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A SHORT COMMENTARY ON SOME VERSES  
OF THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH 23

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I

As is well known, there are many and sometimes striking differences between the Massoretic text of the book of Isaiah (MT Isa) and the Old Greek of this book (LXX Isa). Several explanations for these differences have been given in the last century. Some scholars believed that the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa was markedly different from the MT Isa.<sup>1</sup> Others, however, criticized this view; in their opinion most differences were the work of the translator and were due mainly to factors such as faulty knowledge of the Hebrew language, misreadings, influence of the Aramaic, attempts to produce good Koine Greek, and predilection for a free and paraphrasing translation.<sup>2</sup> To these and other supposed factors I. L. Seeligmann added a new one: a marked tendency toward contemporization by means of fulfillment-interpretation of the old oracles of the prophet Isaiah.<sup>3</sup>

My own research on the LXX Isa has led me to the conviction that this feature of the LXX Isa, as suggested by Seeligmann, is an important key not only for explaining differences between the Hebrew and the Greek text of Isaiah, but also for a better understanding of the Greek text itself. Recently I have dealt with some texts of the LXX Isa as examples of fulfillment-interpretation in *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*.<sup>4</sup> In this present article

I will deal with some verses of LXX Isa 23 as another example of this kind of interpretation.

Seeligmann adheres to the view that one can discover such interpretations only "in isolated, free renderings."<sup>5</sup> It is to be asked, however, whether one has to look upon free and interpretative renderings as "isolated" from their Greek context. According to Seeligmann, one should not try "to discover logical connexions in any chapter or part of a chapter in our Septuagint-text,"<sup>6</sup> as K. F. Euler did with LXX Isa 53.<sup>7</sup> Seeligmann studies the LXX Isa in relation to the Hebrew *Vorlage* exclusively and considers it unjustified to deal with the LXX Isa as a coherent text with its own meaning. Euler, on the other hand, aimed at treating LXX Isa 53 in both respects. J. M. Coste did the same with LXX Isa 25:1-5<sup>8</sup> and reached the conclusion that the Greek passage in those verses, while very arbitrary in relation to the Hebrew, turns out to be a meaningful unity on its own. J. C. M. das Neves dealt in the same way with LXX Isa 24.<sup>9</sup>

It is in this twofold way that I will deal in this article with some verses of LXX Isa 23: (a) the Greek text in relation to "the" Hebrew text (primarily in a descriptive way), and (b) the Greek text on its own. As to "the" Hebrew text, important readings of Qumran MSS will be mentioned alongside the MT: first, readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (contemporary with the LXX Isa), and then readings of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>, and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>.<sup>10</sup>

## II

23:1 (*The Heading*) נַצַּח נִשְׁמַח - τὸ ὄραμα Τύρου.

The rendering ὄραμα (or ὄρασις) for נִשְׁמַח is characteristic of the LXX Isa and does not occur in the LXX elsewhere in the OT.<sup>11</sup> In the LXX Isa not only the prophecy about Tyre in our chapter but also the book as a whole (1:1, cf. MT) is called a "vision." The rendering ὄραμα is thus in line with ὄρασις of 1:1.

23:1 *ישׁתדוּתוֹ אֲנִיּוֹן* - ὁλολύζετε πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος  
 כִּי שָׁדַד מִבַּיִת - ὅτι ἀπόλετο  
 מִבְּנוֹ - καὶ οὐκέτι ἔρχονται  
 מֵאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן - ἐκ γῆς Κιτιέων  
 נִגְלָה לָּמוֹ - ἤκται αἰχμάλωτος.

MT-LXX: *ישׁתדוּתוֹ* has been rendered as Καρχηδών "Carthage." There is no rendering of *מִבְּנוֹ* in the LXX; MT = IQIsa<sup>a</sup>, IQIsa<sup>b</sup>, and 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>. .. *מִבְּנוֹ*: the LXX reflects a sense-division different from that of the MT, i.e., in the LXX two (short) sentences, in the MT one (in the MT *מִבְּנוֹ* belongs with *מִבְּנוֹ* [see accentuation]). *נִגְלָה* - "led captive": cf. *qal* and *hiph'el* of *נָגַל*. No rendering of *לָמוֹ* (but see below, v 2).

The first thing which is striking in this verse is the rendering "Carthage" for Tarshish, as is the case throughout chap. 23 (vv 6, 10, 14).<sup>12</sup> Outside this chapter, however, Tarshish has been rendered differently in the Old Greek of Isaiah: in 2:16 the words *ישׁתדוּתוֹ אֲנִיּוֹן כָּל* are translated by πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης (Tarshish as referring to the Mediterranean Sea),<sup>13</sup> whereas the LXX offers πλοῖα θαρσις for *ישׁתדוּתוֹ אֲנִיּוֹן* in 60:9 and θαρσις for *ישׁתדוּתוֹ* in 66:19 (Tarshish in both cases understood, apparently, as the name of a [maritime] country).<sup>14</sup>

In chap. 23 Tarshish is interpreted as "Carthage," that is to say, as the most famous Phoenician city on the African coast of the Mediterranean Sea, founded long before by traders from Tyre.<sup>15</sup> The question arises why the translator wanted to introduce Carthage into his version of Isa 23: only to make clear in which sense Tarshish had to be understood in relation to Tyre (cf. LXX Ezek 27:12, 25), or to say something more?

J. Fischer has suggested that LXX Isa 23 reflects a period in which Carthage still had a dominating position in the western part of the Mediterranean Sea (between 250 and 201 B.C.).<sup>16</sup> Seelig-

mann, on the other hand, describes the whole of our chapter in Greek as "one distressful lamentation for the destruction of the πλοῖα Καρχηδόνας"<sup>17</sup> in the year 146 B.C.

A further analysis of the meaning of v 1 in Greek is necessary in order to answer our question and to deal with the suggestions of both Fischer and Seeligmann. "Wail, ye ships of Carthage, for x is utterly destroyed, and y no longer come from the land of the Kittim; x is led captive." Seeligmann considers "the ships" as subject of ἀπόλετο. This, however, is improbable: ἀπόλετο (singular) is in line with ἦκται αἰχμάλωτος (whereas ἔρχονται is in the plural), and αἰχμάλωτος cannot refer to πλοῖα. Something different must be the subject of the two singular verbs; the subject of ἔρχονται, on the other hand, could be the ships. Usually, one thinks of Tyre as the subject of ἀπόλετο.<sup>18</sup> It is to be asked, however, whether the Greek of 23:1 has to be understood in the same sense as the Hebrew. This should not be decided on the basis of the meaning of the Hebrew text, as often occurs, but on the basis of the context in the Greek text of chap. 23. In this connection vv 10 and 14 are very important.

23:10 עברי ארצך - ἐργάζου τὴν γῆν σου  
 כיאר בח תרשיש - καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκέτι  
 אִיג מוז ערד - ἔρχεται (ἔρχονται A-26)  
 ἐκ Καρχηδόνας.

MT-LXX: עברי - ἐργάζου: via עברי, cf. עברי IQIsa<sup>a</sup> (= LXX); עברי 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> (= MT). כיאר - καὶ γὰρ: via (א) כי; Ottley<sup>19</sup> suggests אה כי. καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα: according to Fischer and Ziegler these words reflect the Hebrew אִיג מוז ערד כי (instead of בח/כיאר),<sup>20</sup> but that is too speculative; כיאר MT = IQIsa<sup>a</sup> (כיאר) and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> (כיאר). The LXX has a different sense-division from that in the MT (cf. כיאר). בח תרשיש - "Carthage", (see above); or via רב תרשיש (with the ר of ר/כיאר) "the

Lady of the sea"?  $\eta\gamma\dots\eta\iota\kappa$  - οὐκέτι.  $\mu\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$ : not to be related to a hypothetical  $\eta\eta\eta\eta$  (see above), but more probably to be related to  $\mu\eta\delta$  (= IQIsa<sup>a</sup>), interpreted as  $\eta\mu\delta$  "harbor" (see below).

23:14  $\eta\eta\eta\eta$  -  $\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   
 $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta$  -  $\mu\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$  Καρχηδόνος  
 $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta$  -  $\delta\tau\iota$  ἀπόλετο τὸ ὀχύρωμα ὑμῶν.

MT-LXX: Tarshish - "Carthage": see v 1.

It is clear that vv 10 and 14 in Greek are closely connected with v 1. Verse 14 offers the subject of ἀπόλετο: τὸ ὀχύρωμα ὑμῶν "your stronghold" (namely, the stronghold of the ships of Carthage). Verse 10b (on v 10a see below) shows close agreement with v 1:

καὶ οὐκέτι ἔρχονται ἐκ γῆς Κιτιέων (v 1)

καὶ γὰρ  $\mu\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$  οὐκέτι ἔρχεται ἐκ Καρχηδόνος (v 10).

This parallelism seems to be intended. (In light of this I would prefer in v 10 the reading ἔρχονται of MSS A-26 *et al.* to the reading ἔρχεται.<sup>21</sup> It follows that the subject of ἔρχονται in v 1 is "ships from Carthage." (The "ships of Carthage" in v 1a and v 14a, on the other hand, are ships from Carthage in the harbor of Tyre.) A parallelism between ἐκ γῆς Κιτιέων and ἐκ Καρχηδόνος is very possible: "the land of the Kittim" can refer to Greece (see 1 Macc 1:1) or to Italy (see MT and LXX Dan 11:30); this means that Carthage also and its environs in North Africa constitute a possible meaning of the term.<sup>22</sup>

"Ships no longer come from Carthage, for their stronghold is destroyed." One would like to know which stronghold is meant by the translator. For this question we have to look more closely at v 10b (MT and LXX). In my view, the translator has interpreted the Hebrew of v 10b as follows: "for the daughter (of) Tarshish (or: the Lady of the sea [see above]), Carthage, is no longer a harbor." Thus, the stronghold is Carthage; that formerly impor-

tant center of commercial activities is utterly destroyed, and therefore ships no longer come from Carthage.

The *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa may have contained the reading פנד because IQIsa<sup>a</sup> supports this reading of the MT. The translator then has "interpreted" this word by means of metathesis of two consonants (פנד - פנד), a well-known technique in ancient Jewish exegesis.<sup>23</sup> By interpreting the Hebrew text in this way he was able to write down his translation και γαρ πλοῖα οὐκετι ἔρχεται (or: ἔρχονται) ἐκ Καρχηδονος, a translation which was logically connected with the reading of his *Vorlage* and at the same time verbally connected with v 1.

Let us return to v 1. The subject of ἀπώλετο appears to be "Carthage." "Carthage is destroyed," and ships no longer come from there. It seems clear that the translator, by interpreting the text of Isa 23 in this way, refers to the total destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. This interpretation throws light on the choice of connecting מנב with מנב ירמ. The rendering ἦκται αἰχμαλωτος then refers to the fact that the inhabitants of the city were led captive after the defeat.<sup>24</sup> The city itself was totally destroyed.

There remains one question to be answered, namely, why the translator did not translate מנב. It may be assumed that this word stood in the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa, because the Qumran MSS support the MT (see above). Otley remarks: "The Heb. word may have been overlooked before מנב."<sup>25</sup> In light of the meaning of v 1 in Greek, I would suggest another and more satisfying explanation. מנב in the sense of "from being a house" would imply that Carthage (as subject of ἀπώλετο) was a "house" for the ships of Carthage. In view of the commercial practice of that time, it is, however, probable that the author of the LXX Isa interpreted a "house" for ships with their merchants as designating an organization of a state-recognized group in a foreign port,

that is to say, outside the home harbor.<sup>26</sup> This may be the reason why the translator did not translate מְבֵית; Carthage was not a "house" for the ships of Carthage.

23:2-3            דָּמָר (דָּמָר) - τίνοι ὄμοιοι γεγόνασιν  
                       יָשָׁבִי אִי - οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
                       צִדְדִּיךָ - μεταβόλοι Φοινίκης  
                       עַבְרָא יָם - διαπερῶντες τὴν θάλασσαν  
                       רַבִּים רַבִּים - ἐν ὕδατι πολλῶ  
                       עֲרֵבָה - σπέρμα μεταβόλων  
                       יָרֵךְ יָרֵךְ יָרֵךְ - ὡς ἀμητοῦ εἰσφερομένου  
                       רַבִּים רַבִּים - οἱ μεταβόλοι τῶν ἐθνῶν.  
 MT-LXX: דָּמָר (MT v 1<sup>fin</sup>) - τίνοι: via דָּמָר; דָּמָר = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>,  
 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>. דָּמָר - ὄμοιοι γεγόνασιν: via דָּמָר<sup>I</sup> (דָּמָר MT).  
 עֲרֵבָה (v 2), עֲרֵבָה and עֲרֵבָה (v 3); these three words have  
 all been rendered by μεταβόλοι (the sg. understood col-  
 lectively; עֲרֵבָה interpreted as עֲרֵבָה via phonetic similarity  
 of ע/ס).<sup>27</sup> צִדְדִּיךָ - Φοινίκης: cf. צִדְדִּיךָ - Φοινίκης  
 Deut 3:9 (and see below). עַבְרָא - διαπερῶντες: the sg.  
 ptc. understood collectively (עַבְרָא 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>).<sup>28</sup>  
 There is no rendering of צִדְדִּיךָ (for the Qumran readings,  
 see below). רַבִּים רַבִּים - ἐν ὕδατι: MT (-) = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>,  
 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>. ὡς ἀμητοῦ...: the LXX offers a com-  
 parison, the MT does not; MT = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>. There is  
 no rendering of יָרֵךְ; MT = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (יָרֵךְ).  
 There is no rendering of רַבִּים רַבִּים; MT = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>.  
 The LXX reflects a sense-division in vv 2-3 different from  
 that of the MT (with דָּמָר of v 1).

The structure of the Greek text is clear: it consists of a long interrogative sentence τίνοι ὄμοιοι γεγόνασιν...σπέρμα μεταβόλων,<sup>29</sup> and a clause with an answer ὡς ἀμητοῦ.... By the inhabitants "of the isle" are meant the people of Tyre. Thus, whereas in v 1 ships of Carthage (in the harbor of Tyre) are ad-



dressed, vv 2 and 3 in Greek have the inhabitants of Tyre as their subject. The text further makes clear which inhabitants of Tyre the translator has in view: the μεταβόλοι Φοινίκης. They are the important persons of vv 2-3, as is underlined by the fact that the word μεταβόλος occurs three times in these two verses. Here this Greek word is the rendering for the Hebrew  $\eta\pi\delta$ , a unique rendering of this Hebrew word in the LXX Isa (cf. only 47:15: μεταβολή for  $\eta\pi\delta$ ) and in the LXX of the OT. The usual translation of  $\eta\pi\delta$  is  $\xi\mu\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , as is the case in the rest of our chapter (see v 8 and vv 17-18) and elsewhere in the rest of the LXX (see, e.g., LXX Ezek 27).

The μεταβόλος is the retailer, the small business man, who sells in small quantities.<sup>30</sup> The word occurs but rarely, so, for instance, in the "Revenue Laws" of King Ptolemy Philadelphus (third century B.C.).<sup>31</sup> Like the κάπηλος (see LXX Isa 1:22), the μεταβόλος stands in contrast to the  $\xi\mu\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (see 23:8), who is the merchant, the trader, the big business man. It means that the inhabitants of Tyre were not the merchants of Phoenicia, but its retailers.

As a result of the rendering Φοινίκη for  $\eta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$  the Greek of vv 2-3 presupposes that Tyre was regarded as the metropolis of Phoenicia. As we know, this was indeed the case in the Hellenistic period. In this respect as well as for the interpretation of Φοινίκη for  $\eta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ , the legend on Tyrian coins from the time of Antiochus IV is very significant:  $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\ \delta\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\ \delta\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ .<sup>32</sup>

Whereas the Hebrew of vv 2-3 does not contain such a comparison, the Greek of these verses compares the retailers of Phoenicia with a harvest gathered in.<sup>33</sup> Is this the result of a misunderstanding of the Hebrew text? Ziegler remarks in connection with the rendering  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ): "Der Übers. kannte sich in der Konstruktion der hebr. Vorlage nicht aus, und hat frei  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  zur Verdeutlichung eingeschoben."<sup>34</sup> This, in my view, is an

underestimation of the translator on the one hand, and on the other too "modern" a criticism of an "ancient" translator, as far as philological principles are concerned. When one reads the Greek of vv 2-3 against the background of the contents of v 1 (see above), then the meaning of these verses becomes quite clear: the retailers in Tyre have become like a harvest gathered in, because the important trading center, Carthage, is destroyed; ships with merchants and merchandise no longer come from Carthage to Tyre, so that the retailers in Tyre, instead of crossing over the sea, have to stay at home "as a harvest gathered in." They are without employment.

In order to be able to make his translation of vv 2-3, the translator evidently dealt "freely" with the Hebrew text, as in fact is often the case in the LXX Isa. He connected  $\text{לִדְרֹךְ}$  with  $\text{לִדְרֹךְ}$ , read  $\text{לִדְרֹךְ}$  as  $\text{לִדְרֹךְ}$  (via the graphic similarity of  $\text{ר/ך}$ ),<sup>35</sup> and interpreted  $\text{לִדְרֹךְ}$  via the root  $\text{דָּרַךְ}$ .<sup>1</sup> He left some minor words untranslated, and added  $\acute{\omega}\zeta$  (see the remarks above).

There is one more important word, however, which he did not translate:  $\text{מִלֵּאָרֶיךָ}$ . According to Ottley, the LXX has "omitted it,"<sup>36</sup> but he offers no suggestion as to the reason for this omission. Ziegler states: "LXX hat diesen Vers ganz frei wiedergegeben und kam mit 'D nicht zurecht."<sup>37</sup> Although it is not quite certain which reading stood in the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa ( $\text{מִלֵּאָרֶיךָ}$  1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> = MT, [  $\text{מִלֵּאָרֶיךָ}$  4QIsa<sup>a</sup>), the support for the MT of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, which, unlike 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, is a conservative and accurate text-type, is in favor of the reading  $\text{מִלֵּאָרֶיךָ}$ . If then we may assume that this reading was in the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa,<sup>38</sup> and if it was understood in the sense of "they filled you (Tyre)," one can imagine why it was left untranslated. It would mean that the *retailers* of Phoenicia "filled" Tyre. This, however, was not the case. It was not the  $\text{μεταβόλοι}$ , but the  $\text{ἐμποροὶ}$  ("merchants, traders"), who "filled" a city like Tyre. There is a text in one of Ezekiel's prophecies against Tyre, viz., Ezek 27:25,

which confirms this: ... וְחַמְלָאֵי מַעֲרֹבֶיךָ שֶׁרִוּחַ שְׁרֵישׁ חַרְשִׁישׁ חַרְשִׁישׁ = πλοῖα, ἐν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι ἔμποροί σου..., καὶ ἐν-επλήσθης.... Therefore, I think, the translator could not use the Hebrew מַלְאֲוֶךָ in his interpretation of vv 2-3.

Finally, passing over the interesting vv 6-8, I return to v 10a.

23:10a עֲבָדִי אֶרְצֶךָ - ἐργάζου τὴν γῆν σου.

MT-LXX: see above.

According to Seeligmann, the LXX echose here the transformation of Carthage from a commercial state into an agricultural state after the destruction of its ships.<sup>39</sup> In light of the above, however, it is more probable that Tyre is meant in this passage: after the destruction of Carthage there is no longer work for the retailers in Tyre, since ships with merchants and merchandise no longer come from Carthage (see v 10b); thus there is nothing left for Tyre but tilling its land.

The rendering ἐργάζου for עֲבָדִי suggests the reading עֲבָדִי. This is also the reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (עֲבָדִי), on the other hand, agrees with the MT. Because of the fact that the expression אֶרְצֶךָ in the sense of "till the land" does not occur in biblical Hebrew (one always finds אֶדְמָתְךָ),<sup>40</sup> the reading עֲבָדִי of the MT and of 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> must be the older and better reading. It seems more likely, therefore, to look at the rendering ἐργάζου as resulting from some kind of "interpretation" of עֲבָדִי (via the graphic similarity of ר/ד)<sup>41</sup> than to assume that the *Vorlage* of the LXX contained the reading עֲבָדִי.

This interpretation forms part of the interpretation of Isa 23 as a whole in the LXX Isa. From the fact that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> also contains the reading עֲבָדִי, the question arises whether the author of this MS interpreted the text of Isa 23:10 (and of this chapter as a whole) in a similar way. This question, however, cannot be dealt with in this article, although, as I have tried to point out elsewhere, there is some evidence of fulfillment-interpretation in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> also.<sup>42</sup>

## III

The above may have shown that it is worthwhile to study the text of the LXX Isa in a twofold way, namely, in relation to the MT Isa (including the evidence of the Qumran MSS of Isaiah) and on its own. Much more, of course, can and should be said about LXX Isa 23, but our short commentary on some verses of this chapter may suffice as an illustration of the way in which the author of the LXX Isa dealt with his Hebrew *Vorlage* and how he constructed his translation. Differences between the Hebrew and the Greek in the verses of Isa 23 which we discussed need not be explained as arising from a faulty knowledge of the Hebrew, from misreadings, etc., but are, in my opinion, rather to be seen as resulting from a well-reasoned interpretation of Isa 23 by means of certain techniques also known from other ancient Jewish exegesis.<sup>43</sup> Some additions and omissions likewise are the result of a specific interpretation of this chapter. Too often translations like the LXX Isa as well as other books in the LXX are criticized on the basis of *our* philological criteria and from *our* exegetical view of the Hebrew text.

The question of the coherence of the Greek text of Isa 23 cannot be dealt with until a full treatment of this chapter has been carried out. Yet the verses we have commented on do show a meaningful coherence. It would not be fruitful to treat the "free renderings" in our verses as "isolated" ones.

Our short commentary, further, may have pointed out that LXX Isa 23 is not only a translation, but also a specific interpretation of this old Hebrew oracle against Tyre. The Greek text (of some verses) of LXX Isa 23 reflects the author's belief that the "vision of Tyre" once spoken and written by the prophet Isaiah was fulfilled in his own time, when Carthage was destroyed and Tyre was confronted with the consequences of the downfall of her mighty daughter. What is said about Daniel can be said about the author of LXX Isa 23: evidently he was qualified (and authorized!) to

interpret visions (see Dan 1:17).<sup>44</sup>

Finally, one does not find our exegesis of these verses of LXX Isa 23 in the earliest (Christian) commentaries on the LXX Isa (of Eusebius, Jerome, and others). They connect the contents of this chapter with the siege of Tyre by King Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Ezek 26:7). One early Christian tradition, however, has interpreted LXX Isa 23, albeit in its Old Latin translation, as referring to Carthage, for two "capitula" (nos. LVIII and LVIII) from the African branch of the VL read as follows: "Sermo Domini super Cartaginem (23,1), "Quod septuaginta annis esset deserta Carthago (23,14) et restitueretur."<sup>45</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See A. Scholz, *Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaias* (Würzburg, 1880); E. Liebmann, "Der Text zu Jesaia 24-27," *ZAW* 22 (1902) 1-56.

<sup>2</sup>See R. R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint I* (Cambridge, 1909); J. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias der LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* (BZAW 56; Giessen, 1930); J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Münster, 1934).

<sup>3</sup>I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems* (Leiden, 1948).

<sup>4</sup>A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 35; Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981) 34-60.

<sup>5</sup>*Septuagint Version*, 41.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Euler, *Die Verkündigung vom Leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jes. lili in der griechischen Bibel* (BWANT 4/14; Leipzig, 1934).

<sup>8</sup>Coste, "Le texte grec d'Isaïe XXV 1-5," *RB* 61 (1954) 36-66.

<sup>9</sup>Das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaias (Cap. 24 de Isaias)* (Lisboa, 1973). L. Laberge, on the other hand, in his recent publication on the LXX Isa (*La*

*Septante d'Isaïe 28-33: Etude de tradition textuelle*, Ottawa, 1978) deals with the Greek text in relation to the Hebrew only.

<sup>10</sup>I thank Dr. E. Ulrich very much for sending me photocopies of 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> and of 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> as far as their material from chap. 23 is concerned. 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> dates from the second half of the first century B.C., and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> from the middle of the first century A.D.; on this see P. W. Skehan in *DBSup* 9, Fasc. 51 (Paris, 1978) 811f.

<sup>11</sup>See my *Textzeugen*, 44 and 64.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. LXX Ezek 27:12, 25; 38:13: Καρχηδόνιοι for חרשיש.

<sup>13</sup>This is the usual interpretation in the Targumim and in the Vulgate of Jerome (see also the following note).

<sup>14</sup>It is not clear which country is meant. On the problem of the identification of Tarshish (including the views of both ancient and modern writers), see now G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée: Essai d'interprétation fondé sur une analyse des traditions littéraires* (Etudes de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome, Tome 17; Bruxelles/Rome, 1979) 331-48: "une région occidentale indéterminée," p. 348.

<sup>15</sup>On the date of the foundation of Carthage according to the available literary sources (about 814 B.C.), see H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 1973) 188ff.; G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne*, 317-24.

<sup>16</sup>*Schrift*, 5f.

<sup>17</sup>*Septuagint Version*, 90.

<sup>18</sup>E.g., Fischer, *Schrift*, 5.

<sup>19</sup>Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah*, 2.217.

<sup>20</sup>See Fischer, *Schrift*, 39; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 144. See also H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BK 10/11, 12; Neukirchen, 1978) 857.

<sup>21</sup>Another point in favor of this reading is the fact that MS A in the LXX Isa is closer than MS B to the original OG of this version; see Ziegler, *LXX Isaias*, 21ff.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* I.128: "Chetimos held the island of Chetima - the modern Cyprus - whence the name *Chethim* given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries" (in the translation of H. St.J. Thackeray in the Loeb edition).

<sup>23</sup>See my *Textzeugen*, 68 (with other examples from the LXX

Isa), and see also E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3; Jerusalem, 1981) 204f. On this technique as one of the types of *al-tiqra* midrash, see now C. McCarthy, *The Tiqure Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament* (OBO 36; Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981) 141f. In contrast, cf. Wildberger (*Jesaja*, 857): "ΠΙΔ wurde von G nicht verstanden und darum weggelassen."

<sup>24</sup> See B. H. Warmington, *Karthago: Aufstieg und Untergang einer antiken Weltstadt* (Wiesbaden, 1964<sup>2</sup>) 253.

<sup>25</sup> *The Book of Isaiah*, 2.215.

<sup>26</sup> See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Vol. I: *Text* (Oxford, 1972) 185f.

<sup>27</sup> See *Textzeugen*, 68, and Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 200-3.

<sup>28</sup> For רַע - διαπεράω, see also Deut 30:13 (MT and LXX).

<sup>29</sup> With Ziegler; *contra* Ottley, 1.147.

<sup>30</sup> See M. I. Finkelstein, "Ἐμπορος, Ναύκληρος, and Κέρηλος: A Prolegomena to the Study of Athenian Trade," *Classical Philology* 30 (1935) 331 (in Attic Greek: μεταβολεύς).

<sup>31</sup> See B. P. Grenfell (ed.), *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1896) in col. 47, 12, and col. 48, 3, 7, always together with κέρηλος; p. 142f. (commentary). For the text, see also J. Bingen (éd.), *Papyrus Revenue Laws: Nouvelle édition du texte* (SGUA, Beiheft 1; Göttingen, 1952) 18. Cf. further M. Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941) 1.243, 304. The older, Attic form (see previous note) likewise occurs rarely.

<sup>32</sup> On Tyre as the metropolis of Phoenicia/of the Sidonians, see M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (WUNT 10; Tübingen, 1973<sup>2</sup>) 535f., Anm. 215.

<sup>33</sup> On other examples of comparisons in the LXX Isa which the MT does not contain, see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 100-3.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>35</sup> See *Textzeugen*, 67, and Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 197.

<sup>36</sup> *The Book of Isaiah*, 2.216.

<sup>37</sup> *Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>38</sup>One cannot take it for granted, of course, that this and other readings in the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isa were also the original ones in the Hebrew text of the book of Isaiah.

<sup>39</sup>*Septuagint Version*, 91.

<sup>40</sup>*Contra Wildberger, Jesaja*, 857, 876.

<sup>41</sup>See note 35.

<sup>42</sup>See *Textzeugen*, 83-94.

<sup>43</sup>See further *Textzeugen*, 66-9.

<sup>44</sup>On this, see *Textzeugen*, 64. Cf. also the *pesher*-technique, known from the commentaries of the Qumran community.

<sup>45</sup>See *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem 13: Isaias* (Romae, 1969) 17. See also the remarks on these "capitula" on p. 9: "ad persecutiones Constantini vel filiorum eius adversus Donatistas fortasse referendum."



## GUIDELINES FOR EDITIONS OF ARMENIAN BIBLICAL TEXTS

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Considerable experience has been gained over the past decade in the preparing of critical editions of Armenian biblical texts and associated documents.<sup>1</sup> Editions of a number of texts have appeared,<sup>2</sup> and the preparation of others is underway.<sup>3</sup> This makes the standardization of procedures very desirable, so that future editions form a coherent corpus of critically edited biblical texts.

### *Type of Edition*

Most of the editions published so far have been diplomatic, minor editions. They were based on a carefully selected group of manuscripts, designed both to present the most valuable text type and also to represent the range of developments of the Armenian textual tradition. The base text for the edition should be the best isolable text form. The procedures for the selection were set forth by M. E. Stone in a series of articles in the 1970s and first applied in the selection of a base manuscript for an edition of Isaiah, and then of the manuscripts to be used in an edition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The first published edition based on this procedure was that of the Testament of Joseph.<sup>4</sup> The procedures established by Stone were refined and improved by Cox in the preliminary work for his edition of Deuteronomy and this refined method was applied in that edition.<sup>5</sup> This method of preparation has been found suitable in the present state of scholarship, since the number of manuscripts is usually very high, and the