειτουργός, p.55.
2. Also in lines 220, 224, 231, 233, 235.

There are a few earlier examples of ὑπουργός referring to a skilled or semi-skilled workman, as in Hippocrates, <u>Acut</u>. 67 where it refers to attendants who had the knowledge to bath a patient properly: ἓν γὰρ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν μεγάλην φέρει βλάβην μὴ προπαρασκευασθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπουργῶν ὡς δεῖ.

36 : CHILD (NEW-BORN OR VERY YOUNG)

I. Words Used:

νήπιος (45), παιδίον (26), παιδάριον (20),

θηλάζων (9), βρέφος (5), ὑπομαστίδιος (1),

ὑποτίτθιον (1).

II. Similarities

(a) Different words used in identical contexts

(1) Βρέφος (1 Ma. 1.61) and νήπιος (1 Ma. 2.9). The
Jewish children who had been circumcised and who were
therefore put to death by Antiochus together with their
mothers.

(2) Βρέφος (2 Ma. 6.10) and νήπιος (2 Ma. 5.13, 8.4, 9.15).
Examples from 2 Maccabees describing the same children
as above.

(3) Βρέφος (3 Ma. 5.49) and νήπιος (3 Ma. 5.50). Examples
from 3 Maccabees (in consecutive verses) describing the
same children as in (1) above.

(4) Βρέφος and παιδίον (4 Ma. 4.25). Another example
describing the same children: γυναῖκας, ὅτι περιέτεμον τὰ
παιδία, μετὰ τῶν βρεφῶν κατακρημνισθῆναι.

(5) Θηλάζων and νήπιος (1 Ki. 15.3, 22.19, Ju. 16.4,
Ps. 8.3, Je. 51.7, La. 2.11, 4.4). General phrases
referring to unspecified children: e.g. Ps. 8.3, ἐκ
στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων. These references include

seven of the nine examples of θηλάζων.

(6) Νήπιος and ὑπομαστίδιος (3 Ma. 3.27). A description of the whole Jewish nation: ἀπὸ γεραιοῦ μέχρι νηπίου καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπομαστιδίων.

(7) Παιδάριον (2 Ki. 12.16 and eleven other times in this passage) and παιδίον (2 Ki. 12.15). The child of David and Bathsheba. See also (b)(2) below.

(b) **Different words used in parallel accounts of the same incident (including variant readings)**

(1) Παιδάριον (Jd. 13.8,12(A)) and παιδίον (Jd. 13.8,12(B)). This passage refers to Samson before he was born. Παιδάριον is also used in verses 5 and 7 of this chapter, in both A and B. Thus A uses παιδάριον on all four occasions, whereas B uses each word twice.

(2) Παιδάριον and παιδίον (2 Ki. 12.15). The child of David and Bathsheba. Here Origen replaces παιδίον by παιδάριον (apparently because παιδάριον is used elsewhere in this passage - see (a)(7) above).

(c) **Different words used in other similar (though not identical) contexts**

(1) Βρέφος (Si. 19.11), νήπιος (Jb. 3.16) and παιδίον (Ge. 25.22). Unborn children. Βρέφος and νήπιος are used generally (of unspecified children), while παιδίον refers specifically to Jacob and Esau.

(2) Παιδίον (Ge. 17.12) is used in the instructions given

to Abraham concerning the circumcision of children eight days old. With this may be compared the examples in the books of the Maccabees (see (a)(1)-(4) above), where βρέφος, νήπιος and παιδίον refer to children at the age of circumcision.

(3) Νήπιος (Jb. 33.25) and παιδάριον (4 Ki. 5.14). These verses refer to a person's flesh becoming like the flesh of a child.

III Distinctions

(a)   On the basis of overall LXX usage

No obvious distinctions suggest themselves. On the contrary the similarities listed above show a considerable degree of overlap in the usage of the different words.

On etymological grounds we may be inclined to isolate θηλάζων, ὑπομαστίδιος and ὑποτίτθιον from the others, as meaning "suckling" or "child at the breast". However this distinction is not always confirmed by actual usage. Thus θηλάζων, in the seven examples listed in II (a)(5) above, would seem to be synonymous with νήπιος and merely an alternate word for "infant"; and similarly, the one example of ὑπομαστίδιος (see II (a)(6) above). We may at least say that the distinctive meaning "suckling" is not always emphasised, even if it has not disappeared.

(b) On the basis of translators' preference

(1) The Pentateuch prefers παιδίον. The twelve examples

of παιδίον in these books are nearly half of the total examples of παιδίον in this sense. The only other word used in the Pentateuch is θηλάζων (two examples).

(2) In the books from Judges to 4 Kings παιδάριον is preferred (and conversely all twenty examples of παιδάριον occur in these books). Other words used are παιδίον (7), νήπιος (3) and θηλάζων (2).

(3) Even with only a few examples, 2,3 and 4 Maccabees show their customary variety, with νήπιος used six times, βρέφος three times (out of a total of five examples in LXX), and παιδίον and ὑπομαστίδιος once each.

(4) The books from Psalms onwards (with the exception of Isaiah) prefer νήπιος. Excluding Isaiah, βρέφος and ὑποτίτθιον are used once each in these books, θηλάζων four times, and νήπιος 29 times.

(5) In Isaiah, νήπιος is used once, while παιδίον occurs six times.

(c) On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

θηλάζων   yoneq (8).

νήπιος   'olel (17), taph (2), yanaq (1), na'ar (2), pethi (5).

παιδάριον   yeled (11), na'ar (8).

παιδίον   ben (3), yeled (13), yoneq (2), taph (1), na'ar (5), racham (1).

ὑποτίτθιον   'olel (1).

(Βρέφος and ὑπομαστίδιος have no Hebrew equivalents).

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

ben   παιδίον (3).

taph   νήπιος (2), παιδίον (1).

yeled (or yalad)   παιδάριον (11), παιδίον (13).

yoneq (or yanaq)   θηλάζων (8), νήπιος (1), παιδίον (2).

na'ar (or no'ar)   νήπιος (2), παιδάριον (8), παιδίον (5).

'olel   νήπιος (17), ὑποτίτθιον (1).

pethi   νήπιος (5).

racham   παιδίον (1).

(1) We may leave aside ben ("son"), pethi ("simple, simple-minded") and racham ("womb") as not being direct equivalents of the Greek words used to translate them.

(2) Of the other five Hebrew words, only in the case of 'olel is it meaningful to speak of a "standard" translation.

In addition we make the following observations:

(3) There is a degree of order in the translation of yeled. It is translated by παιδάριον in 2 Ki. 12 only (in each case referring to David and Bathsheba's child), and more than half the examples where it is translated by παιδίον occur in the Pentateuch. However there is no clear-cut pattern, for in 2 Ki. 12.15 it is translated by παιδίον.

(4) There is an even clearer pattern in the case of na'ar. In Judges (A), 1, 2 and 4 Kings it is translated by παιδάριον, Judges (B) by παιδίον, and in Proverbs, Job and Hosea by νήπιος.

(5) There is likewise a clear pattern in the translation
of taph (though the small number of examples reduces
the significance of this). It is translated by παιδίον
in Deuteronomy, and by νήπιος in Esther, Jeremiah and
Ezekiel.

(6) The more usual translation of yoneq (yanaq) is
θηλάζων. The exceptions are confined to two examples in
Isaiah: 11.8 (where it is translated by the two words
παιδίον νήπιον) and 53.2. Θηλάζων is not used in this
book.

(7) Since 'olel is normally translated by νήπιος, it is
somewhat surprising that ὑποτίτθιον should be used in
Ho. 14.1, especially as νήπιος translates 'olel elsewhere
in the Minor Prophets and is used in this very book
(to translate na'ar in 11.1).

Thus we find that though there are some minor
patterns to be observed in the way the different Hebrew
words are translated, these are of little significance.
There are no patterns sufficiently general in scope to
enable us to draw distinctions between the Greek words
on the basis of their Hebrew equivalents.

CHILD (NEW-BORN OR VERY YOUNG)	Βρέφος	Θηλάζων	Νήπιος	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Ὑπομαστίδιος	Ὑποτίτθιον
Samson				Jd.13.5,7,8(A),12(A)	Jd.13.8(B),12(B)		
Child of David and Bathsheba				2 Ki.12.15(O),16,18(4 times),19(bis),21(bis),22(bis),23	2 Ki.12.15		
At the age of circumcision	1 Ma.1.61,4 Ma.4.25				Ge.17.12,4 Ma.4.25		
Infants at the breast	2 Ma.6.10,3 Ma.5.49		3 Ma.5.50,J1.2.16,La.2.20				
Flesh of a child			Jb.33.25	4 Ki.5.14			
Unborn/stillborn children	Si.19.11		Jb.3.16				
Other references		Nu.11.12,De.32.25,1 Ki.15.3,22.19,Ju.16.4,Ps.B.3,Je.51.7,La.2.11,4.4	1 Ki.15.3,22.19, 4 Ki.8.12,Ju.4.10,12,7.22,27, 16.4,1 Ma.2.9, 2 Ma.5.13,8.4, 9.15,3 Ma.3.27, 6.14,Ps.8.3,16.14, 18.8,63.8,114.6, 118.130,136.9,Pr.1.32,Jb.24.12, 31.10,Wi.10.21, 12.24,15.14, 18.5, Ho.11.1,Na.3.10, Is.11.8,Je.6.11, 9.20,50.6,51.7, La.1.5,2.11,19, 4.4,Ez.9.6,45.20	1 Ki.1.22,4.21	Ge.21.7,8,25.22, Ex.2.3,6,7,8,9(bis),10,De.1.39, Ru.4.16,3 Ki.3.25 26,27,Is.7.16,8.4, 11.8,46.3,53.2, 66.12	3 Ma.3.27	Ho.14.1

37 : <u>CHILD (OLDER)</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

$\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ (57), $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}o\nu$ (22), $\nu\acute{\epsilon}o\varsigma$ (20),

$\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (9), $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa o\varsigma$ (8), $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$ (4),

$\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota o\varsigma$ (3), $\kappa o\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota o\nu$ (2), $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (2),

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\beta o\varsigma$ (1).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ (1 Ma. 11.39,54) and $\nu\acute{\epsilon}o\varsigma$ (1 Ma. 11.57).
Antiochus when he was a boy king in the care of Trypho.

(2) $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ (Ge. 44.30,31) and $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}o\nu$ (Ge. 44.32, etc.).
Benjamin, when Joseph demanded that his younger brother
be brought to Egypt.

(3) $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ (4 Ki. 2.23) and $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (4 Ki. 2.24). The
children from Bethel who mocked the prophet Elisha.
(See also III (b)(4) below.)

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the
same incident (including variant readings)</u>

(1) $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ (1 Ki. 17.58) and $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa o\varsigma$ (1 Ki. 17.55,
56). David, in the Goliath episode. These readings are
in O and L only. ($\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ also occurs earlier in this
chapter, referring to David, in verses 33 and 42 - see
(b)(3) below.)

(2) $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota o\nu$ and $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}o\nu$ (Ge. 22.5). Isaac, when
Abraham his father was going to sacrifice him. $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}o\nu$

is the reading of A+.

(3) Παιδάριον and παιδίον (1 Ki. 17.33). David, when he
fought Goliath. Again, A reads παιδίον.

(4) Παιδάριον (3 Ki. 14.12, etc.), and παιδίον and παῖς
(both in 3 Ki. 14.3). Abijah, the son of king Jeroboam.
Παιδάριον is the more common word (used seven times in
3 Ki. 12 and 14), but παιδίον is used in the 0 text in
3 Ki. 14.3 (except that A+ read παῖς in this reference -
also an 0 reading).

(5) Νεανίας (1 Es. 8.88) and νεανίσκος (2 Es. 10.1).
The phrases ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ νεανίαι and ἄνδρες
καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ νεανίσκοι refer to the population of
Jerusalem gathered around Ezra, so that νεανίαι and
νεανίσκοι describe all the children present (male and
female, and of all ages up to adult age).

(c) Different words used in other similar (though not
     identical) contexts

(1) Παιδάριον (Ge. 37.30,42.22) and νέος (Ge. 37.2).
Both words refer to Joseph. They are not used in precisely
the same incident, but there is no difference between them
in respect of age.

(2) Παιδάριον (Ge. 22.5,12) and παιδίον (Ge. 21.12, and
seven other examples). In these references παιδάριον
describes Isaac and παιδίον Ishmael. Though the words
describe different people and occur in separate narratives,
there appear to be no significant differences between
Isaac and Ishmael in terms of their age. Perhaps the

translator felt it inappropriate to use the same word to describe the son of the free woman and the son of the slave, though this observation (even if correct) does not affect the essential meaning of the two words.

(3) Παιδάριον (Ge. 33.14) and νεανίσκος (Ge. 25.27). Both words refer to Jacob's children, παιδάριον to Jacob's children generally, and νεανίσκος to Jacob and Esau specifically.

(4) Παιδάριον (Jd. 13.24) and νεανίσκος (Ge. 25.27). In Jd. 13.24 we read ηὐξήθη (A - ἡδρύνθη in B) τὸ παιδάριον, referring to Samson, and in Ge. 25.27 ηὐξήθησαν δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι, referring to Jacob and Esau.

(5) Νεανίσκος (Pr. 20.11), νέος (Pr. 22.15, Si. 42.8), νήπιος (Pr. 23.13, Si. 30.12) and παῖς (Pr. 1.4, 29.21). These words are used in maxims in the Wisdom literature. There are no direct parallels here, but at the same time it is difficult to distinguish between the different words.

III Distinctions

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

(1) Κοράσιον and νεᾶνις can be distinguished from the others, in that they apply only to girls.

(2) No other distinction can be made on the basis of sex. Even words which are specifically applied to males are also applied to children generally, irrespective of sex. For νεανίας and νεανίσκος, see II (b)(5) above. For παιδάριον, see II (c)(3) above, and note also that in one example it refers specifically

to a girl (Sarah, in To. 7.11). For ἄνηβος and νέος,
compare 2 Ma. 5.13, νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀναίρεσις,
ἀνήβων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀφανισμός. For νήπιος,
compare Es. 8.11 (S^c+), νήπια καὶ γυναῖκας. For παιδίον,
compare Ba. 4.15, οὐκ ᾐσχύνθησαν πρεσβύτην οὐδὲ παιδίον
ἠλέησαν. For παῖς, compare 4 Ma. 15.4, εἰς μικρὸν
παιδὸς χαρακτῆρα.

(3) There are no other general distinctions to be observed.

(b) On the basis of translators' preference

(1) There is nothing especially significant in the
distribution of the feminine words κοράσιον and νεᾶνις.
(The following observations apply to the other eight words
only.)

(2) The Pentateuch prefers παιδίον (fifteen examples -
all in Genesis), which is used more often than all other
words combined (thirteen examples - all but two of which
are in Genesis). Παιδίον occurs only seven more times
outside Genesis. At the same time Genesis shows
considerable variety, with five words used.

(3) The books of Kings prefer παιδάριον, which occurs
thirteen times in each of 1, 3 and 4 Kings. The total
examples of all other words in these books are four, two
and three respectively. (None of the words in this group
occurs in 2 Kings.) 1 Kings shows variety, with four
words used.

(4) 2 and 4 Maccabees avoid the more common παιδάριον and

παιδίον, and use ἄνηβος (the only example of this word in the LXX), νέος (six of the twenty examples of this sense of the word) and παῖς (three of the nine examples of this sense).

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

κοράσιον	<u>yaldah</u> (2).
νεανίας	<u>na'ar</u> (1).
νεᾶνις	<u>na·arah</u> (2), <u>·almah</u> (2).
νεανίσκος	<u>yeled</u> (1), <u>na'ar</u> (6), <u>·elem</u> (1).
νέος	<u>na'ar</u> (10), <u>qaton</u> (1).
νήπιος	<u>na'ar</u> (1), <u>taph</u> (1).
παιδάριον	<u>yeled</u> (13), <u>na'ar</u> (29).
παιδίον	<u>yeled</u> (2), <u>na'ar</u> (16), <u>ben</u> (1).
παῖς	<u>yeled</u> (1), <u>na'ar</u> (1), <u>no'ar</u> (1), <u>ne'urim</u> (1).

(Ἄνηβος has no Hebrew equivalent.)

The Hebrew words (with the feminine ones at the end of the list) and their Greek translations are:

<u>yeled</u>	νεανίσκος (1), παιδάριον (13), παιδίον (2), παῖς (1).
<u>na'ar</u>	νεανίας (1), νεανίσκος (6), νέος (10), νήπιος (1), παιδάριον (29), παιδίον (16), παῖς (1).
<u>taph</u>	νήπιος (1).
<u>'elem</u>	νεανίσκος (1).

ben	παιδίον (1).
no'ar	παῖς (1).
ne'urim	παῖς (1).
qaton	νέος (1).
yaldah	κοράσιον (2).
na'arah	νεᾶνις (2).
'almah	νεᾶνις (2).

(1) The following are not direct equivalents of the Greek words that translate them: ben ("son"), no'ar and ne'urim (both "youth, early life"), qaton (adjective "small").

(2) There is a clear pattern in the translation of the three feminine words, though this may be coincidental, since there are only six examples and no two Hebrew words occur in the same book (yaldah in the Minor Prophets, na'arah in Exodus and Psalms, and 'almah in 4 Kings).

(3) There is no consistency in the translation of the other four words, and no general distinction can be drawn between any of the words on the basis of the Hebrew equivalents.

(4) In one passage the Hebrew equivalents explain the use of separate Greek words. In 4 Ki. 2 (see II (a)(3) above) παιδάριον translates na'ar in verse 23, and this presumably is why a different word (παῖς) is used in verse 24 to translate yeled (instead of the more normal παιδάριον). The translator wanted to avoid using the same Greek word to translate different Hebrew words.

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CHILD (OLDER)	Ἄνηβος	Κοράσιον	Νεανίας	Νεᾶνις	Νεανίσκος	Νέος	Νήπιος	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Παῖς
Isaac								Ge.22.5,12	Ge.22.5(A+)	
Joseph						Ge.37.2		Ge.37.30, 42.22		
Benjamin								Ge.43.8, 44.30,31	Ge.44.22,32, 33(bis),34	
David					1 Ki.17.55, 56			1 Ki.17.33, 42,58	1 Ki.17.33, (A)	
Abijah (Jeroboam's son)								3 Ki.12.24g (bis),24l, 24m,24n,14.12, 17	3 Ki.14.3(O)	3 Ki.14.3 (O -A+)
Children mocking Elisha								4 Ki.2.23		4 Ki.2.24
Antiochus						1 Ma.11.57		1 Ma.11.39,54		
Other references	2 Ma.5.13	J1.4.3, Za.8.5	1 Ki.20.37, 1 Es.8.88	Ex.2.8,4 Ki. 5.2,4,Ps. 67.26	Ge.25.27,Ex. 10.9,Jo.6.21, 2 Es.10.1, Pr.20.11, Is.20.4	De.28.50, Jd.8.20,2 Ch. 15.13,1 Es. 1.50,2 Ma. 5.13,24,6.24, 28,31,4 Ma.6. 19,Ps.36.25, 148.12,Pr.22. 15,Ec.10.16, Si.42.8,Is. 65.20,Je.1.6, 7	Es.8.11(Sᶜ+) Pr.23.13, Si.30.12	Ge.33.14,Jd. 13.24,1 Ki. 1.24,25(bis), 27,2.11,18, 21,26,3.1,8, 3 Ki.3,7,11. 17,17.21(bis), 22(bis),4 Ki. 4.18(bis),26, 29,30,31(bis), 32,34(bis), 35(bis)To. 7.11(A*+), 1 Ma.2.46, 13.17,18,19, J1.4.3,Za. 8.5	Ge.21.12,14 15,16,17,18, 19,20,48.16, Is.3.5,10.19, 11.6,38.19, 8a.4.15	Ge.46.34, 2 Ma.6.23, 15.12,4 Ma. 15.4,Pr.1.4, 29.21,Wi.8. 19

38: <u>YOUNG MAN (ADULT)</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

> νεανίσκος (98), παιδάριον (64), νεανίας (26),
>
> νέος (15), παῖς (9), παιδίον (4), μειράκιον (4),
>
> μειρακίσκος (2), μεῖραξ (2).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Παιδάριον (To. 6.2,3(bis),5,7) and παιδίον (To. 6.1,2).
(These references are in the S text only. In this
incident BA use παιδάριον exclusively.) Tobias, in the
incident when the fish tried to swallow his foot. See
also (b)(12) and (c)(2) and (3) below.

(2) Μειράκιον (2 Ma. 7.25), νεανίας (2 Ma. 7.25,30) and
παῖς (2 Ma. 7.34). The last of the seven martyrs.

(3) Μειράκιον (4 Ma. 8.14) and νεανίας (4 Ma. 8.5,27).
All the seven martyrs.

(4) Μεῖραξ (4 Ma. 14.6,8), νεανίας (4 Ma. 14.9) and
νεανίσκος (4 Ma. 14.4,12,20). All the seven martyrs.
For (2), (3) and (4) in this section see also (b)(2) and
(c)(5) below.

(5) Νεανίας (Da. 1.10(G)) and νεανίσκος (Da. 1.13,15(G)).
The young men being trained for service in king
Nebuchadnezzar's court. See also (b)(5) and (6) below.

(6)Νέος (2 Ch. 10.14) and παιδάριον (2 Ch. 10.8,10).
The young men who were king Rehoboam's contemporaries.

See also (b)(9) below.

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the</u>
<u>same incident (including variant readings)</u>

(1) Νεανίας and νεανίσκος (2 Ki. 10.9). The young men
fighting with Joab. Νεανίας is the reading of O.

(2) Νεανίας and νεανίσκος (4 Ma. 14.20). The seven
martyrs. Νεανίας is the reading of A.

(3) Νεανίας and νεανίσκος (Za. 2.8). The young man
measuring Jerusalem, in the prophet's vision. Νεανίσκος
is the reading of SL+

(4) Νεανίας, νεανίσκος and παιδάριον (Jd. 17-18). These
words all describe the young man from Bethlehem. A
reads παιδάριον in 17.7,11, 18.3,15, whereas B reads
νεανίας in 17.7,11 and νεανίσκος in 18.3,15.

(5) Νεανίας and παιδάριον (Da. 1.10). The young men being
trained for service in king Nebuchadnezzar's court. G
reads νεανίας, while TH reads παιδάριον.

(6) Νεανίσκος and παιδάριον (Da. 1.13,15). The same
young men as in (5) above. G reads νεανίσκος, while TH
reads παιδάριον.

(7) Νεανίας and παιδάριον (Jd. 16.26). The young man
who guided the blind Samson at the feast. A reads
παιδάριον, while B reads νεανίας.

(8) Νεανίσκος and παιδάριον (Jd. 19.19). The young man
with the man from Bethlehem. A reads παιδάριον, while
B reads νεανίσκος.

(9) Νέος (2 Ch. 10.14) and παιδάριον (3 Ki. 12.14).
The young men whose advice Rehoboam followed in refusing
to ease the burdens which his father Solomon had placed
on his subjects.

(10) Παιδάριον and παιδίον (1 Ki. 21.5). The young men
who accompanied David during his time as a fugitive from
Saul. Παιδίον is the reading of A+.

(11) Παιδάριον and παιδίον (2 Ki. 13.32). The young men
who were sons of king David. Παιδίον is the reading of
A+.

(12) Παιδάριον and παιδίον (To. 6.2). Tobias. BA read
παιδάριον, while S reads παιδίον.

(c) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not
identical) contexts</u>

(1) Νεανίας (2 Ma. 10.35) and νεανίσκος (2 Ma. 13.15).
These words describe different groups of young men who
fought with Judas Maccabaeus.

(2) Νεανίσκος (To. 7.2) and παιδάριον (To. 5.17, 6.2(bis),
3,5,7,11,14). These words are used in the BA text of
Tobit to describe Tobias.

(3) Νεανίσκος (To. 5.5,7, 7.2, 8.1), παιδάριον (To. 6.2,
3(bis),5,7,11), παιδίον (To. 6.1,2) and παῖς (To. 7.10).
These words are used in the S text of Tobit to describe
Tobias.

(4) Νέος (1 Ch. 29.1) and παιδάριον (1 Ch. 22.5).
Solomon is described by his father David as νέος καὶ
ἁπαλός in the former reference, and in the latter as

παιδάριον ἁπαλόν. Νέος of course is used here as an
adjective, but this comparison is of interest since the
corresponding Hebrew phrase is the same in each case.
(5) In 2 and 4 Maccabees six of the nine words are used
to describe one or more of the seven martyrs. (The three
not used are νέος, παιδάριον and παιδίον.) The others
are used apparently quite indiscriminately without
distinction in meaning and in no special order, as the
following list of references indicates:

2 Ma. 7.12	νεανίσκος	4 Ma. 12.6,9	παῖς
7.25	νεανίας	14.4	νεανίσκος
7.25	μειράκιον	14.6,8	μεῖραξ
7.30	νεανίας	14.9	νεανίας
7.34	παῖς	14.12	νεανίσκος
		14.20	νεανίσκος (νεανίας in A)
4 Ma. 8.5	νεανίας		
8.14	μειράκιον	16.1	παῖς
8.27)	νεανίας	16.17	νεανίσκος
9.13,21,25)		17.13)	παῖς
11.13	μειρακίσκος	18.6)	
11.24	μειράκιον		

III. Differences

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

(1) Νέος is different to the other words in this group
since it is an adjective even though it is sometimes
used as a substantive.

(2) There are no distinctions in meaning in the case of
the other words. All are general words for "young man",
with no other nuance discernible.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) The Pentateuch and Joshua prefer νεανίσκος, which
is used eight times in the Pentateuch and five in Joshua.
Νέος (used once in Exodus) is the only other word in these
books.

(2) The books from Judges to 2 Chronicles prefer παιδάριον,
which occurs 47 times. There are 26 examples of other
words: νεανίας (9), νεανίσκος (10), νέος (4), παιδίον (2),
and παῖς (1).

(3) 1 Esdras (6) and Judith (7) use νεανίσκος exclusively.

(4) 2 and 4 Maccabees show the most variety: μειράκιον (4)
μειρακίσκος (2), μεῖραξ (2), νεανίας (13), νεανίσκος (8),
νέος (1) and παῖς (6). Other noteworthy points about
these two books are that: (i) μειράκιον, μειρακίσκος
and μεῖραξ occur here only in the LXX; (ii) half of the
examples of νεανίας in this sense occur here; and (iii)
two thirds of the examples of παῖς in this sense occur
here.

(5) The books from Psalms to Daniel prefer νεανίσκος
(47 times), with 22 examples of other words: νεανίας (4),
νέος (9), παιδάριον (8) and παῖς (1). An exception
within these books is Proverbs, where νεανίας is used twice
and νέος once, but νεανίσκος not at all.

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

νεανίας	bachur (6), yeled (1), na'ar (5).
νεανίσκος	bachur (36), yeled (6), na'ar (17), 'elem (1), 'enosh (3).
νέος	yeled (1), na'ar (6).
παιδάριον	yeled (10), na'ar (44), 'ish-na'ar (1), ne'urim (1).
παιδίον	na'ar (2).
παῖς	yeled (1), na'ar (1).

(Μειράκιον, μειρακίσκος and μεῖραξ have no Hebrew equivalents.)

The relevant Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

bachur (or bachar)	νεανίας (6), νεανίσκος (36).
yeled	νεανίας (1), νεανίσκος (6), νέος (1), παιδάριον (10), παῖς (1).
na'ar	νεανίας (5), νεανίσκος (17), νέος (6), παιδάριον (44), παιδίον (2), παῖς (1).
'ish-na'ar	παιδάριον (1).
ne'urim	παιδάριον (1).
'elem	νεανίσκος (1).
'enosh	νεανίσκος (3).

(1) There is no overall consistency in the translation of these Hebrew words.

(2) There is a degree of consistency within smaller sections. This is in accord with the observations made in III (b) above. Thus, in the books from Judges to 2

Chronicles, for example, παιδάριον is the preferred
translation of na'ar and the sole translation of yeled.
Elsewhere νεανίσκος is the preferred translation of
bachur, yeled and na'ar.

YOUNG MAN (ADULT)	Μειράκιον	Μειρακίσκος	Μεῖραξ	Νεανίας	Νεανίσκος	Νέος	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Παῖς
Young man with Samson				Jd.16.26(B)			Jd.16.26(A)		
Young man from Bethlehem				Jd.17.7(B), 11(B)	Jd.18.3(B), 15(B)		Jd.17.7,11, 12,18.3,15 (all in A)		
Young man with the preceding					Jd.19.19(B)		Jd.19.19(A)		
Young men with David							1 Ki.21.3,5,6	1 Ki.21.5(A+)	
David's sons							2 Ki.13.32	2 Ki.13.32(A+)	
Solomon						1 Ch.29.1	1 Ch.22.5		
Rehoboam's contemporaries						2 Ch.10.14	3 Ki.12.8,10, 14,24s,2 Ch. 10.8,10		
Tobias					To.5.5(S),7(S), 7.2,8.1(S)		To.5.17(BA), 6.2(BA),2,3(S), 3,5,7,11,14(BA)	To.6.1(S), 2(S)	To.7.10(S)
The seven martyrs (one or more)	2 Ma.7.25, 4 Ma.8.14, 11.24,14.4	4 Ma.8.1, 11.13	4 Ma.14.6,8	2 Ma.7.25,30, 4 Ma.8.5,27, 9.13,21,25, 14.9,20(A)	2 Ma.7.12, 4 Ma.13.7, 14.12,20, 16.17				2 Ma.7.34, 4 Ma.12.6,9, 16.1,17.13, 18.6
Young man measuring Jerusalem				Za.2.8	Za.2.8(SL+)				
Daniel and/or his companions				Da.1.10(G)	Da.1.4,13(G), 15(G),17(G)	Su.52,55,60 (all in G)	Su.45(TH), Da.1.10,13,15, 17(A),17(all in TH)		
Other references				Ru.3.10,1 Ki. 20.31,2 Ki. 6.1,10.9(O), 3 Ki.12.21, 1 Ch.19.10, 2 Ma.3.26,33, 10.35,12.27, Pr.7.7,20.29	Ge.4.23,14.24, 19.4,34.19, 41.12,Ex.24.5, Nu.11.27,De. 32.25,Jo.2.1 (bis),23,6.22, 23,Jd.14.20, 20.15(A),1 Ki. 9.27,20.22,2 Ki.10.9	Ex.33.11,1 Ch. 12.29,2 Ch. 13.7,2 Ma. 15.17,Ps. 118.9,Pr.7.10, Is.40.30,Su.63 (ter)(G)	Jd.8.14,20,1 Ki. 2.17,4.17,16.11, 30.13,17,2 Ki.1.5, 6,13,2,14,21,13.32, 34,14.21,17.18,18.5 12,15,29,32(bis) 3 Ki.11.28,21.14,15 (B+),17,19,4 Ki.		3 Ki.21.15(A). Ec.4.13

Other references(cont'd)

Νεανίσκος

2 Ch.11.1,36.17,
1 Es.1.50(bis),
3.14,15,4.58,
8.49,Ju.27,6.16,
(7.22,23,10.9,16.4,
6,1 Ma.1.26,2.9,
14.9, 2 Ma.13.15,
4 Ma.3.12,13.9,
Ps.77.63,148.12,
Ec.4.15,11.9,Jb.
29.8,Si.32.7,Am.
2.11,4.10,8.13,
Jl.3.1,Za.9.17,
Is.3.4,9.16,13.18,
23.4,31.8,40.30,
62.5,Je.6.11,9.20,
11.22,15.8,18.21,
27.30,44,28.3,22,
31.15,38.13,La.1.18,
2.21,5.13,Ez.9.6,
23.6,12,23,30.17,
Su.21(TH),37(TH),
39(G),40(TH),
Da.6.5

Παιδάριον

5.22,9.4,2 Ch.
34.3,Je.31.11,
La.2.21

39: <u>YOUNG WOMAN (ADULT)</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

$\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu o\varsigma$ (35),[1] $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$ (25), $\kappa o\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota o\nu$ (13),

$\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (10), $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\eta$ (3).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Νεᾶνις (De. 22.19 and seven other examples) and παῖς

(De. 22.15(bis) and four other examples). In this chapter

both words are used interchangeably to describe a young

woman of marriageable age. They translate the same Hebrew

word <u>na·arah</u> in each case.

(2) Νεᾶνις (Ru. 2.5) and παῖς (Ru.2.6). Both words refer

to Ruth. In verse 5 Boaz asks, Τίνος ἡ νεᾶνις αὔτη; and

in verse 6 his servant answers, Ἡ παῖς ἡ Μωαβῖτίς ἐστιν.

They translate the same Hebrew word (<u>na·arah</u>) in each case.

(3) Παιδίσκη (Ge. 34.4), παῖς (Ge.34.12) and παρθένος (Ge.

34.3(bis)). Jacob's daughter Dinah. The use of different

words is partly explained by the corresponding Hebrew

words. Παιδίσκη translates <u>yaldah</u>, and παῖς and παρθένος

both translate <u>na·arah</u>.

(4) Παῖς (Ge. 24.28,57) and παρθένος (Ge. 24.14,16,43,55).

Rebekah. In verse 43 παρθένος translates <u>·almah</u>, but in

the other five cases the corresponding Hebrew word is

<u>na·arah</u>.

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1. There are another nineteen cases where παρθένος means
   "virgin" and these have been ignored for the purpose of
   this chapter.

(b) **Different words used in other similar (though not**
identical) contexts

(1) With νεᾶνις and παῖς in (a)(2) above, we may compare
παιδίσκη (Ru. 4.12), which in a later part of the story also
describes Ruth, and which also translates na'arah.

(2) Κοράσιον (Ju. 16.12) and παρθένος (Ju. 16.4). Both
words occur in Judith's song of triumph, as general words
for "young woman". There is no other similarity apart
from the fact that they are used in the same passage; they
do not refer to the same young women.

III. **Differences**

(a) **On the basis of overall LXX usage**

Κοράσιον tends to be used in places where other words
are not (see (b)(3) below), but there appears to be no
differences in meaning between any of these five words.
On the contrary, the similarities listed above, especially
in (a), suggest that they are synonymous.

(b) **On the basis of translators' preference**

(1) The Pentateuch (in fact only Genesis and Deuteronomy)
uses four words (all except κοράσιον). There is some
variation between the two books. Whereas Genesis uses
παρθένος six times, Deuteronomy uses it only once, and in
contrast to the eight examples of νεᾶνις in Deuteronomy,
there is none in Genesis.

(2) The following books use νεᾶνις exclusively: Judges (8),
3 Kings (3), Canticles (2) and Daniel (TH)(1).

(3) The following books prefer κοράσιον: 1 Kings (2),

Esther (6), Tobit (S)(3) and Tobit (BA)(2).[2] These books account for all but one example of κοράσιον, and in them there is only one example of any of the other words (παρθένος in Es. 2.17).

(4) Several books prefer παρθένος, especially the Psalms (3), Minor Prophets (2), Isaiah (3), Jeremiah (3) and Lamentations (4), although these examples reflect a uniformity in the translation of <u>bethulah</u> (see (c) below) rather than a definite preference for παρθένος for its own sake.

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

κοράσιον	<u>na'arah</u> (7).
νεᾶνις	<u>na'arah</u> (19), <u>'almah</u> (2).
παιδίσκη	<u>yaldah</u> (1), <u>na'arah</u> (1).
παῖς	<u>na'arah</u> (10).
παρθένος	<u>bethulah</u> (19), <u>na'arah</u> (5), <u>'almah</u> (2).

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

<u>bethulah</u>	παρθένος (19).
<u>yaldah</u>	παιδίσκη (1).
<u>na'arah</u>	κοράσιον (7), νεᾶνις (19), παιδίσκη (1), παῖς (10), παρθένος (5).
<u>'almah</u>	νεᾶνις (2), παρθένος (2).

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2. There are only four separate examples of κοράσιον in Tobit, since it occurs in both texts in 6.12.

(1) Παρθένος is used exclusively to translate <u>bethulah</u>. This explains the (apparent) preference for παρθένος in certain books (see (b)(4) above).

(2) The impression (already noted) that the five Greek words in this group are synonymous is confirmed by the fact that all five are used to translate <u>na'arah</u>.

199.

YOUNG WOMAN (ADULT)	Κοράσιον	Νεᾶνις	Παιδίσκη	Παῖς	Παρθένος
Rebekah				Ge.24.28,57	Ge.24.14,16,43,55
Dinah			Ge.34.4	Ge.34.12	Ge.343(bis)
Young women of marriageable age		De.22.19,20,21,24, 26(bis),27,29		De.22.15(bis),16,23, 25,28	
Ruth		Ru.2.5	Ru.4.12	Ru.2.6	
Other references	1 Ki.9.11,12,Es.2.2.3, 7,8,9,12,Ju.16.12,To. 6.12,13(bis)(S),14(BA)	Jd.5.8(v.l),19.3,4, 5,6,8,9,21.12,3 Ki.1.2, 3,4,3 Ma.4.6,Ca.1.3, 6.8,Si.20.4,Da.11.6(TH)	Ju.12.13		De.32.25,2 Ch..36.17, 1 Es.1.50,Ju16.4,Es. 2.I7,l Ma.1.26,2 Ma. 3.19,5.13,3 Ma.1.18, Ps.44.15,77.63,148.12, Jb.31l,Si.9.5,30.20, Am.8.13,Za.9.17,Is. 7.14,23.4,62.5,Je.2. 32,28.22,38.13,La.l.4, 18,2.10,21,Ep.Je.8, Ez.9.6

40: MALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)

I. Words Used:

      παῖς (260), δοῦλος (132), παιδάριον (86),

      οἰκέτης (45), θεράπων (42), λειτουργός (8),

      διάκονος (6), νεανίας (4), σῶμα (4),

      ὑπηρέτης (3), ἀνδράποδον (1), παιδίον (1),

      ὑπουργός (1).

II. Similarities:

(a) Different words used in identical contexts

(1) Δοῦλος (1 Ki. 16.16), παιδάριον (1 Ki. 16.18) and
παῖς (1 Ki. 16.15,17). Saul's servants, his courtiers
or advisers. The Hebrew equivalents provide a partial
explanation: δοῦλος and παῖς translate 'ebed, whereas
παιδάριον translates na'ar.

(2) Δοῦλος (1 Ki. 18.5,30) and παῖς (1 Ki. 18.22(bis),23,
24,26). Saul's servants.

(3) Παιδάριον (1 Ki. 25.5(bis), 8.9,12,25,27) and παῖς
(1 Ki. 25.10,40,41,42). David's servants, in the incident
concerning Nabal and Abigail. Different Hebrew words are
translated: παιδάριον translates na'ar, whereas παῖς
translates mal'ak in verse 42 and 'ebed in the other
places.

(4) Δοῦλος and παῖς (2 Ki. 10.2). The servants sent by

David to Hanun the Ammonite king.

(5) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 11.9,17) and παῖς (2 Ki. 11.1,24(bis)). David's servants involved in the war against the Ammonites.

(6) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 12.18) and παῖς (2 Ki. 12.19(bis),21). David's servants, his courtiers.

(7) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 19.6,8) and παῖς (2 Ki. 19.7). David's servants who remained loyal to him during Absalom's rebellion.

(8) Δοῦλος and παῖς (2 Ch. 2.7). Hiram's servants, his timber-cutters.

(9) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 14.30) and παῖς (2 Ki. 14.30(bis),31). Absalom's servants. Παῖς translates 'ebed, while there is no Hebrew word corresponding to δοῦλος.

(10) Δοῦλος and παῖς (2 Ki. 15.34). Hushai, Absalom's servant.

(11) Διάκονος (Es. 6.3,5) and παῖς (Es. 6.8). The servants of king Ahasuerus.

(12) Δοῦλος (Ju. 6.7) and θεράπων (Ju. 6.6). Holophernes' servants, soldiers in his army.

(13) Δοῦλος and θεράπων (Ju. 9.10). General references to unspecified servants: δοῦλον ... ἐπ' ἄρχοντι καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ.

(14) Δοῦλος (Ju. 3.4) and παῖς (Ju. 3.2). The Phoenicians as slaves of Nebuchadnezzar.

(15) Δοῦλος (Si. 33.25 (B^S)), οἰκέτης (Si. 33.25,27,31, 32) and παῖς (Si. 33.26). General references to

unspecified servants.

(16) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Le. 25.44). An Israelite's
servant.

(17) Λειτουργός (2 Ki. 13.18) and παιδάριον (2 Ki. 13.17).
The servant of Amnon, David's son.

(18) Οἰκέτης (Ge. 9.25) and παῖς (Ge. 9.25,26,27). Noah's
son Canaan as servant to his brothers.

(19) Οἰκέτης and παῖς (Ge. 44.33). Judah as servant of
his brother Joseph.

(20) Οἰκέτης (Ex. 21.26,27) and παῖς (Ex. 21.20,32). An
Israelite's servant.

(21) Λειτουργός and παιδάριον (4 Ki. 6.15). An unnamed
servant of the prophet Elisha.

(22) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 5.17,25) and παιδάριον (4 Ki. 5.20).
Gehazi, servant of the prophet Elisha.

(23) Παιδάριον (2 Ki. 9.9) and παῖς (2 Ki. 9.2). Ziba,
servant of Saul.

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the
    same incident (including variant readings)</u>

(1) Δοῦλος and παιδίον (Jd. 19.19). The servants of the
Levite's host. Δοῦλος is the reading of A, and παιδίον
of B.

(2) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 5.20) and παῖς (2 Ch. 2.7). Solomon's
servants who were engaged in the task of acquiring timber
from Lebanon for the building of the temple.

(3) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 5.20) and παῖς (2 Ch. 2.9). Hiram's
servants, his timber-cutters.

(4) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 22.50) and παῖς (3 Ki. 16.28g (O+)).
The servants of Ahaziah, king of Israel. See also (b)
(13) below.

(5) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 22.50) and παῖς (3 Ki. 16.28g (O+)).
The servants of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah.

(6) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 12.21,22) and παῖς (2 Ch. 24.25).
The servants of Joash.

(7) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 14.5) and παῖς (2 Ch. 25.3). The
servants of Amaziah, Joash's son (the same men as in (6)
above).

(8) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 22.9) and παῖς (2 Ch. 34.16). The
servants of Josiah. This is not just a distinction on the
basis of books, since παῖς also refers to Josiah's servants
in 4 Ki. 23.30.

(9) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 22.12) and παῖς (2 Ch. 34.20). Asaiah,
servant of Josiah.

(10) Λειτουργός and ὑπουργός (Jo. 1.1). Joshua, servant
of Moses. Λειτουργός is the reading of A, and ὑπουργός
of B.

(11) Νεανίας and παιδάριον (Jd. 19.3,9,11,13). The servant
of the Levite. In each case νεανίας is the reading of B,
and παιδάριον of A.

(12) Οἰκέτης and παῖς (To. 9.2). A servant or servants of
Tobias. Οἰκέτης is the reading of S, and παῖς of BA.

(13) Παιδάριον and παῖς (3 Ki. 16.28g). The servants of
Ahaziah. Παιδάριον is the reading of B+, and παῖς of the

other MSS.

(14) Παιδάριον (4 Ki. 19.6) and παῖς (2 Ch. 32.9,16).
The servants of the Assyrian king Sennacherib who
attempted to persuade the Jews to submit by the use of
propaganda.

(15) Παιδάριον and παῖς (Da. 1.13). Daniel and his
three Jewish companions, as servants of the leader of
the eunuchs. Παιδάριον is the reading of A+, and παῖς
of the other MSS (in both the G and TH texts).

(16) Παῖς and σῶμα (To. 10.10). The servants of Raguel.
The word σώματα in BA corresponds to the phrase παῖδας
καὶ παιδίσκας in S.

(c) Different words used in other similar (though not
    identical) contexts

(1) Ἀνδράποδον (3 Ma. 7.5) and σῶμα (2 Ma. 8.11).
Jewish slaves under the Ptolemies.

(2) Διάκονος (Pr. 10.4a), θεράπων (Pr. 18.14, 27.27) and
οἰκέτης (Pr. 13.13a, 17.2, 19.10, 22.7, 29.19,21, 30.10,
22). General references to unspecified servants. In
these various references there is no evidence from the
context that different types of servants are intended.

(3) Δοῦλος (Jd. 6.27) and παιδάριον (Jd. 7.10,11).
Servants of Gideon. Δοῦλος refers to his servants
generally (and translates ʿebed) and παιδάριον refers
specifically to Purah (and translates naʿar), so that
there is at best only a slight similarity between the

two words in these references.

(4) Δοῦλος (Jd. 9.28) and παιδάριον (Jd. 9.54(bis)).
Servants of Abimelech. The same comments apply as in
(3) above, since the words refer to different servants
and translate different Hebrew words.

(5) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 11.11,13) and παιδάριον (2 Ki. 20.11).
Servants of Joab, referring to army personnel. Δοῦλος
translates 'ebed and παιδάριον na'ar.

(6) Δοῦλος (Ps. 134.9), θεράπων (Ex. 5.21 and in 24 other
examples in Exodus, De. 29.1, 34.11) and παῖς (Ge. 40.20
(bis), 41.10,37,38, 50.7, Ex. 11.8, 2 Es. 19.10, Je. 32.19).
Servants of Pharaoh, his courtiers, mostly in connection
with the Exodus story or the Joseph story. Apart from
the one example of παῖς in Exodus, there is a clear
division on the basis of books.

(7) Δοῦλος, οἰκέτης and παῖς. The Israelites as slaves
(or the nation, collectively, as a slave) in Egypt.
Οἰκέτης alone is used in the formula μνησθήσῃ ὅτι οἰκέτης
ἦσθα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ (-του), in De. 5.15, 15.15, 16.12,
24.18,20,22. But even apart from this case, the three
words are all used in the Pentateuch without any obvious
distinction (δοῦλος in Le. 26.13, οἰκέτης in De. 6.21,
παῖς in Ex. 5.16, De. 28.68), and δοῦλος elsewhere (1
Ki. 2.27, Ju. 5.11).

(8) Δοῦλος (Jo. 9.23) and παῖς (Jo. 10.6). The Gibeonites
as slaves to Joshua or the Israelites.

(9) Δοῦλος (1 Ki. 22.14) and παῖς (1 Ki. 22.6,7,17). Saul's servants. Δοῦλος refers to all Saul's servants generally, while παῖς refers specifically to those who accompanied him as he pursued David.

(10) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 13.35) and παῖς (2 Ki. 13.36). David's servants. Δοῦλος refers to Jonadab specifically, while παῖς refers to all David's servants.

(11) Δοῦλος (2 Es. 17.57,60, 21.3) and παῖς (1 Es. 5.33, 35). These two words are both used in the phrase "sons of Solomon's servants".

(12) To the references to Sennacherib's servants in (b)(14) above (involving παιδάριον and παῖς) may be added δοῦλος in 4 Ki. 18.24, where it refers to Sennacherib's army commanders.

(13) Λειτουργός and παῖς (both in 3 Ki. 10.5, 2 Ch. 9.4). Solomon's servants. There are however clear distinctions here. The two words refer to different groups of servants, and translate different Hebrew words.

(14) Θεράπων (Jb. 19.15,16, 31.13) and παῖς (Jb. 1.15,17). Servants of Job. They translate different Hebrew words: Θεράπων 'ebed in 19.16, 31.13 (nothing in 19.15), and παῖς na'ar.

(15) Οἰκέτης (De. 15.17) and παῖς (Ex. 21.2,5). An Israelite as servant to another Israelite.

(16) Οἰκέτης (To. 8.10(S), 18 (both texts)) and παῖς (To. 10.10(S)). Raguel's household servants. See also (b)(16)

above.

(17) Παιδάριον (2 Ki. 13.28,29) and παῖς (2 Ki. 17.20).
Absalom's servants. Παιδάριον translates na'ar, and
παῖς 'ebed.

(18) To the references to Saul's servants in (a)(1) above
(involving δοῦλος, παιδάριον and παῖς) may be added
παιδάριον in 1 Ki. 21.8. Though in a different context,
this example is significant, since παιδάριον here
translates 'ebed, so that the explanation given above on
the basis of the Hebrew equivalents does not always apply.

(19) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 11.26, 12.24b) and παῖς (2 Ch. 13.6).
Jeroboam, Solomon's servant.

III Differences

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

Mme. S. Daniel has offered some suggestions concerning
the distinctions between the words used in the Pentateuch.[1]
Δοῦλος, used only three times in the Pentateuch (including
once of God's servants), has a pejorative sense, according
to Mme. Daniel. But whether this is a sufficient explan-
ation of the virtual disuse of δοῦλος, as she suggests, is
doubtful. There are many examples where a pejorative word
would certainly have been possible, if not positively
desirable. It is true that θεράπων stresses a relationship

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1. S. Daniel, Recherches sur le Vocabulaire du Culte dans
   la Septante (Paris, 1966), especially p.103 n.38.

of intimacy and confidence, being used in the Pentateuch
only of Pharaoh's inner circle of advisers. But it is not
the only word so used,[2] and only in a general sense does
this definition mark θεράπων off as distinctive. Οἰκέτης
is said to emphasise the dependance of slaves on their
masters. This statement is difficult to justify as a
generally valid definition for the nineteen examples in the
Pentateuch. For instance, there is no emphasis in this
direction in the phrase μνησθήσῃ ὅτι οἰκέτης ἦσθα ἐν γῇ
Αἰγύπτῳ (see II (c)(7) above). Furthermore there are
sufficient close parallels between οἰκέτης and παῖς[3] to
arouse further suspicion as to whether a meaningful
distinction can be made between the two words.[4]

Mme. Daniel herself notes[5] that in nearly all the
rest of the LXX there is a reverse trend back to δοῦλος.[6]
While I do not doubt the possibility of differences in
shades of meaning of synonyms between one book or group of
books in the LXX and another, I would interpret the evidence
in the case of the words under discussion as indicating
that they are to a large degree interchangeable.[7]

This applies to other words in this group, and not

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2. E.g. παῖς in Ge. 41.37,38.

3. See, e.g., II (a)(18)(19)(20) above.

4. This statement is not intended to rule out the possibility
   that οἰκέτης is _sometimes_ used to emphasise the idea of
   ownership. See pp. 86,89 above.

5. _Ibid._, p.104, n.39.

6. The statistics quoted by Mme. Daniel include the examples
   of the other three senses of "male servant".

7. This conclusion of course applies only to the first sense
   of "male servant".

only the four already mentioned. In the list in II (a)
above, there are close parallels between δοῦλος and
παιδάριον, διάκονος and παῖς, λειτουργός and παιδάριον,
and παιδάριον and παῖς.

Some further points may be made. Ἀνδράποδον may
have the specialised meaning "prisoner of war", though
this is not absolutely certain.[8] The use of νεανίας
with the meaning "servant" is attested only in Jd. 19 (B),
and nowhere else in Greek literature, and perhaps is to
be explained as a peculiarity of the B text of Judges.
The one LXX example of παιδίον in this sense is also to be
found in the Judges B text, though this use is attested
elsewhere both in earlier and contemporary examples.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) In the Pentateuch overall, παῖς is the most common,
with 71 examples, while θεράπων (27) is slightly more
common than οἰκέτης (19). Δοῦλος is used only twice and
παιδάριον not at all. There is also one example of σῶμα.
When we analyse these figures further, we find some
interesting variety. In Genesis παῖς is used 52 times,
with four examples of οἰκέτης and one of σῶμα. But in
Exodus, θεράπων occurs 25 times, as against five examples
of οἰκέτης and only eight of παῖς. Leviticus has two

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8. See p. 4 above.

examples each of δοῦλος, οἰκέτης and παῖς, and Numbers
two of παῖς, while Deuteronomy uses θεράπων twice,
οἰκέτης eight times, and παῖς seven times.

(2) In the books of Kings παῖς (102), δοῦλος (76) and
παιδάριον (68) are all common. The large number of
examples of παιδάριον is especially noteworthy, as
παιδάριον is used in this sense only another eighteen
times in the LXX.

(3) In contrast to Kings, the books of Chronicles use
παῖς 33 times, but δοῦλος only three times and παιδάριον
not at all.

(4) Some of the other books show a preference for one
word. Thus Judith uses δοῦλος sixteen times to eight
examples of θεράπων and three of παῖς. Proverbs uses
οἰκέτης eight times to three examples of other words, and
similarly Ecclesiasticus uses οἰκέτης twelve times to four
examples of other words. Jeremiah prefers παῖς (fifteen
times, to one example of δοῦλος). Esther prefers διάκονος
(four examples, of a total of six examples of διάκονος,
to two examples of παῖς).

(5) The B text of Judges contains some unusual readings.
The only examples where νεανίας (4) and παιδίον (1) mean
"servant", occur in this text.

(c) On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

διάκονος	na·ar (1) sharath (1), na·ar + sharath (2).
δοῦλος	·ebed (102).
θεράπων	·ebed (27), na·arah (1).
λειτουργός	sharath (6).
νεανίας	na·ar (4).
οἰκέτης	·ebed (26).
παιδάριον	·ebed (3), na·ar (71).
παιδίον	·ebed (1).
παῖς	·ebed (218), na·ar (7), chayil (1), ·ish (1), ·enosh (1), mal·ak (1), ·am (1), le (1).
σῶμα	chayil (1).
ὑπηρέτης	·ebed (1)
ὑπουργός	sharath (1).

(There is no Hebrew equivalent for ἀνδράποδον)

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

·ebed	δοῦλος (102), θεράπων (27), οἰκέτης (26), παιδάριον (3), παιδίον (1), παῖς (218), ὑπηρέτης (1).
na·ar	διάκονος (1), νεανίας (4), παιδάριον (71), παῖς (7).
sharath	διάκονος (1), λειτουργός (6), ὑπουργός (1).
na·ar + sharath	διάκονος (2).
·ish	παῖς (1).

`enosh	παῖς (1).
chayil	παῖς (1), σῶμα (1).
mal·ak	παῖς (1).
·am	παῖς (1).
le	παῖς (1).

(1) There is a wide variety of translations of ·ebed. Of
the five most common Greek words, δοῦλος, θεράπων and
οἰκέτης translate ·ebed and nothing else, while ·ebed is
overwhelmingly the most common equivalent for παῖς. There
is no semantic reason for choosing one word rather than
any other to translate ·ebed. Desire for variety and
translators' preference are relevant factors, though it is
difficult to see clear patterns in the way these factors
are applied. The use of παιδάριον and παιδίον to translate
·ebed is clearly unusual and requires some explanation.
Παιδίον occurs in Jd. 19.19 (B), and is not the only example
of a peculiarity in this text (see (b)(5) above). Two of the
examples of παιδάριον are variants, in 3 Ki. 16.28g (B+)
and Da. 1.13 (A+), and are probably incorrect readings, but
the example in 1 Ki. 21.8 is not so easily explained. Here
it refers to the servants of Saul, and either δοῦλος or παῖς
(which are used elsewhere of Saul's servants) could easily
have been used. This example reinforces the point that at
least the five most common words are often interchangeable.

(2) The translation of na·ar is also varied, though not to

the same extent as 'ebed. Παιδάριον stands out as the
most common translation. This raises the question why the
other words are used. Διάκονος translates na'ar in Esther
only, where παιδάριον is not used. Νεανίας occurs in the
B text of Jd. 19 (see (b)(5) above), where A uses παιδάριον.
The seven relevant examples of παῖς occur in sections where
παιδάριον is either not used at all (in the case of Numbers
and Job) or not used with the meaning "servant" (in the case
of Genesis).

(3) A pattern can be seen in the translation of sharath.
Λειτουργός may be regarded as the normal translation, with
διάκονος found only in Esther (where λειτουργός is not
used at all) and ὑπουργός only as a variant in Jo. 1.1 (B).

MALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)	Δοῦλος	Θεράπων	Οἰκέτης	Παιδάριον	Παῖς	OTHER WORDS
In this column "David" (etc.) means "servant(s)" of David						
(i) Servant of a king or another leader						
Pharaoh	Ps.l34.9	Ex.5.21,7,9,10(bis), 20,28,29,8,5,7,17, 20,25,27,9,8,14,20, 30,34,10.1,6,7,11.3, 12.30,14.5,8,De.29.1, 34.11			Ge. 40.20(bis),41.10, 37,38,50.7,Ex.11.8, 2 Es.19.10,Je.32.19	
Gideon	Jd.6.27			Jd.7.10,11		
Saul	1 Ki.16.16,18.5,30, 22.14			1 Ki.16.18,21.8, 26.22	1 Ki.16.15,17,18.22 (bis),23,24,26,19.1, 22.6,7,17,28.7(bis), 23,25,29.10	
David	2 Ki.6.20,10.2,11.9, 17,12,18,19.6,8,15, 21,22,3 Ki.1.33,47			1 Ki.25.5(bis),8,9, 12,25,27,2 Ki.1.15, 4.12,16.2	1 Ki.25.10,40,41,42, 2 Ki.2.13,15,17,30, 31,3,22,38,10.2,3,4, 11.1,24(bis),12.19 (bis),21,13,24,31, 36,15.14,15(bis),17, 18,22,16.6,18.7.9, 19.7,20.6,21.15, 24.20,3 Ki.1.2,1 Ch. 19.2,3,4,20.8,22.17 (BA)	
Ziba to Saul/Mephibosheth				2 Ki.9.9,16.1,19.18	2 Ki.9.2	
Solomon	3 Ki.5.20,11.11, 2 Es.17.57,60,21.3				3 Ki.3.15,9.27,10.5, 8,22c,2 Ch.2.7,14, 8.18,9.4,7,10,1 Es. 5.33,35	
Hiram	3 Ki.5.20,23, 2 Ch.2.7				3 Ki.5.15,9.27,2 Ch. 2.7,9,12(A^rBC),8.18 (bis),9.10,21	λειτουργός: 3 Ki.10.5,2 Ch.9.4

MALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)	Δοῦλος	Θεράπων	Οἰκέτης	Παιδάριον	Παῖς	OTHER WORDS
(1) Servant of a king or another leader (cont'd)						
Jeroboam to Solomon	3 Ki.11.26,12.24b				2 Ch.13.6	
Jehoshaphat	3 Ki.22.50				3 Ki.16.28g	
Ahaziah (king of Israel)	3 Ki.22.50			3 Ki.16.28g(B+)	3 Ki.16.28g	
Naaman				4 Ki.5.23	4 Ki.5.13	
Joash	4 Ki.12.21,22				2 Ch.24.25	
Amaziah	4 Ki.14.5				2 Ch.25.3	
King of Assyria	4 Ki.18.24			4 Ki.19.6	2 Ch.32.9,16	
Josiah	4 Ki.22.9				4 Ki.23.30,2 Ch.34.16, 35.23,24,1 Es.1.28 (bis)	
Asaiah to Josiah	4 Ki.22.12				2 Ch.34.20	
King of Persia					Es.6.8	διάκονος: Es.1.10,2.2,6.3,5
Holophernes		Ju.6.6,7.16,10.20,23,11.20,12.5				
Daniel to leader of eunuchs		Ju.2.2		Da.1.13(TH)(A+)	Da.1.1.12,13	
Other references	1 Ki.8.14,15,17, 17.32,34,36,19.4, 22.15(bis),27.5(bis), 12,28.2,29.8,2 Ki. 10.19,14.19,20,22 (bis),4 Ki.5.6,Ju. 5.5(bis),6.3,7			2 Es.23.19, 1 Ma.16.16	Ge.20.8,21.25,50.2, Jd.3.24,1 Ki.21.12, 15,2 Ki.8.7,3 Ki.10. 13,11.17,14.26,15.18, 16.9,21.6(bis),12,23, 31,22.3,4 Ki.3.11, 6.8,11.12,7.12,13,9. 11.28,10.5,19.5,21.23,Pr.14.35 24.11,12,1 Ch.18.7, 19.19,2 Ch.33.24,1 Es.2.13,2 Es.4.11, 12.5,16.5,Ju.3.2,1 Ma.1.6,8,Is.37.5,Je. 21.7,22.2,4,43.24,31, 44.2,18,52.8,Ez.46.17, Da.2.4,7	διάκονος: 4 Ma.9.17 λειτουργός: 3 Ma.5.5 ὑπηρέτης: Da.3.4b

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MALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)	Δοῦλος	Θεράπων	Οἰκέτης	Παιδάριον	Παῖς	OTHER WORDS
(ii) Servant of another individual						
Canaan to his brothers			Ge.9.25		Ge.9.25,26,27	
Judah and his brothers to Joseph			Ge.44.16,33		Ge.43.18,44.9,10,33	
Joshua to Moses						λειτουργός: Jo.1.1(A) ὑπουργός: Jo.1.1(B)
Abimelech	Jd.9.28			Jd.9.54(bis)		
Levite in Jd.19	Jd.19.19(A)			Jd.19.3(A),9(A),11(A),13(A)		νεανίας: Jd.19.3(B),9(B),11(B),13(B), παιδίον: Jd.19.19(B)
Man of Gibeah	Jd.19.19(A)					
Joab	2 Ki.11.11,13,14.30			2 Ki.20.11		
Amnon				2 Ki.13.17		λειτουργός: 2 Ki.13.18
Absalom	2 Ki.14.30,15.34			2 Ki.13.28,29	2 Ki.14.30(bis),31, 15.34(bis),17.20	
Elisha	4 Ki.5.17,25			4 Ki.4.12,14,25,38, 41,5.20,6.15,17,8.4		λειτουργός: 4 Ki.4.43,6.15
Raguel			To.8.10(s),18		To.10.10(s)	σῶμα: To.10.10(BA)
Job		Jb.19.16,31.13			Jb.1.15,17	
Other references	Le.25.44,1 Ki.8.16 30.13,2 Ki.9.10(bis), 12,19.18,27,3 Ki. 2.39(bis),40(bis), 41,2 Es.2.65,17.67, Ps.104.17,Is.14.2, 45.14		Ge.27.37,Ex.12.44, 21.26,27,De.15.17	Ru.2.5,6,9(bis),15, 21,1 Ki.1.14,2.13, 15,9.3,5,6,7,8,10, 22,10.14,14.1,6, 20.21(bis),35,36 (bis),37,38(bis),39, 40(bis),41,25.8,14, 19,3 Ki.12.24k,18.43 (ter),19.3,	Ge.12.16,14.15,18.7, 20.14,22.3,5,19, 24.2,5,9,10,17,34, 35,52,53,59,61,65 (bis),66,26.15,18, 19,25,32,30.43,32.6, 17(bis),39.14,17,19, 41.12,Ex.20.10,17, 21.2,5,20,	

MALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)	Δοῦλος	Θεράπων	Οἰκέτης	Παιδάριον	Παῖς	OTHER WORDS
(ii) Servant of another individual (cont'd)						
Other references (cont'd)				4 Ki.4.19,22,24, Bel.14(TH)	32,Le.25.6,44,Nu. 22.22,31.49,De.5.14 (bis),21,12.12,18, 23.16,Jd.16.26(A), 2 Ki.2.12,15,16.11, 1 Ch.2.34,35,1 Es. 5.1,41(bis),Ju.7.12, 8.7,Je.41.9,10,11, 16(bis),Su.30(G)	
(iii) Groups as slaves						
Israelites in Egypt	Le.26.13,1 Ki.2.27, Ju.5.11		Ex.5.15,16,De.5.15, 6.21,15.15,16.12, 24.18,20,22		Ex.5.16,De.28.68	
Gibeonites to Israel/Joshua	Jo.9.23				Jo.10.6	
Other references	1 Ki.17.9(bis),2 Ch.28.10,36.20,2 Es. 9.9,15.5,19.36,Ju. 3.4,727,14.13,18, Je.2.14,La.5.8				Ge.47.21,25,2 Ch. 8.9,Es.7.4,1 Ma.3.41	ἀνδράποδον: 3 Ma.7.5 σῶμα: 2 Ma.8.11(bis)
(iv) Miscellaneous	1 Ki.13.3,14.21, 25.10,3 Ki.12.7, 4 Ki.4.1,1 Es.4.26, 2 Es.4.15,12.10,19, Ju.9.3,10,Ps.122.2, Jb.40.28,Ec.2.7, 5.11,7.21,10.7(bis), Wi.18.11,Si.33.25, Jl.3.2,Ma.1.6,Su. 27(TH),Da.3.85(G)	4 Ki.25.30(A+), Ju.9.10,Pr.18.14, 27.27,Jb.3.19,7.2	Le.25.39,42,1 Es. 3.19,To.9.2(S),5(S), Pr.13.13a,17.2, 19.10,22.7,29.19,21, 30.10,22,Si.4.4.30, 6.11,7.20,21,10.25, 23.10,33.25,27,31, 32,37.11,42.5, Is.36.9		4 Ki.5.26,To.9.2 (BA),1 Ma.3.41(v.l.), 3 Ma.5.31,Si.33.26, Is.24.2,Je.47.9, Da.10.17	διάκονος: Pr.10.4a λειτουργός: Si.10.2 σῶμα: Ge.34.29 ὑπηρέτης: Is.32.5

41: MALE SERVANT (STATUS BUT NO ACTUAL SERVICE)

I. <u>Words Used</u>: δοῦλος (46), παῖς (34), οἰκέτης (2).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 19.21) and παῖς (2 Ki. 19.20). Shimei as David's subject.

(2) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 19.27,28,29) and παῖς (2 Ki. 19.27). Mephibosheth as David's subject.

(3) Οἰκέτης (Nu. 32.5) and παῖς (Nu. 32.4,25,27). The Reubenites in relation to their leader Moses.

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the same incident (including variant readings)</u>

(1) Δοῦλος (2 Ki. 8.2,6,14) and παῖς (1 Ch. 18.2,6,13). The Moabites and other surrounding peoples in relation to David, after being conquered by him.

(2) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 12.7) and παῖς (2 Ch. 10.7). The Israelites as subjects of Rehoboam.

(3) Οἰκέτης and παῖς (Nu. 32.5). The Reubenites in relation to Moses. Παῖς is the reading of A, and οἰκέτης of the other MSS. (See also (a)(3) above.)

(c) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not identical) contexts</u>

(1) Δοῦλος (4 Ki. 4.1, 6.3) and παῖς (4 Ki. 2.16). Both words refer to the "sons of the prophets" in relation to

the prophet Elisha.

(2) Οἰκέτης (Ge. 50.18) and παῖς (Ge. 42.10,11,13, 44.7, etc.). Joseph's brothers in relation to Joseph.

III Differences

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

One point of difference between these three words in this sense is that δοῦλος is the only word which describes one king as servant/subject/vassal to another king (3 Ki. 21.32, 4 Ki. 16.7, 17.3, 24.1).

Another factor is that οἰκέτης is possibly used to emphasise the fact that the master owned the servant.[1]

(b) On the basis of translators' preference

(1) The Pentateuch prefers παῖς, which is used 22 times (including one variant reading), in contrast to the two examples of οἰκέτης and none of δοῦλος.

(2) The books of Kings prefer δοῦλος. There are 45 examples of δοῦλος and only four of παῖς, and conversely, only one example of δοῦλος in this sense occurs outside these books (in Ju. 11.14).

(3) The books of Chronicles use only παῖς which occurs seven times.

(c) On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents

There is nothing of significance here, since all three words translate the same Hebrew word ʿebed, except

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1. See p.86 above.

for two examples of δοῦλος and two of παῖς where there is no Hebrew equivalent.

MALE SERVANT (Status but no actual service)	Δοῦλος	Οἰκέτης	Παῖς
Joseph's brothers to Joseph		Ge.50.18	Ge.42.10,11,13,44.7,9,16,18(bis),19,21,23,31,32
Reubenites to Moses		Nu.32.5	Nu.32.4,5(A),25,27
Moabites (etc) to David	2 Ki.8.2,6,14		1 Ch.18.2,6,13,20.3(B)
Mephibosheth to David	2 Ki.9.6,8,19.27,28,29		2 Ki.19.27
Shimei to David	2 Ki.19.21		2 Ki.19.20
Israelites to Rehoboam	3 Ki.12.7		2 Ch.10.7
Prophets to Elisha	4 Ki.4,6.3		4 Ki.2.16
Other references	1 Ki.12.19,17.58,26.17,18, 19.29.3,2 Ki.9.2,11(bis), 13.24(bis),15.8,21,19.36(bis), 37,38(bis), 24.21.3 Ki.1.19,26(bis),27,51, 2.38,18.9,12,21.32,39,40,4 Ki. 16.7,17.3,24.1,Ju.11.4		Ge.46,34,47.3,4(bis),19,3 Ki.1.9,1 Ch.21.3,2 Ch. 12.8,1 Es.1.54

42: <u>MALE SERVANT (RESPECTFUL)</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>: παῖς (16), δοῦλος (13), οἰκέτης (2).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Οἰκέτης (Jo. 9.8,11) and παῖς (Jo. 9.9). The
Gibeonites in relation to Joshua.

III <u>Differences</u>

(a) <u>On the basis of overall LXX usage</u>

Although there is only the one passage in which there
is a direct parallel between two words, it is nevertheless
impossible to draw any general distinctions between the
words in the ways they are used. Though there are no
direct parallels between δοῦλος and παῖς, both words are
used in generally similar ways: e.g. both are used of
political leaders (a king or other leaders) in relation to
other political leaders, δοῦλος in 3 Ki. 21.9 and παῖς in
4 Ki. 18.26, Is. 36.11; and both are used of respect shown
to someone other than a political leader, δοῦλος in 1 Ki.
20.7 (etc.), παῖς in Ge. 32.5 (etc.).

It may be worth mentioning that δοῦλος alone is used
to describe the respect shown to a prophet, but as these
seven examples all occur in 4 Kings this fact may be simply
explained as a case of translators' preference.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) The books of the Pentateuch (in fact only Genesis) use only παῖς (twelve times).

(2) The books of the Kings prefer δοῦλος. All thirteen examples of δοῦλος in this sense occur in these books. Παῖς is used twice, once in the OL versions only (1 Ki. 25.8), and once in 4 Ki. 18.26 (perhaps due to assimilation to the parallel account in Is. 36.11).

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

There is nothing of significance here, since all three words translate the same Hebrew word 'ebed, except for one example of δοῦλος and two of παῖς where there is no Hebrew equivalent.

MALE SERVANT (RESPECTFUL)	Δοῦλος	Οἰκέτης	Παῖς
Gibeonites to Joshua		Jo.9.8,11	Jo.9.9
Other references	1 Ki.20.7,8(ter),2 Ki.15.2, 3 Ki.21.9,4 Ki.1.13,14, 5.15,17,18(bis),8.13		Ge.32.5,6,19,21,33.5,8.14, 43.28,44.24,27,30,31, 1 Ki. 25.8(OL),4 Ki.18.26,Is.36.11

43: MALE SERVANT (SERVANT OF GOD)

I. **Words Used:** δοῦλος (187), παῖς (92), θεράπων (25),

λειτουργός (6), οἰκέτης (6), ὑπηρέτης (1)

II **Similarities**

(a) **Different words used in identical contexts**

(1) Δοῦλος (1 Ch. 17.7,18,26) and παῖς (1 Ch. 17.4,17,

23, etc.). David.

(2) Δοῦλος (2 Ch. 6.42) and παῖς (2 Ch. 6.15,16,17). David.

(3) Δοῦλος (2 Es. 11.6) and παῖς (2 Es. 11.10,11). The

Jews who had returned from exile.

(4) Δοῦλος (2 Es. 11.6, 11) and παῖς (2 Es. 11.11).

Nehemiah.

(5) Δοῦλος (2 Ch. 6.23) and παῖς (2 Ch. 6.14,27). The

Israelites.

(6) Δοῦλος (Ps. 85.2,4) and παῖς (Ps. 85.16). An unnamed

worshipper whose prayer is the substance of this psalm.

(7) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Is. 42.19). Unnamed servants of God.

(8) Δοῦλος (Is. 49.5) and παῖς (Is. 49.6). The unnamed

servant who is the subject of the Isaiah servant poems.

(9) Δοῦλος (Je. 26.27) and παῖς (Je. 26.28). Jacob, the

nation.

(10) Θεράπων (Ge. 24.44) and παῖς (Ge. 24.14). Isaac.

There are different Hebrew equivalents here. Θεράπων

translates ben 'adon, and παῖς 'ebed.

(11) Θεράπων (Jo. 1.2) and παῖς (Jo. 1.7,13). Moses.

(12) Θεράπων (Jo. 9.2b,2d) and παῖς (Jo. 9.24). Moses.

(13) Οἰκέτης and παῖς (Le. 25.55). The Israelites.

(b) Different words used in parallel accounts of the same incident (including variant readings)

(1) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Jo. 14.7). Moses. A reads δοῦλος, the other MSS παῖς.

(2) Δοῦλος (3 Ki. 8.28(bis),29,30) and παῖς (2 Ch. 6.19(bis), 20,21). Solomon as God's servant, in parallel accounts of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple.

(3) Δοῦλος and παῖς (1 Ch. 17.4). David. Δοῦλος is the reading in BL+. See also (a)(1) above.

(4) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Je. 42.15). The prophets. Δοῦλος is the reading of A and the majority of the minuscules.

(5) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Je. 51.4). The prophets. Δοῦλος is the reading of A.

(6) Δοῦλος and παῖς (Da. 3.93, 9.6,10,11,17). In these five references δοῦλος and παῖς describe different servants of God. In each case δοῦλος is the reading of TH and παῖς of G. However this pattern does not always apply in Daniel for in several places the same word is used in both forms of the text: δοῦλος in 3.33,35,44, and παῖς in 3.95.

(7) Θεράπων and παῖς (Jb. 1.8). Job. Θεράπων is the reading of A.

(8) Θεράπων and παῖς (Jb. 42.8). Job. In contrast to the above example, παῖς is here the reading of A (and also V+).

(c) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not identical) contexts</u>

(1) Δοῦλος (2 Ma. 1.2), θεράπων (De. 9.27) and οἰκέτης (Ex. 32.13). The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

(2) Δοῦλος (Jo. 24.30), οἰκέτης (Jo. 5.14) and παῖς (Jo. 7.7). Joshua.

(3) Δοῦλος (Hg. 2.23), οἰκέτης (1 Es. 4.59) and παῖς (1 Es. 6.26). Zerubbabel.

(4) Δοῦλος (Ps. 104.42) and παῖς (Ge. 18.3,5,17, 19.2,19). Abraham.

(5) Δοῦλος (Ez. 28.25, 37.25) and παῖς (Ge. 32.11, Ba. 3.37). Jacob the patriarch.

(6) Δοῦλος (2 Es. 19.14, 20.30) and παῖς (2 Es. 11.7,8). Moses.

(7) Δοῦλος (Is. 48.20, 49.3) and παῖς (Is. 41.8,9, 42.1, 44.1,2,21(bis), 45.4). Jacob or Israel, as the name of the nation. See also (a)(9) above.

(8) Δοῦλος (Ps. 68.37) and παῖς (Ps. 68.18). An unnamed worshipper describes himself as God's παῖς and uses δοῦλος of God's servants generally.

(9) Δοῦλος (Da. 3.35), as well as θεράπων and παῖς in Ge. 24 (see (a)(10) above),is applied to Isaac.

(10) Θεράπων (De. 3.24) and οἰκέτης (De. 34.5). Moses. See also (a)(11)(12) and (b)(1) above.

III <u>Differences</u>

(a) <u>On the basis of overall LXX usage</u>

Thackeray offers a brief analysis of words used in this sense as applied to Moses.[1] Two comments may be made about his suggestions. First, he concludes from these examples that there is "a growing tendency to emphasize the distance between God and man", a tendency evidenced by the replacement of one word by another, then another, and so on. Thus the LXX begins with θεράπων, which is replaced by οἰκέτης, then παῖς and finally δοῦλος. This conclusion is a generalisation from one group of examples, and does not fit the facts. For example, the implication that the Pentateuch uses mainly θεράπων is simply not true (see (b) (1) below). Furthermore it requires an order of translation for the books of the LXX which must be regarded as unlikely: e.g. that the books of Joshua and Chronicles (which prefer παῖς) and the books of Kings and the Psalms (which prefer δοῦλος) were all produced after Job, in which there is a high proportion of examples of θεράπων.

A second criticism of Thackeray is his actual definitions of the four words with which he deals. Θεράπων is "the confidential attendant", οἰκέτης is a word "which may include all members of the household and therefore implies close intimacy", παῖς is described as "more colourless but still familiar" (familiar in the sense of "intimate", I assume), while δοῦλος means "bond-servant", one who has no will of his

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1. H. St.J. Thackeray, <u>A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek</u>, I (Cambridge, 1909) pp.7-8.

own. I doubt whether these definitions or descriptions are
derived from an examination of the examples which Thackeray
cites, whatever justification may be made on etymological
grounds or on the basis of classical usage. My own
suggestion is that the four words are on the whole synonymous,
with the preferences shown by different translators (see (b)
below) having little to do with the actual meanings of the
words.

The only general distinction which I can see is that
λειτουργός and to a lesser extent θεράπων are often used
in a cultic context. The four examples where λειτουργός
refers to men as God's servants are in this type of context
(the other two examples of λειτουργός referring to super-
natural beings),[2] and the same is true in the use of
θεράπων when applied to Joshua (Ex. 33.11) and the Levites
(To. 1.7 (S)).

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) In the Pentateuch θεράπων is used eleven times, παῖς
nine, οἰκέτης four and δοῦλος once. Thus there is both
considerable variety, but at the same time a preference for
θεράπων (when we consider that there are only another
fourteen examples of θεράπων in this sense in the LXX).
(2) Δοῦλος is preferred in several books, notably the
books of Kings where it is the only word used (1 Kings, 7

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2. See under λειτουργός, p.57.

examples; 2 Kings, 14; 3 Kings, 31; 4 Kings, 21), and the

Psalms (51 examples, with four of παῖς and two of

λειτουργός). It is also used exclusively in Judges (both

A and B)(2), 1 Maccabees (1), 2 Maccabees (4), Proverbs

(1), Minor Prophets (6), and Ezekiel (6), and preferred

in 2 Esdras (eight examples to seven of other words),

Jeremiah (six to four) and Daniel (eleven to six).

(3) Παῖς is preferred in Joshua (twelve examples to six of

other words), 1 Chronicles (ten to five), 2 Chronicles

(thirteen to two), 1 Esdras (three to one), Isaiah (eighteen

to nine), and Baruch (five to none).

(4) Θεράπων is preferred in Job (six examples, with three

of παῖς), Wisdom (two examples, with one of δοῦλος), and

in Tobit and 4 Maccabees (one example each).

(c) On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

δοῦλος	·ebed (160), ·am (6), na·arah (1).
θεράπων	·ebed (18), sharath (1), ben·adon (1).
λειτουργός	sharath (4), pelach (1).
οἰκέτης	·ebed (5).
παῖς	·ebed (80).

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

·ebed	δοῦλος (160), θεράπων (18), οἰκέτης (5), παῖς (80).
sharath	θεράπων (1), λειτουργός (4).

pelach   λειτουργός (1).

ben ʼadon   θεράπων (1).

ʼam   δοῦλος (6).

naʼarah   δοῦλος (1).

(1) The normal Hebrew equivalent for most Greek words is ʼebed, and this confirms the suggestion made above, that δοῦλος, θεράπων, οἰκέτης and παῖς are on the whole synonymous.

(2) Λειτουργός stands out as being the only word in this group which does not translate ʼebed, the normal equivalent being sharath. This also confirms the earlier observation, that a special nuance can be detected in the meaning of λειτουργός (servant of God in a cultic context).

(3) The one example where θεράπων translate sharath is Ex. 33.11. Here Joshua is described as ὁ θεράπων in a cultic context.

MALE SERVANT (SERVANT OF GOD)	Δοῦλος	Θεράπων	Λειτουργός	Οἰκέτης	Παῖς
Isaac	Da.3.35	Ge.24.44			Ge.24.14
Moses	Jo.14.7(A),3 Ki. 8.53,56,4 Ki. 18.12,21.8,2 Es. 19.14,20.30,Ps. 104.26,Ma.3.24, Da.9.11(TH)	Ex.4.10,14.31, Nu.11.11,12.7, 8,De.3.24,Jo.1. 2,9.2b,2d,1 Ch. 16.40,Wi.10.16, 18.21,De.34.5			Jo.1.7,13,9.24, 11.12,15,12.6, 13.8,14.7,18.7, 22.2,5,1 Ch. 6.34,2 Ch.1.3, 24.9,2 Es.11.7, 8,Ba.1.20,2.28, Da.9.11(G)
Joshua	Jo.24.30, Jd.2.8	Ex.33.11		Jo.5.14	Jo.7.7
David	1 Ki.23.10,11 (bis),25.39, 2 Ki.3.18,7.5,8, 19,20,21(BL),21, 25,27(bis), 28,29 (bis), 24.10, 3 Ki.3.6,8.24,25, 26(O+),66,11.13, 32,34,36,38, 14.8,4 Ki.8.19, 19.34,20.6,1 Ch. 17.4(BL+),7,18, 26,2 Ch.6.42,1 Ma.4.30,Ps.35tit, 77.70,88.4,21,131 10,143.10,Ez.34. 23,37.24,25				1 Ch.17.4,17, 23,24,25(bis), 27,21.8,2 Ch. 6.15,16,17, Ps.17.1,Is. 37.35
Solomon	3 Ki.3.7,8,9, 8.23,28(bis), 29,30,36,52,59				2 Ch.6.19(bis), 20,21
Zerubbabel	Hg.2.23			1 Es.4.59	1 Es.6.26
Nehemiah	2 Es.11.6,11				2 Es.11.11
Job		Jb.1.8(A), 2.3,42.7,8 (ter)			Jb.1.8,42.8(AV+)
Daniel and/or his companions	Da.3.93,6.21, 9.17(all in TH)				Da.3.93(G),95, 9.17
The prophets	4 Ki.9.7,17.13, 23,21.10,24.2, 2 Es.9.11,Am. 3.7,Za.1.6,Je. 7.25,25.4,42.15 (A pl.),51.4(A), Ez.38.17,Da.9.6 (TH),10(TH)				2 Ch.36.5b, 1 Es.8.79,Je. 33.5,42.15,51.4, Ba.2.20,24, Da.9.6(G),10(G)

MALE SERVANT (SERVANT OF GOD)	Δοῦλος	θεράπων	Λειτουργός	Οἰκέτης	Παῖς
Other references	De.32.36,Jd. 15.18,1 Ki.3.9, 10,14.41,3 Ki. 8.34(B*A+),36(B+) 14.18,15.29,16.2 (A+),18.36,20.28, 4 Ki.9.7,10.10, 19(bis),21(bis), 22,23(ter),14.25, 2 Ch.6.23,2 Es. 5.11,11.6,12.20, 2 Ma.1.2,7.6,33, 8.29,Ps.18.12, 14,26.9,30.17, 33.23,34.27, 68.37,78.2,10, 79.5,85.2,4, 88.40,51,89.13, 16,101.15,29,104. 6,25,42,105.7 (bis),108.28,118. 17,23,38,49,65, 76,84,122,124, 125,135,140,176, 133.1,134.1,12, 14,135.22,142.2, 12,Pr.9.3,Wi. 9.5,Jn.1.9,Za. 3.8,Is.42.19,48. 20,49.3,5,7,56.6, 63.17,65.9,Je. 3.22,26.27,Ez. 28.25,37.25,Da. 3.33,44,85(TH), 9.17(G)	Ge.50.17,Nu. 32.31,De.9.27, To.1.7(S),4 Ma. 12.11	2 Es.7.24, 20.40,Ps. 102.21,103.4, Si.7.30, Is.61.6	Ex.32.13,Le. 25.42,55	Ge.18.3,5,17, 19.2,19,32.11, Le.25.55,Nu. 14.24,1 Ch.16.13, 2 Ch.6.14,27, 32.16,1 Es.6.12, 2 Es.11.10,11, Ps.68.18,85.16, 112.1,Jb.4.18, Is.20.3,22.20, 41.8,9,42.1,19, 23,43.10,44.1,2, 21(bis),26,45.4, 49.6,50.10, 52.13,Je.26.28, Ba.3.37 ************* ὑπηρέτης Wi.6.4

44: FEMALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED)

I. Words Used:

παιδίσκη (87), δούλη (20), ἄβρα (15),
κοράσιον (12), θεράπαινα (8), οἰκέτις (3)

II Similarities

(a) Different words used in identical contexts

(1) Ἄβρα (Ju. 13.9) and δούλη (Ju. 13.3). Judith's female servant who accompanied her on her expedition to the camp of Holophernes.

(2) Ἄβρα (Ju. 10.2,5,17) and παιδίσκη (Ju. 10.10). Judith's female servant (as in (a)(1) above).

(3) Ἄβρα and κοράσιον (Es. 2.9). The female attendants assigned by king Ahasuerus to Esther. An explanation of this variety is provided by the Hebrew equivalents: ἄβρα translates ·amah, and κοράσιον na·arah.

(4) Δούλη and παιδίσκη (Le. 25.44). Both words are used in this verse to describe a Hebrew's female servant.

(5) Δούλη and παιδίσκη (Ju. 11.5). Judith as Holophernes' servant. Other examples referring to Judith in this way are 11.16,17(bis), 12.4,6 for δούλη, and 11.6 for παιδίσκη.

(6) Δούλη, θεράπαινα, οἰκέτις and παιδίσκη (Ex. 21). A Hebrew's female servant. In verse 7 δούλη and οἰκέτις are both used. The R.V. translation is, "And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do." The LXX translates "maidservant" (Hebrew

,amah) by οἰκέτις and mistranslates "menservants"
(Hebrew ,ebed) by δούλη, thus drawing a distinction between
οἰκέτις and δούλη, as if they were different types of
servants. This distinction is of course based on a
mistranslation, and it must be considered doubtful whether
the translator thought he knew what the difference actually
was. In this same chapter θεράπαινα is used in verses
26 and 27, and παιδίσκη in verses 20 and 32, and these
words are not in any obvious way distinct from each other
or from οἰκέτις.

(7) Κοράσιον (Ru. 2.8,22,23) and παιδίσκη (Ru. 2.13).
Boaz's female servants. The Hebrew equivalents are in
each case different, for κοράσιον translates na'arah and
παιδίσκη shipchah.

(8) Κοράσιον (Su. 15,17,19,21) and παιδίσκη (Su. 36(bis)).
Susanna's female attendants. These examples are from the
TH version. (In G, there is only one example, παιδίσκη
in verse 30).

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the</u>
<u>same incident</u>

(1) Δούλη and παιδίσκη (Jd. 19.19). The female servant of a
man of Gibeah. Δούλη is used in A, and παιδίσκη in B.

(c) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not</u>
<u>identical) contexts</u>

(1) Ἄβρα (Ju. 8.10) and παιδίσκη (Ju. 8.7). Judith's
female servants. Ἄβρα refers to the one special maid who

accompanied her on her expedition (see (a)(1) and (2)
above), while παιδίσκη (in this reference, but not always)
refers to all her maidservants generally.

(2) Θεράπαινα (Is. 24.2) and οἰκέτις (Pr. 30.23). In
these examples the respective words for "servant-girl"
are used in juxtaposition to "mistress" (κυρία). Though
these references are in quite different books, there is
no obvious difference between the types of servant
referred to in each case. The Hebrew equivalent is
shipchah in both examples.

III Differences

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

As noted earlier,[1] ἄβρα can mean "favourite servant",
though it is by no means always used in the LXX in this
narrower sense. In Ju. 8 this meaning explains the
difference between ἄβρα and παιδίσκη (see II (c)(1) above).
On the other hand it is difficult to insist on a
distinction between ἄβρα and δούλη in Ju. 13 (II (a)(1)
above), or between ἄβρα and παιδίσκη in Ju. 10 (II (a)
(2) above).

There are no other semantic grounds for distinguishing
between the separate words.

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1. P.1 above.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) In the Pentateuch, παιδίσκη is by far the most common (52 examples to a total of ten for all the other words), though it should be noted that whereas this is particularly the case in Genesis (36 to one) and Deuteronomy (nine to none), there is a more even balance in Exodus (five to seven).[2]

(2) The greatest variety is seen in Exodus, which uses παιδίσκη (5), θεράπαινα (3), ἄβρα (2), δούλη (1) and οἰκέτις (1), and in Judith, which uses δούλη (9), ἄβρα (7) and παιδίσκη (4).

(3) For the other books there are not enough examples to draw conclusions of any great significance. However we note a preference for παιδίσκη in 2 Kings (three to none), 1 Esdras (three to none), Tobit (six to none) and Jeremiah (four to none), for ἄβρα in Esther (five to two), and for θεράπαινα in Job (three to none).

(4) It is interesting that no book shows a clear preference for δούλη.

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

ἄβρα ʾamah (5), naʿarah (1)

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2. In a note on female-slave terminology, R.A. Kraft states that "the Pentateuch prefers <u>pais</u> and <u>paidiske</u>", although παῖς is not in fact used in this sense in the LXX. (However nine of the ten examples of παῖς meaning "young woman" occur in the Pentateuch.) See Robert A.Kraft (ed.), <u>Septuagintal Lexicography</u> (University of Montana, Missoula, 1972), p.178.

δούλη   'amah (4), shipchah (4), 'ebed (2).

θεράπαινα   'amah (4), na'arah (1), shipchah (2).

κοράσιον   na'arah (6).

οἰκέτις   'amah (1), shipchah (2).

παιδίσκη   'amah (28), na' arah (1), shipchah (40).

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

'amah   ἄβρα (5), δούλη (4), θεράπαινα (4),
             οἰκέτις (1), παιδίσκη (28).

na'arah   ἄβρα (1), θεράπαινα (1), κοράσιον (6),
             παιδίσκη (1).

shipchah   δούλη (4), θεράπαινα (2), οἰκέτις (2),
             παιδίσκη (40).

'ebed   δούλη (2).

(1) There is no overall consistency in the translation of the Hebrew words.

(2) Παιδίσκη is the most common translation of 'amah and shipchah, especially the latter. In the books where παιδίσκη translates shipchah, it is the only word used to translate shipchah (except for one example in 1 Kings where δούλη is used).

(3) In no book is more than one Greek word used to translate na'arah. In Exodus ἄβρα is used, in Ruth, 1 Kings and Esther, κοράσιον, in Proverbs θεράπαινα, and in Amos παιδίσκη.

(4) The two cases where δούλη translates 'ebed require

some explanation. We have already observed (see II (a)
(6) above) that in Ex. 21.7 the translator has mis-
translated (or at least reinterpreted) the Hebrew text.
The other example is 2 Es. 15.5, where δούλη is a variant
reading in B+. Most MSS read τοὺς υἱοὺς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς
θυγατέρας ἡμῶν εἰς δούλους, but in B+ δούλους has been
changed to δούλας to agree in gender with the nearer
noun θυγατέρας.

FEMALE SERVANT (ACTIVELY PRACTISED) In this column "Boaz" (etc.) means "(female) servant(s) of Boaz"	Ἄβρα	Δούλη	Θεράπαινα	Κοράσιον	Οἰκέτις	Παιδίσκη
Man of Gibeah		Jd.19.19(A)				Jd.19.19(B)
Boaz				Ru.2.8,22,23,3.2		Ru.2.13
Esther	Es.2.9,4.4,16, 5.1a,1d			Es.2.9		
Judith	Ju.8.10,33,10.2,5, 17,13.9,16.23	Ju.12.15,19,13.3				Ju.8.7,10.10
Judith to Holophernes		Ju.11.5,16,17(bis), 12.4,6				Ju.11.5,6
Susanna				Su.15,17,19(TH), 21(TH)		Su.30(G),36(bis)(TH)
Other references	Ge.24.61,Ex.2.5(bis)	Ex.21.7,Le.25.44, 1 Ki.8.16,25.41, 2 Ch.28.10,2 Es. 15.5(B+),1 Ma.2.11, Jl.3.2,Na.2.8, Is.14.2	Ex.11.5,21.26,27, Pr.31.15,Jb.19.15, 31.13,31,Is.24.2	1 Ki.20.30,25.42, 3 Ki.12.241	Ex.21.7,Le.19.20, Pr.30.23	Ge.12.16,16.1,2,3,5, 6,8,20.14,17,21.10 (bis),12,13,24.35, 25.12,29.24(bis),29 (bis),30.3,4,5,7,9, 10,12,18,43,31.33, 32.6,23,33.1,2,6, 35.25,26,Ex.20.10,17, 21.20,32,23.12,Le. 25.6,44,De.5.14(bis), 21,12.12,18,15.17, 16.11,14,28.68,Jd. 9.18,1 Ki.25.41, 2 Ki. 6.20,22,17.17,4 Ki. 5.26,1 Es.5.1,41(bis), 2 Es.2.65,17.67,Es. 7.4,To.3.7,8(S),8.12, 13,14(S),10.10(S),Ps. 122.2,Ec.2.7,Si.41.24, Am.2.7,Je.41.9,10,11, 16

FEMALE SERVANT (STATUS BUT NO ACTUAL SERVICE)	Δούλη
	1 Ki.28.21,22,2 Ki.14.6,7, 12,15(bis),16,19,3 Ki.1.13, 17,3.20

46: <u>FEMALE SERVANT (RESPECTFUL)</u>

Very much the same can be said here as for the previous usage ("status but no actual service"). Again, δούλη is the only word used, and it occurs six times in Ruth, 1 Kings and 4 Kings. In Ruth it describes Ruth in relation to Boaz, in 1 Kings Hannah in relation to Eli, and in 4 Kings the Shunnamite woman in relation to Elisha.

Likewise, the same two Hebrew words are represented, <u>shipchah</u> and <u>'amah</u>, each of which is used three times.

FEMALE SERVANT (RESPECTFUL)	Δούλη
	Ru.2.13,3.9(bis),1 K1.1.16,18,4 K1.4.16

explanation of the distinction between the two words, it
is also worth noting that there is a distinction on the
basis of the books in which they are used. Δούλη occurs
in 1 Kings, Esther and Isaiah, while παιδίσκη is used in
the Psalms and the Wisdom of Solomon.

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FEMALE SERVANT (SERVANT OF GOD)		
	Δούλη	Παιδίσκη
	1 Ki.1.11(ter), Es. 4.17x,17y,Is.56.6	Ps.85.16,115.7, W1.9.5

48: <u>SON (LITERAL)</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

υἱός (4717), τέκνον (240), σπέρμα (194),

παιδίον (90), παῖς (29), γέννημα (3),

παιδάριον (2), νέος (1).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

In many of the examples listed below, the Hebrew equivalents provide an explanation for the use of different Greek words. Where this is the case, these equivalents are given without further comment.

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Γέννημα (Jd. 1.10) and υἱός (Jd. 1.20). The sons or offspring of Anak.

(2) Παιδίον (Ge. 21.16,17) and υἱός (Ge. 21.9,10(bis),13). Ishmael, Hagar's son. Παιδίον translates <u>yeled</u> in verse 16 and <u>na'ar</u> in verse 17, while υἱός translates <u>ben</u> in each case.

(3) Παιδίον (Ge. 33.2), τέκνον (Ge. 33.6,7) and υἱός (Ge. 33.2). The sons of Jacob's wives.

(4) Παιδίον (Ge. 45.19) and υἱός (Ge. 45.10, etc.). The sons of Joseph's brothers. Παιδίον translates <u>taph</u>, and υἱός <u>ben</u>.

(5) Παιδίον and υἱός (Ge. 50.23). Παιδίον refers to the children of Ephraim, υἱός to those of Machir.

(6) Παιδίον (Ex. 4.25,26) and υἱός (Ex. 4.25). Gershom, the son of Moses and Zipporah.

(7) Παιδίον (1 Ki. 1.2) and υἱός (1 Ki. 1.4). The children of Peninnah. Παιδίον translates yeled, and υἱός ben.

(8) Παιδίον (1 Ki. 1.2;5,6(bis)) and υἱός (1 Ki. 1.4). The children of Hannah. Παιδίον translates yeled in verse 2 (but has no Hebrew equivalent in the other references), while υἱός translates ben.

(9) Παιδίον (To. 5.18,19) and υἱός (To. 5.15,17). Tobias, the son of Tobit.

(10) Παιδίον (To. 10.11) and τέκνον (To. 10.13). The children of Tobias. (These references are in the S text only.)

(11) Παιδίον (Jb. 1.19) and υἱός (Jb. 1.18). Job's children, παιδίον referring to all the children, υἱός only to his sons. Παιδίον translates na'ar, and υἱός ben.

(12) Παιδίον (Jb. 21.11) and τέκνον (Jb. 21.8). The children of the wicked. Παιδίον translates yeled, and τέκνον se'esa'im.

(13) Παιδίον (Le. 25.54) and τέκνον (Le. 25.41,46). The children of Israelites.

(14) Παιδίον (Nu. 14.3,31) τέκνον (Nu. 14.23) and υἱός (Nu. 14.33). The children of Israelites. Παιδίον translates taph, and υἱός ben, while τέκνον has no Hebrew equivalent.

(15) Παιδίον (De. 11.2), τέκνον (De. 11.19) and υἱός
(De. 11.21). The children of Israelites. Σπέρμα is
also used in verse 9 of this chapter, though it translates
a different Hebrew word (zera⸲).

(16) Παῖς (4 Ma. 16.6,8, etc.), τέκνον (4 Ma. 16.1) and
υἱός (4 Ma. 16.3,11, etc.). The seven martyrs described
as sons of their mother.

(17) Παῖς (4 Ma. 17.2,3,5,9) and τέκνον (4 Ma. 17.7). The
seven martyrs.

(18) Τέκνον (4 Ma. 15.1,8,20(bis), 21,24,25,26) and υἱός
(4 Ma. 15.2,9,22,27,32). The seven martyrs.

(19) Σπέρμα and υἱός (Ge. 4.25). Seth, the son of Eve.
Σπέρμα translates zera⸲ , and υἱός ben.

(20) Σπέρμα (1 Ki. 2.31) and υἱός (1 Ki. 2.12,22,29,34).
The sons of Eli.

(21) Σπέρμα and υἱός (1 Ch. 16.13). The offspring of
Jacob or Israel. Σπέρμα translates zera⸲, and υἱός ben.

(22) Σπέρμα and τέκνον (Jb. 5.25). The children of Job.
Σπέρμα translates zera⸲, and τέκνον se⸲esa⸱im. (See also
(11) above.)

(23) Σπέρμα (Ge. 48.11) and υἱός (Ge. 48.5,8,9,13). The
children of Joseph. Σπέρμα translates zera⸲, and υἱός
ben (except in verse 13, where there is no Hebrew
equivalent).

(24) Σπέρμα and υἱός (both in Ex. 28.43 and Nu. 18.19).
The descendants of Aaron. In both cases σπέρμα translates
zera⸲, and υἱός ben.

(25) Τέκνον (De. 28.57) and υἱός (De. 28.56). The son
of an Israelite woman.

(26) Τέκνον (Jo. 22.24,27) and υἱός (Jo. 22.25, etc.).
The descendants of Reuben and Gad.

(27) Τέκνον (3 Ki. 17.12,13,15) and υἱός (3 Ki. 17.17,18,
19,20,23). The son of the widow of Zarephath.

(28) Τέκνον (1 Ch. 7.7) and υἱός (1 Ch. 7.11). Solomon,
David's son.

(29) Τέκνον (Es. 9.25) and υἱός (Es. 9.10,12 (v.l.),
13,14). The sons of Haman.

(30) Τέκνον (Je. 42.14) and υἱός (Je. 42.14,16,18,19).
The sons of Jonadab.

(b) <u>Different words used in parallel accounts of the same
incident (including variant readings)</u>

(1) Παιδάριον (3 Ki. 12.24g) and υἱός (3 Ki. 14.1 (0)).
Abijah, the son of Jeroboam.

(2) Παιδίον and τέκνον (To. 10.13). The children of
Tobias. Παιδίον is used in the text of BA, and τέκνον
in S.

(3) Παιδίον and τέκνον (both in To. 12.1, 14.3,10).
Tobias, the son of Tobit. In each case παιδίον is used in
the S text, and τέκνον in BA.

(4) Παιδίον and τέκνον (Su. 30). The sons of Susanna.
Παιδίον is the reading in G, and τέκνον in TH.

(5) Τέκνον and υἱός (Da. 6.25). The sons of Daniel's
accusers. Τέκνον is the reading in G, and υἱός in TH.

(6) Τέκνον (Is. 39.7) and υἱός (4 Ki. 20.18). The sons of Hezekiah.

(7) Τέκνον (Jo. 14.9) and υἱός (De. 1.36). The sons of Caleb.

(c) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not identical) contexts</u>

(1) Παιδίον (Is. 8.18) and υἱός (Is. 7.3). The son(s) of Isaiah. Παιδίον translates <u>yeled</u>, and υἱός <u>ben</u>.

(2) Παῖς (1 Es. 6.30) and υἱός (1. Es. 8.21). The sons of the Persian king.

(3) As well as the examples listed in (a)(9) and (b)(3), referring to Tobias as Tobit's son, we note the use of παῖς in To. 11.4 (BA).

(4) Παῖς (Wi. 18.9,10) and τέκνον (Wi. 18.5 (bis)). General references to sons.

(5) Τέκνον (Ge. 3.16) and υἱός (Ge. 4.25). The sons of Eve.

(6) Τέκνον (Ge. 17.16) and υἱός (Ge. 18.10,14, 21.3,5, etc.). Isaac, Abraham's son.

(7) Τέκνον (Ho. 2.6) and υἱός (Ho. 1.3). The son(s) of Gomer (Hosea's wife).

(8) Τέκνον and υἱός in various examples of the expression, "Fathers will not die for the sons, and sons will not die for the fathers."

    (i) In both De. 24.16 and 2 Ch. 25.4, τέκνον is used in the first part of the sentence and υἱός in the second.

(ii) In 4 Ki. 14.6, υἱός is used in both parts of the sentence.

(iii) Slightly different forms of the saying occur in Je. 38.29, where τέκνον is used, and Ez. 18.20, where υἱός is used.

III <u>Differences</u>

(a) <u>On the basis of overall LXX usage</u>

Two general distinctions may be made with regard to the words in this group:

(1) In most cases υἱός means "son" (i.e. male offspring), whereas the words παιδάριον, παιδίον and τέκνον are not always restricted in respect of sex and can (and often do) refer to female children as well as male. A clear example is in II (a)(11) above: in Jb. 1.19 παιδίον refers to the children of Job who have been described in the previous verse by the two words υἱός and θυγάτηρ. Even in cases where παιδάριον, παιδίον and τέκνον refer specifically to male children, they are better understood in the general sense "child" rather than the more specific "son". An exception is the use of παιδίον in Ge. 31.28, in the phrase Τὰ παιδία μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μου, where παιδίον must be understood as equivalent to υἱός. In the case of παῖς most examples refer to male children, but as it can and sometimes does include female children, it too means "child" rather than "son".

However this distinction between υἱός and these other words is not absolute. Apart from instances where the other words refer to male children, there are also examples in which υἱός cannot be restricted only to male children but is used more widely. This is true of phrases like οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ referring to the whole Israelite nation, all who were descendants of Israel and not the males only. Nevertheless it remains true that υἱός normally means "son, male child".

(2) The other distinction is between γέννημα and σπέρμα, and the other words. Γέννημα and σπέρμα can be classed as collective nouns, and refer to offspring or descendants considered collectively rather than as individuals. Again, while this is a generally valid distinction, there is one example of γέννημα for which it is not true. In Jd. 1.10(A) we read of τὸν Σεσι καὶ τὸν Αχιμαν καὶ τὸν θολμι, γέννηματα τοῦ Ενακ (and similarly in B), and it is difficult to consider this as a collective use of γέννημα, especially as it occurs in the plural.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) In most books υἱός is used more than all the other words combined. Exceptions are 3 Maccabees, in which there are five examples of τέκνον and one of σπέρμα, and only one of υἱός; 4 Maccabees, in which τέκνον is used eighteen times, παῖς eighteen, and γέννημα, παιδίον and σπέρμα once each,

with thirteen examples of υἱός ; Ecclesiasticus, in which

υἱός (35) is the most common word, though there are also

26 examples of τέκνον and fifteen of σπέρμα ; and the

Epistle of Jeremiah, in which παιδίον (1) is the only word

used. Clearly however υἱός is the word preferred in most

books.

(2) In the following books or groups of books there is a

relatively large number of examples of words other than

υἱός :

    (i)   The Pentateuch uses σπέρμα 85 times, τέκνον 45

        and παιδίον thirty (υἱός 1279).

    (ii)   Tobit (S) uses παιδίον 28 times (υἱός 44).

   (iii) 3 Maccabees uses τέκνον five times (υἱός 1).

    (iv) 4 Maccabees uses παῖς and τέκνον each eighteen

        times (υἱός 13).

    (v)   Proverbs uses τέκνον seven times and παῖς four

        (υἱός 29).

    (vi) Wisdom uses τέκνον eight times and σπέρμα three

        (υἱός 1).

   (vii) Ecclesiasticus uses τέκνον 26 times and σπέρμα

        fifteen (υἱός 35).

  (viii) Isaiah uses σπέρμα 24 times and τέκνον twelve

        (υἱός 43).

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

Greek	Hebrew
νέος	<u>na'ar</u> (1).
παιδάριον	<u>na'ar</u> (1).
παιδίον	<u>ben</u> (10), <u>yeled</u> (19), <u>taph</u> (8), <u>na'ar</u> (2), <u>bekur</u> (1), <u>'ul</u> (1), <u>na'arah</u> (1).
παῖς	<u>ben</u> (1), <u>na'ar</u> (2).
σπέρμα	<u>zera'</u> (140), <u>ben</u> (1), <u>'acharith</u> (1), <u>basar</u> (1), <u>neked</u> + <u>nin</u> (1).
τέκνον	<u>ben</u> (108), <u>yeled</u> (7), <u>taph</u> (5), <u>'acharith</u> (2), <u>bayith</u> (1), <u>dor</u> (1), <u>'olel</u> (1), <u>peri-beten</u> (1), <u>se'esa'im</u> (3).
υἱός	<u>ben</u>[1], <u>bar</u> (4), <u>yeled</u> (4), <u>'ish</u> (13), <u>bayith</u> (15), <u>mishpachah</u> (2), <u>zera'</u> (1).

(There are no Hebrew equivalents for γέννημα.)

The (more significant) Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

Hebrew	Greek
<u>ben</u>	παιδίον (10), παῖς (1), σπέρμα (1), τέκνον (108), υἱός.
<u>bar</u>	υἱός (5).
<u>zera'</u>	σπέρμα (140), υἱός (1).
<u>taph</u>	παιδίον (8), τέκνον (5).
<u>yeled</u>	παιδίον (19), τέκνον (7), υἱός (4).
<u>na'ar</u>	νέος (1), παιδάριον (1), παιδίον (2), παῖς (2).

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1. I would estimate that υἱός translates <u>ben</u> about 4,000 times.

(1) Υἱός is overwhelmingly the most common translation of ben, though τέκνον, while rare in comparison, is nevertheless common. Of the other words which translate ben, παιδίον is used only in the Pentateuch (with the partial exception of 2 Ch. 20.13, where it translates ben + taph), and this appears to be a case of stylistic variation in the Pentateuch. This may also be the explanation for the use of σπέρμα in De. 25.5. There is no clear reason for the use of παῖς to translate ben in Pr.20.7.

(2) Σπέρμα is clearly the normal translation of zera'. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find υἱός used in 2 Es. 19.2, especially as σπέρμα translates zera' in three other places in 2 Esdras.

SON (LITERAL) In this column a proper name by itself means that the person concerned is described as son of his parent(s)	Γέννημα Νέος	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Παῖς	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
Of Eve					Ge.3.15,4.25	Ge.3.16	Ge.4.25
Of Abraham				4 Ma.6.17,22; 17.6(A+);18.1,23	Ge.12.7,13.15,16 (bis),17(A),15.3, 5,13,18,17.7(bis), 8,9,10,12.21.12, 13,22.17(bis),18, 24.7,Jo.24.3, 2 Ch.20.7,3 Ma. 6.3,4 Ma.18.1, Ps.104.6,Is.41.8	Ge.17.16	Ge.17.23, 4 Ma.16.20
Ishmael			Ge.21.16,17				Ge.21.9,10(bis), 13
Of Jacob			Ge.30.26,31.17, 32.23,33.1,5 (bis),13		Ge.28.4,13,14 (bis),32.13,35.12, 46.6,7,48.4	Ge.32.12,49.3	Ge.34.5,49.1
Of Laban			Ge.31.28				Ge.31.43
Of Rachel			Ge.33.2			Ge.30.1	Ge.30.6
Of Leah			Ge.33.6(A+)			Ge.33.7	Ge.30.14,15
Of Jacob's handmaids						Ge.33.6	Ge.33.2
Of Joseph's brothers			Ge.45.19				Ge.45.10
Of Joseph					Ge.48.11		Ge.48.5,8,9,13
Gershom			Ex.4.25,26				Ex.4.25
Of Reuben and Gad			Jo.1.14			De.3.19,Jo.22.24, 27	Jo.22.25
Of Caleb					Nu.14.24,S1.46.9	Jo.14.9	De.1.36
Of Anak	Jd.1.10						Jd.1.20
Of Peninnah			1 Ki.1.2				1 Ki.1.4
Of Hannah			1 Ki.1.2,5,6(bis)		1 Ki.2.20	1 Ki.1.8	1 Ki.1.8

SON (LITERAL)	Γέννημα	Νέος	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Παῖς	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
Of David						1 Ki.20.42,2 Ki.7.12, 22.51,3 Ki.1.48,2.33, 11.39(OL^β+),1 Ch.17.11, Ps.17.51,88.5,30,37	3 Ki.8.25,9.6,15.4	Ps.3.1,Ec.1.1
Abijah			3 Ki.12.24g					3 Ki.14.1(O)
Of widow at Zarephath							3 Ki.17.12,13,15	3 Ki.17.17
Of Manasseh							2 Ch.33.6	2 Ch.33.20,23
Of Darius					1 Es.6.30			1 Es.8.21
Of Haman							Es.9.25	Es.9.13,14
Of Raguel				To.3.15(BA)			To.3.15(S)	
Tobias				To.5.18,19,21(S), 10.4,7	To.11.5(BA)			To.5.15,17,11.5(s)
Of Tobias				To.6.18,10.11(S),13(BA)			To.10.13(S)	To.14.3(bis)(BA), 12(BA)
The seven martyrs					4 Ma.15.12,16.6, 8,9,15(bis),16, 17.2,3,5,9,18.20		4 Ma.14.12,13(S^C),20, 15.1(bis),8,15,20(bis), 21,24,25,26,16.1,17.7, 18.6	2 Ma.7.20,26,27,41, 4 Ma.15.2,9,16.24
Of Job				Jb.1.19	Jb.29.5	Jb.5.25	Jb.5.25	Jb.1.18,8.4,42.13
Of Hosea's wife							Ho.2.6	Ho.1.3
Of Isaiah				Is.8.18				Is.7.3
Of Hezekiah							Is.39.7	4 Ki.20.18
Of Jonadab							Je.42.14	Je.42.14,16,19
Of Susanna				Su.30(G)			Su.30(TH)	
Of Daniel's accusers							Da.6.25(G)	Da.6.25(TH)
Of priests of Bel			Jd.8.20(A)	Bel.9(TH),20			Bel.9,15(TH),20(TH)	
Other references	4 Ma.15.13 (S+),Si. 10.18	Jb.24.5,		Ge.50.23,Ex.2.6,4.20, 21.4,5,22,22.23,Le. 25.54,	Ge.50.23,Ex.2.6,4.20, Ju.16.12,3 Ma. 5.49,	Ge.9.9,16.10,17.19, 19.32,34,21.23,24.60,		

	Γέννημα	Παιδάριον	Παιδίον	Παῖς	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
SON (LITERAL) Other references (cont'd)			Nu.3,4,14.3,31,De.1.39(A), 3.6,11.2,25.6,Jo.9.2f,2 Ki. 6.23,2 Ch.20.13,Ju.4.11, 7.23,To.2.2(bis)(S),3(S), 4.3(BA),4,5,12(bis)(BA),13 (BA),14(BA),19,20(S),21, 5.3(S),9(S),17(bis)(S),11.9, 12.1(S),4(S),14.3(S),8(S), 9(bis)(S),10(S),11,2 Ma.8. 28,4 Ma.4.9,Jb.21.11,40.29, 51.21.19(A+),Is.9.5,49.15, La.4.10,Ep.Je.32	4 Ma.9.18,Pr. 19.14,28,20.7, 29.15,Wi.18.9, 10	26.3,4(ter),24,38.8,9(bis), 48.19,Ex.28.43,32.13(bis), 33.1,Le.18.21,20.2,3,4,21.15 21,22.3,4,13,Nu.5.28,17.5, 18.19,21.30,23.10(ter),24.7, 25.13,De.1.8,3.3,4.37.10.15, 11.9,25.5,28.46,59,30.6, 6(A^r),19,31.21,34.4,Ru.4.12, 1 Ki.1.11,2.31,20.42,24.22, 2 Ki.4.8,3 Ki.2.33,4 Ki.5. 27,25.25,1 Ch.16.13,1 Es. 8.85,2 Es.2.59,17.61,Es.9.27 To.1.9,4.12(bis)(BA),9.12 (BA),13.17(S),1 Ma.5.62,7.14 2 Ma.7.17,Ps.20.11,21.24 (bis),31,24.13,36.25,26,28, 68.37,101.29,105.27,111.2, 125.6,Pr.11.18,Wi.3.16,7.2, 14.6,Si.1.15,41.6,44.11,12, 13,21(bis),45.15,21,24,25, 47.20,22,23,Ma.2.15,Is.1.9, 14.22,30,31.9,33.2,37.31, 43.5,443,45.19,25,48.14,19, 53.10,54.3,57.3,58.7,59.21 (L),21,61.9(bis),65.9,23, 66.22,Je.22.30,26.27,38.27, Ez.31.17,43.19,Su.56(G),Da. 2.43(TH),3.36,9.1(TH),11.6 (TH),31(TH)	Ge.22.7,8,27.13,18,20,21, 25,26,37,43,31.16,43,48.19, Ex.10.2(ter),17.3,20.5,34.7 (ter),Le.25.41,46,Nu.14.18, 23,16.27,De.2.34,5.9,11.19, 21.17,24.16,28,54,55,57,29. 10(A),28,33.24,Jo.22.24,27 (A),27,28(A),Jd.18.21(B),1 Ki.2.5,24,30.22,3 Ki.9.21 (O),10.22b,12.24h,14.3(O), 1 Ch.2.30,22.7,32.2 Ch.25.4, 28.3,30.9,1 Es.4.53,8.50, 81(A+),81(A+),90,9.36,2 Es. 8.21,22.43,Es.3.13f,7.4,Ju. 7.14,27,32,Tb.4.12,10.5,11. 14(S),12.1(BA),14.3(BA),4 (BA),8(BA),10(BA),1 Ma.1.32, 60,2.36,50,64,3.20,5.13,23, 45.8,10,13.6,45,2 Ma.5.13, 6.10,7.28,9.20,12.3,21,15.18, 3 Ma.1.4,20,3.25,6.3,7.2, 4 Ma.2.12,16.9,Ps.33.12,65.5 (B),77.4,108.13,112.9,Pr.7.7, 14.26,17.6(ter),30.4,31.28, Jb.21.8,Wi.3.12,4.6,10.5, 12.5,13.17,14.15,18.5(bis), Si.3.2,5,9,11.7,23,11.28, 14.26,16.1,3,23.23,24,25, 25.7,30.1(BSA),9,32.22,33. 22,40.19,41.5(bis),6,7,42.5, 44.9,12,47.20,Ho.4.6.5.7, 9.12,13(bis),10.14,11.1,10, 13.13,Jl.1.3(four times),Za. 9.13,10.7,9,Is.2.6,13.16,18 (bis),14.21,27.6,29.23,44.3, 54.1,57.5,65.23(A+),Je.2.30, 3,19,19.2,38.17,29,39.18,39, 45.23,Ez.5.10(bis),16.45(bis), 18.2,20.18,21,23.37,39	

49: SON (METAPHORICAL)

I. Words Used:

$$\text{υἱός (346), τέκνον (62), σπέρμα (16),}$$
$$\text{παιδίον (10), γέννημα (2), παῖς (1).}$$

II. Similarities

(a) Different words used in identical contexts

(1) Γέννημα and τέκνον (1 Ma. 1.38). The offspring of the city of Jerusalem.

(2) Παιδίον and τέκνον (To. 10.13(S)). These words are used as a form of familiar address, as Edna addresses Tobias.

(3) Παιδίον and υἱός (Je. 38.20). Ephraim as God's son. Παιδίον translates yeled, and υἱός ben.

(4) Τέκνον and υἱός (Pr. 31.2). Τέκνον (3) and υἱός (1) are here used as a form of familiar address, by a teacher addressing his pupil.

(5) Τέκνον and υἱός (both in Is. 51.18, 54.13, 60.4). Children of the city of Jerusalem. (See also (1) above.)

(b) Different words used in other similar (though not identical) contexts

(1) Παιδίον (Is. 66.8) is also used of the children of Jerusalem, in addition to γέννημα, τέκνον and υἱός (see (a)(1) and (5) above).

(2) Παιδίον (Ge. 44.20) and υἱός (Ge. 37.3). The phrases

παιδίον γήρως and υἱός γήρους refer to Benjamin and Joseph respectively as sons of Jacob's old age. Παιδίον translates yeled, and υἱός ben.

(3) Παῖς (Pr. 4.1) is also used as a form of familiar address, in addition to παιδίον, τέκνον and υἱός (see (a) (2) and (4) above).

(4) Σπέρμα (3 Ki. 11.14, 4 Ki. 11.1, 2 Ch. 22.10, Ez. 17.13, Da. 1.3 (TH)) and υἱός (Ba. 5.6 (A)). In these references the phrase "sons/offspring of the kingdom" (βασιλεία) occurs.

(5) Τέκνον (De. 32.5, Is. 30.1) and υἱός (De. 32.19,20,43 (bis), Is. 30.9). In these two chapters both τέκνον and υἱός refer to the Israelites/Jews as God's sons.

(6) Τέκνον (Ho. 10.9) and υἱός (2 Ki. 3.34, 7.10, 2 Ch. 17.9 (L)). In these references the phrase "son(s) of unrighteousness" (ἀδικία) occurs.

III. Differences

(a) On the basis of overall LXX usage

The same observations as were made in the previous chapter concerning the distinctions between these words also apply in this chapter.

We also note that υἱός alone is used in the phrase "son of x years", the Hebrew idiom for expressing a person's age (32 examples) and in the phrase "son(s) of man (men)" (165 examples).

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) Υἱός is preferred in all books except those mentioned in the following two paragraphs.

(2) Παιδίον is used seven times in Tobit (S) as a form of familiar address, with τέκνον used once in the same way, and υἱός used twice in other types of metaphorical phrases.

(3) Τέκνον is used more often than υἱός in the following:

> (i) Ecclesiasticus: 21 examples of the vocative of τέκνον used as a form of familiar address, with υἱός used twice in the same way and in four other metaphorical examples.
>
> (ii) The Minor Prophets: six examples of τέκνον and two of υἱός .
>
> (iii) Baruch: seven examples of τέκνον (all referring to children of Jerusalem) and one of υἱός.

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

παιδίον	<u>ben</u> (1), <u>yeled</u> (2).
παῖς	<u>ben</u> (1).
σπέρμα	<u>zera'</u> (1), <u>'acharith</u> (1).
τέκνον	<u>ben</u> (21), <u>bar</u> (3), <u>yeled</u> (2).
υἱός	<u>ben</u> (277), <u>bar</u> (3).

(There are no Hebrew equivalents for γέννημα.)

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

ben   παιδίον (1), παῖς (1), τέκνον (21), υἱός (277).

bar   τέκνον (3), υἱός (3).

yeled   παιδίον (2), τέκνον (2).

zera·   σπέρμα (10).

·acharith   σπέρμα (1).

These facts appear to provide no basis on which to distinguish between the Greek words in this group.

SON (METAPHORICAL)	Γέννημα	Παιδίον	Παῖς	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
Son(s) of God		Je.38.20			De.32.5,Wi.16.21, Is.30.1,63.8	Ge.6.2,4,De.14.1,32.19,20,43(bis), 1 Ch.22.10,2 Ch.6.41,Es.8.12q, Ju.9.13,3 Ma.6.28,Ps.2.7,28.1, 81.6,88.7,20,Pr.3.12,Wi.2.18,5.5, 9.7,12.19,21,16.10,26,18.4,13, Si.4.10,11,Ho.2.1,Is.30.9,43.6, 45.11,Je.33.20,Da.3.92(TH)
Son of man/sons of men						Ge.11.5,Nu.23.19,1 Ki.26.19,2 Ki. 7.14,3 Ki.8.39,2 Ch.6.30,1 Es. 4.37,Ju.8.12,16,Ps.4.3,8.5.10.4, 11.2,9,13.2,20.11,30.20,32.13, 35.8,44.3,48.3,52.3,56.5,57.2, 61.10(bis),65.5,79.16,18,88.48, 89.3,106.8,15,21,31,113.24,143.3, 144.12,145.3,Pr.8.4,31,Ec.1.13, 2.3,8,3.10,18,19,21,8.11,9.3,12, Jb.16.21,25.6,35.8,Wi.9.6,Si. 17.30,36.23,Is.51.12,53.3(BLSC), Je.2.6,27.40,28.43,30.12,39.19, La.3.33,Ez.2.1,3,6,8,3.1,3,4, 10.17,25,4.1,16,6.2,7.2,8.5,6,8, 12.15,17,11.2,4,15,12.2,3,9,18, 22,27,13.2,17,14.3,13,15.2,16.2, 17.2,12,18.2,19.1(A),20.3,4,27, 21.2,7,11,14,17,19,24,33,22.2, 18,24,23.2,36,24.2,16,25,25.2, 26.2,27.2,28.2,12,21,29.2,18, 30.2,21,31.2,32.2,18,33.2,7,10, 12,24,30,34.2,35.2,36.1,17,37.3, 9,11,16,38.2,14,39.1,17,40.4, 43.7,10,18,44.5,47.6,Da.2.38(TH), 3.82,7.13,8.17,10.16(TH)

SON (METAPHORICAL)	Γέννημα	Παιδίον	Παῖς	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
Son of x years						Ge.11.10,Jd.2.8,1 Ki.4.15,2 Ki.4.4, 5.4,19.33,36,3 Ki.12.2.24a,24h,14.21, 22.42,4 Ki.8.17,26,12.1,14.2,21,15.2, 33,16.2,18.2,21.1,19.22.1,23.31,36, 24.8,18,2 Ch.26.3,27.1,28.1,36.2,9
Vocative as a form of familiar address		To.7.6,10,11,12, 10.9,11,13(all in 6)	Pr.4.1		Ge.43.29,1 Ki.3.6(L),9,16, 4.16,24.17,26.17,21,25,To. 10.11(BA),13(S),Pr.31.2(ter), Si.2.1,3.1,12,17,4.1,6.18,23, 32,10.28,11.10,14.11,16.24, 18.15,21.1,23.7,31.22,37.27, 38.9,16,40.28,41.14	1 Ki.3.6(O),2 Ki.18.22,Pr.1.8,10, 15(O,S+),2.1,17.3,11,21,4.10, 20.5.1,7,6.1,3,20,7.1,1a,24,8.32,9.12, 19.20,23.15,19,22,26,24.1,13,21,27.11, 27,31.2,Ec.12.12,Si.7.3,39.13
Son of the kingdom				3 Ki.11.14,4 Ki.11.1, 2 Ch.22.10,Ez.17.13, Da.1.3(TH)		Ba.5.6(A)
Son of Jerusalem/Zion	1 Ma.1.38,3.45	Is.66.8			1 Ma.1.38,40(S*+),Jl.2.2.23, Za.9.13,Is.51.18,54.13,60.4, 9,8a.4.12,19,21,25,27,32, 5.5,Ez.16.21,36	To.13.10,Ps.149.2,Is.49.20,22,25, 51.18,20,54.13,60.4,62.5,La.4.2
Sons of other cities/countries/areas					Mi.1.16	Jd.6.3,33,7.12,8.10(A),To.14.15, Ez.16.26,23.17,23,Da.2.25(G)
Son of old age		Ge.44.20				Ge.37.3
Sons of the prophets						3 Ki.21.35,4 Ki.2.3,3(O),5,7,15, 4.1,38(bis),5.22,6.1,9.1,To.4.12(BA)
Other references				Nu.24.20,1 Ki.2.31, 4 Ki.14.27,17.20,To. 6.19(S),Is.15.9,Je.7. 7.15,23.8,Ez.20.5, 44.22,Su.56(TH)	4 Ki.2.24(A+),Ho.1.2,2.6, 10.9,Is.57.4	Ge.35.18,Jd.18.2,21.10,1 Ki.10.26, 14.52,18.17,20.31,26.16,2 Ki.3.34, 7.10,12.5,13.28,17.10(bis),3 Ki.1.52, 21.15,4 Ki.2.16,14.9,14,1 Ch.5.18, 17.9(L),2 Ch.17.14,25.13,18,24,1 Es. 7.11,12,2 Es.2.1,6.16,19,20,8.35,10.7, 15,17.6,1 Ma.2.47,Ps.88.23,Za.4.14, Ez.30.5,Da.1.3(TH),2.25(TH),5.13(TH), 6.14(TH)

Page 262 was allowed for the table which appears on the

preceding pages, but was not needed

50: <u>DAUGHTER</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

$\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ (479), $\pi a \iota \delta \acute{\iota} o v$ (4), $v \epsilon \tilde{a} v \iota \varsigma$ (2).

II. <u>Similarities</u>

The following facts are noted:

(1) Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, is described by both $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ and $\pi a \iota \delta \acute{\iota} o v$. There is a direct parallel in To. 7.10, where the S text reads $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ and the BA text $\pi a \iota \delta \acute{\iota} o v$.

(2) Several times there are expressions where the words "mother" and "daughter" are used in juxtaposition. Thus $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ is used in the phrase $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ $\dot{\epsilon} \pi a v a \sigma \tau \acute{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \tau a \iota$ $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \grave{\iota}$ $\tau \grave{\eta} v$ $\mu \eta \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho a$ $a \dot{v} \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$ (Mi. 7.6), and $v \epsilon \tilde{a} v \iota \varsigma$ in the phrase $\mu \eta \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \epsilon \varsigma$ $v \epsilon \acute{a} v \iota \sigma \iota v$ (3 Ma. 5.49).

(3) Both $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ and $v \epsilon \tilde{a} v \iota \varsigma$ are used to refer to Ruth. However, there are distinctive points about the use of the two words in this case. $\theta v \gamma \acute{a} \tau \eta \rho$ is used only in the vocative, as a form of familiar address, and $v \epsilon \tilde{a} v \iota \varsigma$ may not mean "daughter" here, but the more usual "young woman".[1]

III. <u>Differences</u>

(a) <u>On the basis of overall LXX usage</u>

It is clear from the statistics quoted in I above that

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1. See discussion under $v \epsilon \tilde{a} v \iota \varsigma$, p.68.

θυγάτηρ is the normal word for "daughter". In fact there is only one other reference where a word other than θυγάτηρ may confidently be given the meaning "daughter".[2] Παιδίον in the four examples relevant to this section can be distinguished from θυγάτηρ, because it has the general meaning "child" rather than the more specific "female child".

Another point of distinction is that θυγάτηρ is the only word used in the LXX with the meaning "daughter" in a metaphorical sense.[3]

(b) On the basis of translators' preference

θυγάτηρ is preferred in all books except 3 Maccabees. Here there is one example of νεᾶνις and none of θυγάτηρ.

(c) On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents

θυγάτηρ is the only word used to translate the Hebrew bath. (It also translates 'ishshah in Jd. 21.14.) In the doubtful case of νεᾶνις in Ru. 2.5 the Hebrew equivalent is na'arah.

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2. Νεᾶνις in 3 Ma. 5.49.
3. The metaphorical uses of θυγάτηρ are discussed, and references listed, on pp. 45-48.

DAUGHTER (LITERAL)	θυγάτηρ	Νεᾶνις	Παιδίον
Sarah, daughter of Raguel	To.7.7,10(S),13,16 (BA),17,17(S),8.20 (S)		To.7.10(BA),11(B), 8.21(bis)(S)
Ruth (?)	Ru.1.11,12,13,2.2,8, 22,3.1,10,11,16,18	Ru.2.5 (?)	
Mother and daughter	Mi.7.6	3 Ma.5.49	

51: <u>OFFSPRING OF ANIMALS</u>

I. <u>Words Used</u>:

$$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu o\nu \ (10), \ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}o\nu \ (6), \ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma \ (5), \ \theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho \ (4),$$
$$\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha \ (4).$$

II. <u>Similarities</u>

(a) <u>Different words used in identical contexts</u>

(1) Παιδίον (De. 22.7) and τέκνον (De. 22.6). The young
of a bird. Both words translate the Hebrew word <u>ben</u>.
(Also in verse 6 are two examples of νεοσσός, which trans-
lates a different Hebrew word.)

(2) Παιδίον (Jb. 39.3) and τέκνον (Jb. 39.4). The young
of the wild goat (τραγέλαφος, verse 1). This variation may
be explained on the basis of the different Hebrew equivalents:
παιδίον translates <u>yeled</u>, and τέκνον <u>ben</u>.

(b) <u>Different words used in other similar (though not</u>
<u>identical) contexts</u>

(1) Παιδίον (Is. 11.7), τέκνον (1 Ki. 6.7(bis)) and υἱός
(2 Es. 6.9). These words are all used to describe the
young of a βοῦς, though in widely scattered passages.

III <u>Differences</u>

(a) <u>On the basis of overall LXX usage</u>

It would be difficult to distinguish between παιδίον,
τέκνον and υἱός, in the light of the above examples. However

the other two words are distinctive in several ways.

Θυγάτηρ in at least one example[1] refers to female young rather than male. In addition it can be distinguished on the basis of its Hebrew equivalent.

Σπέρμα also can be distinguished by its Hebrew equivalent, but apart from this it is different from the others in having a collective reference.

(b) <u>On the basis of translators' preference</u>

(1) The Pentateuch shows variety in its usage, with παιδίον being used three times, σπέρμα twice, and τέκνον and υἰός each once.

(2) Τέκνον is the only word used in Kings (4) and Chronicles (1).

(c) <u>On the basis of the Hebrew equivalents</u>

The Hebrew equivalents for each Greek word are:

θυγάτηρ	<u>bath</u> (4)
παιδίον	<u>ben</u> (3), <u>yeled</u> (2).
σπέρμα	<u>zera'</u> (3).
τέκνον	<u>ben</u> (7).
υἰός	<u>ben</u> (4).

The Hebrew words and their Greek translations are:

<u>bath</u>	θυτάτηρ (4).
<u>ben</u>	παιδίον (3), τέκνον (7), υἰός (4).
<u>yeled</u>	παιδίον (2).
<u>zera'</u>	σπέρμα (3).

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1. Pr. 30.15. For the problems associated with the other three examples of θυγάτηρ, see discussion on p.48.

(1) The basic synonymity of παιδίον, τέκνον and υἱός
(noted in (a) above) is supported by the fact that these
three words are all used to translate ben.

(2) The distinctiveness of θυγάτηρ and σπέρμα is also
confirmed, in that θυγάτηρ alone translates bath, and
σπέρμα alone translates zera'. (It would of course be
surprising if this were not the case with these words.)

OFFSPRING OF ANIMALS	Θυγάτηρ	Παιδίον	Σπέρμα	Τέκνον	Υἱός
Of a bird (ὄρνεον)		De.22.7		De.22.6	
Of a wild-goat (τραγέλαφος)		Jb.39.3		Jb.39.4	
Other references	Pr.30.15,Mi.1.8, Is.43.20,Je.27.39	Ge.32.16,Le.22.28, Is.11.7,34.15	Ge.3.15,7.3,Is.14.29, Je.38.27	1 Ki.6.7(bis),10,14,32, 2 Ch.35.7,4 Ma.14.17,18, Jb.39.16	De.32.14,2 Es.6.9, Ps.28.1,6,Si.38.25

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I. THE SEPARATE WORDS IN RELATION TO EARLY KOINE

With regard to the individual words considered in this study, it is true in general that the LXX and the papyri agree in their usage. By far the majority of the LXX uses are illustrated in the papyri, so that it is possible to conclude that the LXX translators and authors were using the words which were in common use in their time. Numerous examples of this have been given in the earlier chapters of the present work.

But while this conclusion is valid in a general way, there are also a number of differences between the LXX and the papyri:

(1) The following LXX words do not occur in the Ptolemaic papyri as far as I am aware: ἄβρα (15), ἄνηβος (1), γέννημα (5), διάκονος (6), θεράπαινα (8), θεράπων (67), μειράκιον (4), μειρακίσκος (2), μεῖραξ (2), νεᾶνις (30), οἰκέτις (3), ὑπομαστίδιος (1). In addition θηλάζων (9) and ὑποτίτθιον (1) are not used in the papyri as substantives, and νεανίας (32) is attested in only one doubtful papyrus reference.

It will be noted that most of these words are rare or poetic (or both), and most occur less than ten times in the LXX. However this explanation does not cover θεράπων or νεανίας. The use of these words in the LXX is nothing new,

since both were fairly common in classical authors, although the LXX is not in line with contemporary usage at this point.

(2) Certain words which are used in both the LXX and the papyri have a meaning which is restricted to either the LXX or the papyri. For example, λειτουργός has the meaning "personal attendant" in the LXX which does not occur in the papyri, and in the papyri it is used with the meaning "workman" and in a military context, uses which are not in the LXX. In the case of παιδάριον, the LXX meaning "(new-born or very young) child" is doubtful in the papyri. We notice also the wide variety in the use of ὑπηρέτης in the papyri and the meaning "workman" for σῶμα and ὑπουργός, which are not found in the LXX.

(3) In certain respects the LXX is closer to classical Greek than to the contemporary κοινή (even apart from those portions of the LXX which are "Atticistic"). We have already observed that θεράπων which does not occur in the papyri is common in the LXX (particularly the Pentateuch) and in classical authors. The LXX use of παῖς corresponds to the κοινή generally, in the increasing predominance of the meaning "servant", but the LXX is more in line with classical usage in retaining the earlier meanings "boy/girl" and "son".

(4) Other unusual or unique LXX usages are to be explained on the basis of the Hebrew background. The use of the Hebrew 'ebed (and Hebrew words for "female servant") explains the meanings "servant (where the master-servant relationship

existed but was not actively practised)" and "servant (in a respectful sense)", which apply to several Greek words. Neither of these meanings occurs in any pagan Greek writing. Similarly the metaphorical uses of words for "son" and "daughter", and the metaphorical use of $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ meaning "human offspring" depend largely on Hebrew usage. The fact that there are some classical parallels for several of these LXX usages does not explain the widespread metaphorical uses found in the LXX.

Several explanations for the differences between LXX usage and the $\kappa o\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ Greek reflected in the Ptolemaic papyri have already been suggested. First, there is the Hebrew background, and the use of various Hebrew words has in some cases influenced the use of the corresponding Greek words (though no entirely new meanings have been introduced in this way for any of the words in this study). Secondly, some of the LXX books are literary compositions and some also Atticistic, and this explains the presence of rare and/or poetic words which do not occur in the papyri. Thirdly, a less significant (though not irrelevant) factor is that those parts of the LXX which may be regarded as an accurate reflection of normal $\kappa o\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$, are examples of fairly early $\kappa o\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ (mostly iii B.C., and in the case of 1 Maccabees ii B.C.). This may partly explain LXX uses which are closer to classical usage than $\kappa o\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ as it is otherwise attested.

II. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE WORDS

The relationships between the words of this study have already been partly examined in the second major section of the work. In those chapters the words which cover a particular sense were grouped and their relationship to one another examined. The main point to emerge from this is that there is a large degree of synonymity between the words in any one group.

It may be objected that if words with a common meaning are grouped in the way described, it is hardly surprising that the result will be a group of synonyms! But though this is true, one may expect to find different nuances of meaning to a greater extent than has actually happened. Several points have been noticed, such as the emphasis in οἰκέτης on the fact that the slave/servant is the property of his master, the use of λειτουργός (and to a lesser extent θεράπων) in a cultic context when referring to a servant of God, the distinction between υἱός as a masculine word ("son") and τέκνον (etc.) as a word not restricted in terms of sex ("child").

But more often than not, distinctions between the words in a particular group have not suggested themselves. Indeed etymological distinctions between words have been found not always to correspond to actual usage. This is especially true of words referring to very young children, where θηλάζων ("suckling") and ὑπομαστίδιος and ὑποτίτθιον ("one

at (under) the breast") often mean simply "infant". Likewise
οἰκέτης does not always mean "household servant", and the
various words which are diminutives in form are not always
(in some cases not at all) diminutives in meaning.

The relationships between the words need to be considered
over the total range of their meanings and not only within
restricted groups. These overall relationships are set out
in tabular form on the following pages, and a glance at this
table will show that only the following words overlap in all
their meanings:

(1) Words used for "new-born or very young child": βρέφος,
θηλάζων, ὑπομαστίδιος and ὑποτίτθιον.

(2) Words used for "young man": μειράκιον, μειρακίσκος and
μεῖραξ.

(3) Words used for the four senses of "male servant": δοῦλος
and οἰκέτης.

(4) Words used for sense (a) and (d) of "male servant":
θεράπων and λειτουργός.

(5) Words used for sense (a) only of "male servant":
ἀνδράποδον, διάκονος, ὑπηρέτης and ὑπουργός. (Σῶμα is used
with other meanings not relevant to this study.)

(6) Words used for sense (a) only of "female servant":
ἄβρα, θεράπαινα and οἰκέτις.

(7) Words used for "son" (both literally and metaphorically)
and to describe the offspring of animals: τέκνον and υἱός.

WORDS FOR YOUNG PERSON, SERVANT AND CHILD IN THE LXX

Word	CHILD (new-born or very young)	CHILD (older)	YOUNG MAN	YOUNG WOMAN	MALE SERVANT (sense(a))	MALE SERVANT (sense(b))	MALE SERVANT (sense(c))	MALE SERVANT (sense(d))	FEMALE SERVANT (sense(a))	FEMALE SERVANT (sense(b))	FEMALE SERVANT (sense(c))	FEMALE SERVANT (sense(d))	SON (literal)	SON (metaphorical)	DAUGHTER	OFFSPRING OF ANIMALS
Ἄβρα									15							
ἀνδράποδον		1			1											
Αὖθος	5															
Ἔκγονος																
Γέννημα					6								3	2		4
Διάκονος									20	12	6	6				
Δούλη					132	46	13	187								
Δοῦλος					42			25	8							
θεράπαινα	9															
θεράπων		2	13					6	12						479	
θυγάτηρ					8											
θυγάτριον			4													
Κοράσιον			2													
Λειτουργός			2													
Μειδάκιον		2	26		4										1	
Μειρακίσκος		4	98	25												
Μεῖραξ		8	15										1			
Νεανίας	45	3														
Νεᾶνις					45	2	2	6	3							
Νεανίσκος																
Νέος	20	57	64		86								2	10		6
Νήπιος	26	22	4	3	1											
Οἰκέτης				10				92	87			3		1		
Οἰκέτις		9	9		260	34	16						29	16		
Παιδίον				35									194		1	4
Παιδάριον					4								240	62		10
Παιδίσκη								1					4717	346		5
Παῖς					3			1								
Παρθένος	1															
Στέβλα	1															
Σκύμνος																
Τέκνον																
Υἱός																
Ὑπηρέτης																
Ὑπομαστίδιος																
Ὑποτίτθιον																
Ὑπουργός																

Many of the other words overlap in some of their meanings, but not in all.

Even in the cases listed above, various distinctions may apply which would rule out complete synonymity:

(a) Distinctions already noted within a particular group: e.g. in (3) οἰκέτης denoting ownership; in (5) ἀνδράποδον meaning "prisoner of war"; in (6) ἄβρα sometimes meaning "favourite slave/servant"; in (7) the distinction between male child and child not necessarily male.

(b) Words which are literary or poetic: e.g. in (1) βρέφος and ὑπομαστίδιος. (In (2) this description applies to all words and so cannot be used to distinguish between them.)

(c) Words which have other meanings attested in the papyri: e.g. in (5) ὑπουργός has the additional meaning "workman", and so can be distinguished from the other words.

(d) Different degrees of emphasis: e.g. in (4), though θεράπων and λειτουργός are both used of servants of God in a cultic context, λειτουργός does so in most cases whereas θεράπων is used in this way in only a few examples.

This is not intended to be a complete list of possible criteria for distinguishing the words, but it is enough to show that complete synonymity is unlikely to be common. The most probable case in the words under consideration is μειράκιον, μειρακίσκος and μεῖραξ. These words are used only in 2 and 4 Maccabees, and refer only to one or more of the seven martyrs.

III. ON THE USAGE OF CERTAIN PARTS OF THE LXX

The following remarks are not intended as a comprehensive survey of the usage of the books of the LXX in regard to the words of this study, but only as a few comments on several points of interest.

(1) Thackeray's first group is described as those books which represent "good κοινή Greek". They include the Pentateuch, Joshua (part), 1 Maccabees and Isaiah. Generally speaking, these books are consistent in their use of the words under discussion, and the following facts emerge:

(i)   Child (new-born or very young): παιδίον is clearly the most common word.

(ii)   Child (older): παιδίον is the most common, though παιδάριον is also frequent.

(iii) Young man: νεανίσκος is clearly the normal word.

(iv)   Male servant (sense (a)): παῖς is used more than all the others combined, though θεράπων, οἰκέτης and δοῦλος are also used.

(v)   Female servant (sense (a)): παιδίσκη is clearly the normal word.

(vi) Son: υἱός is overwhelmingly the most common word

These facts may be compared to the evidence of the papyri:

(i)   Παιδίον is used of infants in the papyri, although usually the emphasis is on the child's relationship to the parent(s), rather than simply the child's age. Nevertheless παιδίον may be regarded as the usual word for "infant" in

the papyri.

(ii) Παιδάριον is the usual word for "(older) child",
rather than παιδίον.

(iii) Νεανίσκος is the normal word in the papyri.

(iv) Παῖς is very common in the papyri, though other words
are also used. (As we have already noted, see I above,
θεράπων does not occur in the papyri.)

(v) Παιδίσκη is common in the papyri, though δούλη is also
frequently used.

(vi) Υἱός is the most common word in the papyri.

On the whole therefore the papyrus material and that
in the good κοινή Greek of the LXX correspond, as far as
these particular senses are concerned.

(2) We compare the books in Thackeray's first group with
2-4 Maccabees which he describes as "literary and Atticistic".
Here there are two main observations to be made: the failure
to use the normal κοινή word(s), and the variety in the words
used. Thus for the six meanings discussed above, we find the
following words used:

(i) Νήπιος (6), βρέφος (3), παιδίον (1), ὑπομαστίδιος (1).

(ii) Παῖς (3), ἄνηβος (1).

(iii) Νεανίας (13), νεανίσκος (8), παῖς (6), μειράκιον (4),
    μειρακίσκος (2), μεῖραξ (2).

(iv) Σῶμα (2), ἀνδράποδον (1), διάκονος (1), λειτουργός (1),
    παῖς (1).

(v) No examples.

(vi) Τέκνον (30), υἱός (23), παῖς (18), σπέρμα (3),

παιδίον (2), γέννημα (1).

(3) With regard to the other books of the LXX, there is no consistent pattern. Sometimes the normal κοινή word for a particular idea will be used, and sometimes not. Thus in Kings the most common word for "(older) child" is the normal κοινή παιδάριον, whereas the same word is used for "young man" (an unusual usage, by comparison with the papyri), and δοῦλος and παιδάριον as well as παῖς (all acceptable κοινή alternatives) are used for "male servant". In Chronicles the usual κοινή word παῖς is used for "male servant", but the unusual παιδάριον and νεανίας are used for "young man" (as well as the normal νεανίσκος). In Tobit (S) παιδάριον is the most common word for "young man" (as well as the normal κοινή word νεανίσκος, and other words) and οἰκέτης is used for "male servant", although the only word for "female servant" in this book is the normal κοινή word παιδίσκη.

APPENDIX

HEBREW WORDS USED

Since this list is primarily for the benefit of one who does
not know Hebrew, it is compiled in the order of the English
alphabet, with the letters א (ʼ) and ע (ʻ) placed first.
The meanings are taken from BDB.

ʼacharith (אַחֲרִית)	after-part, end; hence posterity.
ʼadon (אָדוֹן)	lord.
ʼamah (אָמָה)	maid, handmaid.
ʼenosh (אֱנוֹשׁ)	man, mankind.
ʼish (אִישׁ)	man.
ʼishshah (אִשָּׁה)	woman, wife, female.
ʻabad (עָבַד)	(verb) serve.
ʻalmah (עַלְמָה)	young woman.
ʻam (עַם)	people.
ʻebed (עֶבֶד)	slave, servant.
ʻelem (עֶלֶם)	young man.
ʻereb (עֶרֶב)	mixture, mixed company.
ʻolel (עוֹלֵל)	child.
ʻul (עוּל)	sucking child, suckling.
bachar (בָּחַר)	(verb) choose.
bachur (בָּחוּר)	young man (choice, in the prime of manhood).
bar (בַּר)	son.
basar (בָּשָׂר)	flesh.
bath (בַּת)	daughter.
bayith (בַּיִת)	house.

bekor (בְּכוֹר) — first-born

ben (בֵּן) — son.

bethulah (בְּתוּלָה) — virgin.

chayil (חַיִל) — strength, efficiency, wealth, army.

dor (דוֹר) — period, generation.

le (לְ) — (preposition) to, for, in regard to.

mal'ak (מַלְאָךְ) — messenger.

mishpachah (מִשְׁפָּחָה) — clan.

na'ar (נַעַר) — 1. boy, lad, youth; 2. servant, retainer.

na'arah (נַעֲרָה) — 1. girl, damsel; 2. maid.

ne'urim (נְעוּרִים) — youth, early life.

neked (נֶכֶד) — progeny, posterity (always with nin).

nin (נִין) — offspring, posterity (always with neked).

no'ar (נֹעַר) — youth, early life.

pelach (פְּלַח) (Aramaic) — (verb) pay reverence to, serve (deity).

peri-beten (פְּרִי־בֶטֶן) — fruit of the womb.

pethi (פְּתִי) — (adjective) simple.

qaton (קָטֹן) — (adjective) small, insignificant.

racham (רַחַם) — womb.

se'esa'im (צֶאֱצָאִים) — issue, offspring, produce.

sharath (שָׁרַת) — (verb) minister, serve (especially in worship).

shipchah (שִׁפְחָה) — maid, maid-servant.

ta'arubah (תַּעֲרֻבָה) — pledge.

taph (טַף) — children.

yalad (יָלַד) — (verb) bear, bring forth, beget.

yaldah (יַלְדָּה) — girl, damsel.

yalid (יָלִיד)   (adjective) born.

yanaq (יָנַק)   (verb) suck.

yeled (יֶלֶד)   child, son, boy, youth.

yoneq (יוֹנֵק)   suckling, babe.

zera' (זֶרַע)   sowing, seed, offspring.

zere'onim (זֵרְעֹנִים)   vegetables.

zero'im (זֵרֹעִים)   vegetables.

zerua' (זָרוּעַ)   sowing, thing sown.

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