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CONTENTS

G. I. DAVIES, The wilderness itineraries and the composition of the Pentateuch	1
D. DIMANT, The biography of Enoch and the books of Enoch	14
J. C. EXUM, The theological dimension of the Samson saga	30
R. L. HICKS, <i>delet</i> and <i>m^agillab</i> . A fresh approach to Jeremiah xxxvi	46
A. VAN DER KOOIJ, On the place of origin of the Old Greek of Psalms	67
O. MUNNICH, La Septante des Psaumes et le groupe <i>kaig</i>	75
V. SASSON, An unrecognized "smoke signal" in Isaiah xxx 27	90
SHORT NOTES	96
C. T. BEGG, The tables (Deut. x) and the lawbook (Deut. xxxi) — A. E. HILL, Patchwork poetry or reasoned verse? Connective structure in 1 Chronicles xvi — F. D. HUBMANN, Textgraphik und Psalm xvi 2-3 — IHROMI, Die Häufung der Verben des Jubelns in Zephanja iii 14f., 16-18: <i>rm</i> , <i>rw^s</i> , <i>imb</i> , <i>'lz</i> , <i>twi</i> und <i>gl</i> — K.-D. SCHUNCK, Davids "Schlupfwinkel" in Juda — H. SCHWEIZER, Determination, Textdeixis — Erläutert an Genesis xviii 23-33.	
BOOK LIST	118

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remember that if the king cut the scroll three times *at the sutures*, the result would be *four* sheets.

Starting with the logical minimum of four sheets with three columns each, we achieve a scroll having 12 columns. In line with our earlier projections, such a scroll would contain about 14 or 15 chapters of the Masoretic Jeremiah. But our survey indicates that ancient biblical scrolls ran three to four columns per sheet. Accordingly, four sheets averaging 3 1/2 columns each would give 14 columns, covering 16 or 17 Masoretic chapters. Further, if we allow *yiqra'* to signify the moderate figure of four cuts by the king, *five* sheets would result. Then, using three columns per sheet, we get a total of 15 columns. With four columns per sheet, the scroll would have 20 columns. On these bases, the *Urrolle* would have contained between 18 and 24 chapters of our Masoretic book of Jeremiah.

If the procedures employed here are appropriate, most scholars have been far below the mark in reconstructing Baruch's book.⁴⁹ One merit of the final projection made above is that it would allow the original scroll to contain substantially the first twenty-five chapters of Jeremiah which could include, as is proper (cf. xxxvi 2), words spoken against "all the nations".⁵⁰

Obviously, major problems remain. It has not been my purpose here to delineate the pericopae constituting Jeremiah's first scroll, though my list would be considerably longer than most proposals to date. My concern, rather, has been to suggest a new method for attacking a perennial problem and to muster fresh data with which that method can work objectively.

⁴⁹ Among recent proposals, William L. Holladay's are most commendable both in terms of the range they envision and the criteria they employ. See first *Jeremiah: Spokesman Out of Time*, pp. 154, n. 5, and most recently "The identification of the two scrolls of Jeremiah", *VT* (1980), pp. 452-76. His reconstruction of the two scrolls is reasonable as well as responsible and his methods are more objectively controlled than most previous efforts. The assumption that in dictating the contents Jeremiah proceeded from an orderly structure which Baruch, as a trained scribe, would recognize and preserve faithfully is fundamentally sound and comports well with what we know of the Near Eastern scribal art. Further, the grounds on which Holladay establishes the additions to the first scroll are solidly based in a larger understanding of the prophet's deepening perception of his role. I find Holladay's evaluation of the so-called Deuteronomic passages in Jer. i-xi particularly constructive. The total corpus of his reconstruction (approximately 250 verses of the Masoretic text) would easily fit within the minimal length of the *ne'gillat-séper* as I have projected it here.

⁵⁰ This would be the case even if the MT order of ch. xxv were followed. If the LXX form were adopted, the *Urrolle* would easily contain oracles against other nations.

ON THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE
OLD GREEK OF PSALMS¹

by

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I

In his well-known book *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, SVT 10 (1963), D. Barthélemy has convincingly shown the existence of the so-called *kaige*-recension. This recension, dating from the beginning of the first century A.D., appears to be a revision of those books of the Septuagint that had already been translated into Greek; and new translations were made of books not previously translated (for instance in the case of Ezra and Nehemiah). All this was done in order to bring the Greek translation, the Old Greek Version, as closely as possible into agreement with the Hebrew text of the Bible. The main characteristic of this recension is the rendering $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$ for *gam*. Barthélemy has further pointed out the close relationship between the *kaige*-recension (KR) and the translation of Aquila. Because of this close relationship he argues that the KR, like the translation of Aquila, originated in rabbinic circles in Palestine. Further, from the agreements between the characteristics of KR and the translation of Theodotion he concludes that Theodotion had something to do with this recension. Like E. Schürer² before him, he dates Theodotion before Aquila.

His thesis about the KR has been widely accepted, but his dating of Theodotion before Aquila has not. The reason is that one generally considers the dating of Theodotion, in the second half of the second century A.D., as given by Epiphanius in his *De Mensuris et Ponderibus Liber* (Ch. 17), to be reliable. Therefore, some, admitting the close agreements between the translation of Theodotion

¹ The revision of a paper presented to the Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, held at Vienna, 22-23 August 1980.

² *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* III (Leipzig, 1909^a), p. 442.

and the KR, speak of KR as *Proto-Theodotion*. In this article, however, I cannot enter into the details of this last question. I have dealt with them in my book, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981). I reached the conclusion that the dating of Theodotion by Epiphanius cannot be trusted (pp. 132-9), and that Barthélemy's suggestion of bringing Theodotion and the KR together, and placing them in the milieu of the school of Hillel, in which the translation of Aquila also originated, is right (pp. 142-55).

As has been pointed out by Barthélemy and others, one cannot simply assume that for each book of the Bible the Theodotion-text from the Hexapla of Origen belongs to the KR. This must be investigated for each book.³ So, for example, it has been made clear by Barthélemy that, not the Theodotion-text, but the Quinta of the Dodekapropheton belongs to the KR (pp. 253-60).

For the book of Psalms the situation is interesting. Some years ago, H. J. Venetz wrote a book on this subject entitled *Die Quinta des Psalteriums. Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta und Hexaplaforschung* (Hildesheim, 1974). On the basis of several characteristics of the KR, he reached the interesting conclusion that not only the Theodotion Ps, but also the Quinta Ps belonged to the *kaige*-group (pp. 84-90 and 57-71). Because there seems to be some evidence for a closer relationship between the Quinta Ps and Aquila Ps than between the Theodotion Ps and Aquila Ps, Venetz regards the Quinta Ps as "ein 'späteres', reiferes Stadium" within the *kaige*-group (p. 90).

II

After this introduction it is time to deal with my specific subject: the place of origin of the Old Greek version of the book of Psalms. As far as the term "Old Greek" of Psalms is concerned, I am aware of the fact that we cannot consider the text of the edition of A. Rahlfs to be in every detail the Old Greek of Psalms.⁴ Yet we can use this edition, critically of course, as a starting point for investiga-

³ For Theodotionic Exodus, for instance, see K. G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

⁴ For an extensive review of this edition, see P. L. Hedley, "The Göttingen Investigation and Edition of the Septuagint", *HTHR* 26 (1933), pp. 57-72. See also S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 297f.

tions into the Old Greek of Ps, henceforth referred to as the Greek Psalms (the Greek Ps).⁵

As with so many books of the Septuagint, one is inclined to think of Egypt as the place of origin for the Greek Ps. Venetz, however, reaches another conclusion. In dealing with the relationship between the two *kaige*-texts of Ps (Theodotion and Quinta) and the Greek Ps, he points out several striking connections between some specific Greek renderings in both (pp. 52-7). A good example is the rendering of the Hebrew *yhwah š'ba'ōl* with *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* in the Greeks Ps and in the *kaige*-texts. In the Greek Ps one does not find, however, the rendering *καίτε* for *gam*. This particle has not been treated as consistently in the Greek Ps as in the KR; yet, several times in the Greek Ps, *gam* has been translated by the Greek expression *καὶ γάρ*, which shows some resemblance to *καίτε*.⁶

After having paid attention to the relationship between the *kaige*-texts of Ps and the Greek Ps, Venetz formulates his thesis, namely that, in all probability, the Greek Ps did not originate in Egypt, but in Palestine (p. 80).

In support of this thesis, he adduces three arguments:

1) He points to the close relationship between the Greek Ps and the *kaige*-group, as far as specific Greek renderings are concerned. Since the KR was written in Palestine, the same is presumably true of the closely related, but older, Greek Ps (p. 80).

2) A characteristic rendering of the KR is the translation *καίτε* for the so-called "including" particle *gam*. Although this rendering does not occur in the Greek Ps, one finds several times (in fact one third of the occurrences) for *gam* the Greek *καὶ γάρ*, whereas this rendering is used ten times for another "including" particle (*ʿap*). "Man kommt kaum um den Schluss herum, dass der Urheber des o'-Textes mit dieser Art der Exegese wenigstens einigermaßen vertraut war" (pp. 80-1). In other words, one gets the impression that the author of the Greek Ps paid the same kind of attention—though not yet so consistently—to particles as did the authors of the *kaige*-texts.

⁵ For important additional textual evidence not used by Rahlfs, see especially R. Kassel and M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV. Psaumes XVII-CXVIII* (Cologny/Genève, 1967), and A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (Rome, 1978). For further references, see Pietersma, pp. 6-15.

⁶ Venetz, p. 73. So already Barthélemy, pp. 42-3.

3) Venetz points out that the word βᾶρις (and πυργόβαρις) is a characteristic rendering not only for the *kaige*-group, but also for the Greek Ps. In Ps xlv 9 the Greek βᾶρις renders the Hebrew *hēkāl*, and in Ps xlvi 4, 14 it renders the Hebrew *ʿarmōn*, whereas in Ps cxxi 7 this last word has been rendered by πυργόβαρις. Through Jerome we know that this Greek word (with the meaning "fortress") was used only in Palestine. That means that this element too points to Palestine as the place of origin of the Greek Ps.⁷

These are the arguments adduced by Venetz in support of his thesis of a Palestinian locale for the Greek Ps. They are, in my view, convincing. Besides the specific common renderings both in the Greek Ps and in the *kaige*-texts of Ps,⁸ the use of βᾶρις (and of πυργόβαρις) for the Hebrew *ʿarmōn* is an especially important element. Not arising from a secondary revision of the Greek Ps, as Venetz makes clear, and belonging therefore, in all probability, to the original Greek Ps (pp. 82-3), this word (βᾶρις) favours the view of a Palestinian origin of the Greek Ps. Apart from inscriptions from Laodicea,⁹ it occurs only in Josephus,¹⁰ in texts of the so-called *kai gar*-group (LXX Ps and LXX 2 Chron.) and in texts of the *kaige*-group.¹¹ Further, Jerome tells us that this word βᾶρις "verbum sit ἐπιχώριον Palaestinae".¹²

On the other hand, there also occurs in Greek texts relating to Egypt, a word βᾶρις, but this one has a different meaning ("boat") and a different, Egyptian, background.¹³ That means that the use

⁷ pp. 81-3. Here he also mentions the other places in the Greek Bible, where the rendering βᾶρις occurs.

⁸ Of the 888 known parallel renderings between the Greek Ps and the *Quinta* (*kaige*-text) of Ps, 661 renderings seem to be common ones (i.e. 74.4%). For these numbers, see J. R. Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Simaco en el libro de los Salmos* (Madrid, 1978), pp. 295f.

⁹ See H. Kreissig, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich* (Berlin, 1978), p. 23.

¹⁰ See *Ant.* 8,396; 10,264/5; 11,99; 12,230; 20,85; *Vita* 246. For the βᾶρις of the temple of Jerusalem, see *Bellum* 1,75.118.

¹¹ Venetz, p. 81 (he also mentions the translation of Aquila). On the rendering of καὶ γάρ (for *gam* or *ʿap*) in the Books of Psalms and in 2 Chron., see Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, pp. 41-3.

¹² See Migne PL 22, col. 633 (Letter 65).

¹³ On this "Egyptian" βᾶρις, see J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 339. Only this one has an Egyptian background: versus H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. rev. by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1973), s.v.

of βάρις (and of πυργόβαρις),¹⁴ in the sense of "fortress" in the Greek Ps points to Palestine rather than to Egypt as its place of origin, because it would have been misunderstood in Egypt.

III

In connection with this thesis of a Palestinian locale for the Greek Ps, I shall now draw attention to some superscriptions of the Greek Ps. As is well known, many superscriptions in the Greek Ps do not have a corresponding text in the Hebrew. This also applies to all the following superscriptions with the exception of one. They are numbered according to the LXX:

Ps xxiii 1: ψαλμός τῷ Δαυιδ, τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων

Ps xlvii 1: ψαλμός ᾠδῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορε, δευτέρα σαββάτου

Ps xciii 1: ψαλμός τῷ Δαυιδ, τετράδι σαββάτων

Ps xcii 1: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, ὅτε κατώκιστα ἡ γῆ· αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ

Ps xci 1: ψαλμός ᾠδῆς, εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου.

For our purpose only those parts of the superscriptions are important which refer to some day of the week. There is evidence for the first, second, fourth, sixth days and for the sabbath day, whereas the Hebrew text has evidence only for the sabbath day (see MT Ps xcii 1). In the Greek witnesses, there appears to be no evidence for the third and fifth days of the week. As for these two days, only daughter-translations attest the designation for the fifth day, the day of Ps lxxi. So the Old Latin has above this psalm the reading "quinta Sabbati".

As has been observed by several scholars, the assigning of these psalms to certain days of the week corresponds with Jewish tradition.¹⁵ From the Mishnah (Tamid VII 4) we know that just these psalms were sung by Levites, when the daily burnt-offerings were presented in the temple of Jerusalem. They are numbered according to the Hebrew text:

¹⁴ This word also occurs in Ps Sol. viii 19. Just as in Ps cxxi 7 this text uses it as referring to the fortresses of Jerusalem. It forms one of several specific agreements (still to be studied) between the Greek Ps and the Greek text of Ps Sol.

¹⁵ See now E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ II*, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 303 (n. 41).

- Ps xxiv: on the first day of the week;
Ps xlvi: on the second day;
Ps lxxxii: on the third day;
Ps xciv: on the fourth day;
Ps lxxxix: on the fifth day;
Ps xciii: on the sixth day;
Ps xcii: on the sabbath day (see also Aboth de Rabbi Nathan I).

Thus, the superscriptions mentioned above can be regarded as liturgical notes and seem to point to the milieu of the temple of Jerusalem.

As I have said, the manuscript tradition of the Greek Ps does not attest a complete set of designations for each day of the week. There is no evidence in any manuscript of the Greek Ps for the third and fifth day. Although some daughter-translations, such as the Old Latin, probably reflect a Greek text with a designation for the fifth day, there is no evidence for the third day in any textual witness of the Greek Ps. I cannot explain the incompleteness of the designations in the Greek Ps, but I am of the opinion that there must have been a complete set for each day of the week, because an incomplete set does not make sense.

More important, however, is the following question: did these liturgical designations belong to the original text of the Greek Ps or are they additions? In his edition of the Greek Ps, *Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 72, A. Rahlfs incorporates these and other extra-MT superscriptions when they are "zweifelloso jüdischer Herkunft". But, as A. Pietersma recently remarked in *VT* 30 (1980), p. 214, this proves nothing more "than that it predates Christian use of the Psalter or that it originated in a Jewish rather than a Christian milieu". Further, Pietersma states that the Greek Ps are "a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew" (pp. 214-5), whereas many superscriptions in the Greek Ps are an expansion on the Hebrew text. He seems to suggest that these superscriptions are therefore suspect and may be regarded as later additions. In my view, however, we must not only differentiate between types (liturgical, exegetical) and milieus (Jewish, Christian) of superscriptions, but also make a distinction between the text of the psalms itself and the several superscriptions above the psalms. One gets the impression that the text of the psalms has been treated more carefully than what stood, or did not stand, above the

psalms.¹⁶ It seems to me difficult, therefore, to view the superscriptions in the Greek Ps in their relation to the Hebrew text in the same way as the text of the psalms in Greek in its relations to the Hebrew.

It must be asked again whether or not our liturgical designations in the Greek Ps already belonged to the original Greek Ps. I think they probably did. The fact that they are attested by the main witnesses of the Greek Ps¹⁷ points to an early date. Further, in being Jewish (and not Christian) notes and in reflecting the daily liturgy of the temple of Jerusalem (in Palestine), they fit into the thesis of a Palestinian origin of the Greek Ps. From this country, then, the text of the Greek Ps may have spread into several other countries, such as Egypt (see also Venetz, p. 83). In the third place, not only the translation of Aquila, but also the *kaige*-texts of Ps make it difficult to assume that, within the Jewish milieu of the first and second centuries A.D. in Palestine, the Greek Ps still held an important place.¹⁸ This means that our liturgical extra-MT superscriptions date from an earlier period.

Since the close relationship between the Greek Ps and the *kaige*-texts of Ps favours not only a congenial, Pharisaic milieu common to both,¹⁹ but also a date not long before the beginning of our era, the first century B.C. was probably the period in which the Greek Ps came into existence.²⁰ If this is true, then it is quite possible that our liturgical superscriptions, which also date from a period before that of the *kaige*-texts, belonged to the original Greek Ps.

As will be clear, this cannot be fully proved by these arguments. The important thing, in my view, is to examine, whether the Greek Ps originated in temple-circles of Jerusalem. If that is the case, then

¹⁶ Cp. e.g. the free rendering of the Hebrew superscription to Ps lv (MT: lvi). Later on, the same was probably the case with Origen, see O. Caloz, *Étude sur la LXX Origénienne du Psautier* (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1978), p. 357. Cp. also the Peshitta Version of the Psalms; see W. Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* (Leiden, 1960).

¹⁷ See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, ad loca. Except for Ps xxiii, they are also attested, with some slight variations, by the prehexaplaric witness Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (see n. 5).

¹⁸ For the dating of the *kaige*-texts at the beginning of our era, see p. 000 above, and my book, pp. 142-55.

¹⁹ For the supposed milieu of the *kaige*-recension of the Greek Bible, the school of Hillel, see above.

²⁰ For this dating, see also A. Posner, "Stoischer Einfluss im LXX-Psalter", *ZAW* 43 (1925), p. 276.

it stands to reason that liturgical superscriptions such as those for the days of the week belonged to the original Greek Ps. The same could be said, then, of the liturgical notes above Ps xxvi (πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι), which connects this psalm with the anointing of the High-Priest,²¹ and above Ps xxviii (ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς), which assigns this psalm to the last day of the feast of tabernacles.²²

According to M. Flashar, there are indications in the Greek Ps, which betray a great interest in the temple of Jerusalem.²³ In this connection I point to the rendering of *selā* by *διάψαλμα*, for instance in psalms which were sung during the daily burnt-offerings. From Jewish sources we know that these psalms were sung with intervals, in which the priests sounded their trumpets. The rendering *διάψαλμα* could very well be understood as referring to such an interval between the singing.

IV

To summarize, the arguments of Venetz for a Palestinian place of origin of the Greek Ps are convincing, whereas the above-mentioned liturgical superscriptions, certainly of Jewish origin, point to the same place of origin. In connection with this thesis, it is worth while to examine whether, as these liturgical superscriptions probably suggest, the Greek Ps originated in temple-circles in Jerusalem. If that is so, then we not only have another argument for the thesis of a Palestinian locale of the Greek Ps, but also a good argument for our assumption that the liturgical superscriptions belonged to the Greek Ps from the beginning. A Palestinian place of origin means, not only that Aquila had forerunners in Palestine, namely the *kaige*-texts, but also that the *kaige*-texts had forerunners in Palestine.²⁴

²¹ See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, p. 72. Comp. also Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* II (Leipzig, 1907⁴), p. 285. According to E. Slomovic, the title of this psalm (in his translation: "(A Psalm of David) before he was anointed") suggests, that "the psalm was recited just prior to David's anointing as king of all Israel" (Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms", *ZAW* 91 [1979], p. 356). But, first, the words *πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι* do not necessarily mean "before *he* (David) was anointed", and secondly, *v.* 4 of this psalm ("to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my live") points to the functioning of a (High) Priest in the temple.

²² See Hedley, p. 65. Cp. also Slomovic, p. 357.

²³ "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter", *ZAW* 32 (1912), p. 185; p. 246.

²⁴ Cp. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1978), p. 269.

LA SEPTANTE DES PSAUMES ET LE GROUPE KAIGE

par

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A partir de l'étude de la Quinta authentique du Dodécaprophéton, contenue dans des fragments du premier siècle de notre ère découverts en 1952, Dominique Barthélemy nomma "groupe *kaigé*" un ensemble de traductions et de recensions de l'Ancien Testament, réalisées en Palestine au premier siècle. Il les attribua à des "devanciers d'Aquila" car ces textes manifestaient l'influence de l'exégèse rabbinique contemporaine mais non les principes que devait développer Aqiba et qu'Aquila adopta dans sa version.¹ Barthélemy proposa d'inclure dans le groupe *kaigé* la Quinta des Psalms et suggéra d'établir une relation entre ce groupe et la LXX Ps. elle-même.²

Dans son ouvrage, *Die Quinta des Psalteriums, Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta- und Hexaplaforchung* (Hildesheim, 1974), H. J. Venetz se propose de développer ces deux idées formulées par Barthélemy; mais, si la démonstration qu'il apporte pour la première convainc, celle qu'il avance pour la seconde laisse quelque peu sceptique.

Les arguments de Venetz sont de trois ordres:

- 1) La parenté du vocabulaire de la LXX Ps. et du groupe *kaigé*.
- 2) La traduction, dans la LXX Ps., de *gam* par $\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.
- 3) La présence, dans la LXX Ps. et le groupe *kaigé*, de $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ et de $\pi\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\beta\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ au sens de "château", "maison forte".

Examinons successivement ces arguments.

I. *Le vocabulaire de la LXX Ps. et celui du groupe kaigé*

1) "Es wird auffallen, wie viel Gemeinsamkeiten das LXX-Psalterium mit dem Vokabular dieser Gruppe hat" (Venetz, pp. 57-8). Dans les quinze pages qui suivent cette affirmation de Venetz, le lecteur prend beaucoup plus la mesure des divergences

¹ D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, SVT 10 (Leiden, 1963), pp. 15-21.

² On notera la prudence avec laquelle Barthélemy avance cette idée (p. 47).