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A STONE SHALL CRY OUT FROM A WALL

STUDIES ON THE TRANSLATION STYLE OF OLD GREEK HABAKKUK

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Abstract

What was the Old Greek translator's literary and theological understanding of the book of Habakkuk? This is the central question of this thesis. The prophecy of Ambakoum (OG translation of "Habakkuk") shows evidence of Greek rhetoric amidst numerous linguistic transformations. These features reflect part of the translator's personal literary and translational style in the transformation process – an act of interpretation. The meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures was carried over into a new Greek text by a multi-lingual translator, working in Alexandria sometime in the second century B.C.E. The process of interpretation was affected by more than so-called literalism, but also by socio-historical, linguistic and theological considerations. When the translator was not literal his approach was not simply free or exegetical. A real challenge for the translator was not his comprehension of, or ability with, his Hebrew text, but his choice of words, syntax and grammar in his own language. Sometimes his knowledge of Aramaic, which was more familiar than Classical Hebrew, was a quicker or more logical recourse through which to make decisions when rendering his Koine text.

An understanding of the translator's style is derived from an examination of the linguistics (i.e. lexemes, morphosyntax, semantics, etc.) and literary shapes of the new target text. This provides a basis upon which to then derive the translator's sense for his Hebrew *Vorlage*. It is the Greek translation that lays out his view(s). This thesis puts the translator's style on display by providing studies on the different aspects of it. The shape of the target text highlights subtle differences that reveal the translator's particular textual and thematic perspective. These studies answer the main question; they draw out and explain the translator's approach, linguistic hurdles and inventions, Aramaic interference, and some subtle theological distinctions. Only by building upon a study of the Greek document can one then form a constructive response to this enquiry.

This thesis contributes to the field by clearly presenting the translator's adept ability with his own language, which was also marked with some Greek rhetorical devices. It also examines the concept of literalism in the Septuagint by drawing into focus the multi-faceted aspects of the translational, and therefore interpretational, process. And by reading Ambakoum as a religious and historical product, the

theological differences with that of MT appear germane to the target text, unbound from our later readings of the source. The translator simply read his Hebrew text differently from the way we read ours; this thesis shows how.

Declarations

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text, footnotes and bibliography.

This thesis does not exceed the prescribed length of 100,000 words including footnotes and references, excluding bibliography and abstract, set by the College of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Edinburgh.

I grant the University of Edinburgh the right to publish this thesis, abstract or list of works, and/or to authorise its publication for any scholarly purpose with proper acknowledgement of authorship.

This dissertation is not substantially the same as any I have submitted for a degree or diploma or qualification at any other University. No part of my dissertation has already been or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signed,

James Alan Edward Mulroney
London, June 2014

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Biblical books and other ancient sources follow the abbreviations laid out in the SBL Handbook of Style.

α´	Aquila
σ´	Symmachus
θ´	Theodotion
1QpHab	Habakkuk Pesher from Qumran Cave 1
8ḤevXIIgr	Greek version of Habakkuk from Naḥal Ḥever, Cave 8 (Cave of Horrors)
AB	The Anchor Bible (Commentary)
ABU	Alliance Biblique Universelle (United Bible Society)
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AJBI	Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute
Akk.	Akkadian (a language of ancient Mesopotamia)
ALHR	American Lectures on the History of Religions
Amb	Ambakoum, Old Greek of Habakkuk
AT	Ancien Testament
BA	*Biblical Archeologist*
Barb	Barberini version of Habakkuk 3
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BDAG	*A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Edited by Bauer, Walter, Frederick W. Danker, William Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. 3d Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDB	Brown, Francis, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFC	La Bible en français courant. Edition révisée. Villiers-le-Bel: Société biblique française, 1997.
BGS	La Biblia griega Septuaginta
BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W.

Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983.

Bib	*Biblica*
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (now known as JSCS)
BJGS	*Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies*
BQ	*Biblia Qumranica*
Brenton	*The English Translation of The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament*. Brenton, Sir Lancelot C. L. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1851.
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*. Edited by L. Oppenheim et al. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956–
CAT	*Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*. Vuilleumier, René, and Carl A. Keller. 2d ed. Commentaire de l'ancien testament XIb. Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990.
CEB	Common English Bible
chp(s).	chapter(s)
CJB	Complete Jewish Bible Version
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible
CTAT	*Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Edited by Barthélemy, Dominique. 4 vols. Orbis biblicus et orientalis 50.1-4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982-2005.
DCH	*The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Clines, David J. A. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993-2011.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DJPA	*A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Sokoloff, Michael. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
DNTB	*Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
ESV	English Standard Version
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOAC	First-Order Acts of Communication
G	(Old Greek manuscript[codex] type, note superscript)
G^A	Alexandrinus
G^B	Vaticanus
G^L	Lucianus
G^Q	Marchialanus
G^R	Veronensis
G^S	Sinaiticus
G^V	Venetus
$G^{W/*}$	Washintonianus / * redactor's hand
GSB	Genfer Studien Bibel
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Koehler, Ludwing, and Walter Baumgartner. Leiden: Brill, 1994-2000.
HB	Hebrew Bible
HOAC	High-Order Acts of Communication
HT	Helps for Translators
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUB	*Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project*
IDBSup	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume*. Edited by K. Crim. Nashville, Tenn., 1976.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
ILP	Independent Literary Paradigm
IOSCS	International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies
IP	Interlinear Paradigm
Jastrow	*A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Jastrow, Marcus. London: Luzac, 1903. Repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2006.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
J-M	*A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Joüon, Paul, and T. Muraoka. Rev. English ed. Subsidia Biblica 27. Roma: Editrice Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006.
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSCS	*Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

JSOTS	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KJV	King James/Authorised Version
KR	The manuscripts described in editions of Kennicott and de Rossi
LHB / OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LHR	Lectures on the History of Religions
LOAC	Low-Order Acts of Communication
LSV	Louis Segond Version
LSJM	*A Greek-English Lexicon, With a Revised Supplement*. Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Sir Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. 9 ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
LXX	Pentateuch, Old Greek version of the Torah
LXX.D	*Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Edited by Bons, Eberhard et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009.
LXX.E	*Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament. Band 1: Genesis bis Makkabäer*, and *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament. Band 2: Psalmen bis Danielschriften*. Edited by Karrer, Martin, and Wolfgang Kraus. Vols. 1 and 2. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011.
MNTS	McMaster New Testament Studies
MP	Hebrew (MT) Minor Prophets
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
MurXII	Hebrew text from Murabba'at, Cave 12
NA	Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum, all versions
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NET	New English Translation
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title*. Edited by Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NIV	New International Version
NT	New Testament / Nouveau Testament
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies

Odes	Book of Odes, ecclesiastical canticles found in G$^{A.R}$
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (online at http://www.oed.com)
OG	Old Greek
OS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
OSB	*The Orthodox Study Bible*. Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 2008.
OT	Old Testament
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	The Old Testament Library
P	Papyri
Psh	Peshiṭta
R	Revisor of Greek Habakkuk from Naḥal Ḥever, Cave 8 (8ḤevXIIgr)
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RQ	*Revue de Qûmran*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	Relevance Theory
RTP	*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*
Rudolph	*Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*. Rudolph, Wilhelm. Kommentar zum Alten Testament 13,2. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1975, and *Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*. Kommentar zum Alten Testament 13,2. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1976.
SB	Subsidia Biblica
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SCSer	Septuagint Commentary Series
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
STDS	Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah
STTAASF	Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Annales Academiæ Scientarum Fennicæ
Syr.	Syriac
Tg.	Targum

TL	Target Language
TT	Target Text
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by Harris, Laird R., Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke. 2 vols. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980.
UBS	United Bible Society (Alliance Biblique Universelle)
v(v).	verse(s)
Vg.	Vulgate
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTG	Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum Variis Lectionibus
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenshaftliche Unterschungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Contents

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Translation, Interpretation and Transformation
in Ambakoum

"Toute traduction requerit inévitablement une transformation de l'ordre, du rythme et du son de l'original et de plus, cette bonne et poétique traduction nécessite souvent (mais non pas toujours) bien davantage de changement."[1]

It is widely agreed that all translation involves interpretation. Perhaps this is why teachers of Classical Greek have, at one point, turned to the student body and expressed the well-known adage that one has not read Homer until one has read him in Greek. Readers of a foreign language (Homeric/Classical Greek) tend to read through the paradigm of their own world.[2] Their own cultural idioms, linguistic structures and even metaphors, are the lens through which the text – a verbal expression of a foreign people – is often haplessly read. This process of linguistic interference is quite unintentional.[3] And it is exacerbated when the translation process is confined to a textual form. It affects modern translations of not just the Septuagint but the translation of all literature from a bygone age – true also of the "Septuagint translators." The further one gets from the original culture the greater the effort to bring over the meaning into a new and different one. It is sometimes an insuperable burden for translators working centuries down the road.

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[1] My translation of: "All translation necessarily involves transformation of the order and rhythm and sound of the original, and that good poetic translation often (not always) requires much more transformation." See Burton Raffel, *The Forked Tongue* (The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1971), 100.

[2] Modern Greek students, upon entering into the gymnasium, begin to read the classics of their heritage. Like books from the Loeb Library, they are given the classical text, say Plato, on one page, and a Modern Greek *translation* on the facing page. The difference between the stages of the Greek language is far great than, for example, between Modern and Jacobean English, so that a translation is required.

[3] For example, students who had to learn Greek in order to read, for example, Homer face this kind of challenge. This is often because they have associated words, syntax, sentence structures, verbal tense/aspect, and so forth, through a formal academic system that is learned by wrote, and not derived from cultural immersion. By learning words from glosses, students almost unconsciously associate the gloss meaning as the *real* meaning for every subsequent occurrence of the word. Later readings are often mired by the gloss meaning, which may have no relation to the contextual meaning whatsoever! This is not simply a pedagogic issue.

This does not belie the enterprise of translation, but draws to focus the point that all kinds of interpretations occur during the process of reading and then translating an ancient text. It thus arises within the translation process. Structurally speaking, no literary translation has ever been made that did not require an intermediary to wrestle with the words, clauses, sentences and meaning of the source text (ST). The changes that occur in the *process* of conveying, or bringing forth, the meaning of a ST to a new audience, into a target text (TT), may be called transformational.[4] The translator is an author, or as Eco calls him, a "negotiator,"[5] working in an atmosphere of compromise, choosing which elements of the original to emphasise or even omit. This process of transformation is not located merely in words, something which is also true for the Septuagint, so that the translator moved his eyes across the text and translated each word as he best understood it. This sort of atomistic approach in translation studies is unhelpful.[6]

Many years ago Thackeray worked up a number of descriptors to classify the respective styles of the Septuagint. His analysis was mostly concerned with the quality of the Greek. The text was a mixture of literalism (as he may have understood it) and quality Greek. He did not, unfortunately, go to any great length to qualify his specific

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[4] The term "transformation" has been used in translation studies for some years. In this study "transformation process" is a noun phrase in reference to this. It is often used in relation to the cognitive aspect of the translational process. There are numerous aspects that inhere the act of making a change; it refers to a human process. Van der Louw's succinct definition is: "Transformations or shifts are changes (linguistic or otherwise) with respect to an invariant core that occur in translation from source text to target text." See Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint* (Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 383.

[5] Umberto Eco, *Mouse or Rat?* (London: Phoenix, 2003), 6-7.

[6] Although this might occur with students as an academic exercise when first learning a second language later in life, viz. after formative years, it is not good practice. Moreoever, with respect to the Septuagint translators, this can be considered in the following two ways. First, as van der Kooij rightly points out, variant readings must be considered within their respective historical and cultural contexts because they are part of a reading tradition: "translations of the biblical books were produced by scholars who were able to read (aloud) and interpret the ancient books; in other words, translations were the work of learned scribes." Therefore, the scribes knew large sections of their texts very well, and had more than likely committed sections to memory from heart. This is a high-level perspective. Second, based on this, on the word-level, scribes would also be keenly aware of their word selections. For example, as Aitken recently argued, the Aquilan choice of σύν for אֵת is not necessarily caused by a hyper-literalistic or morphemic approach. It had a high linguistic register to Homeric Greek, marking it as quality prose, not the other way round. See James K. Aitken, "Lessons for Modern Translation Theory from Aquila and Other Odd Ancient Predecessors," (paper presented at The Signs of the Times Conference, Heythrop College, University of London, 2013).

conclusions, except to explain broad grammatical components of the Septuagint in general.[7] In retrospect, one might say he identified the general nature of the transformations of the texts in question; but this was mostly concerned with understanding the grammatical phenomenon of Koine in light of Classical forms. He called the Twelve (OG Minor Prophets)[8] "indifferent,"[9] by which he meant that there was no specific *style*.

The proclivity of the earliest translators to follow, in varying degrees, the word-order of the ST shows something of their appreciation for its nature. Its word-order was obviously important, which is more acutely seen by the fact that they were likely native speakers of Greek and Aramaic (perhaps also Egyptian), not of Hebrew.[10] So decisions to not follow it, even when it *could* have been possible (including other such linguistic features, i.e. semantics), indicates that the translators were free to do otherwise. Meaning, clarity, and literary style, including consideration of the literary shape of a section of text, were also attendants upon their decision processes.

There are many factors that make up the translator's style in Ambakoum.[11] What deviates from the predetermined categories of *literalism* is not necessarily that which

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[7] Although his work regarding the common authorship between the Twelve, Jer α, and Ezekiel α and γ make some gains in this direction, it does not explain the nature of the changes. See Henry St John Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," *JTS* 4 (1903).

[8] In this study, the abbr. LXX refers to *the OG translation of Torah*, the Pentateuch, something about which Jerome was emphatic (Greenspoon). The use of the abbr. OG (Old Greek) refers to the earliest translation of other books that are in relative continuity with the LXX, e.g. OG Hab would refer to the OG translation that occurred after the LXX in the second century, see n. 11. Critically speaking, this often refers to the eclectic texts from the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* from Göttingen. Deviations from this are made clear in the study. Other abbreviations in relation to this exist and are clearly defined throughout, especially when referring to specific MSS or textual traditions. Also, all dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise noted, and all biblical references are to the Septuagint, not MT – this is sometimes implied by the biblical reference, e.g. 1 Sam instead of 1 Kgdms. Cf. Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' And Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 27.

[9] Henry St John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), 13.

[10] See Jan Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint* (FAT 83; eds. Bernd Janowski, Mark S. Smith, and Hermann Spieckermann; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 32. Also n. 21.

[11] In this study, Ambakoum (Αμβακυμ), abbr. Amb, always refers exclusively to *the OG translation of Hab*, or its literary character/prophet Αμβακυμ. The difference between these two is clear from context, e.g. "Ambakoum suffers at the hands of the unrighteous" refers to the character from the book, not the text. Also, all references that do not reference a specific book are in reference to Amb, e.g. 1:17 = Amb 1:17.

is *free*, leaving the latter open to many kinds of speculative definitions. A detailed discussion in this regard is found in chapter two (Methodology). For the time being, what is key here is that when the Greek is read as a literary artefact on its own, and *then* compared to its Hebrew counterpart, numerous changes appear germane to the translational activity. The TT reads well and is a sound and coherent text. Some of the changes in the TT can be explained through common categories of improvisation, e.g. guessing at word meaning. Yet some changes seem to have occurred with a greater degree of intentionality, which implies at least a freer approach to the TT. It has its own thematic content and literary patterns. This reveals the translator's literary understanding of his TT within the confines of a translational boundary, i.e. the general structure of the ST. An explanation of his style teases out what he understood of his source.

This is the essential task of the present study: To demonstrate that through an understanding of the translator's style one may then explain in what ways he understood the prophecy of Ambakoum, which then provides a basis upon which to deduce his theological and exegetical orientation.

It should be expected that since each book of the Twelve contains different characters, themes and linguistic hurdles, e.g. rare or difficult words, there will be some translational differences even when the same translator is at work. It seems that the translator did not intend to flatten the contours of each book. For example, there is an obvious stylistic variation between the Psalm of Ambakoum (Amb 3:1-19) and the previous two chapters, the former being attributed, for the most part, to the variation that exists with the ST. Moreoever, there is no text in the Twelve that matches the literary composition of the Psalm. Yet the Twelve is all by the same hand. This further proves that Ambakoum may be studied as an individual unit with its own themes and literary structures.[12] The translator was sensitive to the literary compartments within the body of his overall text.

In reference to the literary edges mentioned above, there are all kinds of boundaries that the translator of Ambakoum bumped up against; the addition of clauses, for example (aside from an alternate *Vorlage* to MT), indicates that such a boundary was not unbreachable. Moreover, modification of broad literary structures, creating

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[12] Moreover, the evidence of the pesherim also indicates that each book could be commentated upon as a distinct unit.

contrasts where they hitherto did not exist (2:3-5), or inventing variations out of an apparent love for literary rhetoric (2:6, 9, 12, 15, 19), shows the translator's adept skill. Patterns that occur across sentence and paragraph boundaries also indicate that the translator had a literary comprehension of his ST – no word-level atomism. Such things are not, however, limited to syntagmatic or paradigmatic correspondences, for they also pertain to semantics. This is more hotly debated.

Translators clearly made mistakes. To err is human. Though, as translators can be shown to have woven some literary flourish into their works, the same can be said of their breach of semantic boundaries. The translator's ability to know whether or not to leave a domain of meaning altogether implies that he saw the text from another point of view, even if a particular word was obscure. Rabassa humorously points this out: "When asked by the evangelist, 'Friend, have you found Jesus?' [The] perfectly logical reply is, '…I didn't know he was lost.'"[13] It is not just a matter of perspective, but how one wishes to take the given question – or read the given word/clause form on the parchment. The answer, if not the question, has to make sense – it has to be acceptable. These translators sought to create texts that spoke with clarity, drawing out the right meaning from which they were translated.

So, when a Hebrew word was foggy to the translator he improvised. He made sense of it as best he could. But in the process of doing so he showed his cards. By making sense of the text before him, which included more than just one or two confusing words, scholars today are given a glimpse into how the translator understood his text. It was not always true that the difficult parts of scripture were shrouded in misunderstanding. Moreover, when a passage was entirely clear there was a tendency to ensure that it properly connected with the passage in which it was found. Every case differs from one instance to the other. From fairly mundane concerns, such as how to translate a relative particle (3:16), to a complicated concern over the role of the prophet (1:12), different circumstances raised different questions, which yielded differing results.

This point pushes us back into the linguistic struggle between languages. Most notably, there are no word equivalences between languages. A word choice can evoke

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[13] Gregory Rabassa, "No Two Snowflakes Are Alike: Translation as Metaphor," in *The Craft of Translation* (eds. John Biguenet and Rainer Schulte; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 12.

similar emotions that are perceived differently between languages and cultures, and therefore "only approximates its synonym without ever replacing it."[14] More often it is not the actual SL (source language) or ST that is causing the translator difficulty but his own – the target. As Raffel explains:

> [L]inguistic knowledge is not the best nor even a good road toward successful translation. The translator's problems are verbal, but it is the words into which he is translating, not those from which he is taking his leave, that create his problems. What the translator most needs – always given that minimal standard of merely linguistic achievement – is thus the ability to manipulate and mold the receiving rather than the lending tongue.[15]

The trained scribe of Ambakoum then faced the challenge of communicating well, rather than simple conformity to a kind of literalism.

With this goal in mind, there would then have been a high degree of Greek interference as the teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures was carried over into a foreign language – a new culture. At this stage my point is purely linguistic and not ideological. (What theological ideas existed for the translator sat in the background, of course, but are not core to this point.) At each linguistic level the translator had to make decisions, which, more often than not, were concerned with effectively presenting and conveying the message of the ST, without too much attrition to the target language (TL). It is also quite likely that more decisional avenues were opened up because of the multi-lingual environment in which the translation came into existence; there was also contemporaneous lingual flux of the TL. Changes were occurring within Hellenistic Greek throughout this period. What might have previously been considered odd – and frankly unacceptable – ended up as not only permissible, but in some instances quite creative.[16] After all, LXX was well received, even at least showing a dialectical use of the language. This then lends further literary credence to the translator and his work(s). Incidentally, this point somewhat diminishes concern over how well the translator of

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[14] John Biguenet and Rainer Schulte, eds., *The Craft of Translation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), xiv.

[15] Raffel, *The Forked Tongue*, 105.

[16] See p. 106.

Ambakoum knew Hebrew.[17] It would seem he knew enough to get the job done, but perhaps not enough to breathe the air of the classical language.

The transformation process, therefore, encompassed a vast array of literary and cultural features, all of which contributed at different levels and stages of the process. Van der Louw's excellent inventory enumerates some of the aspects of the process; as research in the field continues, more items need to be added to the cache. In Ambakoum, some of the translational decisions appear to have been crafted so it spat of Greek literary rhetoric. This tradent was cognisant of the literary nature of his ST, yet not entirely a slave to it.

This study is concerned with how one may understand some of the textual evidence of the Septuagint. It amounts to working with the lexical data, nature of syntax, overall shape of the literature in question, content and context. As the SL and TL are non-isomorphic, there is a high degree of transformation. Yet, there is also another layer of analysis that must be considered. In a number of instances in Ambakoum, there are strong linguistic connections that appear to allude to other parts of scripture.[18] Such relationships can be quite tough to pin down, especially for the modern scholar. Quite simply, allusions between collated texts can make sense to one person and not another. It is like seeing faces and shapes in the clouds; a friend says to the other, "Look at that cloud! It looks like an old man's face," and the friend replies, "Where? I don't see it." So it sometimes is with inner-biblical allusions. On this basis, I tread slowly and carefully forward.

Inner-biblical allusions can be found between both MT and OG texts (Septuagintal connections often must be chronologically aligned). This means that an OG text can have allusive qualities to a context of MT, which may also include Septuagintal

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[17] Tov is right that translators did guess at some word meanings, misread others, etc., but the gravity of this is much less significant, which has real implications for using the Septuagint for MT textual criticism. Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" in *De Septuginta* (eds. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox; Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1984), 53-70.

[18] An allusion can be understood through the recurrence of a general theme that is connected by either the repetition of the same or synonymous lexica (maybe with different vocabulary) that evokes similar ideas in another text that are derived from an earlier one. The sharing of lexica rather than vocabulary (*pace* Stead) gives the author more strength to his argument. Without such, it would seem that only the weight of much circumstantial data can prove a *connected* thematic allusion. Cf. Michael R. Stead, *Zechariah 1-8* (LHB / OTS 506; eds. Claudia V. Camp and Andrew Mein; New York; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 19-21, 37-39.

thematic content in each respect. It is a symbiotic relationship that may exist within a large corpus of literature (HB) and with its translational representative (LXX/OG) by those who know both. So, a multi-lingual scribe of living and academic languages would have more decisional pathways along which to interpret his text. Knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, in conjunction with a reading tradition of the day, might then affect the transformation process in an unexpected way. For example, consider the relationship between MT Job 19:7 and Amb 1:2. In the latter text, the prophet suffers, which is not true of Hab 1:2:

Hab 1:2	אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושיע
Amb 1:2	βοήσομαι καὶ πρὸς σε ἀδικούμενος καὶ οὐ σώσεις ;
MT Job 19:7	הן אזעק חמס ולא אענה \ אשוע ואין משפט

However, Hab 1:2 has similar lexica that correspond with the lexica of MT Job 19:7, where Job complains about his suffering. Literarily speaking, Ambakoum suffers, which may be due to both the inner-biblical connection of Hab 1:2 with MT Job 19:7 and also to the immediate context of Amb 1:2 – the lack of justice and deliverance (1:2-4). This is also in spite of the differences that exist with OG Job 19:7. Therefore, there is an allusion to the unjust suffering of the righteous in MT Job 19:7 with Amb 1:2.

Allusions are related to conceptual realms, which in this kind of literature is often linked to theological constructs. Of course the scribe had theological ideas, but these were partly shaped by his ST and the state of his religious tradition. There really is no evidence to prove that he sought to shape his TT in a way that was alien to the ST. In fact, it is much more likely that he never even considered, especially in the modern sense, any kind of modifications that were not authorised. This means that there was not, in particular to Ambakoum, a wide-scale attempt to meddle with the teaching of the ST. Baer has helpfully provided three different levels by which translators thought themselves authorised to modify their texts.[19] Perhaps because Ambakoum is a small book there is little evidence of such things, but there is some. This places the translator of Ambakoum in a tradition very similar to, if not the same as, the tradition expressed

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[19] See p. 38.

by Baer. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that the translator integrated alien ideas, a sort of intelligent re-designing of the text and its message.[20]

In sum, the translator of Ambakoum was an astute scribe who knew both Greek, Aramaic, and perhaps also Egyptian,[21] with an academic grasp of Classical Hebrew. He sought to draw out the meaning of his ST without much loss to the communicative quality of the TL, during the process of creating his TT. Chapter two explains that a number of influences may have caused him to make the decisions that he did.

1.2 Provenance of the Old Greek (OG)

1.2.1 Habakkuk Speaks Greek

As Orlinsky and Bratcher rightly noted, LXX came into existence through linguistic necessity more than anything else.[22] While remaining in the Land would never have truly guarded against inter-lingual diffusion – let alone the natural evolution of any language –, the simple nature of the Diaspora, along with the central and governing textual tradition, meant that, at some point, communication in a different language(s) would become a reality. And so it did. The creation of a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures had much to do with the new cultural situation of its hearers, no less its scribal overseers.[23] The necessity of the translational effort further implies the central authority and importance of the textual tradition for its religious adherents.

It is commonly held that LXX was first translated sometime in the late third century.[24] On the heels of this came the translation of other significant corpora, which

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[20] Thanks to Peter J. Williams for drawing my attention to this.

[21] The translators were likely native speakers of at least two languages (Aramaic and Greek), perhaps three (Egyptian), cf. Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation in Antiquity," in *Studies in the Septuagint* (ed. Harry M. Orlinsky; New York: Ktav Publishing, 1974); Jan Joosten, "A Syntactic Aramaism in the LXX: ἰδού in temporal expressions," *JSCS* 45 (2012): 44.

[22] See Harry M. Orlinsky and Robert G. Bratcher, *A History of Bible Translation* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1991), 1-5; Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (LHR 9; New York; London: Colombia University Press, 1971), 57-81; Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 28-29.

[23] The translation was likely not just for pedagogic or linguistic reasons, but also culturally (politically) necessary. Cf. Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 30-34; John William Wevers, "An Apologia for Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 18 (1985): 16-17; Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 28-30.

[24] See Marguerite Harl et al., eds., *La Genèse* (1; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994), 7; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante* (Paris: Les Éditions du

are not necessarily in the order one might expect. This alternate ordering may have indicated priority for a community. This being true, the Twelve was of high priority.[25] It was translated around the same time as Isaiah and the Psalter in the early-to-middle second century.[26] There are no superscripts, notes, marginalia, etc., to indicate precisely when and where the Twelve was translated. These things must be derived by other means.

Ambakoum may be dated through a number of different ways.[27] Its place in the unified corpus of the Twelve, which was considered a literary unity as far back as Ben Sira,[28] means that what is true for the Twelve is true of Ambakoum in respect to dating. On the one hand, the translation has to come after LXX, which was created sometime before the second century; yet, on the other hand, it has to have been made before the well-known Levantine redaction (8ḤevXIIgr) mid-to-late in the first century. To this point, it would also be necessary to provide some time for concerns related to this translation to arise before embarking on a revisionary activity, which was not meant to be a new translation.[29] This leaves a period of about 100 years in which to place the original translation of Ambakoum.

Working from the belief that Isaiah was perhaps the first prophet to be translated after LXX,[30] we can narrow down a little more on the timing of Ambakoum. There is a number of shared vocabulary between Isaiah, the Psalter and the Twelve. This implies some degree of shared ideas, which is particularly true of Ambakoum.[31]

Cerf, 1988), 93; John Wm. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 24; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 31.

[25] A similar perspective is illustrative from the Qumran community, see T. Muraoka, "Introduction aux douze petites prophètes," in *Les XII* (trans. Jan Joosten; eds. Margeurite Harl et al.; BdA 23.1; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002), ii.

[26] See Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 110-12.

[27] Dorival's three points are helpful: first, particular use of vocabulary; second, historical allusions; and, third, the translation procedure. See ibid., 93-94.

[28] See Muraoka, "Introduction aux XII," ii-iii.

[29] See ibid., viii.

[30] See Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," 585.

[31] This is evident from: the use of Ἀραβία in 1:8 (see p. 125) and the use of πυξίον in 2:3. In addition, use of the eschatologically charged word συντέλεια, which is used throughout Psalter, is used in the same way within Amb. Schaper is right about this theological connection; but he does, however, on tenuous grounds (heavy dependence on one word, βᾶρις, Rabbinic exegetical methods and an eschatological interpretation of Moab) try to place its translation to somewhere in the Levant. Cf. Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 76; eds. Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 34-45; 65-68.

Thackeray argued for confluence between Ezek α and γ, in addition to Jer α.[32] All this data does seem to point to, at least, translators working out of the same kinds of thoughts, ideas and stylistic concerns, thus placing them together in either the same school of thought or place – Thackeray called them *les collaborateurs*.[33] Seeligmann also sees some dependence on Isaiah in the work of the Twelve.[34] Therefore, in agreement with a number of scholars,[35] this data then indicates a date sometime in the early-to-middle part of the second century.[36]

It is commonly believed that the Twelve was translated in Alexandria,[37] and by one hand,[38] something with which Howard[39] and Harrison[40] disagree. The place of translation is commonly understood by what appears to be a lack of knowledge concerning non-Egyptian toponyms,[41] and also from evidence that Theocharous calls "techniques attested in Alexandrian world-analysis."[42] There is also little evidence that

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[32] See Henry St John Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 3 (1903): 399; Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," 578.

[33] See Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," 579.

[34] See Isaac L. Seeligmann, *LXX Version of Isaiah* (9; Leiden: Brill, 1948), 73. See also p. 125.

[35] See Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 93, 111; Dines, *The Septuagint*, 46.

[36] Ancillary support may also be drawn from Lee's brief lexical analysis. The slight dominance of ὁράω (pres.) over βλέπω, and the equal evidence for use of βοάω and κράζω, in the Twelve, indicates an early date in the second century. As he postulates, the evidence shows that LXX may, based on the lexical study, be consistently dated to the third century. The use of βλέπω in the poetic texts of the Twelve indicates an early date. See John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of LXX* (SCS 14; ed. Harry M. Orlinsky; Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1983), 129-44.

[37] Dines points out that this has not been seriously challenged, and I add that evidence from continued research does seem to point towards an Alexandrian locale. Theocharous sees Alexandrian translation technique at home in the Twelve. See Myrto Theocarus, *Lexical Dependence* (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 17; Dines, *The Septuagint*, 42; Jennifer M. Dines, "The Septuagint of Amos. A Study in Interpretation," (PhD diss., University of London, 1991), 313.

[38] See Jennifer M. Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?" in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 59; vol. 14; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 397; Theocarus, *Lexical Dependence*, 8; T. Muraoka, "In Defence of the Unity of the Septuagint Minor Prophets," *AJBI* 15 (1989): 25-34; T. Muraoka, "Hosea IV in the Septuagint Version," *AJBI* 9 (1983): 40; James Karol Palmer, "'Not Made with Tracing Paper.' Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah," (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2004), 17; Joseph Ziegler, *Sylloge. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta* (10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), [37]11, [41]15.

[39] Cf. George E. Howard, "Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 20 (1970): 108-112.

[40] Cf. Robert C. Harrison, "The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX: A Reexamination of the Question," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 55-72.

[41] See p. 125.

[42] Theocarus, *Lexical Dependence*, 17.

the translator's *Vorlage* for the Twelve was different from MT.[43] The differences are not great,[44] and some Greek variants can now be supported from discovered Hebrew texts.[45] There was a high degree of textual stability at these early stages.[46]

The earliest exemplar for Ambakoum is G[W], being dated to around the third century C.E.[47] Ambakoum is also represented in five more uncial texts (i.e. G[A.B.Q.S.V]),[48] though the Twelve have different canonical orders.[49] The relationship between these

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[43] See ibid., 9; Edward W. Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text* (VTSup 126; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 13-14.

[44] Fuller's analysis of Hosea, and its related evidence from Qumran, led him to conclude: "it is clear that the majority of Hebrew manuscripts of the XII discovered in cave IV are closer to the Greek tradition or family than to the tradition or family of M." See Russel E. Fuller, "Textual Traditions in the Book of Hosea and the Minor Prophets," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (vol. 1 of STDS, eds. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; Brill: Leiden, 1992), 253. See also n. 63.

[45] See Jan Joosten, "Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea," in *Intertextuality* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor; OS 40; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 63.

[46] Harper could be right that, "[t]he relationship may be similar to that between MT and the text of Habakkuk in 1QpHab," cf. Joshua Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe. The Barberini Version of Habakkuk 3 Analysed in the Light of the Other Greek Versions," (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2012), 10.

[47] See Carl Schmidt and Henry Arthur Sanders, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection* (New York; London: The Macmillan Co., 1927), 7. Also, as an exemplar prior to the Hexapla, it provides some insight into the use of OG in Alexandria of that period.

[48] There are also a number of minuscules in which the Twelve may be found, see Joseph Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae* (3d rev. ed.; Septuaginta XIII; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 8-12.

[49] G[S] follows MT; G[A.B.Q.W] = Hos, Amos, Mic, Joel, Obad, Jonah, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Zach, Mal; G[V] = Hos, Amos, Joel, Obad, Jon, and Mic. There are also other variations among the Greek Fathers, see Muraoka, "Introduction aux XII," v-vi. Variation is observed in the first six books of the collection, notwithstanding their placement in the biblical canon. Dines (*SB*: 2012) notes that these different orders are, however, stable, which I take to mean that there is no fluidity, i.e. they cannot be in any order anyone wishes, but have been ordered with specific intention within each MS type. It may be that the order was the result of later changes, with the Twelve being originally translated in the order of MT, something to which 8ḤevXIIgr would "be the earliest witness" (Dines, Verbal Links: 2012). Later canonical shapes indicate that "there may have been a plurality of versions circulating together." See Jennifer M. Dines, "What Are They Saying About the Minor Prophets?" *SB* 42, no. 1 (2012): 3, and n. 14; Jennifer M. Dines, "Verbal and Thematic Links between the Books of the Twelve in Greek and Their Relevance to the Differing Manuscript Sequences," in *Perspectives on the Book of the Twelve* (eds. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle; BZAW 433; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 363-4.

MSS is still as of yet undetermined.[50] The eclectic text of Ziegler (1984) is used in this study with some minor modifications.[51]

1.3 Later Greek Revisions

I am well aware that a proper analysis of the later Greek revisions of the Septuagint would go far beyond the scope of this study. Yet, because of the influence of OG and the clear development of ancient views on translational style(s), a brief discussion is offered here. Now, in the centuries that followed the first translation of Ambakoum numerous editions of the text emerged. In a way, the initial translation became a theological and linguistic canon by which to measure later works. But this only went so far because later concerns clearly seem to be centred on the nature of the translation *in light of* MT. Later recensions would have operated within a minimalist paradigm of: OG version(s), MT (in some cases proto-MT) and the new TT.[52] I think this basic framework is important to point out because later translators would have had some version of OG in view while they worked. The respective text would have been close to any one of the major exemplars, depending on a number of factors. The difference, then, between a recension or revision, and a version, is also important to recognise.[53]

The first evidence of revisionary activity on the Septuagint is the different Greek version of a large portion of the Minor Prophets, dating to the end of the first century.[54] This is a very fragmentary scroll that was found in cave eight in Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr).[55] It would have in its original state been about 10m in length, and was

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[50] See Muraoka, "Introduction aux XII," vii.

[51] See Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 261-75. Also, Barb may have been the first re-translation (recension) of OG that we have, cf. Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 8.

[52] From a maximal standpoint, a later recensor would have perhaps had more than one copy of OG or proto-MT. As the years rolled on, possibilities for the paradigm would be expanded, as seen in G^L, see p. 17.

[53] Discussing this difference, Wevers notes that, first, with a recension "the text being revised must be identifiable, must shine through…[it is] a revision of an existing text." Therefore, second, "a recension is a standard used for determining what needs revision and what can be left unrevised." And third, there must be a degree of continuity between both texts. See Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," 33-34.

[54] See Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons, *DJD 8* (8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 19-26.

[55] Cf. Dominique Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," *RB* 60 (1953): 19-20; Robert A. Kraft, "Review of 'Les Devanciers d'Aquila by Dominique Barthélemy'," *Gnomon* 37 (1965): 475. The cave was first called the "Cave of Horrors" because human remains were found there. It has since been concluded that the people who hid in the cave were likely

the work of at least two scribes.[56] It showed that there was a development in how the interpretation of the proto-MT was rendered into its TT. This was part of what Barthélemy rightly argued as a καίγε recensional activity. It sought to bring the OG translation into conformity with certain literary and translational ideals, which were not the same as those of the OG translator. These details are not to be rehashed here, except to point out that since his "epoch-making"[57] work, a number of his conclusions have been refined.[58]

Although 8ḤevXIIgr was a revision of OG towards the proto-MT, it retained significant continuity with the OG text. There are similarities and dissimilarities, which mark R's style and viewpoint to some degree. As Tov noted, there was a "special relationship between the two translations which is explained here in terms of a translation and its revision."[59] A comparison of R with Amb shows a number of verbal and lexical affinities.[60] What R reveals is a later tradition that had different concerns. It is also likely that, as a result, theological persuasions were drawn back to a less free reading of MT, rather than the slightly more interpretative character of OG. What is noteworthy is that (aside from Barb) the first overhaul of the Twelve was a recension, not a new translation. Continuity with OG appears to have been quite important.[61]

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burned alive by vats of burning oil, thrown into the cave by their attackers. The only known survivors were bits of damaged parchment.

[56] See Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 8-9, 14; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila.* (10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 164-5.

[57] Sidney Jellicoe, "Some Reflections on the ΚΑΙΓΕ Recension," *VT* 23 (1973): 15.

[58] See Leonard J. Greenspoon, "Recensions, Revisions, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Traditions," *Textus* 15 (1990): 153-167; Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," 33-34; Geza Vermes, "A Review of: Devanciers d'Aquila," *JSS* II (1966): 261-4; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 152-3.

[59] Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 104.

[60] There is greater consistency by R to match verbal tense with what appears to be a "fixed system" for corresponding with the Hebrew. This is more frequent when the conjugation is *yiqtol* or *wᵉyiqtol*. In the latter case, the translator of OG and R both read a number of *wayyiqtol* as *wᵉyiqtol*, with a number of differences in lexical choice. There may have been an alternate vocalisation system at different points of the text. The *qatal* is the more frequent form in Habakkuk. As a result of a similar vocalisation system between OG and R passages such as 2:3-5 retain similar verbal aspect, notwithstanding changes in grammatical number. See ibid., 120-6.

[61] Obviously, details from the *Letter of Aristeas* come to mind. Changing the translation would have violated the injunction (διαράσασθαι) made against those who might add (προστίθημι), modify (μεταφορέω) or delete (ἀφαίρεσις) any part of the Hellenistic text. But in the same way that scribes thought themselves warranted to make certain changes to their Hebrew Scriptures, some modifications

1.3.1 Hexaplaric Versions

Origen's Hexapla was a very early and comprehensive attempt to interact critically with the OT texts of his day. By placing in parallel the different Greek text-types with MT, he sought to provide a critical Greek text for the Christian textual tradition. It was to account for the differences between the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. Unfortunately, our access to this data is through fragmentary MSS and citations from Church Fathers.[62] Versions of the translation of Habakkuk reveal a base text that would be quite similar to MT.[63] In addition to The Three major works, i.e. α΄, σ΄ and θ΄, the text in the respective commentaries of Jerome, Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Augustine, along with the Syro-Hexaplar, are important to mention. Field made extensive use of the Syriac in an attempt to reconstruct parts of his monumental work.[64] Such retroversions are, however, not without their difficulties.[65]

The Aquilan version (α΄) of OG was produced by its namesake, a Jewish convert from Christianity who lived during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 C.E.).[66] He is also by tradition the author of Tg. Onqelos, also indicating his new Jewish name.[67] He was a disciple of Aqiba and the dating of his translation of the Septuagint is from sometime in the middle of the second century (*terminus post quem* 140 C.E.).[68] Fernández Marcos calls α΄ (the third column of the Hexapla) a "calque-translation" with "Semitised syntax."[69] It has also been called morphemic, which "logically arises from reverence for the sanctity of the original's *Worlaut*."[70] This is commonly

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were then likely deemed not only permissible but also necessary in light of later concerns. The standardisation of the Hebrew Scriptures became increasingly important in the tradition. Cf. Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 139-42; Henry Barclay Swete, *Intro to the OT in Greek* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 572.

[62] See Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 37-38.

[63] See Theocarus, *Lexical Dependence*, 9-10.

[64] See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 115.

[65] For example, as Jobes and Silva pointed out, retroversion from Coptic to Greek is made difficult by the fact that the Coptic verb system has only an act. voice, see Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 67.

[66] See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 111.

[67] See ibid., 112.

[68] Fernández Marcos argues that because he would have had to learn Heb. as an adult, and become familiar with rabbinic interpretation, he would unlikely have finished his task before 140 C.E. See Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 39; Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 112.

[69] Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 109, 115.

[70] Quoting Vermeer, cf. Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 11.

understood by his so-called very literalistic approach towards morphosyntactic and lexical choices.[71] His style appears to have imported rabbinical exegetical ideas into the translation, thus correcting perceived deficiencies by that Jewish community. It became a standard text for Jewish Greek-speaking readers, and was used for centuries afterwards. There are numerous α' readings for parts of Ambakoum. It appears to be the most divergent of The Three, and, notwithstanding synonymous lexical choices (i.e. Amb 2:3, 11, 15. 17; 3:3, 11, 14), or close syntax (Amb 2:4; 3:2, 5, 13), only once agrees exactly with Ambakoum (Amb 3:3).[72] There is also some indication that his translation registered certain classical Greek features, which, as study in this area progresses, may lower the degree of calque-specific critiques[73] – a perception of "barbarism."[74]

The fourth column of the Hexapla is attributed to Symmachus (σ'). Not much is known about him, and Salvesen thinks that he knew both α' and θ'.[75] Although a revision of the Septuagint, "his respect for the LXX [Septuagint] is evident…preserving smooth diction where he found it and extending it where it was absent."[76] His style was "midway between Aquila and the Septuagint."[77] This can be seen in how he sometimes follows α' (Amb 1:13; 2:2, 3; 3:1),[78] but at other points remains close to OG, though with varying degrees of linguistic variation (Amb 2:11, 17; 3:2). Often changes in his lexical choices (Amb 2:2, 9) remain within the same semantic domain as OG, revealing something of his stylistic tendency.

The idea of a third version written in the Common Era (first cent. C.E.) by Theodotion (θ'), a Jewish proselyte from Asia Minor,[79] is probably incorrect. The sixth

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[71] Two very well-known examples are offerered: Gen 1:1, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ for בראשית; or his common use of σύν for the definite object marker את.

[72] Sometimes obscurity might have also afflicted his understanding, for example his choice of μᾶζα for כפיס in Amb 2:11.

[73] Cf. James K. Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 55-56; Aitken, "Lessons for Modern Translation Theory."

[74] Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," 34.

[75] Quoting Salvesen, see Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 41.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Leonard Greenspoon has argued that Symmachus was revising θ'. Cf. Ibid., n. 28.

[79] Even this is in dispute. Jerome believed him to be an Ebionite (so Fernández Marcos), and Barthélemy argued in favour of Irenaeus' view that he was the same person as Jonathan ben 'Uziel, author of Tg. Jonathan. Cf. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 142-3; Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila.*, 148-56.

column of the Hexapla probably points to a much earlier recension, now commonly called proto- or καίγε-Theodotion (so Barthélemy), which would have been in circulation at least a century earlier, making it one of the earliest revisions of OG.[80] This detail might have in some way been understood by Origen, hence it was placed after OG, and not after σ´.[81] This theory implies that later revisionists may have had both OG and θ´ in hand, along with MT.[82] This work is characterised by transliteration, which might have been an influence for α´, and, what Fernández Marcos calls, "slight Hebraising."[83]

1.3.2 Lucianic Recension

The Lucianic recension (G^L) was an Antiochene revision of the Old and New Testaments.[84] The traditional author of this work was the Christian martyr Lucian of Antioch who died, ca. 312 C.E., in the persecution of Maximus.[85] His work was very significant and he may have been influenced "by the method and results of Origen's Hexapla"[86] – an influence that Jerome tacitly supports in defence of Lucian's Psalter.[87] Also, a large number of MSS for the Twelve are G^L; similar to the proto-Theodotion evidence, some aspects of G^L appear to predate it, which may suggest that those features were included in the subsequent revision.[88] Two main guiding principles are

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[80] Cf. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 42.

[81] But as Fernández Marcos points out, this may just as well been due to the character of the text, being closer to G^A. Cf. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 143.

[82] See Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 42. This was also likely true for the author of θ´ because he *completed* the rest of the book of Job, which is in sequence with MT. See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 143.

[83] Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 148.

[84] Cf. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 53-56; Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 223-38; Frederick Field, AA. M. and Bernard de Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2* (2 vols.; vol. 2; Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875), 1:LXXXIV-XCIV; Swete, *Intro to the OT in Greek*, 80-86; Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 168-71; Bruce M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Text. Crit.* (NTTS vol. 4; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1963), 7-14.

[85] See Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Historical Writings, etc.* (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers vol. 3; 2d ed.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 378.

[86] Edwin M. Good, "The Text and Versions of Habakkuk 3. A Study in Textual History," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1965), 82.

[87] See Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Text. Crit.*, 5.

[88] So Harper, but he refers to traditions. It is unclear what these are that "predate" it, cf. Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 16; Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Text. Crit.*, 6-7, 13. On MSS, cf. Good, "The Text and Versions of Habakkuk 3," 82; Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 70-80.

deduced from his style: first, to correct the current text to a Hebrew *Vorlage*;[89] and second, to introduce uniformity and explain elements that might otherwise appear obscure.[90] Postdating the Three, he would have been able to style his recension in light of other previous versions. The result was to correct forms by using Attic Greek, for example: use of the second aorist third person plural – ον;[91] use of the middle for passive γίνεσθαι, etc.;[92] interpolations, which smoothed out the reading or sense of the passage,[93] hence his style was close to σ´; reduced influence of poor grammar that resulted from Hebraic interference; and various theological re-writes.[94] Fernández Marcos thinks this latter feature might have been for public reading.[95] There are some G^L readings in the recension attributed to him for Ambakoum (1:5; 2:7),[96] which are marked by the siglum λ̣ in the relevant Greek MSS,[97] notably cod. 86.[98] A G^L reading in agreement with Ambakoum is found in 2:7 (εἰς διαρπαγήν / αὐτοῖς).[99]

1.3.3 Summary Conclusion

The influence of OG is apparent in the numerous versions that succeeded it. Later translators held to translational ideals that were not the same as previous works, which would have included at least a version of OG. Because translators were concerned with a particular kind of faithfulness to their *Vorlage*, in dialogue with OG, as they sought to rightly divide the meaning into a respective TT, the text-critical usefulness of OG

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[89] See Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Text. Crit.*, 6, 8.

[90] See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 230-31.

[91] See ibid., 231.

[92] See ibid.

[93] See ibid., 230.

[94] There is also a tendency to simplify compound words, or known as moving from *composita* to *simplex* verbal forms. This stylistic measure is similar to the work of R.

[95] See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 231.

[96] See Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 70; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003-11. These corrections can here be understood in light of the stylistic nature explained above, i.e. Amb 3:7 (Atticism), 10 (MT conformity), 18 (theologising).

[97] It has been determined that in fact it was more than a siglum that marked G^L readings. As Field, and later Metzger, pointed out, in various Greek MSS, the shorthand οἱ λοιποί indicates Λουκιανός, which then refers to καὶ λ – the Lucianic reference marker (the mark under the lamed is an open circle, not a solid dot). In the Syro-Hexaplar this was done using the lomadh ܠ. Cf. Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003; Metzger, *Chapters in the History of NT Text. Crit.*, 8; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 54.

[98] The VTG reading (εξαναςησονται [sic.]) does not agreed with Field (ἐξυπνισθήσονται) in cod. 86 for the reference in Amb 2:7. Cf. Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1005.

[99] See n. 98, and Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 71.

for MT is somewhat diminished: To render a Hebrew text into Greek was to interpret it. Competing interpretations much later down the road simply muddy the text-critical waters of MT.

1.4 Translation Studies and the Septuagint

Every translation undergoes a process of linguistic transformation. This is a challenge that every translator in every age must face.[100] The translators of the Septuagint were no exception. What has become known as literalism in the Septuagint is a way to describe an *aspect* of the style, or technique, that they used. When they did not follow these specific (now pre-defined) categories they did not lapse or stray into the realm of freer renderings. The picture is more comprehensive and complex. It is quite unlikely that they even thought in such a paradigm. Their *system* might be irretrievable from the data at hand. Moreover, the work of the Septuagint was accomplished by translators of differing linguistic abilities and stylistic proclivities, which spanned centuries and probably regions.

In recent years, strides have been made to bridge the distance between formal translation studies, which is inherently tied to linguistics, and that of Septuagintal studies. Scholars are increasingly aware of the importance that formal translation and linguistic studies play in the study of the Septuagint. As a related field, it has much to offer the analyst. It is also not simply a matter of having more tools in one's toolbox. Some evidence requires a paradigmatic shift through which to understand it aright. As interdisciplinary fields, the Septuagint offers much in return, contributing to the body of knowledge within translation studies through advancing "the knowledge of translation practice in pre-Ciceronian antiquity."[101]

A number of scholars have made different and valuable contributions in this area.[102] On the one hand, there is the attempt to show how the transformation process can explain a number of text critical features. In this regard the process is able to

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[100] See Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 57.

[101] Ibid., 12. See also p. 79.

[102] See Randall X. Gauthier, "Toward an LXX Hermeneutic," *JNSL* 35, no. 1 (2009): 45-74; Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*; Albert Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 1-11; Gideon Toury, *DTS - and beyond* (Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012); Gideon Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 12-25.

provide insight into the *nature* of the change without delving too much into linguistic theories. On the other hand, scholars, notably those working in the field of linguistics, have broached the problem of how to transform a ST into a meaningful text for a new culture, and therefore language. In this approach there is much theorising, but it may pay dividends if rightly applied.

1.4.1 Linguistic Transformations

Van der Louw's work on transformations, published in 2007, has done a splendid job at moving forward this conversation between translation studies and the Septuagint. The slow but steady influence of the various branches of linguistics, process-orientated research (Rabin's dragoman concept), corpus-based translation studies (translation specific features using computers), the functionalist approach (*Skoposadäquat*), communication-orientated studies (Nida, Gutt, et al.)[103] and, quite importantly, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), stands to benefit Septuagintal studies in different ways.[104] Moreover, in conjunction with the Leiden conference in 2004, scholars in the field are now aware of the particular benefits gained by the framework of DTS.[105]

For the most part, understanding the nature of the translational approaches across the numerous Septuagintal books has been done by way of its linguistic mooring to the ST. What DTS has done is provide a way to understand translations as cultural artefacts: they are "facts of the culture that would host them."[106] The contextual nature of the translation, which seriously takes into account the cultural/linguistic other-

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[103] Cf. Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (HT 8; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1982).

[104] The ideological orientated approach appears more rash than helpful. Cf. Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 13-23.

[105] Gideon Toury is probably the most well-known proponent of DTS. His work on moving this area of study forward is remarkably helpful. DTS, as a formal descriptive branch of the empirical science of translation studies, seeks "to confront the position a certain translation…has actually assumed in the host culture with the position it was intended to have, and offer explanations for the perceived differences." Whereas van der Louw's inventory of transformations is concerned with what has occurred in the specific translation (the act of translation, which involves a number of different types of translational decisions), Toury provides a descriptive framework for the evidence. DTS connects to the theoretical aspect of translation studies through the nature of the act itself. There is no such thing as a translation act without an applied theory, whether stated or implied; hence, the theory and the act work together. See Toury, *DTS - and beyond*, 8-9.

[106] Ibid., 18.

world, is essential, so that "no translation should ever be studied outside of the context in which it came into being."[107] Such summary conclusions, as van der Louw quickly points out, indicate that the Septuagint had a certain degree of immediate acceptability.[108] Its textual and literary nature was not only justifiable, but also preferable, than, say, a modern-orientated free or paraphrastic approach. What we see today, bearing in mind Conybeare and Stock's famous point that the Septuagint is *merely* Greek vocabulary in Hebrew syntax,[109] was in fact very intentional – and numerous reasons attributed to the phenomena. A source feature, such as syntagmatic correspondence, is part of the interference from the source. The translator's attempts to improvise or adapt to the numerous linguistic details of his text were by and far to do with the target culture and its verbal (textual) expression, certainly not the other way round.

1.4.2 Relevance Theory

Another, but lesser known, applied translation theory is Relevance Theory (RT). This influence from the humanities (i.e. Sperber & Wilson) has been adapted to translation of biblical texts,[110] and has been applied elsewhere to the Septuagint with some success.[111] Because it involves an analysis of the translator's cognitive process, it shares something in common with process-orientated research. RT is a model for understanding the psychology of communication. It provides a framework that explains how an act of communication is meant to be understood by a person or group *to* another. The efficiency of the communicative process is in view, and there is an appreciable optimisation of the communicative act, whereby the communicator adapts his verbal message according to his situation.[112] RT gets behind the translation process

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[107] Ibid., 22.

[108] Also cf. James K. Aitken, "The Language of the Septuagint: Recent Theories, Future Prospects," *BJGS* 24 (1999): 27-28.

[109] Cf. F. C. Conybeare and George St. Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint* (London: Ginn & Company, 1905), §38.

[110] See Ernst-August Gutt, "On the Significance of the Cognitive Core of Translation," *Tr* 11, no. 1 (2005): 25-51. See also Philip Goodwin, *Translating the English Bible* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2013).

[111] See Gauthier, "LXX Hermeneutic," 52.

[112] The RT model offers two kinds of ordered acts of communication. The first is a high order act of communication (HOAC) and the second is low order acts of communication (LOAC). The latter is connected to the first order act of communication (FOAC), which is centred on the initial stimulus of a

and seeks to explain why a translator sought to use a certain verbal (in the linguistic sense) structure in order to communicate his message. The mental processing effort is calculated as part of the cost of the cognitive mandate. The intended recipient receives different and re-communicated details in line with what was originally said and, quite importantely, meant.

In summary, the ever increasing advancements in linguistics must be carefully weighed with the evidence of the Septuagint. The counter-balance of newly discovered (or newly re-discovered) paleographical and inscriptional evidence from the Hellenistic period is also crucial. The Septuagint is a verbal expression as a translated text, and found its acceptability and form within a set of fixed societal and historical contexts. Present scholarship is working to understand how this all fits together.

1.5 Recent Scholarship in Relation to Ambakoum

The most recent and complete analytical study on Ambakoum is found in the 23rd volume of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (BdA), which was published in 1999. Due to the size, scope and basic philosophy of the project its contribution can be felt throughout this study.[113] Since this time a number of other projects have surfaced, which either directly relate to a formal analysis of Ambakoum, or, due to working on another book within the Twelve, contribute to the general study of the corpus.

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verbal message and its meaningful intention. The HOAC builds upon this by re-packaging the originally encoded verbal act and what was meant by it into two additional sub-modes of operation. RT argues that a Septuagint translator would choose between these different modes of communication in the process of speaking to his new audience. As Gauthier succinctly explains: "Will the HOAC emphasize 'what was said' by the FOAC, like a *direct quotation*, thus proceeding along the orientation of the original stimulus (s-mode), or will it emphasize 'what was meant,' like an *indirect quotation*, thus proceeding along the orientation of the originally intended interpretation (i-mode)?" Cf. Ibid., 31.

[113] This magisterial and perceptive work provides notes on the nature of the Greek and its Heb. *Vorlage* (and Aramaic), and also details on the text reception, especially with that of the Fathers. Although the BdA project is not yet complete, its contribution today is immense. It has yet to make its mark outside of the Septuagint within the English-speaking world. Marguerite Harl laid out the translational principles, which offers some insight into the *raison d'être* for the project in her article of the tenth congress of the IOSCS. Arie van der Kooij's brief comments on comparing the NETS and BdA projects should also be noted. See Marguerite Harl, "La Bible d'Alexandrie. I. The Translation Principles," in *X Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SCS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 181-97; Arie van der Kooij, "Comments on NETS and La Bible d'Alexandrie," in *X Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SCS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 229-31.

One such recent study of mention is the *Septuaginta Deutsch* project. Set in what appears to be three parts, this research effort by a number of eminent scholars provides a published translation (*in Deutsche Übersetzung*, LXX.D),[114] notes and brief commentary (*Erläuterung und Kommentare*, LXX.E)[115] in two massive tomes, and is forthcoming with a manual, which will provide a comprehensive overview of research in the field (*Septuaginta-Handbuch*). The LXX.E provides a number of helpful and incisive elucidations on the nature of the text. It is accompanied by an up-to-date introduction to each book.

In addition, a number of recent translations into English of Ambakoum now exist. The NETS (*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*) project has produced an excellent translation;[116] and the recent publication of the *Orthodox Study Bible* (OSB) has also provided a translation with a brief literary introduction of themes and structure along with study notes.[117] The fourth volume of Nicholas King's new translation of the Septuagint also provides a brief introduction with translation.[118] There is also the Spanish translation project, *La Biblia griega – Septuaginta*, which has recently completed three volumes covering: *El Pentateuco*, *Libros históricos* and *Libros Poéticos y Sapienciales* – awaiting a translation of *los libros proféticos*.[119]

Two quite recent monographs on books in the Twelve deserve mention. First, W. Edward Glenny has provided another analysis of Amos.[120] Building upon Palmer's thesis,[121] he applied the features of literalism (Tov and Barr) in order to discern the translator's *technique* and theological posture. Changes apart from the ST can often be

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[114] See Eberhard Bons et al., eds., *LXX.D* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009).

[115] See Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 1* (2 vols.; vol. 1; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011); Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2* (2 vols.; vol. 2; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011).

[116] See Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *NETS* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[117] See *OSB*, (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 2008).

[118] See Nicolas King, *The OT. The Prophets* (5 vols.; vol. 4; Stowmarket, Suffolk: Kevin Mayhew, 2013).

[119] See Natalio Fernández Marcos, Mª Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, and José Manuel Canas Reíllo, eds., *El Pentateuco* (BGS 1; Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2008); Natalio Fernández Marcos et al., eds., *Libros históricos* (BGS 2; Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2011); Natalio Fernández Marcos et al., eds., *Libros Poéticos y Sapienciales* (BGS 3; Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2013).

[120] Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*.

[121] Jennifer M. Dines, review of Edward W. Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*, BIOSCS 43 (2010): 128-130.

discerned when there is a difficulty with the passage, often involving some kind of textual obscurity. Second, Theocharous' study on intertextual allusions within Hosea, Amos and Micah has, among other helpful features, i.e. use of the Pentateuch as a lexicon for later translators, further bolstered the thesis that there was one translator.

Studies abound regarding Habakkuk, and there is some attention within numerous articles to specific parts of OG, i.e. 2:2, 4; 3:1-19, having most often to do with interpretation within the NT (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; Heb 10:37-38). I interact with these sources where appropriate. This study is the first to analyse the theology, linguistic transformations and the nature of the translation effort with its socio-linguistic context.[122] The language of the period and the interpretative posture of the language community are much better aids to understanding the nature of the translation.

1.6 Structure of This Thesis

The thesis is composed of five chapters. CHAPTER ONE of this thesis has introduced the subject of study, which considered the provenance of Ambakoum and the later Greek textual traditions that relate to it. CHAPTER TWO is an explanation of the methodology that is employed throughout the analysis of Ambakoum. It is not a formal method. Some modification and refinement is offered to the past studies on Septuagintal literalism, employing ideas from translation studies and linguistics. An especial critique of the interlinearity paradigm is offered. This chapter explains how a translator would improvise his TT when he encountered any number of textual difficulties. The socio-contextual and communicative act in which the translator operates is further considered. Literary features of the Greek, which are not slavishly derived from the Hebrew source, highlight the translator's stylistic tendency. Changes and linguistic transformations mark for the analyst the translator's understanding of this text.

A selection of studies that explain the elements of the transltor's style make up CHAPTER FOUR. It is broken into two parts. First, there is evidence that the translator

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[122] Cleaver-Bartholomew's thesis from 1998 was concerned with a comparison of the theological positions of OG and MT, the relationship of their textual traditions and their historical contexts. The integrity of OG as its own literary product does not emerge from his study. It is heavily dependent on MT. Moreover, Sanders' triangular paradigm, which was core to his analysis, is not integral to this study. Cf. David Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," (PhD diss., The Claremont Graduate University, 1998).

sought to implement, where possible, Greek rhetorical devices. This *lifts* the text to a literary level that it would otherwise not have. Although it certainly does not read like classical poetry, it was not meant to. Other constraints determined this. Second, there are numerous linguistic transformations within the translation. An analysis of these things show that the translator made certain literary choices that connected with certain linguistic (dialectal) registers. Some Aramaic interference can also be observed in translational decisions.

The nature of the translator's style is established by chapter three. CHAPTER FOUR considers the resulting evidence with the goal of drawing out the translator's theological and exegetical views. This chapter is composed of four theological discourses on the main distinctions found within Ambakoum: the role of the prophet, eschatology, the life of the righteous and idolatry. The final chapter of this study, CHAPTER FIVE, is a brief synopsis of the examined material. Some considerations for additional research, based upon the work done here, is offered. The appendix has a complete translation of both Ambakoum and Habakkuk.

2.0 Methodology

"No digo que la traducción literal sea imposible, sino que
no es una traducción."[123]

"Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione
Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est non
verbum e verbo sed sensum exprime de sensu." – St. Jerome

2.1 Introduction

On the writing of translation technique in the Septuagint there is no end. This study is further proof of that. It is also true that the lion's share of discussions seem to have accepted, for the most part, an axiomatic paradigm: the technique in the Septuagint was mostly literal and sometimes free, with few exceptions, e.g. Proverbs and Job being freer than most. In the first case, it is classed as literal due to the presence of certain features such as stereotypical word-choices, matching of word-order, etc. When it deviates from this statistical pattern, notwithstanding errors, the technique is classed as free, which is sometimes exegetical. This puts things rather simply. But discussion on the nature of a given translator's style is incapable of leaving the orbit of this dialectic. The force of attraction to this model appears to be indomitable.

This is understandable. With additional help from computer technology there is good evidence that the translators followed a certain kind of approach to certain "norms of quantitative and serial fidelity."[124] There is a significant degree of isomorphic correspondence to the ST. This way of interpreting the statistical data – as data cannot speak for itself – does lend merit to this particular view of literalism.

However, one must be careful to not beg the question on this subject. Simply because a translator shows certain *kinds* of literalistic features does not mean that that was his approach; hence the conclusion: translator X of book Y translated it literally because the interpretation of the data states it. The data must also be reconciled in accord with all relevant contexts: literary, linguistic, historical, and cultural, to name but a few.

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[123] A quotation of Octavio Paz from *Un Poema di John Donne* in David Bellos, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear?* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 104.

[124] Ross J. Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book* (FAT 88; eds. Konrad Schmid, Mark S. Smith, and Hermann Spieckermann; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 228.

Before digging into an extended discussion on the nature of interlinearity, I shall first review the nature of statistical literalism and the nature of the translator's task when he improvised, notwithstanding how a free approach can be discerned.[125] What will emerge is that the current framework of Septuagintal literalism appears to limit one's ability to grasp the nature of the translator's style. It is too rigid. It is not just that an increasing amount of data falls outside of its bounds, but that evidence is overlooked or misconstrued. I do, however, emphasise that this does not do away with computational precision, for such evidence is fundamentally essential in the analytical process. The call here is to re-think interpretation of the data within its cultural, religious and linguistic context(s) as part of an interpretative act.

2.2 Statistical Literalism

Barr's influential work entitled *The Typology of Literalism* (1979) addressed the commonly held belief that translation technique was either literal or free, or somewhere in between, as if on a sliding scale. In general, a translation is considered either literal or free. When it is literal it may be free in certain respects, and when free also be literal in others. What Barr primarily argued for in his work was that Septuagint translators maintained both literal and free aspects "at the same time but in different modes or on different levels."[126] He was principally correct. Yet, still, much of the academic field remains committed to the the idea that these features of literalism are "defined more easily than for those for free renderings," so that, "[r]enderings and translation units which do not fulfil these criteria for literalness are considered non-literal."[127]

Now, whether considered literal or free, Barr argued that the source and target languages must have some degree of semantic (or perhaps even conceptual) overlap. When a text "shows substantial semantic agreement" with its source, then it is mostly literal in character. Although a free rendering must not have the same *substantial* agreement, it must have some.[128] In fact, when no semantic relationship can be

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[125] The following discussion on the view of both Barr and Tov bears review once more. The prominence and influence of these works in this field is significant. This lays the groundwork for the following section on how to best understand these respective works in light of further advancements of translation studies and the Septuagint.

[126] James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 280.

[127] Emanuel Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX* (JBS 8; 2d ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 20.

[128] See Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 286-7.

identified then the target version is, so Barr, no longer even a "free rendering." Therefore, by first order, whether literal or free, there must be some semantic correspondence.[129] Some exegesis will inevitably stretch this view beyond certain bounds.

Due to the interpretative process of translational work there are more decisions about the ST that must be made than, for example, a copyist who is operating in the same language. The translator must consider the lexical domain of both the ST and TT. He must wrestle with difficult words and phrases that may be obscure, idiomatic or esoteric. This might result in what might be deemed as free:

> …he may opt for free translation, making a general estimate of the total meaning, or simply guessing at it, and ignoring the details; but he may also do the opposite, and decide to give a precise impression in Greek of the detailed form of the Hebrew, leaving it to his readers to work out, if they can, what the general purport of this may be.[130]

These two tendencies within the translation process are not mutually exclusive, so that both may be employed at the same time. This is close to what occurred in the Septuagint. Hence, in one word or phrase the translator may render something quite literally, and in another part of the clause render a word or phrase more freely, which Barr explains may be caused by "intrinsic obscurity" of the Hebrew. This was certainly true at times, which, in turn, lead to a combination of the above two tendencies. It is precisely at this point that literal and free techniques combine together, showing they are not opposite ends of a pole. I suggest, moreover, that this occurs with non-linearity, so that such phenomena arise because of the *presence* of a word or phrase, in relation to all the other parts, of the clause or sentence. The syntagmatic relationship of all literary components of the TL are affected by the *existence* and *pattern* of certain elements in the ST. An obscure word at the end of a sentence or clause may cause a clause- or sentence-wide improvisation, which may also involve some level of exegesis. This suits the theory that translators had a sentence/text level grasp of their STs.

Barr is quick to point out that intrinsic obscurity is not the only cause for this sort of evidence in the Septuagint. Without trying to address every kind of cause for a

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[129] See ibid., 289.
[130] Ibid., 290.

translator's decision, Barr brings into focus two basic levels of interpretation that may also have affected the product of the TT: first, a linguistic comprehension of the text on the syntactic and semantic levels; and second, theological exegesis, which is derived from the translator's linguistic comprehension.[131] What this means is that a translator, having a relatively good grasp of the meaning of his Hebrew source and its syntax (though not defined in those terms), *may* enter into this second level of interpretation. It is not necessary, but due to the nature of translational work, the translator may have made a decision to make clear or emphatic what may be unclear or implied in the source.[132] In this sense the translator is by no means changing his text or altering it, something he would not have entered into lightly (Deut 4:2). As Barr points out, some of this could be due to the fact that "the two linguistic systems…are non-congruent."[133]

From this standpoint, the more literal a translationed text the less likely there was any kind of exegetical evidence, and the more free the more likely the translator explained "the meaning of the text."[134] One might say that the ideas of the translator are found more in the latter, which is how recent works in the Twelve understand this.[135] Hence, due to the sacred nature of the texts in question, the likelihood that a translator engaged in widespread, or even small-scale, exegetical tampering is probably quite low. The kind of literalism found in the Septuagint, *a posteriori*, indicates this, as is particularly evident in Ambakoum. An important contribution by Barr in his work is that a free expression within the context of literalism exists.

Barr provided a number of categories by which one may decide to what degree a Greek translation is literal, most of which Tov borrowed in his study on literalism. These "modes of difference"[136] move from a linguistic to literary level of analysis. *(1) Division or representation of constituent elements or segments.* Barr sees this as the most prominent area of distinction to categorise a text as either literal or free. This first category is Tov's second one. It identifies a matching syntagmatic correspondence between the components of the ST to that in the TT. It is concerned with how the

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[131] See ibid., 291.
[132] See ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 293.
[135] See pp. 22-24.
[136] Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 294.

translator divided the Hebrew words meaningfully, representing each constituent part in the Greek text. Every word and its counterpart is accounted for between the languages, apparently assessing whether the translation moves along, per se, word-for-word.

In the following example, each syntagmatic element of the ST is reflected in the TT, corresponding to the syntagmatic order of the parent, including inseparable prefixed prepositions germane to the Hebrew language:

| Hab 1:16 | על כן יזבח לחרמו ויקטר למכמרתו |
| Amb 1:16 | ἕνεκεν τούτου θύσει τῇ σαγήνῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ θυμιάσει τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρῳ αὐτοῦ |

The degree to which a translation does not conform to the details of this category is often noted as the degree to which it is freer. This is somewhat true. Underlying this view is often the assumption that the translator was working atomistically, unaware of the surrounding words and context until he came upon them, so that when he made a mistake in one word he would be forced to rectify it by making unintended changes to the following word(s)/phrase(s). While such instances may exist it ought not to be a *de facto* presupposition. This is mainly because translators would have had a keen grasp of their base text(s). They already knew the context and its teaching.

Barr explains this aspect of the translation process with a simple concept: input side/expression [output] side: "The input is the translator's recognition of the meanings of the original. The expression is the way in which he expresses this recognition in the versional language."[137] An essential premise in this point is that words are truly only understandable in context. This is intrinsic to the nature of language. The difference for the literal translation and the freer one would be, therefore, in the expression of the representation of "each word or element as a separate unit of meaning for the purpose of translation."[138] This is discreet. The work of the literalist is not necessarily identified by a switching back and forth between comprehension and incomprehension of his ST.

(2) Quantitative addition or subtraction of elements. The degree of literalness in this second category is understood by the "quantitative representation"[139] of source

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[137] Ibid., 296.
[138] Ibid., 297.
[139] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 23.

words in the target work. The more words added to the Greek text the more free the work may be considered.[140] It explains the compression or expansion of translational elements into Greek, "in accordance with…[the translator's] literary taste and the nature of the Greek language."[141] Of course, semantic knowledge is essential to assessing this category. The omission of a word, or series of words, may be due to non-isomorphism between the two languages, but could indicate an exegetical hand. Redundant words, due to Greek style and/or grammar, would therefore reflect omissions, which is also true for Greek compound words.

In the following example, the definite article in the Greek represents a literal addition to the TT for it does not exist in the text of the Hebrew. It is necessary in the Greek for readability, but when working from within the paradigm of literalism it represents an addition in spite of its function.

| Hab 2:1 | ומה אשיב על תוכחתי |
| Amb 2:1 | καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ ἐπὶ **τὸν** ἔλεγχόν μου |

(3) Consistency and non-consistency in the rendering. This category offers a basic framework in which to understand what Barr calls "stereotyped equivalents."[142] This additional layer of analysis offers further insight into the literal nature of a translation. It examines the degree by which a translator consistently translates the same words and, or, phrases with the same translational equivalents. Termed "stereotyping" by Tov, it is not necessarily a system, but perhaps part of an ancient tradition, which is derived from a "rabbinic approach to the Bible."[143] It reflects the attempt by ancient translators to consistently choose a particular Greek word, as often as possible, for every occurrence of a particular Hebrew word. This would occur irrespective of whether it obscured the meaning. This, Tov argues, was due to reverence for the inspired text. Such a view tacitly guards against anachronistic ideas concerned with the intentions and methods of the ancient translators, which were unlikely to have been systematised at this early stage.

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[140] Barr explains that in Midrash this was quite common, and particularly so in the Aramaic Targumim, see Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 304-5.

[141] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 23-24.

[142] Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 306.

[143] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 20.

These stereotyped instances can be statistically tallied by their distribution throughout the Septuagint. Naturally, this does not take into account the literary context of the words' occurrences, but as Tov argues, this is not problematic because the translators themselves did not consider the other contexts where the words may be found. Thus, stereotyping is not necessarily constrained by context.

This practice of stereotyping produced Hebraisms in the Greek language, which, in effect, created new idioms and ideas that were modelled after the form of the Hebrew. Tov concludes that the degree of stereotyping apparent in the translated units of the Septuagint reflects their literalism.[144] But such phenomena are common to translations in general, especially for a religion with a central textual tradition.

Also, like the other categories, this analysis, especially when performed statistically, must be tempered by the regular expression of common equivalents, such as, for example, οὐρανός for שמים, or γῆ for ארץ or אדמה.[145] Such agreement between the languages, therefore, does not truly reveal literalism. Moreover, because of synonyms in the TL, the regular expression of a particular Hebrew word with one or more different Greek words may be due to stylistic concerns, and not a literal attempt whatsoever. This is true, notwithstanding errors in judgement, perhaps concerning homonyms.

Barr offers four ways to understand this particular category: first, there is a high proportion of common translational equivalences of Hebrew expressions in the Greek, which may be observed with words and phrases that change very little in translation against those which undergo regular change; second, an intent for precision, known as "stereotyping," which may even run roughshod over semantic nuance and general context; third, "imitative style," where the translator sought to imitate the form of the Hebrew in lieu of some, or all, of its sense;[146] and lastly, a non-descript variety, which is how a translator may use a variety of Greek words to translate the same Hebrew

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[144] See ibid., 22. Also, at the end of his discussion on this category he briefly mentions that "Hebrew words belonging to one word-group (root) with Greek words also belonging to one word-group." It is unclear how this relates to consistency, and this subject seems to relate directly to Barr's fifth category concerning coded etymologising. Palmer also makes this observation.

[145] There are many others that are well attested by scholars, Barr picks the common equivalents of ברית with διαθήκη, and עולם with αἰών or αἰώνιος, see Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 307.

[146] As these languages are non-isomorphic this point may be understood as "clues communicated through the forms and the semantics of the Greek words used," see ibid., 311.

word (normally an example of a freer hand) for reasons unrelated to free translation, such as, for example, Greek synonyms.[147]

In the following example, the use of the interpretative Greek words, set in bold, are part of the translator's tradition of interpretation. They stereotypically translate the same Hebrew words throughout the corpus of the Twelve, even though the meaning is different from the source. In this instance we do not see a Hebraism, as can occur, rather textual representation of the translator's interpretative choice.[148]

Hab 1:9	כֻּלֹּה לְחָמָס יָבוֹא
Amb 1:9	**συντέλεια** εἰς **ἀσεβεῖς** ἥξει

(4) The linguistic accuracy and the level of semantic information. This category by Barr is used to assess the range of overlap that the Greek word has with the semantic domain of the corresponding Hebrew word. The semantic suitability of a given Greek word in light of its Hebrew equivalent is in question. This is not working from the far literal-side of a spectrum (literal vs. free), but from the dominal centre of semantic meaning. When the Greek word does not map to the semantic value of the Hebrew, it is moving in either of two directions: "'inexact,' 'inaccurate,' or 'rough' or 'free.'"[149] Hence, a translator may have misread his text and inaccurately chosen a Greek word for the Hebrew equivalent. But, alternately, in a freer expression, the translator may choose to refer to the metaphysical reality of the Hebrew word, such as with idioms and metaphors relating to God.

During a translation, "linguistic precision meant that exegetical elements lying beyond the mere understanding of the words were excluded from the translation."[150] The evidence for this kind of precision points towards this kind of literalism, which was based upon the translator's *own* understanding of the text. What this also implies is that a lack of understanding, through confusion, misreading or something else, would affect the ability of the translator to render his text in line with the other categories of literalism. Therefore, word choices will differ from translator to translator, especially in the area of either linguistic or contextual exegesis – both quite

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[147] A simple example is the use of λόγος or ῥῆμα.

[148] See also pp. 123-125 and pp. 150-156.

[149] Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 314.

[150] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 24.

difficult to determine. Hence, the regular occurrence of a word may reveal what is "the most accurate rendering"[151] for a translator.

In the following example, which is explained in detail on p. 140ff, per Barr's definition this would reflect a rougher or freer approach, rather than inexact. The placement of a verbal word (πλάσσω) is brought forward in the clause, replacing the Hebrew appellative for the LORD (צוּר), and the Hebrew verbal word (יסד) with its suffix is replaced by a Greek accusative phrase (παιδείαν αὐτοῦ). In essence the clause is syntactically flipped around the infinitive (ἐλέγχειν), the meaning of which is centred on the Hebrew one (יכח).

| Hab 1:12 | וְצוּר לְהוֹכִיחַ יְסַדְתּוֹ |
| Amb 1:12 | καὶ **ἔπλασέν με** τοῦ ἐλέγκειν **παιδείαν αὐτοῦ** |

Therefore, a literal translation may be discerned, in this category, by how it centrally overlaps with the semantic value from the source language. Barr points out that this feature may, indeed, have been a cause for the stereotyping that occurred throughout the text. To avert misunderstanding of the text, in relation to its source, the word choices ought to have as little deviation as possible in their semantic correspondences.

(5) Word-order. This is a category added by Tov and may be loosely called syntagmatic equivalence or correspondance. Tov provides no detail for this category, perhaps due to it being self-evident: "Some translators adhered as much as possible to the word-order of MT."[152]

(6) Coded "etymological" indication of formal/semantic relationships obtaining in the vocabulary of the original language. This very selective approach to translation sought to render an equivalent word by deriving its semantic value from a collection of similar Hebrew words, and accepting a dominant meaning. While the Hebrew words would have a "formal element" they do not necessarily have the same etymologies.[153] This was not a haphazard approach, but accomplished by the presence of Hebrew homonyms and the segmentation "of words below the word level."[154]

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[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid., 23.

[153] Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 322.

[154] Ibid., 321.

On the one hand, this is easy to understand because of the consonantal nature of Hebrew, where words looks the same or very similar, so that a translator may have associated them in his mental lexicon. On the other hand, parts of the form of a word may have also contributed to a translator's choice to associate words together. Thus, it is not the word itself, but its constituent parts, or how it was associated in form to other similar words, that may have given a translator license for this kind of approach. Fortunately, as Barr points out, this was not common, otherwise meaning would have been regularly obfuscated in the translated product.[155]

(7) Level of text and of analysis. Barr's sixth category for determining literalism in a text is concerned with how the translator read his consonantal *Vorlage*. In general, he comments that literalism is in close proximity to the verbal form (or reading tradition) of the text. However, because the written consonantal text was more open to other readings, within this literalism is a "principle which itself tended in a freer direction."[156] Even in lexical analysis, akin to the previous category, there is freedom in translation when it comes to word-order. This infringes on literal composition. It can involve alternate uses of prepositions or even double translation.[157] This translational latitude, dependent on the nature of the textual structure, may indicate a *freedom in the form*.

2.3 Categories of Improvisation

When a translator encountered a textual difficulty he probably improvised in order to sensibly arrange the TT. Improvisation is what occurs when a Septuagint translator encounters a difficulty with the ST and tries to ensure clarity in the TT by recourse through a number of different decisions. The ST problem is usually linguistic.[158]

This process involves a higher degree of conscious effort than, for example, a stereotypical word-choice. The causes can be different from case to case. The vast majority of these instances are due to some kind of obscurity in the *Vorlage*. The intention of the translator was to ensure that the translation clearly expressed the meaning of a passage.

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[155] See ibid., 322.

[156] Ibid., 323.

[157] Barr offers examples of these, cf. Ibid.

[158] A physical defect in a bad MS could result in some divergent readings from the ST.

These improvisational attempts of the translator to provide a faithful translation should not be confused with contextual exegesis. The strictures of the source grammar and even word forms constrained the work of the translator of Ambakoum. It does not seem that the translator wanted to convey the general purport of the text, as a free translation might, perhaps even colouring it with alien ideas.[159] An entirely natural reading in the TL was not the goal.[160] At the points where improvisation may be detected, often involving a greater degree of conscious effort, we then get a glimpse into the translator's ideas.

In his essay, "Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" Tov presents six categories that explain the nature and cause of particular differences in the Septuagint.[161] Of his six categories, five are used here to explain the nature of improvisation – the kinds of errors translators made when they misunderstood their text(s). In addition, I have included the category of double translation as postulated by Talshir.[162] In this study, improvisation is not simply a marker for where translators fouled up. Rather, it is how they sought to resolve some of the difficulties they faced. It is one more door through which to enter into the translator's process.

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[159] Cf. Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 318.

[160] In a free translation the translator would seek to convey the concepts of the source in the world, words and structures of the TL. New concepts, metaphors, idioms, and so forth, would thereto be found in the new work, quite intentionally too. Cf. Van der Louw states that this is a fundamental principle of free translations, "linguistic or ideological…," see Theo A. W. van der Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts? The Problem-oriented Study of Transformations as a Methodological Filter," *COLLeGIUM* 7 (2012): 23.

[161] Also, in his slightly earlier work on the text-critical use of the Septuagint, he provides an additional category that he terms contextual exegesis, which has distinctly different features from the first six categories. The category "employment of general words" does not occur in Amb, so I have excluded it in this method. It is a category that tries to show that if a translator was ignorant of a word he may have "disguised" it by using a more general word. Tov does concede that this is "not easy to prove." In contrast, a translator may have used general words in some instances for a variety of factors, perhaps for reasons of style, e.g. Amb 1:17. Each occurrence needs to be carefully weighed. Cf. Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 53-70, 66 on general words; Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 45-50.

[162] See Zipora Talshir, "Double Translations in the Septuagint," in *VI Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SCS 23; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1987), 21-63.

2.3.1 Contextual Guesses

When a translator had difficulty with a word he may have resorted to guessing at its meaning. The nature of the guess was likely restricted to the context of the passage. The translators "adapted the translation of the 'difficult' word to the different contexts."[163] While recurrence is a valid evidential feature, there are some "isolated instances"[164] where phrases are rendered differently in alternate contexts due to the difficulty of many words in close proximity.

2.3.2 Contextual Changes

The concept of contextual changes[165] pertains to intentional alteration of Hebrew consonants that better fit the context of a passage.[166] Tov offers two reasons for this approach to the text: first, the *Vorlage* was incomprehensible, either due to word/phrase obscurity; and second, that due to other changes made in the course of the translation additional changes were necessary. Gelston sees several of such occurrences of the later phenomenon in the Twelve, though he does not seem to accept the general theory by Tov.[167] Palmer sees this approach in Zechariah as the "translator's preferred way of dealing with difficult words."[168]

The overriding intention of the translator is to make sense of the passage, not to manipulate the text – a pejoratively loaded term. I also think there is more validity to the first cause rather than the second. That a translator would have conceived of a variant within the confines of an immediate or wider-context, and sought to reconcile the lexical difficulty through observation of the consonants, is an entirely good argument.

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[163] Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 56.

[164] Ibid., 60.

[165] Later authors changed this to the phrase "contextual manipulation," which carries a negative connotation in English (Tov first in '99). The word "change" is more diplomatic and retained here. Cf. Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*, 26-27, 72, 85-99; Palmer, "'Not Made with Tracing Paper.' Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah," 47-55; Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 72; eds. H. M. Barstad et al.; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 204; Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 55.

[166] See Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 61.

[167] Cf. Anthony Gelston, ed. *BHQ* (BHQ 13; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 109, 117, 118, 122, 127, 128, 148.

[168] Palmer, "'Not Made with Tracing Paper.' Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah," 47.

I maintain that the translator had a comprehensive (sentence level and higher) understanding of his text. What this means is that the translator was not working atomistically as he moved across his text. It is, therefore, difficult to easily accept that a mistake, let us say, at the beginning of a phrase caused subsequent (pseudo-)variants in the following words. While this is a possible solution, due perhaps also to the difficulty and cost of the scribal activity, it is not immediately the most constructive recourse of explanation.

Moreover, the idea that a translator would manipulate his translation intentionally is a difficult pill to swallow. It "may appear to do violence to the text."[169] Glenny shows that this process itself operated on various levels of authorisation to re-vocalise the consonantal text in order to produce an alternate Greek translation. Baer has put forth a three-tier system by which to understand this kind of phenomenon, which he terms "imperativization." It has three basic categories of *substantial authorisation*: first, authorised, where the translator vocalised the consonants of his *Vorlage*; second, semi-authorised, which reflects divergent vocalisation from MT and also some "consonantal alteration;" and third, unauthorised, where changes occurred without any clear relation to the text of MT.[170] These categories are helpful to help understand the scale of differences in such an improvisational process as this. In Ambakoum there are no examples of unauthorised changes, but examples of both authorised (Amb 1:9, 12, 15) and semi-authorised (Amb 1:12b; 3:16) exist.

2.3.3 Double Translation

A double translation is where a word or phrase in the Hebrew is duplicated in the Greek, usually adjacently, and is sometimes joined by a copula.[171] Cook defines this phenomenon: it is "used solely with reference to a translator who endeavours to elucidate a problematic Hebrew/Aramaic reading that appears in his *Vorlage*. He therefore sees the need to explicate and uses more than one word or phrase in order to do so."[172] As Talshir points out, this problematic reading is not due to a difference in

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[169] Ibid.

[170] David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home* (JSOTS 318; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 28-29.

[171] See Talshir, "Double Translations in the Septuagint," 21, 27, 37-38, 47.

[172] Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 16.

the *Vorlage*.[173] It is not that the source word was the cause for the double translation "but its function in the sentence."[174] Hence, this was not the result of a free exegetical technique because the translator is, in a sense, wrestling with how to convey the Hebrew word in the context of his Greek translation. It is the result of the translator's process of improvisation. This is not common in Ambakoum.

Talshir offers three essential principles for understanding double translation: first, it came from the hand of a single translator, which precludes the work of a redactor; second, it was intentional; and three, it was part of an exegetical process, which is not to be confused with contextual exegesis. The final point pertains to the effort involved by the translator to offer two possibilities for the reading of his *Vorlage*. He, in various ways, *draws out from the text* what may be suitable options for the difficult reading. This process involved either, or both, semantic and etymological distinctions.[175]

It is noteworthy that there are a number of double translations throughout the Septuagint, and one wonders which of these were meant to remain as part of the final form of the text. This issue, related to textual transmission, perhaps has two sides to it:[176] either a translator wished to leave both for the reader to decide which was the most suitable reading, or he had intended to remove one of the options.[177]

Lastly, the addition of more words would have also been dependent on a single, or series of, word(s) so that the subsequent phrase, clause or sentence was repeated as a variation of a first attempt to translate it (e.g. p. 138).[178] This is not meant to give the air of playing fast and loose with the text, as if a translator was practicing how to render a certain passage. Rather, because of reverence for the text and its meaning, he would have been deeply concerned with accurately bringing over the meaning of the passage, without also conveying the difficulty encountered in the *Vorlage*. Very narrowly, this pertains to a difficulty with the ST upon which was improvised, rather than a form of contextual/exegetical disambiguation, which shares a similar trait (see p. 116). The

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[173] See Talshir, "Double Translations in the Septuagint," 22.

[174] Ibid., 24.

[175] See ibid., 35.

[176] See ibid., 27-28.

[177] The translator was likely the only person aware of the doublets. As a result, if he was prevented for some reason from rectifying these doublets by choosing what he thought was the most appropriate then there was a certain possibility that it would find its way into a textual family.

[178] See Talshir, "Double Translations in the Septuagint," 47.

high degree of conscious decision by the translator in making a double translation makes it a highly improvisational process for the translator.

2.3.4 Untranslated Words

An untranslated word is one that has been transliterated from the source word. This occurred because the translator was probably unaware of the meaning of the word. While one must be cautious to ascribe ignorance to the translator, because what was common to a translator may be now beyond our understanding, in the vast majority of instances these words are *hapax legomena*.[179] It may also be that the translator simply found the word to be hard to understand for to all sorts of reasons. Therefore, what we can determine is that transliteration was his course of action most often with rarely found words.

2.3.5 Reliance on Parallelism

The idea that a translator relied on parallel passages does not mean to imply that this was only for prosodic texts. Although Habakkuk is written almost entirely as poetry, a large amount of Hebrew text was not. Tov explains that this kind of recourse for a translator is akin to contextual guesses.[180] The difference between the two is slight. The essential point here is that it is a specific kind of context that the translator used: parallel words. The parallel context can be quite broad. This can only be discerned when "reliance on the parallel word created unusual equivalents."[181]

Tov presents two different kinds of parallel reliance: first, reliance on parallel Greek words, where the translator used the parallel context of his translated text and not the Hebrew; and second, and more frequently, repetition of a parallel word, which may be located within lines or chapters from the specific *hapax* word in consideration.

2.3.6 Etymological Renderings

There are a few ways in which a translator sought to resolve his translation through some kind of etymological path. In the first instance, a translator could have incorrectly

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[179] See Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 55.
[180] See ibid., 64.
[181] Ibid.

vocalised a "conjugated verb form from the wrong root,"[182] other forms notwithstanding.

Second, what Tov calls *etymological renderings* is a process of deduction whereby a translator, encountering a difficult Hebrew word, sought to find a relevant Greek word, which had a related stem that was translated elsewhere for other Hebrew words, which were "linked" to the Hebrew word being translated.[183] Tov also calls these "root-link renderings."[184] Alternately, third, he suggests that translators may have made etymological guesses as part of their rendering. He explains that this may occur "*only* when a translation is based on a certain manipulation of the consonants, sometimes involving disregard of prefixes and suffixes."[185] This kind of guess work is well-attested as a reliable form of recourse for Septuagint translators struggling with a text. Thackeray identified this kind of style many years ago. His assessment was quite similar and pertained to similar sounding words. He stated that this kind of resort by a translator was often due to "doubt as to the exact meaning of the Hebrew."[186]

2.4 Paradigms, Evidence, & Translational Tradition

On the basis of the above discussion, how else can one understand the nature of the style(s) within the Septuagint, Ambakoum in particular? At a statistical level much of the evidence at first seems to support the above discussions, to a technique which might be termed Septuagintal literalism. The word literal is also quite common in general dialogue, referring to ideas of faithfulness to represent something else. For example, a person can insist on a precise report by saying, "Just tell me, what did she *literally* say?" The interlocutor gets the sense of what is being asked: it is a demand for precision, a verbatim response perhaps. Or one might ask, "Now tell me *word-for-word*, what he said?" Somehow the answer following this question is the *right* report, will push aside any subjective colouring of interpretation and get to the heart of the matter.[187]

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[182] Jan de Waard, "Old Greek Translation Techniques and the Modern Translator," *BT* 41, no. 3 (1990): 313.

[183] See Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?" 68.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid. (Italics mine.)

[186] Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 36.

[187] RT may have much to offer on this subject.

The ability for scholars to clearly identify the nature of the translational style of any given book is, according to Robert Kraft, still in its infancy.[188] Although writing in the seventies his assessment still rings true. In fact, what he calls "the science of identifying translation patterns" may in fact be as much art as science. The reasons are legion. In one respect, this is because translators were not self-conscious of their styles as might be thought of in translation studies today – they had no identifiable scientific or mechanical method. Hence, to refer to translators as having a technique is probably a little anachronistic. It implies a more formal and established approach, whereas, in all likelihood, decisions for most of the translational elements were made on-the-fly. This would have occurred in concert with literary proclivities of the period.[189]

On the classification of the style of the Twelve, as previously noted, Thackeray called it "indifferent,"[190] as opposed to good Koine, literal or free. Although he does not go on to explain this in greater detail, as a classically trained and eminent scholar, he had an excellent sense for the text. Dogniez comments on Thackeray that "généralement sa version grecque dans ce que l'on appelle les traductions 'mixtes,' c'est-à-dire les traductions que ne sont ni tout à fait littérales ni tout à fait libres."[191] The style of the Twelve is now commonly called "creatively faithful."[192]

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[188] See Robert A. Kraft, "Septuagint," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (IDBSup; ed. Keith R. Crim; 5 vols.; vol. 5; Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 807-15.

[189] This study follows the approach, and general opinion of various scholars, that the translator possessed a high reverence for his text and work, and his motivations that affected his lexical and grammatical choices were deeply rooted in a desire to faithfully carry over the meaning of the ST into the TT. For various discussions surround this point, cf. Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Rev. and expanded ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 295-7, 307; Brock, "The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation," 314, 550; Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?" 25ff.

[190] Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 13.

[191] Cécile Dogniez, "Fautes de traduction, ou bonnes traductions? Quelques examples pris dans la LXX des Douze Prophètes," in *X Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SCS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 243.

[192] Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*, 15, 22. Furthermore, although stylistic marks may indicate the same, or at least very similar, hand in other parts of the Septuagint (see p. 11.), it does not appear to have any recensional features, unlike other parts of the Septuagint. The point here is that there is no evidence for a recensional work earlier than the one demonstrated by Barthélemy. This means that the Twelve might be one of the oldest parts of the Septuagint and closely resemble the original translator's work. The assumption may be that if this recensional work was meant to be for the entire Septuagint then those books without this specific trait might be dated earlier than that activity. Of course, those texts that we have which do not have the καίγε recension may show evidence of an alternate kind of recension, and therefore dating that specific text would be related to that other activity.

2.4.1 The Limits of Literalism & Multiple-Causation

The terms literal or literalism connote a host of different ideas on the nature of the style employed. So some cautionary points must be considered. First, as McLay boldly points out: "the translators of the LXX [Septuagint] were generally not intentionally striving for literal translations."[193] He notes that not only does the evidence too frequently point away from such a *technique*, but to assume so could skew the interpretation of the data. The degree to which a translator was literal is a "gauge to measure how well they achieved the standard."[194] The evidence does reveal a different standard in favour of this point.

Second, building upon the first point, a bias against the translator's style in the vein of literalism might cause the analyst to miss the *nature* of the translator's free hand. As McLay explains, "it is the type and frequency of nonliteral renderings in the translation units that provide the most distinguishing characteristics of TT [Translation Technique]."[195] The deviations from literalism, irrespective of the reasons at this point, further reveal the translators' approach, limits and, in some cases, theological concern.

Third, because the translations mostly reflect an individual's effort, the details that distinguish them from each other may be overlooked. This is a crucial point: "it is the idiosyncrasies of the individual translators that provide the most distinguishing features of TT [Translation Technique]."[196] The emphasis here lies in the criteria that determine literalism. If the translator deviates from the criteria that govern how one is to understand what is literal then the translation is subject to nonliteral criticism.

And lastly, McLay is concerned that an over-emphasis on formal equivalence as the technique for the translators has affected use of the Septuagint in textual criticism.[197] As the translators operated within the confines of their TL, making translation choices that were drawn from a wide-range of possible influences, the ability for a modern scholar to retrovert the Hebrew *Vorlage* based upon this Greek

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But until such activity can be demonstrated I take the Twelve to be earlier than the καίγε work, without any evidence of recensional activity.

[193] R. Timothy McLay, *Use of the LXX in NT Research* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003), 57.

[194] See ibid.

[195] Ibid., 58.

[196] Ibid., 59.

[197] See ibid., 60-61.

text is extremely difficult. These four cautionary points by McLay provide some buffers against overstating the purpose, intention and nature of Septuagintal literalism.

As the scale between the two extremes of literal and free likely refers to an ancient concept, irretrievable for us as a system,[198] each descriptive instance of Greek style may in fact invoke multiple criteria rather than a spectral dialectic between literal and free. As Dines explains, there are "many intermediate stages and combinations, on which the different translations, or even different parts of the same translation, can be located."[199] It is not necessary to hold to the notions of literalism and then explain the derivations from it. Such a presupposition tacitly imputes a mind-set to the translators – a rather tenuous one, perhaps even false. Numerous causes, whether linguistic, social, theological and literalistic influenced a translator at the same time in various degrees.[200]

This study takes a linguistic approach to interpreting the evidence of Ambakoum, which is quite at home with the philosophy of the French school. It explains the nature of the translation as a verbal expression within and for a new culture. There were numerous causes for many of the textual features, which had much to do with the place of the translation within Jewish Hellenistic culture of the time. Numerous factors, notwithstanding an alternate *Vorlage*, such as literary style and shape, logic and coherence, exegesis, cultural concerns, a translator's *Weltanschauung* (if it is even possible to deduce), and of course concerns of literalism, along with ideology and theology are considered.[201] The number of divergences from literalism within the

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[198] Pietersma argues that the technique of the Septuagint translators was formal correspondence/equivalence and not dynamic. But these modern categories do not correspond to the evidence. An assumption that the translators' methods was formal correspondence in order to then determine the method one ought to employ in a modern translation today does not follow. Moreover, ancient methods were varied. For example, evidence such as R, and the methods to which R held, refers to a "system of ancient linguistics, grammar and rhetoric, [which] was applied to translation" within locales of, and not exclusive to, the Hellenistic Period (Louw). Cf. Albert Pietersma, "Translating a Translation with Examples from the Greek Psalter," in *Translating a Translation* (eds. H. Ausloos et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 178-9. Also see Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 39.

[199] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 121.

[200] There is evidence derived from statistical patterns for literalness. This likely had a lot to do with the translators' reverence for their ST, which they believed to be inspired. This reverence is a little bit of a vague notion, especially for us many centuries down the road, and certainly not the same as the extremely careful techniques and perceptions of later *sopherim* and of the Masoretes; cf. Emanuel Tov, *Text Crit. of the HB* (2d rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 9.

[201] The theological explanation is in final position to ensure against falsely imputing to the translator a highly conscious textual manipulation to which he may not have been committed. Moreover,

Twelve make a distinction of either literal or free, especially for Ambakoum, inapplicable.[202]

Now, the inventory of transformations offered by van der Louw is a great start for understanding the nature of translational features in the Septuagint. Not only has he rigorously introduced the translation studies' notion of *transformation*, but he has provided numerous ways by which to understand these in some Septuagintal texts. No doubt due to the constraints of a single volume, he did not, however, provide the many more kinds of, or causes for, transformations that occur in translation.

Recent studies on *multiple-causation* – another friend from the humanities – seem to indicate that literalism is an insufficient and imprecise method to explain *all* translated textual phenomena. Multiple-causation is not a system but a way of looking at translational data. As a paradigm shift, it encourages the analyst to think liberally with respect to *how* the data is to be interpreted.

> [I]n translation [it] shares many features with functional theories of translation, in that it looks at the various explanations, often acting simultaneously, that generate the phenomena.[203]

Factors such as "individual situation…textuality…[and] translators' norms"[204] are inherent to the theory. There are multiple sources of explanation for the complex process of translation.[205] This is always true.[206] Pertaining to this study, the concluding analysis of this TT is released from the classification of literalism (with some free parts). The numerous reasons that were germane to the translator's choice(s) are given air to the conversation. This way of looking at the text does not in any way throw out

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his theological reflection while improvising cannot be dismissed. This point is to guard against quickly asserting theological reasons too quickly, not a rejection of their existence. The order and somer terms are here taken from van der Louw's discussion, see Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?" 26.

[202] See Dines, *The Septuagint*, 120.

[203] James K. Aitken, "The Origins of kai ge," in *Biblical Greek in Context* (eds. James K. Aitken and T. V. Evans; Louvain: Peeters, *forthcoming*).

[204] Siobhan Brownlie, "Investigating Explanations of Translational Phenomena. A Case for Multiple Causality," *Target* 15, no. 1 (2003): 111.

[205] Ibid., 112. Pym, 1998:149.

[206] Even when a computer generates a translation (e.g. Bing Translator, http://bing.com/translator) the algorithms are ever-changing because the programmers seek to improve the generated output. Even in the conceptual realm of artificial intelligence (AI), the system will never cease to require adaptation to a new language and, therefore, culture. Contextual adaptation forces the intermediary to consider relevant and ever-new data.

literalism because its statistical data is part of the analysis. Even the desire to stereotype had numerous reasons for its causes, even if it was not rigidly adhered to. The value of the numerous causes or motivators in the process of translation are essential. So, Septuagintal literalism does not reside on one end of the spectrum with a free approach on the other, something which Barr clearly brought to the fore.

Naturally, because multiple-causation includes causes derived from the social background, or situation, of a translator, it is crucial that such causes be carefully scrutinised. Otherwise, circular reasoning can run amuck. This is particularly true of the Septuagint because little is known of the translators and their philosophy, except what we can glean from their work and the scant evidence concerning them. If a textual feature is used to explain the social background of the translator, and that same feature is read back into the text as a sociological proof for the change, it would then be circular.

Moreover, because there can be multiple causes for a particular translational choice, any methodological system must be expansive enough to include new categories and causes, in step with the emergence of new research. Sometimes literalism has nothing to do with a word choice. For example, a catch-word in a new social context can be based on a combination of euphemism, phonetic similarity and phonology alone.[207]

It may well be that a stereotypical choice determined the translator's decision, i.e. διαθήκη for ברית. The use of multiple-causation is not meant to overcomplicate the reasoning behind the decision-making process. Naturally, some decisions required much less mental effort than others. The choice to improvise during the act of translation could have been due to only one factor, i.e. unknown semantics, but the actual decision within that process would have had many influences. The style of a trained scribe would have had influences that were derived from his training in language (rhetoric and poetry), by his social background, and also from the text, embodying thematic allusions, (contextual) linguistic challenges in the language with which he was communicating, and theological touchpoints. It is then difficult to call such a style either literal or free. Multiple causes existed for a number of textual features.

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[207] See James K. Aitken, "Multiple Causation of Translation Features and the Case of Aquila's σύν," (paper presented at Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption, Wuppertal, 2012).

Lastly, there are some exegetical features of the translation that clearly reflect the translator's theological *Denkart*. Some changes in the text exist as a result of theological reflection or perspective, but they did not arise necessarily out of theological motivation. The intent was to create a faithful and meaningful translation. Improvisational decisions in the process of translation would obviously have been affected by the translator's theological orientation. Such textual elements can be observed in Ambakoum. What appears free may in fact be an attempt to provide meaning or clarity to a passage.

In agreement with van der Louw,[208] this should probably be the choice of last resort when trying to understand a specific transformation. Such things do, however, provide us with an advantage into the translator's hermeneutic.[209] This kind of theological exegesis is derived from the context of the passage, indicating the translator's theological *Tendenz*. Sometimes the mixture of error and intentional change can provide further evidence of the translator's view of his material.[210] This can be done after each specific textual change has been analysed. Theological exegesis did occur to some degree in Ambakoum. The translator's theological perspective, which was part-and-parcel of his thinking, would have influenced him by degrees. Such phenomena are irregular; but, nonetheless, sometimes the best way to explain a particular change.

2.4.2 Contextual Exegesis

When the Septuagint is not literal scholars often invoke the concept of free technique – errors aside –, which is often explained as contextual exegesis. Free translation is notoriously difficult to systematically pin down.[211] Similar to literalism, the concept of free translation lacks "adequate terminology," and as a result is essentially a vague notion of what occurs when something is not literal.[212] It is

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[208] See Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 57.

[209] In this case I mean the translator's interpretative lens through which he understood his specific text, not his hermeneutic in a more general, or perhaps modern, sense, e.g. historical grammatical, or allegorical, etc. Therefore, with respect to Amb, it is the nature of his interpretative lens through which he understood the text.

[210] See pp. 135-148.

[211] Cf. Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 8.

[212] Van der Louw explains that the lack of "methodological clarity" is due to several factors, including the tendency of the Septuagint towards literalism, the use of the Septuagint in text critical

generally thought to be what a translator does when he attempts to carry over the sense or purport of the ST by use of a TL into a TT. It aims "to give the translator's understanding of the original rather than to reproduce it quantitatively."[213] Septuagintal literalism is concerned with observing features such as word-order, and, as much as possible, semantic correspondence, at the expense of the TL's grammatical, idiomatic or natural linguistic strictures.[214] This translator seems to adhere to, something like, both concepts at the same time.

The kind of contextual exegesis of the Septuagint is what, on the surface, occurs as a pattern of changes that can be understood through the addition, omission or substitution of parts of speech in the TT. Naturally this process requires aligning the texts. These *changes* are frequently found and sometimes suggested as deviations from so-called literalism. Whereas addition or omission of textual elements are often related to TL concerns, a translator may, in the act of substitution, insert into the "translation any idea the source text called to mind."[215] As the argument flows, the textual context may have affected the mind of the translator, which could have been immediate, perhaps the current phrase, sentence, or strophe, or could have been remote, perhaps incorporating conceptual ideas from other biblical books, or conceptual elements from the world-of-the-translator.[216] Linked themes should be determined through common lexica.[217] As a first step, the STs are properly compared to the TTs in order to determine whether contextual exegesis is the sufficient explanation for the difference. This is a process of assessing the pluses and minuses. Contextual exegesis is also

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studies and the shifting sands of free translation when compared to literal ones, hence making literalism easier to study. Cf. Ibid., 8-9.

[213] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 120.

[214] Barr comments: "It is our custom, when talking about translations, to work with the simple pair of opposed categories 'literal' and 'free'. A free translation, people usually think, gives an impression of the general purport or meaning of a text, without concerning itself too much for individual details; a literal translation, it is felt, concerns itself for details as well as giving the general meaning, or indeed it may concern itself with details to such a degree that it gives a false impression of the meaning as a whole. Thus literal translations are often described as being 'word for word': they give, it is implied, a rendering of each discrete element but fail to give an adequate picture of the sense of the whole," see Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 279; Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?" 23.

[215] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 45-46.

[216] Cf. Ibid., 46. Joosten sees this within certain bounds, usually it is the immediate context, cf. Joosten, "Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea," 75-76.

[217] An implied idea by a modern scholar might not have existed for the translator. The context must retain a conceptual overlap with the other remote one, while also maintaining lexical (or synonymous) linguistic data, which is often helped by similar/same grammar too.

different from linguistic exegesis. The latter comparatively interprets the grammar, words and semantics. But, this may occur without consideration of context. Contextual exegesis, therefore, incorporates all aspects of linguistic exegesis but is also concerned with the wider literary context and conceptual content. This may then also connect to both context of inner-Septuagintal and Hebrew *Vorlagen*.

Although every translation includes varying degrees of interpretation, not every difference away from the ST should be elevated to a level of theological exegesis.[218] Any element substituted, omitted or "added to the source text by the translation,"[219] may mark theological exegesis. However, the ability for a modern scholar to know the "intellectual background of its translator(s),"[220] discern the manifold "ideas and knowledge reflected in the choice of terms or methods of expression in the translation,"[221] and have enough accurate information concerning the cultural and political *Sitz im Leben* of a given translator is quite a difficult endeavour. What might superficially appear to be theological exegesis may be due to a misreading, an obscurity, a grammatical function or a linguistic development. That the translator had a theological opinion of his text and world is hopefully beyond dispute. But knowing that this was the primary cause for a textual alteration should be weighed with as much data as possible. The translators left no commentaries or notes. And as we do not have access to the translator prudence points away from epistemological fallacies that

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[218] Tov explains that there is specific criteria to determine the degree of theologically motivated exegesis see Also, Aejmelaeus explains that there were likely different levels of motivation for the changes that are more than linguistic differences, as she explains, "[i]t is obvious that the various translators of the Septuagint – each in their individual ways – at times departed from the strict word-for-word procedure in order to give expression to their understanding of the source text and in doing this occasionally revealed a motivation other than linguistic. It is not a question of whether there was interpretation, even reinterpretation and adaptation of the text to new situations, the question that I wish to discuss is how to recognize different kinds of interpretation or to distinguish between different levels of interpretation in the work of the Septuagint translators." See Emanuel Tov, "Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint," (paper presented at Proceedings of a Conference at the Annenberg Research Institute May 15-16, Philadelphia, 1989); Aejmelaeus, *Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, 296.

[219] Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 259.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid.

suppose what a translator's motivations and reasons were. We only have access to the text.[222]

In each case for contextual exegesis there is either an addition, omission or substitution of a textual element. When these are combined there may be a higher degree of contextual exegesis. While also considering semantic choice, a theologically motivated exegesis may be put forth as the reason for the alteration. *(1) Additions.* When the translator added words to his translation it was most often to improve the readability in the Greek language, and subtle clarification of content.[223] *(2) Omissions.* This practice can be understood in the following two ways: first, through either compound words or the ability to choose a lexical equivalent that corresponded to one or more elements of the Hebrew, the translator would omit certain parts of the *Vorlage*; and second, due to stylistic or grammatical considerations, the translator may have omitted elements in his translation(s).[224]

(3) Substitutions. The choice to substitute an element with a word that had little or no semantic overlap with the Hebrew text is common.[225] It occurs with such regularity for certain words that there is likely a tradition of interpretation behind such a change.[226] The decision to alter the text in this fashion more readily reveals the exegetical character of the style. Often the meaning is not drastically altered, as in Num 12:8, where the translator substituted תמונה for δόξα;[227] the logical step here is easy to see.

However, Tov is right to point out that this reveals an introduction of "new ideas…often clad in the form of theological ideas."[228] Theological exegesis, even inconspicuous, is said to be observed through carefully observing the phenomena of

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[222] This is also in consideration of supplementary texts. Should a translator have written down why he made his choices then we would have access to that information, akin to a journal or commentary. Also cf. Palmer, "'Not Made with Tracing Paper.' Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah," 81.

[223] See Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 46.

[224] See Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 131.

[225] See Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 49.

[226] There are a variety of such examples. The change from צור (πέτρα) to κύριος might have been due to a concern over how one might perceive God, the result being concretising of the metaphor in translation. But it may also indicate an alternate *Vorlage*, so Peters. See pp. 135-148.

[227] This is one of Tov's examples; see Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 49.

[228] Ibid.

addition, omission or substitution in the text.[229] Therefore, having established sufficient reasons for the various changes of a text, if new ideas arise from the translation then there is warrant to begin to discuss this kind of exegesis as clothed in theological garb.

More common than not, such changes were probably linguistic rather than theological, and located in the translator's improvisational task within the translational effort. The translator attempts to explain the teaching of his ST, not to intentionally alter it so that some other theology alien to the text comes through. There is no evidence for such an approach. In fact, certain words and phrases likely had certain register within his language community.

However, this leads us to the somewhat unsatisfying approach of determining the nature of free technique or contextual exegesis in the Septuagint. If these things, as Tov points out, pertain to new ideas, different from those of the source, and different theology, then does this not indicate more than simply what randomly occurred in the mind of the translator? The translator is a trained scribe who would have already had a keen understanding of his text(s), and his improvisation would have connected with what he already understood of the text, which would have had some degree or relationship to reading of his community. Moreover, consistent semantic difference indicates a relatively high degree of intentionality. If, as is commonly agreed, contextual exegesis indicates a greater degree of intention to any given textual divergence, then might those ideas be located in the translator's reading tradition rather than in his random idiosyncrasies?[230] Now, before I endeavour to explain how these things relate, I would like to first bring to the fore two competing paradigms.[231] The

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[229] Tov states that "[t]heological exegesis of the LXX may be defined as any theological element added to the source text by the translator," cf. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 259.

[230] What later readers made of the Septuagint is almost entirely apart from this discussion. Contextual exegesis in the redaction of a text is not part of this point. The later generation of readers were affected by the results of the translators' efforts, but the translators themselves were likely hardly affected by such concerns.

[231] LXX.D does not really present an alternate paradigm. It shares much in common with BdA, taking its leave at different points, i.e. less consideration given to patristic sources, etc. The choice to not deviate from the Septuagint in favour of a modern translational model derived from the Heb., so NETS, does push it slightly away from the NETS philosophy. Cf. Martin Karrer, "Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D). Characteristics of the German Translation Project," in *Translating a Translation* (eds. H. Ausloos et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 116-18.

choice of paradigm determines much with respect to how one understands both the nature of the translations and their literary/cultural function.

2.4.3 Interlinear Paradigm or Sola Septuaginta

The Interlinear Paradigm (IP) looks at the Septuagint as a crib for reading the underlying Hebrew text. This view was employed by the translators of NETS.[232] It theorises that the Septuagint was invented as a way to bring the Greek reader "closer to the Hebrew text" in circulation at that time.[233] It was only later that "the version [was] used and read as an independent text."[234] By virtue of the interlinearity of the paradigm the *Hebraic interference* in the TT is understandable. Linguistic features, such as word-order, were important for the very reason stated above – hence, this is the order of the Hebrew, *ipso facto*. The term "'interlinear' refers to linguistic relationship, not a historical entity."[235] Its most well-known promulgators are probably Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright.[236] A number of publications by Cameron Boyd-Taylor have also helpfully provided further understanding in application of the paradigm. The strengths of the view are quite easily grasped. First, the syntagmatic structure of the TT often follows the pattern of the ST. This seems to kick against the linguistic demands of the TL. Second, Pietersma has argued that the presence of interlinear Greek and Latin texts in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is circumstantial proof of this idea behind the Septuagint.[237] The text is meant to be read dependent upon (as a textual form), and subservient to (concerned with "inter-textual relations"),

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[232] Cf. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," in *NETS* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiii-xx. This is obviously not the case where no Heb. base text exists, i.e. Wisdom of Solomon, cf. Michael A. Knibb, "To the Reader of Wisdom of Salomon," in *NETS* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 698-99.

[233] See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "An Ear for an Eye - Lay Literacy and the Septuagint," in *Scripture in Transition* (eds. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 131; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology* (14; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 167.

[234] Jan Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm' in Septuagintal Studies," in *Scripture in Transition* (eds. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 162.

[235] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 367.

[236] Cf. Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xiii-xx; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 71-105; Albert Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SCS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 217-28.

[237] See Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm'," 166.

the base Hebrew text.[238] The setting is an educational one, perhaps a school, and meant for readers who would want this kind of translation.[239] Therefore, the "translated books of the LXX are interlinear, until proven otherwise."[240]

There are three essential premises to IP, which as Boyd-Taylor pointed out, are very similar to some of the conclusions reached by Rabin concerning the nature of the Septuagint:[241] first, the Septuagint's use of "translationese," or "quantitative equivalence to the Hebrew" is understood by IP's superior explanatory power – explained via linguistic interlinearity; second, the "unintelligibility of the Greek qua text is one of its [the Septuagint's] inherent characteristics;" and third, IP "safeguards the Greekness of the Septuagint by emphasising that its linguistic strangeness…was made to serve a specific (possibly pedagogical) purpose."[242]

The idea of *translationese* is part of the literalism to which the translator's adhered. Different Hebrew syntactical structures and even word choices are conveyed in Greek "at the expense of Greek idiom."[243] Boyd-Taylor is quick to point out that this is different from "mere literalism." As he summarises:

> On this hypothesis, the contravention of Greek linguistic convention was deemed acceptable because the aim of the translator was not to produce an independent Greek text but one conceived within the model of a Greek-Hebrew diglot, i.e. an interlinear text, and this involved quantitative fidelity.[244]

But the intent to often match the syntagmatic correspondence of the Hebrew is a part of Septuagintal literalism, as pointed out by Barr and Tov. It is hard to see how this is not part of the translator's literalistic technique. A policy of following word-order, which is manifestly clear across swathes of the Septuagint, does seem to be embedded within this kind of literalism. It is one component of it.

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[238] Boyd-Taylor, "An Ear for an Eye," 130; Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xiv.

[239] Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm'," 165.

[240] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 167.

[241] Cf. Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xiv-xv; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines* (BTS 8; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 328-9; C. Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *HUB* 6 (1964): 22-25.

[242] Cf. Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 91.

[243] Ibid.

[244] Ibid., 92-93.

The second assumption of IP is that the Septuagint is "at times virtually unintelligible and that this feature often stems from its relationship to the source language."[245] The only way to understand the lexical choices, and often the nature of the bizarre syntax, is by recourse to the Hebrew parent text. The Septuagint is thus inherently bound to it. Many passages of the Septuagint are quite simply "meaningless in themselves,"[246] rendering the need for the Hebrew as imperative. It is not necessarily that the Hebrew was confusing to a translator, as if the unintelligibility existed because of confusion at the point of translation (though this did occur at points). The idea that "the Greek text *qua* text has a dimension of intelligibility"[247] is determined by how the Greek reads in the context of Hellenistic literature. Pietersma notes Barr's well-known example of how ἐν ἐμοί translates בי,[248] the former clearly being hard to understand. But, with IP as a model, one can understand the reason for the difference and grasp its purpose – to access the Hebrew for pedagogic reasons. Yet this appears to be in spite of the numerous instances of liberty for the translator to make do as best he can when the parent text was unclear to him. To this point I shall return shortly. But with respect to this second aspect of IP, what is central here is that in following an isomorphic approach, the translator "apparently does not aim at representing the literal sense of the parent but only its form."[249] Because of this the target text is said to not have required independent intelligibility. It did not need to function as an independent literary artefact, hence it could be meaningless, because it was not meant to be otherwise meaningful. It is a text to bring the reader to the Hebrew.

The final premise provides assumed support for the model. The strangeness of the Greek is protected against what Boyd-Taylor calls dubious inferences: that the "usage of the translators was itself in some way aberrant," or "that it represents the conventions of a Jewish dialect."[250] The linguistic oddity was suitable or acceptable to the school environment for which the Septuagint was designed. It would seem the readers of this setting were either monolingual – unlikely – or at least did not know

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[245] Ibid., 93.

[246] Ibid.

[247] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 157.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 93.

[250] Ibid., 95. He later on points out that the discovery of Papyri destroys the dialectical theory.

Hebrew well enough to read the text directly, or naturally.[251] The reader is brought to the Hebrew source text via the Greek language.[252] The Septuagint is therefore "only [to] be understood in its entirety with the help of the Hebrew."[253]

The IP is presently discussed in tight relation to DTS. The schematic structure of DTS is invaluable because it provides a way to describe how and why translated texts came into being, itself a subset discipline of translation theory/studies. For the proponents of IP, the nature of the Septuagint is understand to be a linguistic activity with a high degree of negative transfer through interference from the ST by use of SL constructs. This description is in light of alternative kinds of literature from the period. Moreover, the acceptability feature of DTS is an important description for IP.

Often in distinction to IP is a view advocated by a number of scholars who argue that the Septuagint was created as an independent literary product to replace the Hebrew. It is meant to be read on its own, not in subservience to the Hebrew, which might even extend to whether it was to be even read with it. This philosophy of approach is followed by the translators of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*,[254] who are producing French annotated translations of the Septuagint. The purpose of their work is to translate the text "according to the Greek;" to establish the divergences between the TT and ST; understand the "divergencies of the Septuagint context;" and provide a study of the "ancient reception and interpretation of the LXX [Septuagint]."[255] Therefore, concerns such as a translator's intention can only be deduced from the Greek, and is not meant to be derived directly from the Hebrew. The Septuagint is, therefore, "not a shadow copy" of the source, but "depends equally on the conditions where it emerged."[256] The Septuagint is considered a Greek literary artefact in its own

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[251] Cf. Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm'," 165; Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 35. When one speaks of the early readers of the Septuagint we are then referring to a specific construct. First, the translator is truly the first real reader. After completing sections of his text he was the first one to read and re-read what he wrote. This means that there was an amount of comprehension and acceptability within the mind of the translator as to the accuracy, or rightness, of his work. The subsequent readers would be those of his language (scribal) community, perhaps first an overseer for the work itself. Together this very early construct, of which we critically know next to nothing, would make up the reader at the point of the first produced text.

[252] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 348.

[253] Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xv.

[254] See Harl, "La Bible d'Alexandrie. I. The Translation Principles," 181-97.

[255] Ibid., 183.

[256] Ibid., 184-5.

right, which is observed by its comprehensibility and coherence. The translators showed creativity, being "concerned with logic and clarity as well as expression and stylistic device."[257]

In his most recent monograph on OG Isaiah, J. Ross Wagner reasoned through the ways that IP works.[258] He closely follows the logic and application of Boyd-Taylor's work, especially from his 2011 monograph *Reading Between the Lines*,[259] also drawing widely from his works over the past decade or so. Wagner's discussion is sympathetic to the paradigm, but, he partly takes his leave from it, stating:

> The presence of source-language interference in a translated text from this later period does not, by itself, indicate that the translator followed an 'interlinear' model of translation…Such interference may largely be due, rather, to the translator's effort to locate his work within the broader literary system of Hellenistic Judaism by conforming to translational norms deriving from the Greek Pentateuch.[260]

Awareness of the drawbacks to IP are increasing, in spite of its scientific accuracy.[261] As Joosten points out, the theory that the Septuagint was aligned to a Hebrew text, as found with Hellenistic and Roman texts, is purely conjectural. There is no evidence for it.[262] It is one thing to posit evidence of interlinear school texts in the Greco-Roman world, and another entirely to suggest this for the Septuagint.[263] Moreover, the evidence is not only lacking for an IP of LXX/OG, but also for all later versions. No one later conceived of such interlinearity, which leaves us wondering – as it naturally pertains to at least LXX – if the idea for the Septuagint ever existed in

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[257] Ibid., 185.

[258] Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 6-63.

[259] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*.

[260] He further states: "[t]he 'biblical' sound of these later translations (including the occasional 'unintelligibility' of their translationese) would have assured a monolingual audience that the Greek versions of these scriptural texts faithfully represent their Hebrew parents." It is not clear, however, how this last point can be proven true; moreover, the audience would likely have not been monolingual. He also states later on that due to the linguistic, literary and textual features of his Isaiah study (at least chp. 1) was not meant to replace its Heb. and was also not "designed simply to assume a *subservient* position in relation to its source" (italics mine). Cf. Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 62, 234.

[261] See Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm'," 168; Stanley E. Porter, review of Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, eds., *Et Sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, *JSCS* 46 (2013): 122-125.

[262] See Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm'," 170-1.

[263] See ibid., 171.

the first place. Joosten also argues that the "stylistic register," "internal characteristics" (i.e. linguistic irregularities that have an internal correspondence within the corpus) and exegesis all point away from the idea of interlinearity. Quite simply, additions and omissions break the model. Joosten concludes that, "the Septuagint was intended from the start to function as a stand-in, a substitute for the Hebrew Scriptures."[264]

2.4.3.1 Text-Produced & Text-Received

The difference between text-production, the text as it was produced, and text-reception, the text as it was received through history, is crucial. It is core to understanding translational style as well as a study of Septuagintal semantics. Pietersma is right that this distinction is axiomatic to sound exegesis of the Septuagint;[265] it is "the Septuagint *as produced* that forms the basis for the hermeneutics of the translated text."[266] When one discusses a Septuagintal translator's technique one is concerned with the nature of the production when it occurred. It is related to that activity of a translator at a given point in time. This is obviously synchronic. A translator's semantic and morphosyntactic choices can only be understood within the social conditions in which they arose. The paradigm through which to understand the translator's work is, according to IP, best achieved through appreciation and application of interlinearity. Text-reception is, however, bound up with the history of interpretation. It refers to how later translators and commentators handled the text. It is a diachronic analysis.

Now, while most scholars would agree with this distinction, what Pietersma means by text-production must be further understood. It does not merely refer to the initial production of a Septuagintal translator within his *Sitz im Leben*. It refers to this activity as an interlinear one, which brooks truck with the basic structure of Septuagintal literalism. As he writes:

> If the original text form can only be established by a painstaking analysis of both the
> horizontal and vertical dimensions of the text, it follows that the verbal make-up of the
> target text must be laid bare in essentially the same inductive way, namely, through a

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[264] Ibid., 178.

[265] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 276.

[266] Ibid.

detailed analysis not only of the process by which the target text was derived from its source, but also of the literary product that resulted from this activity.[267]

He further explains that the vertical and horizontal components indicate a two-dimensional model. He writes:

> On the horizontal plane morphemes are knit together into syntactic units to convey information, on the vertical plane, the parent text forms the de facto context for units of meaning, and as a result of excessive one-for-one dependence on the source text the receptor text may be rendered disjointed or worse.[268]
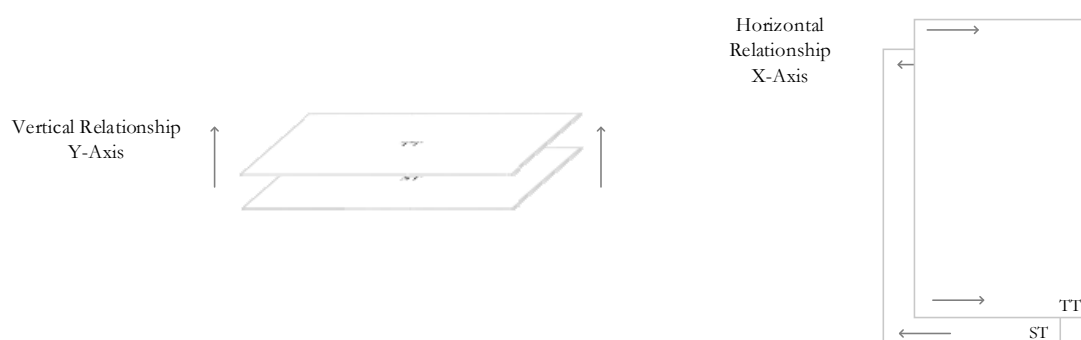
figure 1

He does not suggest that Hebrew semantics "eclipses Greek meanings,"[269] which is different from how words are used obscurely, such as in stereotyping where a word is used outside of what might be considered the right context for it. The meaning of Greek words is still bound to the normal rules of lexicography and semantics.[270]

A part of this view is the important concept by IP known as the "constitutive character" of the *text as it was produced*, which is said to be synonymous with the phrase *Sitz im Leben*.[271] The translator's work was thus formed within a particular socio-cultural context, "it focuses on the conditions which gave rise to the text rather than the history of its reception."[272] Reckoning with that initial activity against later readings acts as a guard against anachronistic ascriptions to a translator's intent. But the pursuit of a translator's intentions is admittedly fraught with problems. I think all

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[267] Ibid., 275.

[268] Ibid., 158.

[269] Ibid., 159.

[270] John A. L. Lee, "A Note on Septuagint Material in the Supplement to Liddel and Scott," *Glotta* 47, no. 1/4 (1969): 234, 238.

[271] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 35-37.

[272] Ibid., 53.

would agree that we need to work with the text before us, attributing very little to what a translator's thoughts were, not having access to him. Certainly, as Boyd-Taylor points out, "[b]y putting the question [re: an original text] in terms of the cultural assumptions under which the translator's intentions were formulated and expressed, we avoid the fallacy of solving the problems of the text by appeal to putative mental states."[273]

Furthermore, when IP refers to the readers or receivers of OG it is very clear that this is for real readers within an educational setting at the time when the given text was produced.[274] We actually know nothing about the original setting. This theory of a school setting is derived from an analysis of the nature of the text, through IP, within the Hellenistic and Roman literary worlds. It may well have been a school or scribal setting, but IP probably does not demonstrate this. The assumption is heavily weighted upon an assumption (constitutive character), which is based on a theory for the linguistic make-up of the Septuagint. If the school setting is close to the mark, it may also be prudent to suggest that this environment was within that of a group of synagogues for the diasporic community of Alexandria, which was reflective of a scribal organisation – not lay.[275] In light of the evidence of the Septuagint, it seems quite probable that there would have been collaboration between the translators of the same timeframe and locale. I am not suggesting that there was a sort of peripatetic school at which students could flock and learn from a chief scribe or rabbi. This would probably overdo the theory. Thus when we speak of the *readers* of the Septuagint, viz. the first readers, we should probably imagine educated people, students and senior scribes alike, or as Thackeray called them, *les collaborateurs*.

A third important concept of IP is that there was no translational *Tendenz*,[276] no overarching interpretational activity in the Septuagint. This, Boyd-Taylor remarks, is "a *key tenet* of the interlinear paradigm."[277] As Pietersma is at pains to point out, the interpretational activity of those many years down the line from the original translators

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[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid.

[275] As Lester Grabbe has pointed out, "evidence for institutions generally accepted as synagogues is known for the Diaspora as early as Ptolemaic times. But when we look at Palestine itself, evidence for the existence of synagogues is lacking before the first century BCE and perhaps even until the first CE." Cf. Lester L. Grabbe, "Synagogues in Pre-70 Palestine: A Re-Assessment," *JTS* 39 (1988): 410.

[276] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 269.

[277] Ibid. Emphasis mine.

must be distinguished from the activity of the translators. This is basic to exegesis of a Septuagintal translator's technique. As IP is a lens through which to understand the nature of what the translator's accomplished, the level on which interpretational activity occurred is likely at the clause, being mostly linguistic. The atomistic approach is to be matched by atomistic decisions. As Pietersma points out, "one expects the interlinear translator to render his source text a small unit at a time."[278] This is not compositional literature but translational, and what is more, interlinear. He writes:

> Axiomatic for all Septuagintal exegesis is the presupposition that, due to the translator's peculiar translation technique, a Hellenistic reader might have understood the text quite differently from what was intended.[279]

The history of interpretation must be held in suspension during exegesis of the text. It may be, though probably unlikely, that a later interpretation is precisely the early one of the OG, but therein lies a fundamental problem. Later translations are working from a different translational model than OG. When, for example, the Palestinian redactors made changes they did so *in light of* OG and the proto-MT, which may have included a number of variant manuscripts or readings. To know what was the interpretation of an OG translator is to exegete the text of OG. His interpretation is located in the produced text. Pietersma is absolutely correct that the history of interpretation should not muddy the first task of establishing the meaning of OG. But, even when this has been done, the actual evidence, so Pietersma, for a translator's exegesis amidst the translational activity is extremely low. This view is governed by the interlinear model. Because of this, a translator worked very atomistically, probably clause-wide, so that changes do not extend beyond that domain. So when the translator has trouble with his text at some point he does what he can to still render it grammatically, but does so without reaching out to thematic or linguistic features beyond it; "a specific translation problem arises and is solved locally."[280] He adds:

> As a result of this procedure it becomes very difficult to speak of "the translator's view or conception of…" since the translator cannot be said to be engaged in exegesis, in the standard use of that term. Any failure to recognize this limitation inherent in formal

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[278] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 163.

[279] Ibid., 298-9.

[280] Ibid., 163.

correspondence-type translations – whether or not one subscribes to the strictures of the interlinear paradigm – can result in some far-fetched claims being made.[281]

So much for text-production. It is a hermeneutical model for literalism. It borrows the formal schematic of DTS as a way to explain the data-slots for the textual phenomena. It provides some insight into the purpose of the translation by working from the nature of the texts within their occasion: a school setting for educational purposes. But text-production is this precise concept and does not encompass larger notions of textual exegesis, or that of interpretative reading traditions that gave rise to those elements that do not follow the model. And it must, therefore, reject any notions of literary composition. It cannot account for the translator's interpretational activity that occurred within the transformational process because such things are only found within the composition of original literature.

2.4.3.2 Literary Composition, Literary Translation & Interpretation

Clearly the vast majority of the Septuagint was not written as an independent piece of literature to stand alongside Hellenistic Greek texts. I refer here only to the nature of the textual composition, not whether it was meant to replace the Hebrew source.[282] The style of the literature shows a significant degree of negative transfer. Every

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[281] Ibid.

[282] Followers of IP hold that at the stage of text-production the Septuagintal texts were not meant to replace the parent text. As Boyd-Taylor notes, "That the Septuagint was designed to occupy the place of its parent is not only improbable, it is inconsistent with the constitutive character of the texts themselves." (Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 340.) In various places Boyd-Taylor and Pietersma concede that the Septuagint became an independent artefact that was used independently of the Hebrew. There is, however, something of a snag in this view. I am not saying it is necessarily wrong, but there is a timing problem here. When did the Septuagint become an independently read series of books? Was it after the Pentateuch or the work in the second-century? As is commonly acknowledged, the Septuagint was created over generations, some books being listed as coming into existence late in the first century BCE. Moreover, unless it is argued that the Septuagint only obtained this status after *all* the books were completed, then at some point before other books had even been written/translated the Septuagint was perceived of in this way. This means that translators may have considered their translational activity in light of this so that when composing, for example, Bel, the translator wrote it to be read in relation to the material that preceded it.

Moreover, if the interpretation of the ST was of importance, preserving that interpretation in the translation might have also spurred translators to create the books as those that were to be independently read. On this basis the Septuagint *could* have been created to preserve such things. But this only works if one holds to the view that the Septuagint has intentional interpretations that are not linguistically generated, which is not the case with IP.

translated book shows striking evidence of Hebrew interference on the morphosyntactic level. Even word choices are sometimes bizarrely chosen, which has since been explained as an approach we call stereotyping. Greek idiom is frequently rejected in favour of Hebraisms, which increases pleonasm and odd constructions.

The surface of the Greek text is rather flat.
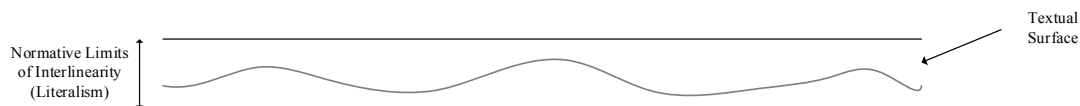
figure 2

It clearly does not reflect the literary flavours of compositional literature of the period. What it does come close to is the way that legal documents were translated. This, so Boyd-Taylor, may indicate some motive behind use of the interlinear pattern.[283] One the one hand, one has literature that was composed with rhetorical and poetical forms, being originally designed; on the other hand, in the translation of legal documents, one finds a system of very similar morphemic rules as suggested by IP.[284] Thus there was a marked difference in the Hellenistic period in the approach to these different kinds of literature. Each kind, one compositional, the other translational, arose out of different motivations, being different "socio-linguistic activities."[285] Boyd-Taylor argues that:

> much of what a translated text says is conditioned by the technique of translation itself…The intentions of the translator do not as much underly the translation, for underlying the text is the task of translation itself, rather, they are to be found at those points where his task, however conceived by the translator, simply broke down; the idiosyncratic trace of his hand is to be found precisely where it slipped.[286]

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[283] Ibid., 341-52.

[284] He thinks that with the Pentateuch, functioning as a legal document for the Jewish diasporic community, is the reason for this kind of interlinear model. What this does show is that the idea may have been borrowed by the earliest translators. It could have been chosen due to considerations of fidelity to the source, but unlikely because the Pentateuch was thought of as a legal document on the level of judicial proceedings. The two documentary types hold different conceptual domains, even in spite of the Levitical code being what it is.

[285] Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun," 72.

[286] Ibid.

With respect to the Septuagint, this seems to mean that only in those places where the surface of the text breaks away from the interlinear model is where interpretational elements may be found, if at all (certainly not compositional). Such things then came into existence purely through the translator's desire to make his text grammatical and sensible, at least to himself, without consideration of the receptor audience, let alone interpretation/exegesis. If this is correct, then on what grounds, out of what theological framework, did the translator make sense of the text? As Joosten points out, "[b]ecause languages are incompatible…translation is necessarily mediated by an understanding of the meaning of the source text."[287] These were not professional translators but scribes within a linguistic and religious community. They were already aware of the meaning of the texts, which would naturally have included those parts that were more unclear than other parts. Hence, when the translator is more actively engaged in interpretation, and therefore makes changes away from the ST, both semantically and syntactically, we then see something of not only his interpretative view, but also that of his community. This did not occur only in those instances where the translator apparently "slipped" up.

In fact, in such instances we probably see a good amount of what the translator's view was because of the unconscious flow of his ideas into the text. But there is nothing to compel the modern exegete that interpretation and, therefore, the translator's style can be only observed in those instances where the translator fouled up. The reading tradition sits behind the entire task of translation, not the interlinear model, so that the complete text reflects the interpretation of its source. Moreover, compositional features had to fit within the immediate textual framework, which included lexical, semantic, grammatical and thematic elements from within the translator's comprehension of his text. His theological framework would have been a significant help to both limit and free the translator to make certain decisions away from his pattern of literalism.

This framework would have not been limited to obscure or difficult passages because it arose from a complete textual set, which would have had some degree of relationship to other related sets of texts, i.e. shared themes and lexica.[288] This formal

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[287] Jan Joosten, "Interpretation and Meaning in the Septuagint Translation," (paper presented at Translation-Interpretation-Meaning, Helsinki Collegium of Advanced Studies, 2005): 1.

[288] The Masorah, though a much later project, reflects a very comprehensive and complete (not perfect) grasp of the textual relationships of the HB.

grasp of biblical texts, in either Hebrew or Greek,[289] means that there would also have been some tradition through which to understand the texts in question. A minimalist position would see the translator alone making sense of his passage. This would need to push aside all external influences and let the linguistic difficulty alone be the cause for the translator's struggle. But this situation does not appear realistic, and does, in fact, appear quite modern. A translator working in silo without appeal to any interpretative tradition spats of something like a Victorian ideal. Working away from this position would, instead, head towards a position that sees the translator working from within the confines and liberties of his interpretative tradition, something which he would have received from within his language community – those who translated the Septuagint. This other position appreciates the translator's setting by highlighting that the translators already knew their Hebrew texts, and probably quite well, so that when it came to translate them the *difficult* texts were little surprise.[290] Difficult and easy passages were both foreknown to some degree in Hebrew before the act of translation. The attempt to make sense of difficult passages would not have been an isolated event at the point of the first creation of the translation. Rather, the translators' activity would be a direct line into the tradition, or, the translation is an expression of the tradition – how it was interpreted, so that the text as a whole, clear and unclear *sentences*, reflects the complete interpretation. Thus the implementation of literalistic and non-literalistic categories is how the interpretation is meant to be rendered in textual form.

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[289] This would naturally depend on the timing of the translated books so that there would have been an increasing number of books that a scribe would have come to learn in both languages.

[290] I accept as axiomatic that these individuals were keenly aware of what their texts said before they ever sat down to translate them. I also suggest that parts of these texts were very well-known to the translators, so much so that some would likely have known sections off by heart. These were in no way professional translators in the modern sense.

So why is it that these interpretational details only arose when the translator "slipped" up or the task of translation "broke down?" Formal adherence to interlinearity seems to be the reason for this. Because IP argues for a complete model through which to understand the nature of Septuagintal literalism it self-consciously pushes the exegete away from interpretational features that are generated apart from the linguistics of the source. IP is a model of literalism and provides a control for the exegete.[291] Therefore, if we think of the technique in terms of a wave, when the flat surface of the text leaves the structure of literalism and appears to do so apart from error in the translational process, one is compelled to see the translator's interpretational hand, and thus rises and falls away from the normal ebb and flow. This occurs often with semantic choice, although there is evidence of syntactical reorganisation. How the translator read the complete text is indicative of how he translated it altogether. The IP cannot sufficiently explain the non-literal components of the Septuagint.

Paradigm X

Non-literal Text

Textual Surface

Normative Limits of Interlinearity (Literalism)

Non-literal Text
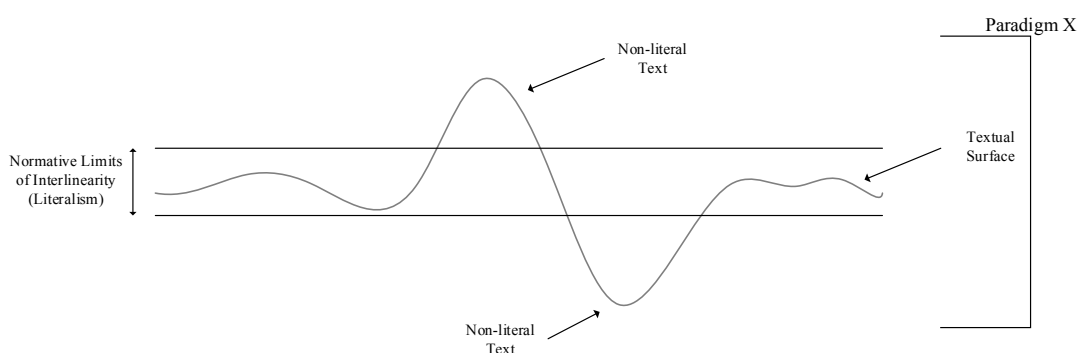
figure 3

As I noted above, a form of literalism was clearly employed by the translators. I am sympathetic to calling this text-production, viz. when the translator crafted his work, and employed literalistic categories, that was a form of textual production, which occurred within his life situation, and was related to the purpose of his activity – these things holding true. But where I find myself taking leave of this text-production concept is of the degree by which translator's may have been involved in interpretation of their texts and that of composition. True, if we are set within the frame of formal correspondence then the amount of composition that one is going to see is next to nil.

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[291] Boyd-Taylor, "An Ear for an Eye," 127.

But as Pietersma quite rightly points out, let the evidence take us where it leads through an inductive analysis. Let the evidence provide the bricks and mortar for the paradigm or model so that we can accurately speak of this or that translator's style. When the flat surface of the text departs from the literalistic categories, apart from error or an alternate base text, then the paradigm must be able to explain it, not explain it away. The problem that faces the present exegete is whether or not the model, so conceived, is pushing aside evidence of compositional features simply because it is assumed, viz. already decided before hand because of the evidence of other relevant data, that that the translators could or would not interpret beyond the clause-level, or even ornament their texts. What the translators did appears to not conform entirely to formal correspondence, or to dynamic equivalence or to interlinearity. Their system is, from the evidence I demonstrate in this thesis, altogether theirs. It looks much more like a tradition of interpretation and of translation.

In the case of interpretation of a text we do find interpretational activity that is not caused by the linguistics of the source. Aside from more compositional literature (i.e. Job, Proverbs) or extended texts (e.g. Esther), most of this activity is said to reside on the clause-level. As for ornamentation of the text, which refers to the use of Greek rhetorical and poetical devices, Pietersma has perfunctorily dismissed such evidence as "a coincidence."[292] Dealing with a theory of human cognition would certainly takes us far afield. But I hasten to suggest that, so Longacre, there are no un-motivated choices in verbal communication.[293] Translators made the texts they desired. This also seems to be agreed. What I further add is that this desire to ornament the text can be discerned within the corpus as non-accidental or coincidental.

2.4.4 Text-X: Read & Received

The translators had a specific method that they used in their translations. The vast majority of Septuagintal scholarship has focused on the kind of literalism that they employed as a way to explain the technique. What I suggest is that conformity to an ancient kind of literalism was a part of the translators' technique that included their reading tradition, so that interpretational elements, changes away from the general

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[292] Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 309.
[293] Robert E. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse* (2nd ed.; New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 30-31.

approach, are to be considered just as intentional and therefore part of the applied technique. The interpretation did not inhibit the ability to render a section because of adherence to literalism, nor were lapses in the task like unexpected golden nuggets for the modern exegete. The text was crafted with every bit of intention as we would expect from a trained scribe. The interpretational parts inhered the interpretative tradition, rather than over-emphasising a translator's personal proclivities. The general literalistic approach was common to the translators, and we can detect the stylistic approach of each via the distinct linguistic patterns to each author, which for some included compositional elements (rhetoric).

Moreover, in order to find the translator's intentions or theology one is not limited to the points of translational breakdown – conformity to literalism. Although this occurs at such points,[294] it is not fundamental to gain a vantage into the translator's theological perspective. Rather, all of these elements are necessary into finding this out. The most fruitful area here is that of semantics.

The problem that faces the Septuagintal exegete when following literalism is that contextual changes are discovered in the pluses and minuses with the aligned texts, working along an x- or y-axis. It tacitly supports a model of interlinearity, which is a hermeneutical and heuristic tool that cannot explain the compositional and interpretational elements of the complete textual set.[295] Any interpretation is relegated to this area of comparison (often classed as contextual exegesis). It misses the fact that the interpretation of the proto-MT is located in the OG as the OG, and the translation holistically incorporated literalism as a facet of the technique. The semantic departures and syntactical reorganisations (away from literalism) must then also be considered as equally intentional as literalism. We do not find the interpretational features when literalism broke down, viz. the translator slipped up, just like we do not find non-interpreted features when the translator was literalistic. And the greater the semantic departure from the source the more we see exegesis, which is couched in the literal

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[294] See exegesis in chp 4.

[295] On the level of interpretation within the Septuagint, using the Psalter as an example, Pietersma concludes that changes may occur on the clause-level, but not sentence. His example of paragraph level interpretation is actually pertaining to a thematic interpolation of an explanatory superscription. The sum of his close exegesis of the superscriptions in the Psalter is that interlinearity explains why there is very little interpretation. It was almost impossible because of the nature of the horizontal and vertical alignment of the parent and target texts. Cf. Boyd-Taylor, ed. *A Question of Methodology*, 214-227.

framework. The capacity of the translator to perform his task as part of his pre-existing understanding indicates something of his interpretative and reading tradition.

This tradition can be, first, identified in the translator's semantic choices, which can be conceptualised as working in a z-axis. Alternate word choices (including stereotypes) provided a conceptual and meaningful line of departure from the parent text. The morphosyntactic choices were limited by a horizontal linguistic boundary.[296] The grammatical strictures were overcame in the textual transformation via semantic shifts, variance in domains of meaning, even between synonyms.[297] The different words would have had degrees of linguistic register, which would have arisen from within the language community's handling of it. Moreover, certain word choices would also make additional connections to thematic elements from within the biblical corpus and that of the literature of the period.[298] The translator would only have employed a free technique within the confines of his understanding of the text, so that, so Tov, those things that "called to mind"[299] ideas from the ST in the process of translation, would correspond to the interpretative tradition in the world-of-the-translator. But this was not "any idea,"[300] but ideas generated from within that socio-cultural context in which was a habit of reading and interpretation. Chapters three and four of this thesis demonstrate this.

As it is true that words between languages only approximate their synonym, when the common semantic domain to each is too distant or entirely other than the expected equivalent, viz. to evoke the same/similar emotion or idea in the new culture, then one must consider the degree of intention behind it. Such translational semantic shifts

Semantic Relationship Z-Axis

Semantic Freedom / Domain of Interpretation in Word Choice

←Interference—
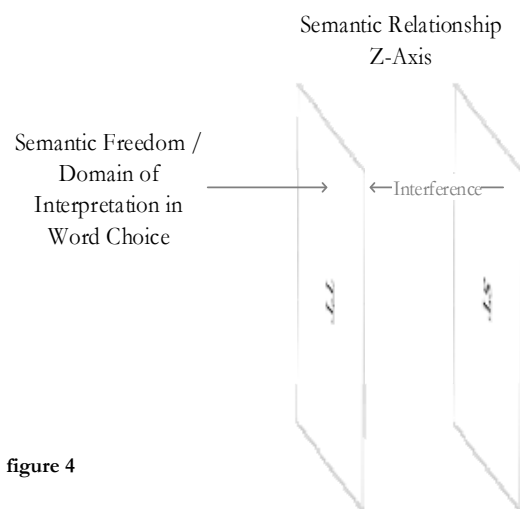
figure 4

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[296] The vertical dimension exists for any translation, being in some way formed by its parent.

[297] The instance of the first translation (LXX) would create an interpretational base for later works, both in style but also in semantics, so that each successive instance of a translation further limited the freedom of a tradition. It would then be necessary to make a hard break from an interpretational mould, for which we have evidence (i.e. 8HevXIIgr, s, a), in order to re-interpret what had been done.

[298] See secion 4.5 on phantasia.

[299] Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX*, 45-46.

[300] Ibid.

indicate the translator's interpretation or alternate reading – exegesis – of his text.[301] This is also marked in some degree by the reorganisation of syntax against the translator's normative use of literalism, which shows change on the horizontal level. This may be due to a variety of factors, such as, for example, the translator's approach to make his clauses grammatical in light of textual obscurity. Now, when such things are combined we find those windows through which we can see the translator's ideological world.

So, the Hebrew text would have been handled in a very specific way within this scribal community. Having been studied in the reading of these texts, when it came to translate them there would have been a significant degree of interference from the reading tradition of the time. This context would have been a very strong interpretational mould. What the text meant to the translator is what it likely meant to the language community in which it was translated. They were, then, the first recipients of it. At each stage of completion for each book, the first recipients are the scribal community. The OG text is the interpretation, or acceptable translation, of the reading tradition of the community of each book that was translated. To paraphrase Aitken, how one reads a text is indicative of how one would translate it; how one interprets a text is indicative of how one would translate it. The multiplication of translators would then also invoke diversity of style, pushing the transformational bounds. When one speaks of what something meant to a translator one is (perhaps unconsciously) reaching into the reading and interpretative tradition of the community and that of the translator. The first reader, the translator, of the text then rendered a text that was acceptable within the reading community. As a conduit of the tradition it would be stylised with his personal touch, but must by and large carry the purport of the interpretation at the time.

The translation is therefore the textual rendering of the interpretation of the reading tradition. The vocal reading of the Hebrew teaching in the Greek language was rendered into the textual form. The interpretational features are then not entirely free, because this is reflective of the meaning of the source. It attributes too much to a translator's personal liberties. Certainly, these things have free aspects, but the impetus and result is not. The translator is not freely – personally – drawing out the meaning but conveying what the text meant within the community of which he was a part. In

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[301] See chp 3 on the use of Aramaic and interpretation.

fact, the task of improvisation, which is closer to Boyd-Taylor's description of when the task "broke down," is closer to free. This is when the translator worked harder to render those things that might have been more difficult.

The translator of the Twelve clearly stood in a very similar tradition to that of the earliest translators. The so-called strangeness of the Greek was appreciated by him. This transformation process encompassed exegetical elements alongside of errors and improvisation. Taken together we can begin to see what the translator understood of his text. Those interpretational features may, depending on the kind, connect with the improvised or error-wrought ones. In the mind of the translator there would have been a degree of coherence of the textual set, from the semantics to the clause structure to that of the paragraph.[302] This would likely not have been wide-scale, but as is demonstrated in chapter four, the best explanation for a consistent pattern of change.[303]

As the translator is also not really an author, exegesis in this translational activity should not be confused with authorship, itself bound to the concept of authorial intent. In this context, when I speak of exegesis, I am referring specifically to the activity of the translator to draw out the meaning of the text as it made sense to him within his language community. It was not a hostile activity, as if playing fast and loose with the text. It was quite simply the fruit of the translator's understanding of it. Now, as explained above, this would often occur with difficult passages where it appears that literalism was not meant to be followed by the translator.

With respect to the evidence for demonstrating features of rhetoric the stakes are a little higher.[304] Said negatively, it would probably be imprudent to sift the Septuagint to seek patterns of vowel or consonant rhyming and then arguing that such things were worked into the text for the purpose of textual ornamentation. Euphony exists naturally in most highly developed languages, especially in extended prose. It does not evade the intention to use certain words that sound well together. But prosaic patterns using particular words does not prove a poetic preoccupation for a passage. Therefore, there needs to be some restriction on the determination of rhetorical features in the

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[302] It could be that the rhetorical features that came into existence not through literalism but through literary composition – be it small – would then have also been considered acceptable within the confines of the present view of literalism. They were within acceptable parameters of the translational tradition. They fit within their paradigm.

[303] Exegesis of the prophet Ambakoum, pp. 135-148.

[304] See pp. 78-105 for the use of rhetoric in the Ambakoum.

Septuagint. This is even more so for those parts of it that indicate a high level of literalism.[305]

Because the use of rhetorical devices is normally associated with the authorial act of literary composition, it is necessary to establish how to discern such things in the translational literature of the Septuagint.[306] I offer two fundamental premises by which one can examine whether the textual evidence in the Septuagint can be considered an intentional effort to use rhetoric. First, the device must be shown to have been chosen in rejection of literalistic and non-rhetorical choices. It cannot be generated by the ST. Because of the nature of the literalism used, which significantly impedes natural Greek literary composition, it has to be shown that the device replaced any set of literal choices. This must, therefore, appeal to what we know of our categories of literalism. When morphological, or even syntactic, choices reject literal ones, which must be consistent with the overall style of the translator in question,[307] there is then a basis upon which to discuss the use of rhetoric.

This is in concert with the second premise, which is a semantic shift away from the Hebrew semantics. This is also key. Hence it is not any semantic shift but one that occurs with the above first point. The meaning of the passage is altered and there is the clear play on sound. The meaning does not need to be greatly affected, but it must be demonstrated that other choices were rejected that would have been more centred in the domain of meaning with that of the source word – a rejection of a literal word choice. This should, where possible from evidence, be demonstrated to be inconsistent with the translator's style. For example, in 1:8 the translator has made choices away from *expected* literal ones. In conjunction with semantic shifts, we find that the translator has employed a pleasant device of alliteration, which marks for the reader

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[305] Whether or not the rhetorical devices were part of the interpretative tradition is hard to distinguish. The rhetorical features that are present might point more towards the translator's stylistic hand rather than the tradition. They are, to borrow Aejmelaeus' term, like his fingerprints. As the translation is consonant with the tradition – the earliest readers content to accept its features – it is unclear to what degree the rhetorical features are the translator's salting of his production, or reflective of his interpretative community. Yet in either case, the features reflect the socio-cultural interpretative work of at least the translator in rejection of other linguistic choices.

[306] The use of rhetorical devices must be cultural situated so that the kind of devices, and appreciation of them, at a given point in time is also true.

[307] This particular detail may be much more difficult to establish when multiple hands can be detected in a work.

the actions of the Chaldeans in their conquest.[308] One could say that the end-rhyming of the Hebrew is changed to alliteration in the Greek:

Hab 1:8		Amb 1:8
וקלו מנמרים סוסיו	aA	καὶ ἐξαλοῦνται ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις **οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ**
וחדו מזאבי ערב	aB	καὶ ὀξύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας
ופשו פרשיו	bA	καὶ ἐξιππάσονται **οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ**
ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו	bB	καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν

There are nine examples of different kinds of rhetoric in the short book of Ambakoum that were generated by the translator's appreciation of Greek euphony. This indicates the meagre compositional nature to the text. It is like a layer of icing within a cake, it does not define the cake, i.e. that the Septuagint was compositional in nature, but that such things exist within it. Now while this was caused by the translator's artistic style it cannot be defined as the total sum of the translator's style. It would lead the exegete away from the translator's overall style, away from those features that are brought over into the TT through his grasp of serial and morphemic fidelity. His literalism, viz. those translated features that were caused by Hebrew interference, also created rhetorical devices that would have been appreciated by recipients of the text. The combined value of these features make up part of the translator's style though they have different causes, being motivated by different concepts of how to read and translate the text. Both literalism and compositional intent caused the appearance of rhetorical devices in the TT.

It would seem more probable that the reason behind the rhetorical devices is to lift the literary quality of the text in those places where there was freedom to do so. As can be seen in a handful of instances within Ambakoum, this occurs when there is a textual difficulty. It supports the translators' appreciation for such things, reflecting his training and background, but unlikely to provide a premise for an independent reading of the rendered product.

2.4.4.1 On Acceptability

Acceptability refers to a translated text that is considered acceptable within a target culture. As Toury puts it, "when a text is offered as a translation, it is quite readily

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[308] See p. 88 for a complete exegesis of this example.

accepted bona fide as one…"[309] The nature of the text reflects the acceptance of the host target culture; he further states that, "translations be regarded as facts of the cultures that would host them…these are constituted within the target culture and reflect its own systemic constellation."[310] The important thrust of DTS is that it seeks to explain how and why a translated product exists, not the acceptance by way of its reception, which is akin to clearly delineating the difference between the text that was produced and the text that was received. Employing the descriptive framework of DTS does not, of course, prove a theory of Septuagintal literalism; it provides a framework in which data may be interpreted according to certain norms. Thus as we turn to discuss acceptability of the Septuagint we must be concerned with the acceptability of the product as an act of translation, "for its own purposes."[311]

Toury provides three different modes by which translations come into existence: linguistically-motivated, textually-dominated, and literary.[312] In the first two modes there is a degree of source interference, whereas in the latter the target text is rendered entirely with a view to the literary tastes and structures of the target culture. These modes do not tell us exactly in which mode the Septuagintal translators operated. The work of determining the nature of Septuagintal texts is very much a bottom up approach. It must be ascertained "from the character of a specific text, not from translating as a verbal behaviour."[313] An examination of the Septuagint gives us the necessary data to understand what mode or slot in the schema makes the most sense, which, in turn, provides us added insight into the pursuit of explaining what the style of the translators was. This is "mandated by the constitutive character of the text."[314]

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[309] Toury, *DTS - and beyond*, 20.

[310] Ibid., 18.

[311] Ibid., 203.

[312] Ibid., 201-3. In the first case, the target product is "well-formed in terms of the target syntax, grammar and lexicon, even if it does not fully conform to any target model of text formation." In the second, the product is "well-formed in terms of general conventions of text formation pertinent to the target culture even if they do not conform to any recognizable literary model of it," and lastly, literary composition, "involves the imposition of 'conformity conditions' beyond the linguistic and/or general-textual ones, namely, to models and norms which are deemed literary at the target end." Pietersma rightly indicates that in the case of literary composition Toury makes no "overt mention of interference from the source text." Pietersma, "Translating a Translation," 171.

[313] Pietersma, "Translating a Translation," 181.

[314] Ibid.

I think Pietersma is probably correct that there is no "bone of contention in our discipline"[315] on whether the Septuagint shows evidence of both negative and positive transfer. The reasons for the acceptability of these things as part of the translator's mode of translation is debatable. In light of the research here, I suggest that the interpretative features, rendered as textual phenomena, cohere with the pattern of literalism, so that the overall paradigm of explanation incorporates both. This is not a matter of free versus literal. In a number of instances the evidence of an interpretative bent is more than just fulfilling the desire to willingly produce the "kind of text he [the translator] did."[316] Of course this would have happened in instances where the translator "slipped," as Boyd-Taylor suggests, but that in a number of instances we can detect the translator's immediate and overall understanding of the text.

Therefore, translational acceptability must encompass the reading tradition of at least the translator. This takes us behind, or before, the three categories of linguistic, textual and literary acceptability. The act of making a linguistically acceptable text that shows a "relatively high tolerance"[317] for source language interference must have been framed within a reading tradition. This language community probably interpreted the texts in the target language by appeal to the source text beforehand. The textual make-up of the target text did not catch the translator(s) off guard.[318] Hence, the interpretational – perhaps corrective – elements would have been part of that reading. The linguistic mode offered by DTS seems the most accurate, yet it begs one to consider whether the literary mode may have been used at times, so that both modes worked together at times.

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[315] Ibid., 171.

[316] Ibid., 175.

[317] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 359.

[318] Boyd-Taylor notes that "the translators evidently made little attempt to assimilate the word order of the Hebrew to Greek norms. Rather, what has happened is that a formal feature of the source text, i.e. its word order, was permitted to govern the selection of target constituents in such a way that rules hitherto unknown to the target language came into play." This valid point then asks us to examine why these came into existence. The self-conscious approach of the translators most likely indicates that this was the correct or normative way to translate this particular text, including the interpretational features. The burden of proof that the translators did not properly understand their texts lies with the exegete. Cf. Ibid., 377.

2.4.4.2 On The Independence of the Septuagint

Was the Septuagint initially intended to replace the reading of the Hebrew Bible? Unfortunately, the nature of the question naturally only leaves open one answer: yes it was, which is advocated by many of the French school (BdA); and no, it was not, which is the position of those that adhere to IP. As Boyd-Taylor explains, "[t]hat the Septuagint was designed to occupy the place of its parent is not only improbable, it is inconsistent with the constitutive character of the texts themselves."[319] Part of this assumption is that it may have been believed to have not been possible for it to replace the parent text, as "inadequacy as something that was assumed from the start."[320] The assumption of IP drives this view. There can be no middle ground because of the nature of the question.

The problem that faces the view that supports the Septuagint being read as an independent literary artefact is that the text is, though grammatical, not literary per se. This is a main point of contention by IP. The point is that only literary compositions would be intended to be read on their own because that is how such things were appreciated in antiquity.[321] A non-literary text would have been unsuitable to read on its own. Assertions for the independent reading of the Septuagint often stem from the context of text-reception, viz. consideration given to how later recipients, in particular the early church and its fathers, handled the Septuagint.

I do not think anyone in the field disagrees that the Septuagint in time came to be read independently. The question is more to do with the timing of it, which is compounded by use of the term "Septuagint." If the independent reading occurred fairly quickly, how quickly? Scholars from both sides indicate it was adopted as a replacement early on. Was it in place after the Pentateuch but before the Twelve or Isaiah? What of the other Major Prophets? Was it in place before the shaping and translation of the Psalter? An answer at any one juncture affects much with respect to the translational approach in earlier and later books. Some books of the Septuagint are suggested to have not been translated until the turn of the millennium.[322] That would not be a quick turn-around for an independent reading tradition. Should this, then,

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[319] Ibid., 340.

[320] Ibid.

[321] Ibid., 341-52.

[322] Cf. Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 111.

indicate that the subservient reading might have been true only for LXX but not for the Septuagint as a whole?

If the LXX came to be read independently soon after it was created, then the *modus operandi* of the later translators would not have been one of interlinearity – if that is correct –, but of conformity to a translational tradition. They would have been shaped by the tradition in which they were trained. The reading tradition was in part merged with a translational tradition that was handed down. The culture that "would host" target texts of the Septuagintal sort would have been already shaped by the textual phenomena of the Pentateuch. This point still mostly pertains to the reception of the later translations, it delves into text-reception of the Septuagintal books, rather than how the entire body of work was considered. If this is correct, then what can be said of the Pentateuch, being read independently at the point of its invention? The bottom line is that we do not know. The argument that this can be accurately derived from the constitutive character of the Septuagint is shown by Joosten to assume too much. The argument ought to at least spiral forward, rather than remain circular.[323]

The historical motion toward an independent reading might circumstantially indicate that this was true from the start. Yet, I am more inclined to see both equally read together, which may have given the Septuagint the air under its wings in the first place to be later read on its own. Why must the Septuagint replace the Hebrew straightaway, or even that quickly? If the Septuagint is non-literary and a necessary crib for getting at the Hebrew then its quick development into an independently read body of literature seems a little more than out of dissonance with its originally intended purpose, something which would have always be rather apparent. But, instead, what may have been a real importance is the interpretation of the Hebrew. This is located in the translation of the Septuagint. By reading the Septuagint alongside of the Hebrew the reader has in textual form the interpretation of his language community. While the source interference may in part explain the linguistic make-up of the Greek text, its place within the community that translated it would have been paramount because it was the textual form of their interpretative tradition. A position in subservience to the source would then have made little sense.

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[323] The proof that the Septuagint was not intended to be read independently is determined by its constitutive character; the constitutive character of the Septuagint proves that it was meant to be read subservient to the Hebrew text, not independently.

2.5 Conclusion

Literalism is, therefore, an insufficient term to explain the translational style of Ambakoum in particular. It implies a polarised system, where degrees of literal renderings can be understood in relation to those categorised as free, or vice versa. It also unwittingly instills ideas of faithfulness that do not square with the evidence. The categories of literalism offered by Barr and Tov most certainly explain some of the aspects of the overall style. Yet there are other numerous textual changes that are best explained through a number of different causes. These are not free. As IP is a heuristic tool for literalism it also falls short of explaining such evidence. For example, when a translator reads connective particles differently across sentence boundaries this is not a free approach.[324] Nor is the clarification of an antagonist through addition of a phrase not free – it is essential to understand the text.[325] The interpretations of Ambakoum do not indicate a liberal and unfettered free hand, nor one of interlinearity.

These things are explained in the subsequent chapters. A detailed analysis of the Greek rhetoric, linguistic adaptations and theology of the book are developed in the following two chapters. The application of this method in the following chapters demonstrates that OG was the textual fruit of a language community's reading tradition.

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[324] See p. 146-148 and pp. 156-164.
[325] See pp. 118-119.

3.0 Greek Rhetoric and Linguistic Transformations

3.1 Introduction

"All acts of communication are acts of translation."[326]

There are numerous rhetorical devices and stylistic features in the translation of Ambakoum. The translator's style may be deduced from the combination of these features and the literalistic ones. The present chapter explores these elements more closely, also placing them within their historical context. These studies show the nature of the translator's decisions at different points of his work. Like a craftsman, he decked his literature with some rhetoric. He showed consideration for the poetic genre, used inventive phrases and subtly introduced new themes. These kinds of stylistic proclivities occurred within a fairly high quantitative representation of words to the ST.

What is also clear is that such things occur with and without correspondence to Hebrew poetics. While it is true that his fidelity to a kind of literalism generated rhetorical features, this is not always the case. In numerous instances an appeal to the ST cannot explain the semantic and morphological linguistics of the TT. They touch upon literary composition, and not by accident. Drawing out the translator's particular style is crucial to help provide a basis upon which to then demonstrate the translator's understanding of his text. As this venture transpired in the early part of the second century in Alexandria, this trained scribe would have been inculcated within a Jewish Hellenistic scribal system.

3.2 Uses of Greek Rhetoric

This discussion of rhetoric within the Septuagint texts must, by first order, distinguish between an oral or high-form of rhetoric that was developed significantly by Plato with respect its use by a professionally trained orator,[327] and that of written

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[326] Biguenet and Schulte, eds., *The Craft of Translation*, ix.

[327] Today's system of rhetoric (ῥητορική) has developed much beyond its conception by Plato in the fourth century (Kennedy) Although forms of rhetoric existed earlier, with Hermes considered the inventor, so Pernot, Plato's stern criticism led to a change in the nature of it. His dialogues (*Gorgias*, *Menexenus*, *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*) significantly developed its definition and application, such that later systems would borrow heavily from him, and to some extent also Aristotle. Later sophists would focus more on style and communicative form. The importance of truth became garbed in the "expression

composition, which is the employment of euphony in a literary form. Increased use of euphony was especially true in literature of the last three-centuries B.C., where "much Greek and Latin literature is overtly rhetorical in that it was composed with a knowledge of classical rhetorical theory and shows its influence."[328] Moreover, the dispersive spread of Greek literature and thought meant that other cultures, absorbed into this milieu, began to literarily contribute, having been studied in the forms.[329] Pernot goes so far as to state that "[l]a constitution de la rhétorique en systeme est la grande creation de l'époque hellénistique."[330]

There has always existed some negative connotations to the uses of rhetoric, which has been concerned mostly with the motivation behind this art of persuasion, or whether it is done well. The Greek system of rhetoric affected numerous European cultures, and its expression can be observed in different ways within each of them today. It may be positively defined as a system "of effective and artistic composition, whether in speech or in writing, originally concerned with public address in civic and religious life…[and] adapted to literary composition, including poetry, and letter-writing."[331]

Not many ancient translations into Greek have survived when compared to Latin. Although van der Louw notes a handful of important translations, such as the Imuthes-Asclepius and the Tefnut legend,[332] the Septuagint is the largest body of Ptolemaic Greek along with thousands of documents and ostraca from the Koine period.[333] As a result, it provides evidence of the "Greek Koine spoken and written within the

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of emotion," which became known as poetry and rhetoric. This was not to detract from logical coherence. Truth conveyed in words, which was often concerned with what they denoted as expressions of reality, could be "shared or strengthened by way of persuasion" (van der Louw). Cf. George A. Kennedy, "Historical Survey of Rhetoric," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3-20; Laurent Pernot, *La Rhétorique* (Paris: Librarie Générale Française, 2000), 13-23, 54-77; Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 27, 29.

[328] George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4.

[329] See Pernot, *La Rhétorique*, 82-83; John Vanderspoel, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in Theory and Practice," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* (ed. Ian Worthington; Chichester: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 124.

[330] Pernot, *La Rhétorique*, 83.

[331] Kennedy, "Historical Survey of Rhetoric," 5.

[332] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 32-35.

[333] See Francis T. Gignac, "The Papyri and the Greek Language," in *Papyrology* (ed. Naphtali Lewis; YCS 28; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 155.

confines of Egypt,"[334] reflecting something of the dialect of Egyptian Greek literature. Moreover, as "one of the first major work[s] of Hellenistic Judaism,"[335] it is "(possibly) the largest work of translation literature from antiquity."[336] By virtue of this it provides insight into "developments within the Greek language,"[337] offering a window into the "bilingual interference in one branch of a language widely adopted by speakers of other tongues."[338] As a translational work, showing the nature of "sub-literary Greek that demonstrates the complexities of Greek register,"[339] its value is too often overlooked by scholars of related fields. The significance of the Septuagint situated within Hellenistic Judaism is hard to overstate.

Some years ago Aitken showed that translators were concerned with ensuring that their translated texts possessed a degree of literary quality, emulating in some measure the rhetorical devices of natural Greek literature – even in a very *literal* translation.[340] As Dines also recently noted "the importance of euphony and variety in a text is stressed in manuals of Greek rhetoric and it is hard to imagine that these well-established norms did not affect his [i.e. the translator's] work."[341] What may be observed in this study is that the translator of the Twelve, Ambakoum in particular, creatively captured the meaning and general thrust of his ST while also working Greek rhetorical devices into the TT. These devices were caused by different aspects of the translator's style.

It is encouraging that in recent years scholars have begun to point out that the Septuagint shows evidence of these literary devices.[342] Although presentation of this

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[334] Ibid.

[335] James K. Aitken, "February 8th is 'International Septuagint Day'," Facebook entry on Aitken's timeline, entry posted 7th February, 2013, https://www.facebook.com (accessed 9th June, 2014).

[336] Ibid.

[337] Gignac, "The Papyri and the Greek Language," 155.

[338] Ibid.

[339] Aitken, "'International Septuagint Day'."

[340] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," 55-77.

[341] Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?" 410. The discussion by van der Louw on the nature and function of rhetoric in the Roman Period also supports this point, see Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 35-46.

[342] There are a handful of recent works in the use of Greek rhetoric throughout literal-translated texts of the Septuagint: Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," 55-77; James K. Aitken, "The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch," in *On Stone and Scroll* (eds. James K. Aitken, Katherine J. Dell, and Brian A. Mastin; Berlin: De Grutyer, 2011), 507-21; Eberhard Bons, "Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 69-79; Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a

evidence is not a new venture,[343] it is gaining the attention it deserves. This might be because of the moors that have historically bound the reading of the Septuagint to the Hebrew are being let go. When the TT is set free in this respect the features are quite observable, and appear to be present so that the text may communicate on its own two feet.[344] This does raise a methodological question, however. Although these things may have been appreciated by the recipients of the text, to what extent can such things be attributed to the production of the work, and away from the grammatical and semantic structures of the ST?

Some Hebrew phonological connections were matched by Greek rhetorical devices. Yet in a number of instances the translator introduced devices that were not generated from the presence of Hebrew poetics, nor from the accidence of the words. His disconformity to literalism is demonstrated in these instances. This could indicate that the translator of Ambakoum was aware of both linguistic and literary distinctions in both languages. It is unclear whether he understood such literary features of the ST to heighten its meaning.[345] But what is apparent is that he sought to, for example, match lexical variations, use paronomasia and alliterate clauses in order to embellish the text in rejection of so-called literalistic choices. It is in the instances where the translator deviates from the pattern of literalism that such features are evident. This is not always due to some sort of textual problem.[346] In a number of instances, the choice of alternate words, which must consider the semantics and morphosyntax, instead of more literalistic ones, especially those that introduce rhetorical devices, indicates that the

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Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?" 397-411; Jennifer M. Dines, "Stylistic Invention and Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of the Twelve," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 23-48; Jan Joosten, "Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint: The Case of Grammatical Variation," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 11-22. Aitken also mentions a handful of scholars of the past century that have also pointed to this same kind of literary feature, see Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 7.

[343] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 7.

[344] Harl is right to ask rhetorically: "Ceux d'entre nous qui considèrent la LXX seulement comme une traduction hésitent à chercher dans elle des traits stylistiques propres. Mais si l'on est persuadé que toute traduction est à son tour « texte », pourquoi ne pas observer les « effets » de ce texte ?" See Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante*, 265-6.

[345] See Adele Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 1-10; 130-41.

[346] Boyd-Taylor distinguishes between literary composition and literary translation such that they exist as exclusive and different efforts of work, cf. Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun," 71-73.

translator was more compositional of his literature, while at the same time maintaining a high degree of serial fidelity. The combination of the translator's improvisation and contextual adaptation that produced rhetorical devices demonstrates an aspect of his style.

At this stage it is right to exclude from the translator's style those features that occurred as a result of following literalism, those features that were generated by the Hebrew syntax and accidence of words, which were appreciated by its recipients.[347] These translational phenomena are bound to the Hebrew on one level. It is only when Ambakoum is read as an independent literary artefact that the combination of all the devices creates a sense of general rhetorical play that could be appreciated by a later reader. This occurred despite the non-isomorphism of the languages. Although this can naturally occur between very different languages, such as the representation of repeated articles, pronouns, or case endings, etc., in some instances this is not possible, especially when the device is dependent on a language specific feature, e.g. a Hebrew sibilant, or an anaphoric repetition dependent upon a particular word. But the degree to which this would have been appreciated by the translator would have been less than the receiving audience of the text. He would have appreciated the borrowed euphony, but its significance to him would probably not have been great.

So, the translator was able to adapt his TT through selecting words that, although have less semantic correspondence (and sometimes none) with the ST, had register in the TL. Sometimes this is accomplished without great difference in the essential meaning of the text. When the text of Ambakoum is read in literary chunks these rhetorical features rise to the surface. Such appreciation for the nature of the TT is a mark of literary creativity amidst literalism. As van der Louw comments, "the task of *rhetoric* is to adorn the content in such a way that it will not only reach the addressee, but actually be effective with him."[348] The addressee in this case would have likely

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[347] The main reason behind this is that the authors (translators) were creating a particularly Greek text and sought to employ Greek rhetorical devices where possible. The reasons for the connections made in Heb. are different to those made in Greek even through the translational effort. The translators were concerned with the Greek design not the Heb. one, even though working within certain paradigms of meaning, which were restricted by an ancient concept of linguistic theory. This is in disagreement with the otherwise excellent article by Lee, cf. John A. L. Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament. I. Greek," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 2001); Joosten, "Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint," 16-17.

[348] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 39.

been the language community in which the translator worked. Such things would have appealed to them and have also been consonant with the interpretative tradition in place. After all, these structural cues were meant to be heard, being "intended for the ear, not the eye."[349] The implication is that in having made one specific set of choices the translator had rejected others, ones that were literalistic, per se. And those rejected choices do not bear the marks of rhetorical play, as is shown in the following analysis. In the cases were the translator was not improvising we are then confronted with how the reading and interpretative tradition – noting its acceptability – sat behind the text.

3.2.1 Greek Rhetoric via Literary Composition

3.2.1.1 Variation

One well-known Greek rhetorical device is μεταβολή, or "elegant variation" (*variatio*) between connective parts of speech.[350] This is often (ironically) more obvious when compared to the ST because in every instance shown here the same Hebrew particle or adverbial construct is repeated. This occurs in a number of places within Ambakoum. First, in chapter one, the translator has alternated repetition of the Hebrew phrase עַל־כֵּן by use of διὰ τοῦτο and ἕνεκεν τούτου respectively:[351]

Hab 1:4		Amb 1:4
...עַל כֵּן	aA	**διὰ τοῦτο** διεσκέδασται νόμος
	aB	καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα
...כִי	bA	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον
...עַל כֵּן	bB	**ἕνεκεν τούτου** ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον

Similarly in chapter two, the translator has varied his choice for the Hebrew particle כִי. The translator could have easily re-used διότι (cf. Hos 4:1; 9:12; Nah 2:3; Zeph 3:8; Zech. 2:12-13; 3:8). The alternate choice indicates the translator was free to vary it.[352]

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[349] Paul Achtemeier, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109/1 (1990): 25.

[350] See Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament," 776.

[351] This kind of variation can also be observed by other translators. Sometimes διὰ τοῦτο is repeated, but more often, when עַל־כֵּן recurs in close proximity to itself, an alternate Greek rendering, e.g. ὅτι, is selected, i.e. Est 9:26; Isa 24:6; 30:16; 50:7; Jer 48:36.

[352] There is no evident pattern in the Twelve to indicate why the translator would specifically choose any combination of ὅτι and διότι for the translation of כִי, except that, quite simply, it is varied.

Hab 2:3-4a		Amb 2:3-4a
...כי	aA	**διότι** ἔτι ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν
	aB	καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας
	aC	καὶ οὐκ εἰς κένον
...הנה	bA	ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ ὑπομεινον αὐτόν
...כי	bB	**ὅτι** ἐρχόμενος ἥξει
	bC	καὶ οὐ μή χρονίσῃ

In another sweeping example, the translator chose to alternate הוי across chapter two, first with the less common οὐαί and then alternating with the general ὦ (2:6, 9, 12, 15, 19).[353] This consistent pattern indicates that the translator understood the broad literary comport of his TT. The interjectional particle forms the literary backbone of chapter two, each designed to introduce a calamity against the impious. The decision to switch between the synonymous Greek particles has literarily improved the TT.

3.2.1.2 Polyptoton (Variation of Forms)

The Greek rhetorical device of polyptoton (πολύπτωτος) is the repetition of variant forms of the same, or very similar, lexeme or root, through case or inflection, within the same sentence.[354] There are two such features of verbal variation in Ambakoum generated by the translator's stylistic adaption. The first example is in 2:16. Here two similar verbal words are used in parallel to explain the shaking that will occur to the scoffers. It is probable that the translator felt disconnected from the meaning of the word ערל (*to count as uncircumcised, show the foreskin*), perhaps due to the confusion of form (this is the only *nip'al* imperative). It may be that the translator improvised in order to make the text meaningful and clear, hence he used διασαλεύω followed by its

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[353] The likelihood that this is pattern of a larger chiastic pattern that extends from Amb 2:6 to Zech 2:18, as noted by Dines, is very low. The pattern here creates a chiasmus (ABAB´A´). The variation in Amb also exists in G^A where, if the interj. is not at the beginning of the physical line, a small space of about three to four letters sets off the start of the next woe intj. from the end of the previous text. This partly demonstrates the literary backbone of this section of the book, and also that the variation was appreciated by later copyists, not being altered back to a Heb. *Vorlage*. See Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?" 407; Dines, "Stylistic Invention in the Twelve," 40-41. And cf. Porter, review of Bons and Kraus, eds., 123.

[354] The device of anaphora (ἀναφορά or ἐφαναφορά) is not present in Amb. This is where a word(s) or verbal form(s) is repeated in any combination of *successive* phrases, clauses, sentences or lines, e.g. Ps 23:8.

much more common synonym σείω. These destructive passive words seem to indicate divine judgement. As semantics was the struggle here there is no alternative to demonstrate that other literal options were rejected. This *might* indicate a reading tradition for this uncommon word; the translator often rendered difficult parts of his text with such rhetorical features. He appears to implement compositional elements when he was freer with respective to literalism.[355]

Hab 2:16		Amb 2:16
שבעת קלון מכבוד שתה גם אתה	aA	πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σὺ
והערל	aB	καὶ **διασαλεύθητι** καὶ **σείσθητι**

The other example of this kind of variation is in 3:2. In this passage, which represents a bit of a textual enigma, the translator seems to have expanded his text for, what appears to be, theological reasons. The text has been expanded by three additional clauses, with modifications to another. The expansion of the text, not uncommon to the style in Ambakoum, was likely to disambiguate a reference to the LORD appearing in the temple at an appointed time. The use of γινώσκω followed by its cognate ἐπιγινώσκω, especially in light of the textual expansion, is a very clear use of polyptoton.

Hab 3:2		Amb 3:2
בקרב שנים חייהו	aA	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων **γνωσθήσῃ**
בקרב שנים תודיע	aB	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη **ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ**
	aC	ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ

3.2.1.3 Assonance, Consonance and Alliteration

There are a number of Greek rhetorical devices that were similar in the way they sounded words together (συνήχησις). The idea here is that an echo can be heard between the parts of words as they are set together in clauses and across sentences.

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[355] Later witnesses indicate that σείω was preferred and διασαλεύω dropped (Field), though some retained both. The editors of DJD8 note that there is room for either word on that parchment. This indicates that later copyists and redactors did not intend to retain the rhetorical device in spite of remaining ignorance of the Hebrew word. Here, word correspondence was more important than meaning. It points to the translator's approach to this, which may further indicate a tradition of interpreting this part of the text. The repetition of destructive words in the passive is indicative of divine wrath. Cf. Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 103.

When this is done in near repetition, with the right cadence, there is a kind of harmony heard between the words. This can happen naturally or unintentionally. As Silk also points out, "recurrence over a longer space tends to be less perceptible; intermediate distractions similarly reduce perceptibility."[356] The "expressive function,"[357] unmediated by the ST, in brief recurrence is what I will show exists in Ambakoum. This strikes meaning and audible art to the hearer. The effect is pleasant to the ear, and often appears more interpretative.

The difference between consonance (consonant-rhyming), which "designates the repetition of the same or similar sequence of consonants with a change in the intervening vowels,"[358] and alliteration (παρήχησις) is that, in the latter, the phonetic connection is repeated at the beginning of a clause-initial word. Alliteration is clause initial dependent, being a class of "sound-patterning and sound-repetition."[359] Assonance is vowel-rhyming between two or more words, syllables or diphthongs in "nonrhyming stressed syllables near enough to each other for the echo to be discernible."[360]

In 1:4 the translator used a combination of compound verbs (διεσκέδασται and διεξάγεται) as part of the final point of the prophet's complaint. This consonantal alliteration is evident through the repetition of the conjunction διά. There may also have been an intent to link this device to the consonance heard with the word καταδυναστεύει, which is also not generated by the ST. Though as Silk points out, "There is usually no possibility of associating so many words and no incentive to decide which should be associated with which. The link, therefore, tends to involve simple alliteration."[361] Moreover, all of these words also reflect a rejection of other more standard words, viz. words that are usually used to translate these Hebrew ones.

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[356] M. S. Silk, *Poetic Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 174.

[357] Ibid., 176.

[358] T. V. F. Brogan, ed. *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 103-4.

[359] Silk, *Poetic Imagery*, 173.

[360] This term may sometimes refer to word-initial consonants that are unstressed, cf. Brogan, ed. *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms*, 12, 21.

[361] Silk, *Poetic Imagery*, 177.

Hab 1:4		Amb 1:4
על כן תפוג תורה	aA	διὰ τοῦτο **διε**σκέδασται νόμος
ולא יצא לנצח משפט	aB	καὶ οὐ **διε**ξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα
כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק	bA	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς κατα**δυ**ναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον
על כן יצא משפט מעקל	bB	ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον

In the first instance, the word διασκεδάζω does not correspond to the semantics of the word פוג, which means *grow numb, cold* or *be powerless (nipʿal)*.[362] The word διασκεδάζω is well-known and means to *scatter abroad [viz. far and wide]*.[363] Throughout the Septuagint פוג is never translated by a semantic equivalent, i.e. ψυχρόσαρκος (perhaps also ψυχρόομαι), ναρκάω or interpretatively for the *nipʿal*, ἀδυναμέω.[364] Due to the source word infrequency it is unclear whether or not the translator just guessed at its meaning, or if the Hebrew word had alternate interpretative choices at the time due, perhaps, to its obscurity.

Second, the translation of the very common word יצא is immediately peculiar. Within the Twelve, for example, it is commonly translated with expected equivalents, e.g. ἐξέρχομαι.[365] Elsewhere the Greek word διεξάγω never translates this Hebrew word, which is uncommon to the Septuagint, though very common in general. It has a variety of different meanings depending on context. The legal situation of the prophet's complaint may suggest use of its legal sense for which this word was sometimes used, meaning *to settle*, *bring to an end* or *be gone through*.[366] In context, the law, from the previous line, is paradigmatically related to the judgement in this line. The wicked oppress, καταδυναστεύω (not surround, כתר), the righteous.[367]

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[362] DCH notes that it is synonymous with דכה, meaning to be crushed. Cf. DCH, "פוג".

[363] See LSJM, "διασκεδάζω".

[364] It is likely that the word was "adapted" to the context. The translators likely had a way of handling it, which is evidentially interpretative, cf. Gen. 45:26; Pss 38:9; 77:3.

[365] Also ἐκπορεύομαι, ἐξάγω, and ἐκφέρω, *passim*.

[366] See LSJM, "διεξαγνέω".

[367] The word עשק is a better more literal source equivalent, meaning *to oppress* or *crush*, e.g. Hos 5:11; 12:8; Amos 4:1; Mic 2:2; Mic 7:10. The word καταδυναστεύω is used in reference to how rulers oppress their subjects, indicating the socio-judicial breakdown about which Ambakoum is complaining. It is a specific wide-scale problem. The more common συνέχω might have invoked too much ambiguity, having many different meanings, and seldom that of surround or encompass. Even the closer κυκλόω was rejected in favour of this interpretation of what it meant for the righteous to be surrounded and hemmed in: oppressed. This is evident from numerous passages, where καταδυναστεύω was chosen instead of obvious so-called literal equivalents in order to explain the passage, e.g. Exod 1:13; 21:16.

The choice of these two Greek verbal words (διασκεδάζω and διεξάγω) did not arise from the semantics of their corresponding Hebrew words. It may well be that the second word was styled on the free rendering of the first, which points to the interpretative origin of this approach. There were also very obvious alternative choices that would have agreed with a more so-called literalistic approach. If the translator had chosen the other options then alliteration between the words would have not existed. It marks a conscious choice by the translator to reject certain words in pursuit of those that enabled him to compose his literature with some rhetorical flourish. Moreover, the interpretative shift in the choice of such different words, with a relatively high degree of intent, points to an interpretative tradition of such a reading.

In the second example of 1:8 the euphony is heard in the consonantal alliteration of the first three lines, which appears as a switch from the end-rhyming in the ST (וְקַלּוּ ופָשׁוּ / וְחָדוּ). This is a good example of literary audible art. There is a clear attempt to make certain alliterative choices for the Hebrew words, which has also slightly altered the meaning of the passage of the TT.

Hab 1:8		Amb 1:8
וקלו מנמרים סוסיו	aA	καὶ ἐξαλοῦνται ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις **οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ**
וחדו מזאבי ערב	aB	καὶ ὀξύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας
ופשו פרשיו	bA	καὶ ἐξιππάσονται **οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ**
ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו	bB	καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν

First, the choice for ἐξάλλομαι is interpretative of קלל, which means *swift* or *light* in the *qal*. While the quality of levity could be interpreted as being able to *leap*, it is not within the semantic domain of קלל, whereas other descriptive words are, such as ἐλαφρός or κοῦφος.[368] The later version of 8ḤevXIIgr changed this to the latter

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This is a clear example of how variant semantic choice enables a translator to exegete his text while conforming to his form of literalism. So, in this passage, law and justice appear to have been banished from the court at the whim of a specific judge (τὸ κρίμα), the article in the final line perhaps having a deific function.

[368] There is also the metaphorical sense of heaviness in relation to honourableness, where being dishonoured is understood as being lightened, cf. 1 Sam 2:30 use of ἀτιμόω. This word is more suitable for the translation of swift, rather than leap, which is more interpretative in OG, cf. 2 Sam 2:18; Ecc 9:11; Isa 5:26; 18:2; 19:1; 30:16; Jer 26:6 [46:6]; Lam 4:19. Also ὀξέως, which is used in Joel 4:4; Amos 2:15. Also, but not contextually relevant (horses don't run), δρομεύς, cf. Amos 2:14. Another option is ἐλαφρός, cf. Job 24:18. Jer 2:23 – misreading for קול.

(κουφότεροι), which certainly cuts off the alliterative force of OG. Some of this might also have been affected by the interpretation of the prepositions. The Greek preposition (ὑπέρ) is best taken as comparative (מן) rather than spatial. His horses do not leap above, or higher than, leopards, but more than them.[369] Because of the verbal semantic shift the meaning is clearly altered away from MT. The same prepositional sense is also observed in the second clause.

The adjective in the following clause ὀξύς is semantically on target with חדד, both meaning sharp.[370] Thus having compared the Chaldeans to leopards, a comparison is then made with keenness of intellect (metaphorically sharper: ὀξύτεροι) and not speed. This is also grasped by the paradigmatic relationship of wolves and leopards, of which wolves are understood to be keener and leopards swifter.

Further elaboration continues in the succeeding two verses, where horses (ἵπποι) are paradigmatic to cavalry (ἱππεῖς). The final line is terse and epigrammatic, likely expanding the thought of cavalry coming from afar, rather than wolves, which are not known for long-distance ventures.[371] So the keenness of the wolves of Arabia should strike fear into the hearts of the would-be hearer.[372] The verbal predicate of the cavalry advance is פוש, which means to *skip about*,[373] *frisk* or *paw the ground* like an animal would.[374] It seems closer in meaning to ἐξάλλομαι rather than ἐξιππάζομαι, which

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[369] If the Heb. had a different verb it could have implied the sense of *higher than*, but then the translator would likely have used ἀπό instead, e.g. Job 35:5; Isa 55:9, 9, or rendered the clause adjectivally with ὑψηλός.

[370] It is unlikely that the translator read this as an adjective. Cleaver-Bartholomew argues that he overlooked the final *wāw* and read this as חַד. But, in so doing, he would have read it differently from every instance where this rare adjective exists in the MT. It is always vocalised with a final *hê*, חַדָּה (Isa 49:2; Ezek 5:1; Ps. 57:5; Prov 5:4). Cf. Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 119.

[371] The word ὁρμάω does refer metaphorically to quick striking animals, i.e. lions (Isa 5:29), which hasten to strike, to rushing waters (Josh 4:18) and also to people who rush (Gen 31:21; Num 17:7; Josh 6:5). But due to the adverb it seems more logical to make reference to the horsemen (locusts also act in this way, see Nah 3:16). Moreover, the translator has changed the word order of the final line, bringing the verbal predicate forward and omitted the subject in an effort to reduce repetition, which is entirely stylistic. It may have been to reduce the perceived repetition of words, cf. Jan Joosten, "A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetions," (eds. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; CXCII ed.; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 220. Gelston, BHQ, 115-6.

[372] See p. 125.

[373] DCH, "פוש I".

[374] Holladay, "פוש".

means *to ride out* – not a common word –, and much closer would be σκιπτάω, meaning *to skip*, or λεπτύνω, having the sense of beating something to a reduced state like winnowing or threshing.[375] The word פוש is translated differently by this translator in each instance of the Twelve (Nah 3:18, Mal 3:20),[376] to which it is almost exclusive, being found only once elsewhere (Jer 27:11). The word was known to the translator, see Mal 3:20, but, as Vienès points out, used differently in the other instances where it is found,[377] which in each case was contextually adapted – interpreted.

So, again, the translator has chosen an alternate word that does not mean the same thing as the Hebrew word. Moreover, this is combined with the literalistic choice for second clause. The change in 8ḤevXIIgr, ὁρμάω, meaning in this instance *to rush headlong*,[378] is the semantically *better* choice. But by choosing these words the translator of the Twelve has alliterated these three lines, repeating similar sounding word-initial syllables containing ξ, also offering a slightly more interpretative sense for the passage. The translator created a sort of rhetorical sandwich, a literal choice in the middle surrounded by compositional elements. It indicates his complete understanding of his text and ability to craft these together.

In 1:17 the use of ἀμφιβλήστρον for חרם is at first puzzling because the translator had in the previous verse made the closer semantic choice of σαγήνη for חרם (both meaning a *dragnet*).

Hab 1:17		Amb 1:17
העל כן יריק חרמו	aA	καὶ **ἀμφιβαλεῖ** τὸ **ἀμφιβλήστρον** αὐτοῦ
ותמיד להרג גוים לא יחמול	aB	καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀποκτέννειν ἔθνη οὐ φείσεται

However, when this is viewed from within the paradigm of Greek stylistic concern, the anaphoric relationship between the verbal word **ἀμφιβάλλω** and **ἀμφιβλήστρον** is apparent. What might appear on the surface to be a translational error looks like a subtle use of rhetoric. The choice was not generated by the semantics of the Hebrew word. It refers to a casting net, which in this verse amplifies the interpretation while offering an appreciable increase in alliteration, being measured across the first three

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[375] See LSJM, "λεπτύνω".

[376] Nahum seems interpretative, whereas Mal 3:20's use of σκιπτάω is also the same as Jer 27:11 [50:11], meaning *leap*.

[377] Cf. Laurence Vienès, ed. *Malachie* (BdA 23.12; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2011), 162.

[378] See LSJM, "ὁρμάω".

syllables of each word.[379] Hence the Chaldean invader will keep casting his fishing net – not empty it –, and not just against Israel, but against the nations; he will slay without sparing, like a fisherman continually casting his net into a teeming shoreline.

This combination is also found in a fragment purported to be by the well-known grammarian Philoxenos where we find multiple alliterations in concert, all connecting to the use of casting a net:[380]

διὰ τὸ ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι ἀμφίβλησTρον ἀπὸ τοῦ **βάλλω** κατὰ συγκοπὴν γίνεται **βλῶ**, ὁ μέλλων **βλήσω**, **βλῆτρον** καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀμφὶ προθέσεως καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ σ **ἀμφίβλησTρον**

The final example is another case of using a rhetorical device where there was likely a textual issue. It points towards the translator's stylistic intentions rather than rejection of literal choices, being caused by reading the text differently. This is probably the reason behind how he translated the idiomatic phrase עריה תעור קשתך in 3:9. Consonantal similarity of the word ערה, *to lay bare*, or *uncover*, with the substantive עריה is apparent. In the old script, the first word can easily be read as an infinitive absolute. The following word, omitting the *wāw*, may be read as a 2ms imperfect, an adaptation not uncommon when improvising for a translated text, thus

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[379] Furthermore, the translator has changed the sentence from an interrogative one to a statement of fact. The change from a question to statement in the final verse is obvious, and should be attributed to the rare interrogative form in the ST, העל. The translator omitted it, perhaps unsure how to render the TT because of the following particle, כן. This syntax is odd, having no precedence in MT, i.e. inter. + prep. + כן. However, the use of διὰ τοῦτο is reflective of the translation of לכן, which looks like the omission of the first two consonants in this case. In every instance throughout the Twelve לכן is translated by διὰ τοῦτο. The instance of Zech 11:7 ignores the presence of the adverb. When כן is found alone or prefixed with a *wāw* it is handled a number of different ways, which further supports the specific style of this translator to read לכן as διὰ τοῦτο (cf. Hos 4.7 for κατά; Hos 11:2; Joel 2:4; Amos 5:14; Nah 1:12; Hag 2:14 [x3]; Zech 1:6; 7:13; 8:13, 15 for the common rendering of οὕτως; Joel 3:1; Amos 3:12, [οὕτος]; Zech 14:15 for a more interpretative reading; Amos 4:5 for ὅτι τοῦτα, which is a similar reading to the second occurrence in Amb 1:4; and Nah 1:12; Zech 11:11 where it is omitted). The pattern is unique to this body of literature, which makes Amb 1:17 entirely anomalous to the pattern. Even the conj. על־כן has no such regularity, though διὰ τοῦτο translates it a handful of times in the Twelve. The pesher also has על־כן, and the Vg. and Syr. also read this as a statement, hence probably revealing reliance on the reading from Amb.

[380] Cf. Christos Theodoridis, ed. *Die Fragmente* (SGLG 2; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), (fragment 39) 113-4.

עָרוֹה תֵעוֹר.[381] Read this way the translator may then adapt the words to the context, employing the translation formula of a substantive plus a finite verb (akin to the inf. abs. + finite verb) to affirm an action. By reading his text this way, the two words rhyme and improve the reading.

Hab 3:9		Amb 3:9
עריה תעור קשתך	aA	*ἐντείνων ἐντενεῖς* τὸ τόξον σου
שבעות מטות אמר סלה	aB	ἑπτὰ σκῆπτρα, λέγει κύριος. διάψαλμα

3.2.1.4 Homeoteleuton (End-Rhyming)

The implementation of end-rhyming (ὁμοιοτέλευτον) occurs in a number of places throughout the translation, as is also observed in other places of the Septuagint.[382] Due to the nature of the Greek language, this is most acutely heard in the near repetition of case endings. There are a handful of instances of this device in Ambakoum. The first example of end-rhyming is observed in the use of aorist passive imperatives in 2:16, 19. As explained earlier, the employment of the two words in 2:16 shows a high degree of conscious effort because the MT word was doubly translated. It is noteworthy that in every instance where the translator improvised using double translation he employed a Greek rhetorical device.[383] The first line reflects the terse and choppy nature of its source. It heaps condemnation on the instigator of a drinking scheme. Drink! An abundance of dishonour is derived from his glory (1:7). Apparent glory has been reduced to shame. It was a flash in the pan. The quick switch from imperative, πίε, to pronoun, σύ, is paired to the rhetorical device with the aorist passives διασαλεύθητι / σείσθητι. The familiar use of destructive verbal words like these implies

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[381] The word ערה has varied meaning depending on the stem, i.e. *qal* is closer to the substantive, meaning *to expose oneself (in nakedness)*; or the *nipʿal*, which once seems to mean *pour out*; and the *hitpaʿel* without the conj., so Weiser, indicates a meaning of "sich spreizen" (*to stretch oneself out*), e.g. MT Ps 37:25. This latter meaning, though not reflexive, was made the dominant in the Greek in order to make sense of the phrase, which helps to explain the semantic choice for the verbal interplay of ἐκτείνω. It may also indicate that this meaning could be derived from the *Grundstamm*. Cf. Artur Weiser, *Die Psalmen* (ATD 14; eds. Walther Eichrodt et al.; 2 vols.; vol. 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 211, 217.

[382] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," 55-77; Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament," 775-83.

[383] See Amb 1:5; 2:16. See also 3:9 (p. 91), which is not strictly a double translation but reflects this stylistic approach.

divine judgement in Ambakoum. As noted above, this was not in rejection of literal choices, word obscurity likely giving freedom to a more compositional – free – hand.

Hab 2:16		Amb 2:16
שבעת קלון מכבוד שתה גם אתה	aA	πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σὺ
והערל	aB	καὶ **διασαλεύθητι** καὶ **σείσθητι**

The opening of the final woe oracle in 2:19, which itself has been carefully structured with rhetorical variation, phonetically links the follies of speaking to inanimate objects, as if they were alive. Akin to 2:16, there is a textual (semantic) inconsistency in relation to the ST. The passage has been read differently so that the first two Hebrew imperatives, הקיצה and עורי, refer to the tree/wood, and the final adverb, דומם, is read imperatively in reference to the stone.[384] First, the masculine imperative of עור (עוּרָה) is always translated with the aorist passive from ἐξεγείρω, thus ἐξεγέρθητι. It always has the paragogic *hê*. This is also true of the *hip'il* (הָעִירָה), cf. Ps 35:23 (the only two stems in which this is found in the imperative). By and large, the most regular way that the feminine imperative, עוּרִי, is translated is with the present middle, thus ἐξεγείρου (cf. Judg 5:12; Isa 51:9; 52:1).[385] There is nothing to commend the translator to take it here in the aorist except, perhaps, how the parallel line is also read:

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[384] The interjection here has the tacit effect of responding to the introductory material from the previous verse. The change marks for the reader this apex woe, introducing a condemnation against the idol maker (sg., ὁ). What is deaf by nature should not be spoken to. The folly deepens because the maker knows the wood or stone product is an inanimate thing, but he treats it as if it were alive. To the wooden object he gives two commands: wake up, get up! And to the stone: be exalted! The first imperative is the same word used of the creditors in the first woe (2:7). It can only refer to a living thing because it involves recovery from some earlier state of stupor (usually from alcohol abuse). The inference here is that the idol got too drunk and needs a little jolt to get going (ἐξεγερθητι): wakey wakey! You've a job to do. It connects the Chaldean, his drunken cavorting and his wooden idol – were they all drinking *together*? Then, what seems to be humorous mockery (cf. 3 Kgdms 18:25-29) darkens quickly upon the blasphemy of the whole activity. The command to the stone, be exalted (ὑψώθητι), is elsewhere only ever used of the LORD in the Psalter (Pss 7:7; 20:14; 56:6; 12; 93:2; 107:6). Comparison and competition between any other thing and the LORD is clearly denounced (Exod 20:5; 23:24; 34:14; Deut 5:9; Isa 43:10-13; 46:9).

[385] The translator also used the aorist passive in Zech 13:7 to translate the same form, but with no rhetorical affect. And the other instance of use of the aorist passive for this form is Song 4:16.

Hab 2:19		Amb 2:19
הוי אמר לעץ הקיצה עורי	aA	οὐαὶ ὁ λέγων τῷ ξύλῳ ῎Εκνηψον ἐξεγέρ**θητι**
לאבן דומם	aB	καὶ τῷ λίθῳ ῾Υψώ**θητι**

The rare adverb דומם has been read as the verbal word רומה, which is then naturally translated by an imperative from ὑψόω. It is standard to translate the imperative, רוּמָה, as ὑψώθητι, which is often in reference to God (Ps 7:7; 20:14; 56:6; etc.), the paragogic he perhaps invoking an honorific sense.[386] If the meaning of this word eluded the translator then he improvised by employing meaningful rhetoric, also heightening the rebuke against the idolaters. The worship of the stone is semantically tied to proscribed worship. Later scribes were, however, aware of the meaning of the word, i.e. σιωπῶν.[387] Although, in OG, it is never translated with the sense of *silently* (Lam 3:26; Isa 47:5). The word is rare. I am inclined to suggest that if the word was unknown to the scribes at Alexandria then the tradition was to read it through its similarity in form to רומה.[388] By taking both words in the aorist there was the freedom to employ a little end-rhyme, which would not have occurred should the translator have translated this into the present tense, i.e. ἐξεγείρου / ὑψοῦσθε, or with an alternate more literalistic choice. Thus the choices of aorist middle and passive inflected imperatives artfully lifted the reading. As a result, the stupidity of calling out to rocks and trees is made with rhyme.

Another example of this kind is a creatively combined interchange between the use of the aorist passive and infinitives. This is heard in the second section of the expanded text of 3:2. As this does not correspond *literally* to MT, it is further evidence that the translator was free to compose his literature, and thus employ rhetorical device, when a text required expansion. Commenting on the aorist forms, Dines notes that this is "a particularly striking example…creating a strong rhyme-like effect not found in MT"[389]:

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[386] Cf. Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (SB 27; Rev. English ed.; Roma: Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006), §48.d.

[387] See Tov, DJD, p. 55.

[388] In the Septuagint, the adverb דומם is never translated with the sense of the Hebrew (Isa 47:5; Lam 3:26).

[389] Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?" 403.

	Hab 3:2		Amb 3:2
bA	בקרב שנים חייהו	bA	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθ**ήσῃ**
bB	בקרב שנים תודיע	bB	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθ**ήσῃ**
		bC	ἐν τῷ παρεῖ**ναι** τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθ**ήσῃ**
	[ברגז רוחי?]	bD	ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆ**ναι** τὴν ψυχήν μου
cA	ברגז רחם תזכור	bE	ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησθ**ήσῃ**

3.2.2 Greek Rhetoric via Hebrew Interference

Some examples of rhetoric within Ambakoum came about through the translator's use of literalism. If it were not for his adherence to this form of literalism some of the following examples may not have been possible. Moreover, because they matched the natural phonetics of the Hebrew this might have been appreciated by the translator himself. The Greek repeats sounds like the Hebrew ones, positively reinforcing the use of literalism. There are ten instances of rhetorical devices caused by the translator's pattern of literalism. End-rhyming is common, and also instances of assonance, consonance and alliteration.

3.2.2.1 Assonance, Consonance and Alliteration

In 1:10 the translator has made a literal choice in rejection of one that would have created a nice assonantic pairing in the TT. In this case there is a poetic parallelism in the MT heard through repetition of שחק. The translator has, however, opted for παίγνια to translate מִשְׂחָק, which means here a *play-toy* as for an infant. The choice of ἔμπαιγμα, meaning *jest* or *mockery*, would have been a better nominal equivalent, because it would have been alliterative and also conveyed a double sense of consonance with the following verbal word ἐμπαίξεται.[390] While there is *some* consonance with the syllable -παί, it is more diminished than would have been with the alternative. In either case, the choice to repeat π, which is known to have been favoured by the ancients in alliteration,[391] does mark some audible echo between the two lines:

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[390] Other such obvious examples, some noted by Muraoka, indicate at least nothing else except that translators were not consistent, which is not uncommon even in modern translations. See T. Muraoka, "Literary Device in the Septuagint," *HUB* 8 (1973): 20-30.

[391] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 26.

Hab 1:10		Amb 1:10
והוא במלכים יתקלס	aA	καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐντρυφήσει
ורזנים משחק לו	aB	καὶ τύραννοι **παίγ**νια [**ἔμπαιγ**μα] αὐτοῦ
הוא לכל מבצר ישחק	bA	καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς πᾶν ὀχύρωμα **ἐμπαίξ**εται
ויצבר עפר	bB	καὶ βαλεῖ χῶμα
וילכדה	bC	καὶ κρατήσει αὐτοῦ

In another example from 2:9, the verse opens with assonance between the subject and verbal word – variations of each other. The use of *ν* within these two words is alliterative, clearly sounding an audible reverberation between them as it is repeated. This continued repetition of the letter *ν* is followed closely by the following adjective (*κακήν*), which is heard in the following parts of speech. In each instance a pattern of conformity to literalism generated use of the accusative case, which, when thus composed, strikes the ear in a way that the ST does not:

Hab 2:9		Amb 2:9
הוי בצע בצע רע לביתו	aA	ὦ ὁ **πλεον**εκτῶν **πλεον**εξίαν κακὴ**ν** τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ
לשום במרום קנו	aB	τοῦ τάξαι εἰς ὕψος νοσσιὰ**ν** αὐτοῦ
להנצל מכף רע	aC	τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι ἐκ χειρὸς κακῶ**ν**

We now turn to a couple of examples of alliteration. A number of grammatical and semantic changes have occurred in this sentence that have also introduced some rhetorical features. Because of the general import of the Hebrew semantics I include this example here as having mostly to do with the meaning of the source, rather than otherwise. The context of this passage and the earlier reference to *the sco*ffers from 1:5 also seems to be connected.[392] The intentionality behind the *misreading* there is

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[392] The nominal καταφρονηταί translates the Heb. in 1:5 בגוים, which is commonly understood as a misreading for בוגדים\ה. The presence of בגוים in MurXII and other translation witnesses, such as in Jerome's notes on his Heb. text, numerous Greek witnesses (α´, σ´, θ´), including the Tg. (בעממיא) and Vg. (*in gentibus*), makes the start of a good case for an original reading as found in Hab 1:5. While this might have been an accidental misreading it may have been due to an inner-thematic connection of the book. First, the translator would have been aware of the reading בוגדים (Hab 1:13), which is thematically linked to 1:5-6 – it is the other section of the first oracle. The second imperative here is הביטו, and the poignant reading in 1:12 תוכל לא אל־עמל הביט, followed by בוגדים תביט למה likely affected the reading back in 1:3, something Harl et al. sees as anticipatory of also 2:5. Those committed to impiety and injustice in 1:2-4, about whom Amb has been complaining, are implied in the pl. imperatives of 1:5. These people that swallow the righteous, in 1:13, and sate themselves like Sheol, in 2:5, are read back

not simple to determine, especially as the two contexts of Ambakoum both direct an invective judgement against this specific group. Moreover, the textual problem of 2:5 is no less complicated than 1:5 as it has a number of linguistic changes that differ with MT.

	Hab 2:5		Amb 2:5
aA	ואף כי היין בוגד	aA	ὁ δὲ **κατ**οινωμένος καὶ **κατα**φρονητὴς
aB	גבר יהיר ולא ינוה		– ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών – οὐδὲν μὴ περάνῃ

The first main clause is an extended description of an arrogant man, ἀνὴρ ἀλάζων, which is contrasted, δέ, to the coming righteous one.[393] He is contemptuous, a scoffer, who shall not finish the task before him. The verbal word κατοινόομαι is *hapax*[394] and here translates the substantive יין, which retains the sense of inebriation[395] – this

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into this text thematically by the translator. Technically speaking, the translator may have simply metathesised the *wāw* and *gîmmel*, and having done so, easily added the *dālet* (בוגדים). The addition of the article does not have to imply a misreading for it; such parts of speech are often added/omitted for stylistic measure. This is probably an interpretative misreading, which was due to the implied subj. of the imperatives, but unfortunately forced upon the reading of *among the nations*. Cf. also Marguerite Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes* (BdA 23.4-9; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 261.

[393] Instead of following the phrase וְאַף כִּי as the mark of a new literary section, which Andersen suggest is best taken "as a link that secures continuity between v4 and v5," continuity by contrast is made. The addition of the *wāw* partly secures this view. See Francis I. Andersen, *Habakkuk* (AB 25; New York; London: Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 2001), 216-7; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 276. Furthermore, there is no standard way to translate the Hebrew coordinating phrase וְאַף כִּי in the Septuagint. The translators use here indicates he was perhaps free to make sense of it according to how he understood the passage, which is centred on the difference between the righteous and arrogant man, hence the contrast.

[394] The word κατοίομαι is not to be confused with κατοινόομαι, see n. 395. The word κατοίομαι is also very rare, and Thackeray accepted this reading. It is used in *Arist.* §122 to positively refer to the translators of LXX, who excelled beyond such things as κατοίεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν ὑπεφρονεῖν. In this context it seems best to take the sense of "supercilious" (Thackeray) or "conceited of oneself" (LSJM), because the other words relate to concepts of pride and self-aggrandisement. See Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 279; Swete, *Intro to the OT in Greek*, 540; LSJM, "κατοίομαι".

[395] It may be that the translator misread the first MT noun היין (a form of haplography where he read the two *yôd*s as a *wāw*), and so had a pseudo-variant of הַן meaning *presumptuous* (Gelston). In 1QpHab the text is הון, which leaves open the reading of either הוֹן (wealth) or הַן. This gives some weight to the presence of a variant with the proto-MT, which, due to the translator's choice, seems in line with the second vocalisation. This is in spite of the sectarian reading attributed to 1QpHab, which, as Lim explains, functioned "only in the limited sense that both 1QpHab and CD drew upon a textual variant because it suited their concerns." Such an approach is not evident in Amb. But this must also bear in mind that the articulate word היין is fairly common throughout MT, and is always translated by οἶνος in the Twelve, though not always with the article (see Joel 4:3; Mic 2:11; Hag 2:12). A misreading

individual is a sot – and κατaφρονητής, which translates the participle בוגד, is common. In fact the entire verse is now one clause in the TT. The adjectival phrase, גבר יהיר, is now the subject of the sentence: ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών, an arrogant man.

Appreciation of literalism has caused the translator to work closely with the syntax and semantics of the source words, even if making slight semantic and grammatical changes in order to render the text properly. On the one hand, the translator has read the Hebrew meaning for wine, but not chosen a more literal word for drunkenness, e.g. μεθύω or μεθύσκω. On the other hand, the semantic choice was clearly derived from the Hebrew. It is then true that the translator chose a rare word to pair with the recurrent theme of how the scoffers act within the prophecy, which condemns drunken cavorting (2:6, 15, 19),[396] and in this immediate instance is used to contrast the righteous with

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then seems quite unlikely. (That this should be emended as another vocative [הוי], *pace* BHS, Wellhausen, et al., lacks sufficient evidence.) On this basis, if the translator added the article to the text then he "encadrent les deux premiers qualitatifs," (Harl et al., and Ziegler) which explains it away for יין. This provides an interpretative basis for which to understand the translator's choice of κατοιόμενος, *to be conceited of oneself*. This reading is found in all but one Greek MS (534). But there is a possibility he read this less interpretatively and in line with the Heb. semantics, which is how it was corrected, κατοινωμένος, *to be drunk*, by Rahlfs and Ziegler, who followed Shleusner's conjecture. This is the preferred reading, which also considers the recurrent denouncement against drinking within the book as a whole. Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 118-19; William H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk* (JBL 11; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1959), 46, 47; Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press / Continuum, 2002), 57; Karl Elliger, ed. *BHS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997), 1051; Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 218; Ziegler, *Sylloge. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta*, 340; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 277; LSJM, "κατοίομαι", "κατοινόομαι".

[396] In the first woe oracle (2:6b-8) there is drunken cavorting with the invaders and the scoffers. The paradigmatic pairing is with the plotters and schemers (ἐπιβουλοί) who are associated with the plunderers. What must not be overlooked is the connection between the invective against the drunkenness of the plunderers and that of the schemers who come to their senses, ἐκνήψουσιν. This word for the latter is chiefly used in reference to those who "sleep off a drunken fit, [or] become sober again" (LSJM). The implication here is that the schemers may have somehow been in league with the plunderers; but what goes around comes around, and they will at some point suddenly come to their senses – they have bite too (δάκνοντες). The final result of the first woe is that the plunderer will become the plundered. The bird of prey will become the catch, διαρπαγή. G^A preserves the guttural switch to δάγνοντες, what Thackeray thinks are indications of Egyptian provenance for that MS (noting also other similar features of this kind), reflecting a dialectal distinction. This is the only uncial to have such spelling (cf. G^{W.S.B}). This change also does not exist in the Polyglot Complutensia. If Thackeray is correct, then OG should be changed to reflect is original provenance. See Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 101-2; LSJM, "ἐκνήφω".

The fourth woe (2:15-17) rebukes the neighbour who commits acts of lewdness. This is also a failure to follow the command to love one another (Lev 19:18). The drink in question, given by the neighbour, is potent. The phrase ἀνατροπή θολερᾷ is translated a number of different ways, which

the arrogant (haughty/wicked). As a result, there are two clear phonological variations that are alliterative. Each compound substantive employs the prepositional form κατά, which would not have been possible with a more literal choice for the first word. The combination of these things shows intent to subtly compose euphony amidst literalism.

There is one example of consonance in Amb, which is heard between the first two clauses of 2:8, also conveying a small sense of alliteration. This long verse appears to possess multiple instances of rhyming, which is in contrast to the ST. The first two clauses follow the MT pattern, which has the same verbal word (שלל) repeated with differing inflection (שַׁלּוֹתָ/יְשָׁלּוּךָ), having end-rhyming. The final clause is a repeated stock-phrase from the refrain of Ambakoum (2:8, 17) that connects the letter ν to successive words. The verse then opens and closes with a nice play on the sound of the words.

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appears due to obscurity with the phrase even today. Brenton more idiomatically, and now archaically, translated this as, "the thick lees *of wine*," which refers to the matter (lees) that settles in some liquids, in this case wine. Even more interpretatively, BdA's translation, *a murky or cloudy glassful* (*une rasade trouble*), is similar, if not from another point of view. LXX.D seems to refer to a specific kind of drink, *trüben Sturztrunk*. NETS seems to have misunderstood the dat. as means. Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 280-2; Sir Lancelot Charles L. Brenton, *English Translation of LXX* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1851), 1107; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 1205. It seems that the adjectival phrase is the thing that the drinker gives his neighbour. If so, then NETS is not far off, the dative refers to the means by which the action (ποτίζω) occurs. The dative should be taken as *instrumental*. The tippler gives his a neighbour a drink *with* turbid upset. As BdA notes, the word ἀνατροπή, meaning upturned, was often used as a medical term that related the feeling of an upturned abdomen.[396] The murky or turbid liquid then likely refers to a substance that has malignant potency. This is not a casual drink with a neighbour, but hard drinking – binge-drinking – to excess, καὶ μεθύσκων.

In this passage, such intoxication is intended for only one purpose (ὅπως), to look upon their caverns, σπήλαιον (cp. Gen 9:21). Brenton redacted his translation in what appears to be a softening of the passage (secret parts); it refers to the nether regions of his neighbours (מעור). The singular subject, ὁ ποτιζῶν, is the same as the one who looks on, ἐπιβλέπῃ. Though he gives a turbid substance to a certain neighbour (τὸν πλησίον), his sin multiples because he looks upon many, αὐτῶν. The *hapax* word מעור was perhaps unknown to the translator, and perhaps also to R, i.e. ἀσχημος]ύνην αὐτῶν. It is a little difficult to agree that the translator misread the form as מְעָרוֹתָם (*pace* Fabry, Cleaver-Bartholomew), and therefore misread the second *wāw* for a *yôd* and overlooked the first (מעוריהם). It is more probable, as has been shown elsewhere, that the translator resolved the difficult reading through changing consonants. The alternate reading was part of the translator's improvisational method. Cf. Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Ambakum / Habakuk," in *LXX.E. Band 2* (eds. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus; vol. 2; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2423; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 209.

Hab 2:8		Amb 2:8
כי אתה שלות גוים רבים	aA	διότι σὺ **ἐσκύλευσας** ἔθνη πολλά
ישלוך כל יתר עמים	aB	**σκυλεύσουσί** σε πάντες οἱ ὑπολελειμμένοι λαοὶ
מדמי אדם וחמס ארץ	bA	διὰ αἵματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀσεβείας γῆς
קריה וכל ישבי בה	bB	πόλεως καὶ πάντων **τῶν** κατοικούντων αὐτήν

Two final examples of a similar kind of alliteration exist in chapter three. In the first case, this is heard in the creatively expanded text of 3:2. Each successive clause begins with the preposition ἐν, and lines bB-bD begin with a double alliteration of this preposition plus the dative article. This is caused by the repetition of the ST prepositional phrases that begin with *bêt*. There is also a rarer grammatical chiasmus (χιασμός),[397] which does not, however, have any correspondence to the ST.[398] All the lines audibly connect, and some more.

Hab 3:2		Amb 3:2
בקרב...	bA	**ἐν** μέσῳ...
בקרב...	bB	**ἐν τῷ** ἐγγίζειν...
	bC	**ἐν τῷ** παρεῖναι...
[בְּרֹגֶז רוּחִי?]	bD	**ἐν τῷ** ταραχθῆναι...
ברגז...	bE	**ἐν** ὀργῇ...

Similarly in 3:8 the first three lines have a combination of alliteration, through a like repetition of particles and prepositions, followed by assonance with the first two substantives, ποταμός. The first negative particle followed by a preposition is generated by Hebrew phrase הבנהרים, literally translating the same elements in syntagmatic correspondence. The Greek particle marks a rhetorical question by asking it negatively, and the conjunction ἤ translates the Hebrew conjunction אם in sequence in each successive clause.[399] The Greek aspirated vowel η gives voice to the alliteration across all three lines.

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[397] Another example of a chiasmus is in 3:13-14a.

[398] For a complete analysis of this passage please see pp. 136-140.

[399] The use of this interrogative neg. particle is stylistic, and when occurring in the Twelve always introduces a question (Amos 2:11; 5:25; Mic 4:9; 6:10; Zech 1:5; 7:5). Also the pattern in MT of an interrogative followed by subordinate אם clause is rare (Gen 4:7; Isa 10:9; Hab 3:8), and it is translated differently in each case.

Hab 3:8		Amb 3:8
הבנהרים...	aA	μῆ ἐν ποταμοῖς...
אם בנהרים...	aB	ἤ ἐν ποταμοῖς...
אם בים...	aC	ἤ ἐν θαλάσσῃ...

3.2.2.2 Homeoteleuton

There are five examples of end-rhyming that were generated by the translator's use of literalism. The first example is in 1:4. Here there are two kinds of end-rhyming. First, the third person endings -ται recur four times in two small patterns. This is observed in the first two lines, and then the final line of v. 4 with the first line of v. 5. The first pattern is primarily caused by the translator's desire to alliterate the lines, but because he also followed literalism the verbal number was matched and therefore created this feature that was hence generated by the ST. Second, the accusative endings in the final two lines of v. 4 repeat the sound from the singular case ending -ον. The combination of accusative and nominative case endings connect the words with word-final echoes that are beyond that in MT, though caused by it:

Hab 1:4		Amb 1:4
על כן תפוג תורה	aA4	διὰ τοῦτο διεσκέδασται νόμος
ולא יצא לנצח משפט	aB4	καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα
כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק	bA4	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον
על כן יצא משפט מעקל	bB4	ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον
ראו בגוים...	aA5	ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονήται...[400]

The other similar example along these lines is in v. 11. In this case there is a kind-of inversion of the ST assonance. The end-rhyme consonance through the repetition of the third person case endings (καὶ διελεύσεται / καὶ ἐξιλάσεται) is grammatically altered in the sentence from the final syllable assonance, by use of pronouns, in the ST (זו כחו לֵאלֹהו).[401] Literalism caused the translator to match the grammar of the Hebrew, thus

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[400] On the translation of the Hebrew prepositional phrase בגוים cf. n. 392.

[401] Arguably, the uvular fricative pronunciation of the *hêt* in the first clause, lost in the Greek, is also a poetic device that is not carried over into the TT.

giving rise to a choice of verbal words that matched the singularity of the subject, πνεῦμα.[402]

Hab 1:11		Amb 1:11
אז חלף רוח ויעבר ואשם	aA4	τότε μεταβαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ διελεύσεται καὶ ἐξιλάσεται
זו כחו לאלהו	aB4	αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ μου

In 1:5 the Chaldean nation is first described in eschatological terms.[403] The clever use of accusative case endings creates a three-times-heard phonetic pattern. Although

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[402] The final literary change in this pericope is marked by the temporal adverb in v. 11, τότε. It introduces the next logical sequence of speech by linking the succession of the event. The linguistic change is met by a thematic one. This judgement will not last forever; the wind that seemed to bear them up like eagles will change course, μεταβάλλω. The choice of μεταβάλλω for חלף is unique. There are a handful of alternate one-off choices for חלף throughout the Septuagint. It is often translated with the sense of *physically changing course* (e.g. 1 Kgdms 10:3; Job 4:15; 9:11; Ps 89:5; Cant 2:11; Isa 21:1), or with a change in situation, e.g. to change one's clothes, or wages, or to blossom (e.g. Gen 31:7, 41; 41:14; 2 Kgdms 12:20; Job 14:7; Ps 89:6). This particular reference in Amb would be the only instance that has a cognitive sense. Moreover, μεταστρέφω (very close in meaning to μεταβάλλω) usually translates הפך, which does include conceptual domains, e.g. 1 Kgdms 10:9; Ps 104:25. The translator may have misread חלף for הפך, which is quite feasible due to the similarity of the first and final consonants, especially with the latter also a long final form, but it's a stretch.

It is common for πνεῦμα to be followed by a genitive and therefore refer to a quality or state of being, e.g. Gen 1:2; 6:3; Exod 15:10; Deut 2:30, passim. Furthermore, some Greek MSS have πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ for this clause (notably a Lucianic sub-group text). Ziegler notes that "[d]iese Minuskeln sind mehr oder minder stark lukianisch gefärbt. *Den stärksten lukianischen Einfluß zeigen 407* (manchmal steht bier die lukianische Lesart noch am Rand, häufig ist sie bereits in den Text eingedrungen) und 613. [Herv. des Autors]." Brenton has translated his text that way. This emendation may be also due to a syntactical pattern that exists across the Septuagint. In every instance that πνεῦμα is in the accusative and preceded by a verb it is always followed by a pronoun. (Whenever πνεῦμα follows a verbal form in the acc. it is always articular and a pron. follows (Gen 6:3; Exod 15:10; Jdt 16:14; Tob 3:6; 4:3; Pss 30:6; 103:29, 30; 105:33; 147:7; Odes 1:10; Amb 1:11; Isa 42:1; 44:3; 63:10; Ezek 37:14), which is true of texts for which we do not have a ST. In the case of 2 Kgdms 13:21 there remains the possessive character of a gen. pron. Furthermore, all the refs in the Heb. *Vorlagen* are anarthrous, except Isa 63:10 and Ps 106:33, which have the direct object marker, and Exod 15:10 has the preposition *bêt* prefixed.) The only instance where this pattern does not exist is here. But, if a pronoun is inferred, the sense would be changed, and the implied metaphor lost. Instead of *the wind* it would be *his spirit*. It seems obvious that this is a metaphor in Hab 1:11 and an emendation for a possessive pron. would muddy the waters of interpretation. The metaphor refers to the Chaldean and has thematic payback (1:9), perhaps also hinting back to v. 6 where they move around as they wish, much like the wind (Andersen). Cf. Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 78, 262; Brenton, *English Translation of LXX*, 1106; Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 159.

[403] See p. 117.

the first two Hebrew words have a similar phonological connection through repetition of the article and the letter *reš*, the Greek increases the phonetic connection by the use of a participle. The Hebrew participial form cannot do this, though repetition of articles is clearly heard.

Hab 1:6b		Amb 1:6b
הגוי המר	aBα	τὸ ἔθνος τὸ πικρὸν
והנמהר	aBβ	καὶ τὸ ταχινὸν
ההולך...	bAα	τὸ πορευόμενον...

There is another example in 1:7 where repetition of the singular -ται case ending creates an end-rhyme in the final two lines. This is also in light of the fact that line aB7 in MT is one clause, being changed to two clauses in the Greek.[404] The expansion provided some room for a simple rhyme. The introduction of the common word εἰμί is the implication of the terse Hebrew, also required by splitting the clause into two.

	Hab 1:7		Amb 1:7
aA7	אים ונורא הוא	aA7	φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν
aB7	ממנו משפטו ושאתו יצא	aB7	ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ ἔσται
		aC7	καὶ τὸ λῆμμα αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσεται

In the final example, akin to other such cases, there is a combination of multiple kinds of rhetorical device at play. In 3:8-9, as we saw above, the translator employed alliteration and assonance. He also used end-rhyming through repetition of the second

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[404] Verse seven opens with an eschatological register, see p. 148. The coming invader is described as fearful and *magnificent*. Again, the lexical pair immediately connotes the Day of the Lord. It is a great manifestation, ἐπιφανής. The subject throughout v. 7 remains the Chaldean, and does not change to the Lord or his work. First, the immediate referent for the final pron. in v. 6, αὐτός, refers to τὸ ἔθνος. This is the Chaldean, the grammatical object raised up by the LORD in v. 5. Second, the change from pl. to sg. is normal in the prophecy of Amb, e.g. vv. 6-7, 8 and 10-11, within certain literary bounds. The logical antecedent in v. 7 is the subj. from the previous clause, irrespective of the semantic application of ἐπιφανής. The Chaldean is then the judgement of God, which is awesome and fearful, etc. There is nothing here to indicate confluence of referents, contra Cleaver-Bartholomew. So, in lieu of true or even perverted judgement, the Chaldean will render his own kind (τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ). Chaldean judgement will be measured out with a divine proclamation proceeding from him. The use of λῆμμα in this context is unsettling. Divine warrant is given to the gentile nation to sweep into the Land and render a foreign kind of judgement. Cf. Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 131, 136.

person pronoun, something which is not uncommon to a TT that matches such a linguistic feature of the source. These features combine as part of the theophany of chapter three concerned with expressing the LORD's sovereignty and power:[405]

Hab 3:8aB-9aA		3:8aB-9aA
אם בנהרים אפך	aB8	ἤ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμός **σου**
אם בים עברתך	aC8	ἤ ἐν θαλάσσῃ τὸ ὅρμμά **σου**
כי תרכב על סוסיך	bA8	ὅτι ἐπιβήσῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους **σου**

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[405] The question of v. 8 is set in three lines with assonance and end-line rhyming: O LORD, were you angry with the rivers? The use of a negative interrogative particle is stylistic, and when occurring in the Twelve always introduces a question (Amos 2:11; 5:25; Mic 4:9; 6:10; Zech 1:5; 7:5). Also the pattern in MT of an interrogative followed by subordinate אם clause is rare (Gen 4:7; Isa 10:9; Hab 3:8), and it is translated differently in each case. It is also not clear to which rivers and sea the prophet is referring. The LORD's power over water is an important concept in this section of the prayer, reappearing a number of times. In this case it has a purpose. Wrath was meted out with the intent (ὅτι) of demonstrating the deliverance of the LORD. Whereas the Chaldean horsemen came for destruction (1:8), the LORD mounts up upon his chariots (ἱππασία) – they are salvation, look for them! The Greek word ἱππασία is very rare (LSJM; Muraoka; Harper). Taken in paradigmatic relationship with ἵππος, its meaning may be inferred as pertaining to horsemanship. The carnage of the Chaldean upon the rivers is matched by the fury of the LORD who raised them up. The word σωτηρία functions adjectivally, hence the nominative clause is read with an implied copulative, *your chariots are salvation*.

From upon his chariot the Lord will bend his bow for battle like a warrior. There is plenty of anthropomorphic imagery here. The syntax of participle plus cognate finite verb is a grammatical feature of OG. In the Twelve this occurs a number of times, and not only with cognates but with words that share semantics (Hos 1:2, 6; 4:16; 18; Amos 5:5; Mic 2:12, 12; Joel 1:7; Nah 1:3, 4; 2:3; 3:13; Amb 2:3; Zech 6:15; 11:17, 17; 12:3), but sometimes is more idiomatic (Harper). The MT idiomatic phrase עריה תעור קשתך likely caused the translator to improvise. It is meant to emphasis the nature of the action. This is best translated with an adverb, e.g. surely. The object of the attack is Chaldean authority (σκῆπτρον). In the parallel line σκῆπτρα is the translation of מטות, and ἐπὶ τὰ of שבעות. The word σκῆπτρα was used symbolically to refer to the wielder's authority and power to rule. In some non-biblical ancient texts it was considered magical, endowing the holder with the perception of supernatural authority. It is found a number of times in this context within Second Temple Pseudepigrapha (BDAG). It is noteworthy that in Ep. Jer, and in light of the idolatry polemic in Amb, an idol is given a sceptre with which he fails to execute judgement. The choice for the number seven in Amb 3:9 is somewhat enigmatic. It may have been derived from the Heb. idea that the number seven represented perfection, or to something that, quite simply, made sense to the translator, misreading שָׁבֻעוֹת for שִׁבְעַת. Thackeray's suggestion that MT was read as שְׁבֻעוֹת is too difficult to support. Ziegler is correct that ἑπτά has been corrupted to the prepositional ἐπι τά (cf. Ezek 45:21). The passage is greatly obscured by this reading, which may have caused later emendation where the article is omitted, for example from G[B.S] et al. Cf. LSJM, "ἱππασία"; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint Louvain: Peeters, 2009), "ἱππασία"; Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 124, 143; Henry St John Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London: H. Milford, 1921), 51; Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 270.

מרכבתיך ישועה	bB8	καὶ ἡ ἱππασία **σου** σωτηρὶα
עריה תעור קשתך	aA9	ἐντείνων ἐντενεῖς τὸ τόξον **σου**

3.2.3 Summary Conclusion

The above analysis has shown that the translator of Ambakoum was keenly aware of both the poetic nature of his ST and that of Greek rhetoric. Sometimes the translator *followed* the Hebrew poetical device(s) through his use of literalism, which was easier to do with final syllable assonance. Sometimes he could not *match* the phonological connection and created a uniquely Greek pattern, which was generated by his desire to work a little composition into his work, hence literalism did not guide it. As has been proven here these things did not occur by accident, but were chosen in rejection of other literal choices.

In a number of instances the translator chose to use rhetorical devices as a way to resolve translational difficulties. Such problems were like an open door; he improvised by implementing meaningful rhetoric. This may also indicate how the interpretative tradition was happy to handle such things. By creating a text that would be creatively literary, in relative accord with contemporaneous ideas, the translator appealed to the sensibilities of his scribal audience. This would be in spite of the awkwardness that would have been felt in the re-organisation of the grammar in the TT. In addition to the use of Greek rhetorical devices, the translator made a number of choices that can be termed linguistic transformations.

3.3 Linguistic Transformations

The second section of this study now focuses on some of the linguistic phenomena of Ambakoum. The following five sections lay out some additional ways that the translator's style can be showcased. These consider the translators probable Aramaic background, a tradition of linguistic inventiveness (including the use of a neologism), improvisation, changes due to ideology and toponymic problems.

3.3.1 Neologisms and Inventive Phrases

One example of a neologism is the use of λῆμμα in the Twelve (cf. Jer α, chps. 1-28).[406] It was a neologism solely for the purpose of introducing an oracle in the Twelve. It corresponds somewhat to one of the senses of the word that it translates (משא), which often means *burden* or *load*,[407] but can mean *proclamation* – of an oracle.[408] It is also meant to be understood differently from λόγος. As Harl pointed out in her essay on the use of λῆμμα in the Septuagint, it is used in essentially three contexts where it means: a charge, either physically or mentally, as in a heavy responsibility (Lam 2:14; Job 31:23); a proclamation or oracle; and profit. The meaning of profit, found regularly outside of the Septuagint, is found only in Hag 2:14, translated by Casevitz as, "à cause de leurs profits matutinaux."[409] Otherwise, its most frequent use in the Septuagint is to introduce a prophetic discourse. This approach was also unique to this translator.

The only place where the word λῆμμα can be understood to convey a similar meaning of משא, i.e. burden, is in Jeremiah (Jer 23:33-40). But this must be understood within context and in light of its nuances of meaning. As Harl notes, this was employed as part of a word-play by the false prophets to give the appearance of a divine charge, whereas in fact they "bercent le people d'illusions d'en est pas un, mais ils sont, eux, les prophètes, la « charge » du Seigneur."[410] In the Jeremiah discourse the word λῆμμα is found seven times to translate משא, where it is used to translate both senses of the Hebrew word. As λῆμμα appears to be a stereotyped word for the translator of Jeremiah and the Twelve,[411] it is therefore repeated throughout the discourse. Hence, in the translation of Jer 23:33-38 it is used to mean both burden and oracle (pronouncement), just like the Hebrew. However, in spite of this single instance, it appears that this translator did not perceive λῆμμα to normally mean burden. Its recurrence in this instance is partly due to stereotyping. The word, therefore, has developed a new

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[406] See also pp. 150-156 on συντέλεια as a technical word.

[407] See HALOT, "מַשָּׂא".

[408] On the introduction of a Heb. oracle see Mark Boda, "Freeing the Burden of Prophecy: *Maśśā'* and the Legitimacy of Prophecy in Zech 9-14," *Bib* 87, no. 3 (2006): 338-357; Michael H. Floyd, "The מַשָּׂא (*Maśśā'*) As a Type of Prophetic Book," *JBL* 121, no. 3 (2002).

[409] Michel Casevitz, Cécile Dogniez, and Marguerite Harl, eds., *Aggée - Zacharie* (BdA 23.10-11; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2007), 86.

[410] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 305.

[411] Thackeray referred to λῆμμα in his list of words to identify the same hand in Jer α as that of the Twelve, see Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," 581.

meaning outside of its classical, or non-biblical, uses. Because of its restriction to these new contexts, it is therefore understand as "une traduction mécanique, en un néologisme sémantique, au sens de « proclamation, oracle »."[412] Similarly to the way that משא marks the introduction of an oracle, so does λῆμμα.[413] The new contextual use had a certain degree of register with its hearers, so that a literal use of, for example, φορτιόν or ἄρμα, so α',[414] would have made much less sense in this cultural context.

While the newly coined use for λῆμμα appears to be an invention of this translator, he also stood in a tradition of such changes. This had much to do with the act of interpretation within the translation process, in conjunction with what was culturally sensible at the time. In the second example of this study, LXX was, to borrow Dines' phrase, a style setter for the translational use of ἕως τίνος (1:2; 2:6) and ἵνα τί (1:3, 13).

Although it is sparsely found, the phrase ἵνα τί within the Twelve is always used to translate למה (Amos 5:18; Mic 4:9; Amb 1:3, 13).[415] Similarly ἕως τίνος translates the interrogative phrases עד־אנה or עד־מתי. In both of these phrases the pronoun τίς translates either אן, meaning *where?*,[416] or מתי, meaning *when?* Together with עד these Hebrew constructs respectively mean *how long?* or *until when?*[417] But ἕως τίνος is found only twice in Hellenistic works, where it also does not appear to introduce a question.[418] It seems that the translators chose the Greek preposition ἕως in order to

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[412] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 310.

[413] The Tg. draws out the sense derived from משא and the new use of λῆμμα with the interpretational choice of the noun נבואה; thus, *the prophecy the prophet Habakkuk prophesied*. Cf. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (5 vols.; vol. 1-3; 3d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 459; Kevin J. Cathcart and R. P. Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (eds. Kevin J. Cathcart, Michael Maher, and Martin McNamara; The Aramaic Bible 14; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 145.

[414] See Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003.

[415] In Joel 2:17 למה is translated in the negative, but still retains a synonymous conj.: ὅπως μή. The only instance of מדוע is also translated by τί ὅτι (Mal 2:10).

[416] The final *hê* is directional/accusative.

[417] There are thirteen references for עד־אנה, twenty-nine for עד־מתי and five for עד־מה. They are never syntactically combined and only once found in close proximity to each other (Exod 16:28; Num 14:11, 11; Josh 18:3; Job 18:2; 19:2; Pss 13:2, 2, 3, 3; 62:4; Jer 47:6; Hab 1:2; and also Exod 10:3, 7; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 1:14; 16:1; 2 Sam 2:26; 1 Kgs 18:21; Neh 2:6; Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3, 3; Prov 1:22; 6:9; Isa 6:11; Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 31:22; 47:5; Dan 8:13; 12:6; Hos 8:5; Hab 2:6; Zech 1:12; and Num 24:22; Pss 4:3; 74:9; 79:5; 89:47. The only anomaly is the proximity of both עד־אנה and עד־מתי in Jer 47:5-6). Also see Alexis Léonas, *Recherche sur le langage de la Septante* (Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 201ff.

[418] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1159a.4; Chrysippus, *Logic and Physics* (frag.) 298a.9.17. It is also never found once in the NT.

translate the Hebrew particle עַד literally. The pronoun τίς then renders the Hebrew pronoun or particle, אָן and מָתַי respectively. More often עַד־מָתַי is translated with the adverb πότε, as ἕως πότε.[419] But in the Twelve מָתַי is always translated with τίνος. These two Greek phrases appear lexically indistinguishable. The same evidence also exists for עַד־אָנָה.[420] The phrase ἕως πότε is unattested prior to LXX.

The Greek phrase ἵνα τί is found thirty-two times in LXX and its lexical meaning appears to be mostly derived from the presence of the conjunction.[421] It is glossed as "why? for what reason?"[422] and also given a teleological sense with the renderings "for what purpose?"[423] or "to what end."[424] It is listed under ἱνατί in BDAG, which apparently assumes they are synonyms, the former found exclusively in the NT.[425] While the phrase ἵνα τί is found 133 times in the Septuagint, it is seldom found in the Hellenistic period.

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[419] See 1 Kgdms 1:14; 16:1; 3 Kgdms 18:21; Neh 2:6; Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3, 3; Isa 6:11; Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 31:22; Dan [TH] 12:6. Although ἕως τίνος is not found in the NT, ἕως πότε is found a handful of times (Mat 17:17, 17; Mark 9:19; Luke 9:41; John 10:24; Rev 6:10).

[420] It is translated by ἕως τίνος (Exod 16:28; Num 14:11, 11; Josh 18:3; Job 19:2; Ps 12:3; Jer 47:6; Amb 1:2), ἕως πότε (Pss 12:2, 2, 3; 61:4) and twice in Job by μέχρι τίνος (Job 8:2; 18:2).

[421] In the vast majority of its occurrences in LXX ἵνα τί is used in rhetorical questions. Their contexts and rhetorical effect differ, but in each case the speaker is seeking to persuade or influence the hearer, or is structuring a defensive argument. In a very few instances speakers seem to be asking a simple (i.e. not rhetorical) question.

[422] Cf. BDAG, "ἱνατί".

[423] See Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, "ἵνα".

[424] See J. Lust, Erik Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992), "ἵνα".

[425] The lexicographers are in agreement with *Novum Testamentum Græce* in this regard, whereas the Robinson-Piermont majority text in each NT occurrence printed the phrase as found in the Septuagint (Matt 9:4; 27:46; Luke 13:7; Acts 4:25; 7:26; 1 Cor 10:29). It is not entirely clear why the word has been compounded by the editors of NA. The pron. τίς commonly forms phrases with other particles of speech. Also, there appears to be no indication, for example in a selection of refs in G^{A.S}, that the phrase should be compounded. Moreover, the reference in Matt 27:46 refers to Jesus speaking Aramaic. Therefore, if ἵνα τί later on in the Koine period of the NT should still reflect the invention of the LXX translators, then it should be un-compounded in the NT. This would reflect the linguistic stylisation from which the NT authors likely borrowed. However, if the purpose of the compounded word in the NT is meant to reflect the unity of the Heb. word לָמָה, then the alternative approach would be to keep it compounded in those instances, i.e. when the Greek (Acts 4:25) quotes the Heb. (Ps 2:1), and separated when it reflects the Aramaic, i.e. Matt 27:46. But the first suggestion is preferred in light of developmental use of the Greek language instead of using printed editions to mark linguistic critical details, and for those instances where such a distinction between Aramaic and Heb. is not in question (i.e. Luke 13:7; Acts 7:26; 1 Cor 10:29).

The phrase occurs only fifteen times before LXX.[426] However, the majority of the references are found in Æsop's Fables, which is very questionably from the sixth century.[427] It is also found once on its own, which is never true in the Septuagint, making its meaning a little more ambiguous than the standard gloss.[428] Lastly, in one instance it seems that the combination of ἵνα and τί is used elliptically – a phenomenon not uncommon with other parts of speech.[429]

This evidence suggests the following: first, the phrase ἵνα τί had some semantic fluidity; and, second, in the scope of pre- and classical Greek writings it was hardly ever used. It is unclear why this was so uncommon, compared to other similar constructs that use τίς, for example διὰ τί. This evidence points out that this phrase is far more common in LXX. It has, in a sense, taken on a life of its own within this Ptolemaic translational activity. It is also noteworthy that the phrase continues to be rare outside of the Septuagint during the Koine period.[430] For the most part, its recurrent use during the Christian era is due to authors quoting the Septuagint.

These inventive interrogative phrases would have had literary register during the period of the translation. It is unclear to what degree this introduction into the language at that time then influenced later translators.[431] Use of these phrases reflects the

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[426] See Æsopus, *Fabulae* 23.4; 70.5; 136.4; 192.3; 217.2; 228.6; 247.5; 282.20; Heraclitus, *Ephesius*, (frag.) 127.2; *Ecclesiazusae* 719; Plato, *Apology* 26d.1; *Symposium* 205a.2; Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* 257.4, 7; Alcaeus, *Comic* (frag.) 17.1.

[427] My gratitude to James K. Aitken for pointing out that Æsop's work may be from the same period as LXX, and that "INA TI" is also found in a Roman inscription. In addition to this, the vast majority of references *prior to LXX* are then reduced to very few indeed.

[428] Vince translated this as "And all for what?" and then later simply as "And why?" Cf. Dem. 19.257.4-7; and also see J. H. Vince, ed. *Demosthenes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926).

[429] In this one example the conj. begins a question, which is followed by another question that begins with the pron. τί. Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 200. In addition there are two kinds of patterns where the interrogative phrase ἵνα τί is split by either: 1) a particle, i.e. ἵνα δὴ τί, which may be translated as *now why?* or *then why?* depending on the context; and 2) once with a pron., i.e. ἵνα ἡμῖν τί. None of these interrogative patterns exist within LXX or NT (note that the use of ἵνα in Ps 38.5 and Luke 19.15 is substantival). For ἵνα δὴ τί see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1192; *Peace* 409; *Ecclesiazusae* 791; and for ἵνα pron. τί see Andocides, *On the Peace* 26.8; and also Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar* (4th rev. ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996), 678.

[430] For example, when it does crop up it has similar usage to its classical one, i.e. as an interj. on its own, see Life of Æsop, *Vita G* 3.32.3.

[431] For example, regarding R, unfortunately all evidence for these interrogative phrases is absent from 8ḤevXIIgr except in Amb 1:13. Cf. Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*. Ego et al. has included ἵνα τί

translator's understanding of both Pentateuchal translational style(s) – something also used in Isaiah and the Psalter – and his own reading of the Twelve. In each case the translator was neither slavish to the source, nor did he break from the stylistic use that existed within the project in which he worked.

Furthermore, as Joosten recently pointed out, translators thinking in a foreign language(s) may make translational decisions that might be otherwise considered incorrect, but in the case of the Septuagint be quite understandable.[432] First, it is not clear from all the contexts in which these Greek phrases (ἵνα τί and ἕως τίνος) are used that they actually have their own centres of meaning apart from each other – similar to Barr's conclusions in his article regarding למה and מדוע.[433] The Hebrew words basically have the same meaning, and so do the Greek phrases. The translators' choices for alternate words for either Hebrew word, in particular למה, may then be explained, in part, according to a stylistic predilection.

As stereotyping is a feature of literalism, it stands to reason that the translators might have attempted to standardise their choice for למה, and in the Twelve for עד־ אנה or עד־מתי. Furthermore, this would have affected later translators *within the tradition* of LXX, so that greater regularity of this translation choice is found in post-Pentateuchal books. This is what the evidence shows.[434] While there are one-off choices in later books, the lion's share is regularly translated according to the data presented here. Moreover, because ἵνα τί was a kind of neo-linguistic construct to mark interrogation, the phrase was carried over into later apocryphal and pseudepigraphal works, notwithstanding the NT.[435]

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as part of the reconstruction for Mic 4:9, see Beate Ego et al., eds., *BQ* (vol. 3B; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 102. However, see n. 425.

[432] See Joosten, "A Syntactic Aramaism in the LXX," 44.

[433] See James Barr, "'Why?' in Biblical Hebrew," *JTS* 36.1 (1985): 1-33.

[434] Aside from translation of the emphatic למה זה, textual additions (Judg (A) 5:15; 2 Kgdms 11:22, 22; 3 Kgdms 2:24; 4 Kgdms 18:26; Ps 41:6; Hos 10:13; Isa 36:11; 58:4), and references in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Tob 3:15; Tob (S) 3:15; 1 Macc 2:7, 13; 12:44; Sir 14:3; *Ps. Sol.* 3:1; 4:1), outside of LXX ἵνα τί translates מדוע four times (2 Kgdms 19:44; Job 3:12; Jer 14:19; 15:18) and מה and מה זאת nine times (Judg (A) 15:11; Ps 41:6, 12, 12; 42:5, 5; 49:16; Job 3:12). If we ignore the extra-MT translated works, and the textual additions, this represents less than ten per cent.

[435] It is found only in the NT as a single word, ἱνατί, which due to the evidence presented here in this study might indicate that it is made up of two words. This point is further supported, but not necessarily proven, by the fact that τίς is often used with other particles to frame questions in a certain kind of way. Also, διὰ τί is the most common choice after ἵνα τί, and is used only thirteen times across a variety of books. Moreover, being a very common Greek form it would be a stylistic and natural

Second, although the Aramaic consonantal form of למה is identical to its Hebrew cognate, the pronunciation is slightly different. The "reduction of originally pretonic short vowels"[436] meant that an Aramaic speaker might have been inclined to separate conceptually the prefixed preposition *lāmed* from the pronoun (e.g. לְ ־ מָה), or (in other words) to have thought of it etymologically, rather than as a single expression. The result might then yield the predicable use of the conjunction ἵνα for the *telic lāmed*. The use of the pronoun τίς for מה is then obvious. As ἵνα τί was a known phrase this would then have been a literal, logical and creative solution for translation word choice in this case.

Third, linguistic development in the use of ἵνα during the Koine period may have provided further recourse for the translators' decision. The Koine period saw the broadening use of the conjunction, in particular its universalising use with infinitives.[437] Moulton further suggests that, pertaining to the author of the fourth Gospel and Revelation, an Aramaic thinker might have been inclined to make "very free use of ἵνα" for the corresponding Aramaic *lāmed*, which is related to the author's "[s]emitic habit of speech."[438] Malleable use of the conjunction earlier on, related to the Aramaic vernacular of the translators, offered a sort-of linguistic freedom to remain "creatively faithful"[439] to the text.

Lastly, as a result, the newly coined phrase ἵνα τί was also then used to translate other parts of speech. This would have been more experimental than stereotypical. It also means that once it became a Pentateuchal phrase for asking questions, it could be used in later books and other contexts. To a lesser degree, this may parallel the use of τί ὅτι, which translates למה (Gen 18:13; 44:4; 2 Kgdms 7:7; 11:10, 20; 19:26; Isa 58:3)

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selection for questions (cf. Exod 2:13; 5:22; Num 11:11; 22:37; Josh 9:22; 1 Kgdms 26:15; Ps 41:10; Job 3:11; 7:20; 13:24; 19:22; Jer 36:27 [MT 29:27]).

[436] Frederick E. Greenspahn, *An Introduction to Aramaic. Corrected Second Edition* (46; 2d ed.; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 8.

[437] See James Hope Moulton, *New Testament Greek, vol. 1* (3 vols.; vol. 1; 3d ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 205-6; Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 20. Also, concerning bilingual interference on ἵνα see Gignac, "The Papyri and the Greek Language," 164.

[438] James Hope Moulton, *New Testament Greek, vol. 1* (3 vols.; vol. 2; London: T&T Clark / Continuum, 2004), 484.

[439] Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*, 15.

and מה (1 Kgdms 11:5; 4 Kgdms 1:5; Mal 2:14), among others (Gen 3:1; 26:9; 4 Kgdms 1:16).[440]

3.3.2 Aramaic Interference

3.3.2.1 Not Behold! But If

The translator worked in a multi-glossal environment. Further to the above discussion, there is additional evidence that the translator of Ambakoum was influenced by his natural grasp of Aramaic. In a handful of instances, by thinking in Aramaic while reading Hebrew, in the process of translating into common Greek, the translator negotiated the meaning for his TT. In the first example (2:4), there were likely a number of factors that contributed to the changes in the translation,[441] notwithstanding the interpretative concern over who is the subject of עפל. First, the translator has not employed the common particle ἰδού for the interjection הנה.[442] The first clause, now a protasis (ἐάν), seems to require a referent from the previous verse: the one who will not tarry.[443] The problem is that the positive arrival of the visionary individual from v. 3 is now cast as the same person who might displease the LORD, viz. should he shrink back. But this apparent interpretative difficulty ought to be read in light of the grammatical conditionality, not as a matter of fact.

It appears that the translator may have followed this line of thought. This grammatical interpretation likely contributed to a number of the changes that occurred. The similarity between הנה and the Aramaic conditional particle הן may have provided the translator with a basis upon which to make a number of alternate choices across

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[440] It is also found in 1 Kgdms 14:41; 4 Kgdms 1:16; Tob (S) 5:18; Sir 51:24; Bar 3:10. It is also not entirely clear, however, precisely why the translators used τί ὅτι for מדוע. Aramaic appears to lack an interrogative adverbial cognate to מדוע. Perhaps two options, not mutually exclusive, were available. See discussion on ἵνα τί, pp. 107-112.

[441] See pp. 156-164.

[442] But this is common to the translator of Hab, where once out of the four instances where this Heb. particle occurs (1:6; 2:4, 13, 19) is it translated by ἰδού (1:6). Furthermore, this is the only time in the Twelve where this particle is translated by ἐάν. The Heb. interj. is regularly translated by ἰδού with few exceptions (Hos 2:8, 16; 9:6; Joel 2:19; 4:1, 7; Amos 2:13; 4:2, 13; 6:11, 14; 7:1, 1, 4, 7, 8; 8:1, 11; 9:8, 9, 13; Obad 1:2; Mic 1:3; 2:3; Nah 2:1, 14; 3:5, 13; Amb 1:6; Zeph 3:19; Zech 1:8, 11; 2:1, 5, 7, 13, 14; 3:8; 4:2; 5:1, 7, 9; 6:1; 8:7; 9:4; 11:6, 16; 12:2; 14:1; Mal 2:3; 3:1, 1, 19, 23), which, excepting Amb 2:4, are: οὗτος in Mal 2:13; γίνομαι in Hag 1:9; καὶ αὗται for ולהנה in Zech 5:9; διὰ τοῦτο in Zech 9:4; and is omitted in Zech 3:9.

[443] See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 275-6.

the sentence.[444] By reading the second *hê* as prefixed to the following verb the translator could then read the next word as a *hopʿal*, thus perhaps הֵן הָעֻפְּלָה.[445]

Then, second, the subsequent pseudo-variant of אפל would then have been read interpretatively. It means *inflate*, *puff up*, or *become weak*, and is translated by the very common word ὑποστέλλω, meaning *to draw* or *shrink back [from something]*. The Greek word is well attested outside of LXX, and also occurs in a small handful of instances in the rest of the Septuagint and also the NT.[446] It seems too much of a stretch to suggest he misread it as עלף, which itself has a semantic range beyond that of ὑποστέλλω.[447] The translator likely made a contextual change, perhaps improvised from the difficulty of the reading. It could easily have been the interpretation derived from the Middle Hebrew, or even Arabic, meaning *to be impudent* or *foolish*.[448]

Third, this change would have been made in light of the entire sentence. If rarity of the first MT verb אפל likely caused the translator *some* difficulty, the following finite verb ישר certainly would not.[449] In this case, the choice would have been partly determined by: 1) a desire to make literary sense of the apodosis;[450] which, 2) should

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[444] A similar phenomenon also occurs in Hag 2:12 where the interj. הן is translated likewise. Following Dietrich-Alex Koch, Karrer notes that sometimes ἐαν translates הנה, but this is not standard. See Wolfgang Kraus, "Hab 2:3-4 in the Hebrew Tradition and in the Septuagint, with its Reception in the New Testament," in *Septuagint and Reception* (ed. Johann Cook; VTSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 110.

[445] There is some question here over how this might have been pronounced. See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 118.

[446] In all instances in the Septuagint it is used to translate different Heb. words (Exod 23:21; Deut 1:17; Job 13:8; Amb 2:4; Hag 1:10), whereas in the NT it is always used to mean *withdraw* or *draw back* (Acts 20:20, 27; Gal 2:12; Heb 10:38).

[447] Contra Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 168-9.

[448] See HALOT, "עפל".

[449] It is found many times throughout the HB. Although ישר is used a small number of times in the MP (Hos 14:10; Mic 2:7; 3:9; 7:2, 4; Hab 2:4), it does, however, undergo some interpretative changes in the Twelve, i.e. Mic 7:2, 4. Amb 2:4a is the only instance where it is translated by εὐδοκέω.

[450] Also, the subj. of the second clause is changed in accord with the translator's style to alter pronouns to suit the context of the passage. Instead of נפשו, the translator has contextually changed the noun to make the LORD the referent by interpreting the suf. as a first per., thus ἡ ψυχή μου (נַפְשִׁי). The same form נפשו is translated in the following verse without any trouble. This same emendation also occurs in the parallel line, 2:4b, so that in each case it is the soul and faith of the LORD, instead of the proud individual's soul, or the faith of the righteous one. This kind of change occurs often throughout the Twelve and in almost all instances has the LORD as grammatical referent. In summary, the broad changes were, in part, permissible because of the freedom to read the initial particle as an Aramaic word. This inventive use of shifting consonants provided more decisional paths for the translator. It also indicates that languages other than the translational one, i.e. Koine Greek, had a degree of interference.

be ideologically/theologically consistent. The choice was perhaps derived from the interpretation of the verbal and nominal lexeme ישר within LXX, which is centred on how the upright please God by their life – they are holy (ὁσιότης).[451]

3.3.2.2 The Prayer of My Lips

	Amb 3:16a-c	Hab 3:16a-c
a	ἐφυλαξάμην	שמעתי
b	καὶ ἐπτοήθη ἡ κοιλία μου	ותרגז בטני
c	ἀπὸ φωνῆς προσευχῆς χειλέων μου	לקול צללו שפתי

Chapter three of Ambakoum has two more examples of Aramaising. In 3:16 it seems that the translator read צללו as an Aramaic substantive, thus making a dependent subordinate prepositional clause. The verbal word is never translated from Hebrew correctly, viz. with the same semantic quality, being most often translated by ἠχέω (Exod 15:10; 1 Kgdms 3:11; 4 Kgdms 21:12; Jer 19:3),[452] which means to *sound* or *ring out*. But when translated from Aramaic the semantic correspondence is right, i.e. προσεύχομαι (Ezra 6:10; Dan 6:11). It is quite doubtful that the choice in Amb 3:16

Concerning later witnesses, α′ is entirely at home with the OG reading in the first line and the MT reading in the parallel one. If there was an alternate reading tradition for this passage, partly observed by α′, it was changed by the time of R, which corrected the pronouns back toward MT. This might provide additional support for OG dependence by α′ while making his version. Also, the addition of the article in the final line is a free addition by the translator and occurs a number of times in Amb.

[451] It is translated mostly by ἀρεστός (Exod 15:26; Deut 6:18; 12:8, 25, 28; 13:9: 21:9) or once verbally by ἀρέσκω (Num 23:27). The interpretation is more *literal* in 8ḤevXIIgr, which draws focus back to upright or straight actions by using εὐθεῖα, which is naturally closer to MT (more common to the Psalter). In Num 23:10 the word is translated by δίκαιος (ἀποθάνοι ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων, per Wevers: "may I die among the righteous ones"), which might be part of a clause wide change to offer an interpretation of the Heb. text, תמת נפשי מות ישרים. Also, in Deut 9:5 and 32:4 ὁσιότης and ὅσιος are respectively used to interpret those who please the LORD and to the LORD himself. In the latter respect it might have seemed inappropriate or odd to translate it by either εὐθής or ἀρεστός. See John Wm. Wevers, *Notes on Numbers* (SCS 46; ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1998), 390; John Wm. Wevers, *Notes on Deuteronomy* (SCS 39; ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995), 159, 511.

[452] The lexeme צלל is found infrequently and seldom translated the same way. Although it has a few different meanings based on the different contexts where it is used, most translators appear to have adapted it to suit the context due to difficulty of word meaning, cf. Exod 15:10; 1 Kgdms 3:11; Jer 19:3; 4 Kgdms 21:12; Neh 13:19; Ezek 31:3; Amb 3:16. This may also have contributed to the word being omitted in Barb and Psh.

was due to a misreading, or a similar kind of error, but to word obscurity and/or consonantal familiarity with Aramaic. This is for two main reasons. First, the Aramaic substantive, from צלי,[453] is feminine. Hence, second, the inflected construct state of this substantive would have been sufficiently different from the MT form (e.g. צְלָת). What this means is that the translator likely sought recourse through the similarity of consonants by a related language that he knew better rather than blithely misread his text.

3.3.2.3 Be Amazed at the LORD's Deeds

In light of the above evidence, another such example might also exist in 1:5. In this case, the proclamation of the coming Chaldean invasion is the context in which the translator interpreted the asyndetic syntax of התמהו תמהו. These two imperatives are not repeated in Ambakoum. Rather, the translator has opted to take the second verbal word as a substantive, and with similar meaning to its related verbal word. First, the translator could have either misread תמהו for the Middle Hebrew word תמהון (adding the *nûn* in his mind as a pseudo-variant),[454] which is slightly more nuanced in meaning (*confusion* or *bewilderment*),[455] or he simply derived the same semantic sense from the verbal word. In the latter case he would have then pluralised it for contextual and

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[453] It is unlikely that the *paʿel* form suggested by Muraoka made little difference to the translator's decision to make this a substantive. Note the distinctly different verbal forms from MT Dan 6:11 and MT Ezra 6:10. Cf. Jastrow, "צלי"; HALOT, "צלה"; T. Muraoka, *Greek/Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 101; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 298.

[454] The Heb. substantive for תמה is תמהון. In spite of the latter's rarity this translator understood its semantic quality by rendering it as ἔκστασις in Zech 12:4, perhaps learned from Deut 28:28 – the only two occurrences. Second, although the Hebrew verbal word תמה is not common, it is regularly translated as either ἐξίστημι or θαυμάζω. There was, thus, a translational and semantic connection of θαυμάζω for תמה. Now if the translator read the *nûn* in his mind then he might have read the text as וְהִתְמְהוּ תְּמָהוֹן. Even if he read this through Heb. and noticed the absence of the *nûn*, he may have thought it a textual corruption and so corrected it. But this theory along with such related evidence is not found in Amb. Also, Harl et al. notes that "[l]es mots *thaumázō, thaumastós, thaumásios* sont également employés en correspondence avec *pālā'*," which is common to the Psalter. The marvellous deeds being referred to here are these things. Lastly, it is noteworthy that while the first verbal impv. is retained in R the substantive is not, nor is the expanded text of Amb. The impv. is followed by a conj. (διότι in OG). It would be unusual for R to omit a word, but perhaps he thought it an asyndetic textual corruption of the two same lexical imperatives. Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 262; Jastrow, תְּמָה; Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 50-51, 182.

[455] See HALOT, "תִּמָּהוֹן".

exegetical reasons.[456] But in each case these things require slightly more justification. Alternatively, and more straightforwardly, he may have simply read the following word nominally through the Aramaic substantive תְּמַה, (mis-)reading the final *wāw* as a plural form, e.g. תִּמְהִין.[457] The translator's grasp of Aramaic and his desire to smooth out some readings in this way explain the nature of the textual change. As we have seen, in a couple of occasions, the translator will, through Aramaising, adapt a verbal word to the context. The assonance between the two words is retained here, including the meaning, which is disambiguated by the following additional OG clause.

3.3.3 Exegetical Disambiguation

There are a handful of transformations in Ambakoum that occurred through a process of recursion. The result is a textual characteristic of *doubling*.[458] In the strict sense from my outline in chapter two, when a word is doubled it is usually due to the act of improvisation. This is often caused by what I suggest is a kind of difficulty with the text, e.g. lexical obscurity. Yet, in a number of instances, the addition of what looks like a doubling effect is to be understood as contextual exegesis, not a double translation. When the translator contextually adapted his translation through reference to a previous word, phrase, clause or sentence, this was a recursive activity. This involves adding words in order to explicate the meaning of the passage, sometimes even adding "verbs for clarification."[459] It appears to be epexegetical in nature. This points to not simply theological concerns, but has much to do with a desire to "improve

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[456] The scoffers, who, in this context, likely to be same group as the impious, are charged to look, gaze and be amazed at some marvellous things, θαυμάσια. It is not the one great event, about to be pronounced in the next half of the verse, but a number of other marvellous acts that are in view. There are numerous allusive connections to the Psalter. The LORD's many works are wonderful (θαυμάσια). His marvellous deeds are for everyone to see everywhere (Pss 77:4; 85:10; 88:6; 95:3; 106:8, 15, 21, 24, 31). But the surprise turn is that this command to the scoffers will lead to their destruction, ἀφανίσθητε, rather than, perhaps, their repentance. One might infer that they simply continue to scoff at them.

[457] It is cognate with the Heb. word תמהון and often has the same meaning. See Ibid, "תְּמַה"; Jastrow, "תְּמַה", "תִּמְהוֹן".

[458] Not all these elements are discussed here because they connect with a theological interpretative framework that is discussed in chp. five of this study, i.e. Amb 3:2, 16. Other changes occurred because of Aramaising (3:9) or, through improvisation, were worked into the translation hidden by a slightly heightened quality of rhetoric (2:16). The descriptive phrase of 3:3 for מהר־פראן is explained in the section below on toponyms.

[459] Dines, "Verbal and Thematic Links," 359.

the source text and to adapt it to the taste of the TL readership."[460] Hence not all such features exist for the same reasons. In the following examples each textual feature as a translational phenomenon is only understood properly when compared to the ST, which also requires that the *Vorlage* did not contain the additional element(s).

3.3.3.1 The Chaldeans, The Warriors

The first example of this sort of disambiguation is in 1:6. In this key passage the LORD pronounces that he is raising up the Chaldeans in response to the injustices of vv. 2-4. The proper noun כשדים is found many times throughout both the HB, as is Χαλδαῖοι within the Septuagint. Hence the addition of the substantive μαχητής is a slight oddity because they are a well-known character in the historical and prophetic literature. This appears to be an attempt to disambiguate who these Chaldeans are, so the use of a substantive and not an adjective (e.g. μαχητούς). Ziegler has placed τοὺς Χαλδαίους in square brackets to avert retention of the difficult reading τοὺς μαχητάς,[461] which Harl et al. explains: "J. Ziegler juge que l'hébreu ne présentait que le mot *kaśidīm* et qu'il est inutile de supposer un deuxième mot, *gibbōrīm*."[462]

> Il est possible…que l'addition « les guerriers » soit une glose insérée pour préciser qu'il s'agit ici non pas des Chaldéens-astrologues célèbres et admirés pour leur culture, mais Chaldéens-envahisseurs, des ennemis.[463]

Although the Babylonians had practiced astrology long before the Hellenistic period, which notably thrived under Nebuchadnezzar,[464] the eastern thrust of Alexander the

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[460] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 75. In this section I am not presenting the numerous additions of pronouns, articles, etc.

[461] Perhaps following Procksch, cf. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 9.

[462] He has also omitted the additional reading of ἐφ' ὑμας, which is retained in Rahlfs' text. There is no evidence for the prepositional phrase in MurXII, which reflects MT, and 1QpHab, which only has an articulate and variant spelling for the Chaldeans (הכשדאים), or in 8ḤevXIIgr, which simply does not have the variant reading. It is attested in a handful of MSS. Also, as Cleaver-Bartholomew points out, the CTAT committee see this as an editorial addition, because "the Chaldeans could no longer realistically be viewed as instruments of divine action." Cf. Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 261-2; Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (2 vols.; vol. 2; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württemberg. Bibelanstalt, 1952), 533; Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 129-30; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 263; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 117.

[463] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 263. Cf. also Brownlee's discussion on this, Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 9.

[464] See Franz Valery Marie Cumont, *Astrology and Religion* (ALHR Series of 1911-1912; New York; London: Putnam Press, 1912), 15.

Great's conquests meant that Greek and Eastern theology began to syncretise in a way hitherto unknown.[465] More to the point, later Greek scholars borrowed heavily from Chaldean wisdom in matters related to astrology. This change in 1:6 would then make contextually and precisely clear to which aspect of the Chaldean peoples is being referred, thus not a misreading of הגבור for הגוי.[466] The change seems to have been freely applied in order to head off any possible misunderstanding, which points to "its interpretive origin."[467] This also highlights the translator's awareness of the historical distinction between Israel's old enemy and the contemporaneous understanding. It may have also been constrained by the literary context of this prophecy because the "'Chaldaeans' even in Hebrew and Aramaic Daniel frequently means 'astrologers'."[468] The need for a historical clarification in this instance of Ambakoum can, on this basis, be understood.

3.3.3.2 Be Destroyed You Scoffers!

In the second example, it is difficult to know whether the additional clause at the end of v. 5 was due to some kind of improvisation, or was a free contextual addition.

Amb 1:5	Hab 1:5
a ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε	ראו בגוים והביטו
b καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια	והתמהו תמהו
c καὶ ἀφανίσθητε	

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[465] See ibid., 17, 22; Carl Bezold and Franz Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung* (Leipzig; Berlin: Berlag und Drud, 1918), 25-26. Although Greek culture had penetrated much of the Near East as early as the late Bronze Age, much of this was due to the influence from Greek mercenaries (some very large battalions), which symbiotically brought aspects of Greek culture to different regions. But, what is pertinently important here is that Hellenism was not simply a brace placed upon and accepted by foreign cultures, but a confluence of both Greek and Eastern cultures, cf. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament*, 76.

[466] In every instance in OG where it translates הגוי it does so as either ἔθνος (Gen 15:14; 20:4; Exod 33:13; Lev 18:28; 20:23; Deut 4:6; Judg 2:20; 4 Kgdms 6:18; Ps 32:12; Amb 1:6; Zeph 2:1; Hag 2:14; Mal 3:9; Isa 60:12; Jer 7:28; 12:17; 18:8; 25:12; 27:8, 13; 49:36), λαός (Josh 3:17; 4:1; Isa 9:2), χώρα (3 Kgdms 18:10), or is untranslated (Josh 5:8; Jer 27:28 [second ref. untrans.]; 27:13). It is used in construct to define the men of war in Josh 5.6, but this is not taken interpretatively in the manner suggested by Procksch. See Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 9.

[467] Ibid.

[468] Ibid.; René Vuilleumier and Carl A. Keller, *Michée-Sophonie* (CAT XIb; 2d ed.; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990), 148, n. 1.

Technically speaking, this could have been classed as a double translation because of the use of the conjunction plus the invective, which is in sequence with three prior imperatival words.[469] However, there are two reasons why this should likely be considered a form of exegetical disambiguation, akin to the change in 1:6. First, the decision for a substantive to translate תמהו seems to indicate that the translator interpreted the Hebrew word directly, through his grasp of Aramaic and Greek rhetoric, rather than double it in order to make sense of it, e.g. 2:16 (see p. 115). Second, the additional clause καὶ ἀφανίσθητε epexegetically clarifies what is meant, in context, for the scoffers to marvel at marvellous things. It guards against any possible misunderstanding about who is to be destroyed. In fact, that scoffers marvel and do not respond commensurately with what they have seen is certainly judgement against them. It is their undoing, something which is tacitly disambiguated here and further clarified later in the prophecy. It should also be noted that this must have also been in light of the change in subject (καταφρονητής) at the beginning of the sentence. The translator expanded the text for the sake of clarity.[470] From this standpoint, it may well be that he meant for this to remain in the final form of his text.[471]

3.3.3.3 His Heart is Made Glad in These Things

The third example is a free contextual addition of ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ in 1:15. It improves the reading of the TT. This addition to the text changes the subject, and most Septuagint MSS omit the phrase except G^W.[472] There is no sufficient evidence for

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[469] Field notes that other exemplars add καὶ ἴδετε after θαυμάσετε, perhaps to reduce the sense of asyndeton, which could imply a number of things, perhaps a desire to expunge the use of that rhetorical device. The addition of this text is witnessed only by the Syro-Hexaplar, noting that the obelus was not present in the Hexaplar. See Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003.

[470] Gelston refers to this as amplification and Barthélemy as a reading tradition, cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 92; Dominique Barthélemy, A. R. Hulst, and ABU, eds., *CTAT* (OBO 50; vol. 3; Fribourg, Suisse; Göttingen: Editions universitaires; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), cxlvii.

[471] Remains from 8ḤevXIIgr indicate that the obj. of θαυμάσατε and this additional line, i.e. "θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε," were omitted from the redaction. It was noted by Origen as an addition to the text by use of the obelus; cf. Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 128; Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 261; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003.

[472] Although Origen retains the phrase, it is not found in major witnesses, especially the Syro-Hexaplar. The reading in G^W was likely dependent on the work of Amb. See Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 263; Schmidt and Sanders, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection*, 102; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1004.

emending the final MT clause with לבו as suggested by BHS.[473] There is a remote possibility that the translator misread the following compound conjunction על כן. The *kāp* and *nun* are quite similar in the old script and might be misread as *bêt* and *wāw* respectively. But this would also require the omission of *ʿayin*, with consideration given to the fact that there is no evidence of Hebrew (or Moabite, Ugaritic and Early Phoenician text) written *scriptio continua*.[474] This would also be a calamitous misreading as he continued to then write ἕνεκεν τούτου, which could be explained as parataxical, but does further complicate the theory. A double translation is ruled out because this does not fall within its definition. A defective MS might add some weight to this argument, similar to Gelston's approach in his article on Amos.[475] But as Glenny responded, many such examples can be adequately explained through a translator's stylistic approach.[476] Moreover, there is no evidence of such an error on such a scale anywhere in the translation, implying that at least the MS was in good condition.

The most straightforward view is that what came to the translator's mind, in the process of the translation, was this additional subject. It has a thematic parallel to both MT and OG Zech 10:7. In MT we find the only other juxtaposition of שמח and גיל, which both have the hearts of the warriors as subject, לבם:

Hab 1:15	... על כן ישמח ויגיל
MT Zech 10:7	... ושמח לבם ... ובניהם יראו ושמחו יגל לבם ביהוה

Amb 1:15	ἕνεκεν τούτου εὐφρανθήσεται καὶ **χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ**
Zech 10:7	καὶ **χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν**...
	καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται καὶ **χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν** ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ

As argued elsewhere in this study, the translator's knowledge of the proto-MT would have permitted more pathways for inner-biblical allusions, which may come to

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[473] Also there is no evidence in the biblical reference of 1QpHab, or the interpretation in col. 6, for such an emendation. Cf. Elliger, ed. *BHS*, 1050; David Noel Freedman, Astrid B. Beck, and James A. Sanders, eds., *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Leiden: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing; Brill, 1998), 637.

[474] See Alan R. Millard, "In Praise of Ancient Scribes," *BA* 3 (1982): 147.

[475] Cf. Anthony Gelston, "Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 52, no. 4 (2002).

[476] See Edward W. Glenny, "Hebrew Misreadings or Free Translation in the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 57, no. 4 (2007).

mind during the translation process. In the Zecharian passage the warriors, גבור, celebrate and their hearts are made glad. Although in Zechariah this refers to Ephraim in a positive light, it is not meant to equate the Chaldeans with them as the people of the LORD. The connection is to the act of rejoicing and celebrating, how it makes the heart glad. The drinking of wine in MT/OG Zech 10:7 provides ancillary support for this view because in Amb 1:16 the Chaldean victors have succulent food as part of their spoil – they have a celebratory feast. The point is that they sup and drink with joy in their hearts. This subtle thematic link provides the most straightforward explanation for the textual change, which Barthélemy noted as perhaps either "inspirée à LXX ou à son substrat hébraïque par des parallèles du type de Za X 7."[477] Later translators clearly saw this as an addition and omitted it.

3.3.3.4 A Mighty Love of His Strength

We now turn to the Psalm of Ambakoum for the final two examples. In v. 4 the translator improvised by making a contextual change as he sought to reconcile the meaning of the *hapax* word חביון.[478] It was probably not a double translation because he employed a descriptive phrase, ἀγάπησιν κραταιάν, rather than simply provide a couple of nominal options.[479] Semantics likely also afflicted the translator of Barb (δόξα).[480]

The Greek phrase is unique, being found in later Christian literature in reference to this passage. The rare word may not have affected the Targumist, who interpreted the entire line in relation to how Sinai was a place of revelation (תמן גלא ית שכינתיה) rather than concealment, i.e. *hiding place*, חביון, which was likely influenced by the

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[477] Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila.*, 187.

[478] Contra BdA. Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 289.

[479] Harper sees this as a double translation, עז by κραταιός and ἰσχύος, and the *hapax* word חביון resolved √חבב (*to love*). But the difficult word (חביון) appears to have been translated with a phrase, not doubled, which is in a genitival relationship to the subsequent phrase ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, which nicely translates עזה. Difficulty of word meaning also probably affected the translator of Barb (ἡ δύναμις), see n. 480. Later Greek translations understood the word (Field). Cf. Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 132; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 289; Pietersma and Wright, eds., *NETS*, 809; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2424; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1008.

[480] Good notes the shift in word order where δύναμις is expected for עז. Following Margolis, he suggests that the text for the Barb translator was either corrupted to צביון עזה, hence he read δόξα from צְבִי, meaning *splendour* (cf. Isa 28:1), or he simply guessed at the meaning of חביון. See Edwin M. Good, "The Barberini Greek Version of Habakkuk III," *VT* 9, no. 1 (1959): 13.

interpretation of the previous verse (במיתן אוריתא לעמיה אלהא מדרומא).[481] Later Greek translations understood the word.[482] The choice was likely contextually derived from the interpretation of horns in his hands, an image of strength, which is then followed by the specific reference to his strength (ἰσχύς) at the end of the line. [483] The entire second line, therefore, functions epexegetically. Instead of guessing at the meaning, the translator, though due to ignorance, contextually changed the word for a descriptive phrase that made sense.

3.3.3.5 "Seven Sceptres," Says the LORD

The nature of the textual difference in the last example, found in v. 9, is somewhat elusive. The divine appellative, κύριος, is added so that the LORD is the subject of the final verb, which is immediately followed by a psalmic pause. The problem here is at least two-fold. First, it is unlikely to indicate the presence of YHWH in the proto-MT. For example, the editors of the reconstruction of 8ḤevXIIgr, indicate that a reconstruction of "λέγει te[tr," so Barthélemy, extends beyond the remaining space, in spite of some four letters appearing after the text.[484] It would be too long[485] after R's choice of ῥάβδους for σκῆπτρα (מטות) which precedes probably a transliterated word for the psalmic pause (´σελε). Moreover, no other Greek MSS (including other versions) have the divine name,[486] making it unlikely it was in the OG translator's *Vorlage*.

Second, its placement is at a very odd junctive, especially if it is to represent a Hebrew *Vorlage*. There is no other Hebrew poet who wraps up a section of poetry with a verb followed by YHWH, then followed by סלה (e.g. אמר יהוה סלה). It could be construed as bad Hebrew. It is, however, very common to find נאם יהוה at the end of direct speech, which is regularly translated as λέγει κύριος in the Twelve.[487] If the title was not in the *Vorlage*, what appears to have happened is the translator read the

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[481] See Cathcart and Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 157; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 463.

[482] See Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1008.

[483] Gelston explains that the choice was due to the final word, but here it is suggested that both the final word and preceding line informed the translator's choice. Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 123.

[484] See Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 80.

[485] Ibid.

[486] Field also notes the presence of the obelus in the Syro-Hexaplar, which indicates that this was in addition to his text. See Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1009.

[487] While there is no evidence for נאם יהוה followed by the psalmic pause סלה, it is not uncommon for this to close a sentence or section of reading, e.g. Hos 2:15; 11:11 and Hos 2:18; Amos 4:6.

substantive אֹמֶר verbally, i.e. אָמַר, and freely added the divine name. It matches the pattern for how נאם יהוה is translated elsewhere. Literally speaking, it further clarifies that this is the same speaker from v. 8 (κύριε), and is the referent of σύ in the following verse. The symbol of Chaldean authority is thus broken by the LORD.[488]

3.3.4 Semantic Shift: חמס to ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑ

There is a consistent change in meaning that can be observed in the translational choice of חמס throughout the Twelve. This feature is so common that it should also be considered stereotypical. It is certainly interpretative. The relationship is hypernymical. Van der Louw calls this a lexical "generalization," which is a concept borrowed from structural semantics.[489]

In Ambakoum חמס it is always translated nominally or adjectively by ἀσέβεια or ἀσεβής respectively, and once verbally by ἀδικέω (1:2, 3, 4, 9, 13; 2:8, 17, 17). There are also no additional instances of these Greek words in Ambakoum. Throughout the Twelve there is only a slight deviation from this translational choice, where, in a small number of instances, it is also translated by ἀδικία and ψευδής.[490] But none of these words translate the violence and injustice in Habakkuk unless the Hebrew word רע is used (1:13). Only once in the Septuagint does ἀσέβεια translate רעה (Jer 6:7).[491]

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[488] In the parallel line σκῆπτρα is the translation of מטות, and ἐπὶ τὰ of שבעות. The word σκῆπτρα was used symbolically to refer to the wielder's authority and power to rule. In some non-biblical ancient texts it was considered magical, endowing the holder with the perception of supernatural authority. It is found a number of times in this context within Second Temple Pseudepigrapha (BDAG). It is noteworthy that in Ep. Jer, and in light of the idolatry polemic in Amb, an idol is given a sceptre with which he fails to execute judgement. The choice for the number seven in Amb 3:9 is somewhat enigmatic. It may have been derived from the Heb. idea that the number seven represented perfection, or to something that, quite simply, made sense to the translator, reading שְׁבֻעוֹת for שִׁבְעַת. Thackeray's suggestion that MT was read as שָׁבֻעוֹת is too difficult to support. Ziegler is correct that ἑπτά has been corrupted to the prepositional ἐπι τά (cf. Ezek 45:21). The passage is greatly obscured by this reading, which may have caused later emendation where the article is omitted, for example from G^{B.S} et al. Cf. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 51; Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 270.

[489] See Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 67-68, 379-80.

[490] Translation of חמס by these Greek variations is also common and regular in the books (and relevant sections of books) that Thackeray identified as being written by the same translator, though he did not draw this conclusion. Cf. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," 578-85.

[491] See Ἀδικία: Joel 4:19; Amos 3:10; Jon 3:8; ψευδής: Amos 6:3; ἀσέβεια: Obad 1:10; Mic 6:12; Zeph 1:9; 3:4 [ἀσεβέω]; Mal 2:16. In addition to translating חמס, the word ἀσέβεια is the stereotypical choice for translating פשע in the Twelve. For the references in the Twelve see Hos 10:13; 12:1; Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6; 3:14; 5:12; Mic. 1:5, 5, 13; 3:8; 6:7, 12; 7:18; Obad 1:10; Amb 1:3; 2:8, 17,

The concept of impiety in the TT offers an alternate understanding of those who do violence or wrong-doing.[492] As Pons showed quite some years ago, the word חמס underwent some semantic changes through its uses within Hebrew literature over time.[493] In numerous instances another word could quite happily replace it, semantically speaking, to clarify the nature of the sin, e.g. a lie (Hos 12:2) or another kind of violence (Jer 48:3).[494] After the exile, the concept of violence associated in the contextual uses of חמס, be it in war, destruction, nature, sexual or social,[495] was altered. The kinds of oppression that the prophets were banging on about in the 8th-6th cent. changed. The connotation thus drawn from the word was "finalement le mode d'être et de vivre des « méchants »."[496] In the end, to commit חמס is to sin, or militate against the revealed law.[497]

This semantic change in Hebrew at this very late stage may have left its mark through this latent idea. The concept of impiety within a biblical context corresponded to the multi-faceted ways that ungodly living was expressed. This view, linguistically set in contrast to piety (εὐσέβεια) and righteousness (δίκαιος), was, so Weiger, contrary to its usage in Classical Greek.[498] It also seems from the evidence that the words used

17; Zeph 1:9; Mal 2:16. Outside of the Twelve ἀσέβεια is used with more variation: רשע/רשעה in Deut 9:4, 5; 25:2; Isa 59:20; Jer 5:6; Ezek 18:28, 30, 31; Prov 4:17; 11:5; 28:4; Job 35:8; Lam 1:5; Eccl 8:8; זדון in Deut 18:22; סרה in Deut 19:16; פשע in 1 Kgdms 24:12; Ezek 21:29; Pss 5:11; 65:4; Prov 28:13; עון in Ezek 33:9; Ps 31:5; חמס in Ezek 12:19; Ps 72:6; רעה in Jer 6:7; תועבה in Ezek 14:6; 16:58; זמה in Ezek 16:43; 22:11; 23:29, 35, 48, 48, 49; עלילה in Ezek 21:29; זנות in Ezek 23:27; רוש in Prov 28:3, which may have been a misreading (רש) for רשע; Prov 1:19, 31 and 29:25 are interpretive and have no precise correspondent; and ספפ is interpretive in Job 36:18.

[492] The word in חמס means violence or wrong-doing, see DCH, "חָמָס"; "חמס"; HALOT, " "חמס";"; "חָמָס";"; BDB, "חָמָס". It would seem that Greek words that approximate the meaning of violence, were the translation more literal, would be βία (βιάζω) and πονηρός (πονηρεύομαι), or perhaps also κακοποίησις (κακοποιέω). Cf. LSJM, "βία"; "κακοποιέω".

[493] See Jacques Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1979). For example, Clines and Gunn even suggest that the use of חמס between Jer 20:8 and 15:20 reflects shades of difference in meaning, which is perhaps related to earlier and later redactors. See David J. A. Clines and D. M. Gunn, "'You Tried to Persuade Me' and 'Violence! Outrage!' in Jeremiah XX 7-8," *VT* 28, no. 1 (1978): 25.

[494] See Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT*, 33.

[495] Also, the context of Hab, in particular the nature of the woe oracles, indicates that חמס was connected to social injustice, as Snyman indicates for Amos. See S. D. Snyman, "'Violence' in Amos 3,10 and 6,3," *ETL* 71, no. 1 (1998): 37, 46, 47; Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 112.

[496] Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT*, 46-48.

[497] See ibid., 48-49.

[498] This view is balanced by the fact that these words, and their Septuagint-related synonyms, e.g. ἁμαρτία, ἀνομία, etc., were widely attested within the Hellenistic period. For example, so Cox, ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία were used in a decree by King Lysimachus in the third century, and other such examples

to express impiety were more general than חמס, which had a limited degree of semantic generality.[499] This translator certainly thought that the choice of ἀσέβεια (and related words) covered the many different senses for which the translation of חמס required – clearly not all concerned with the social oppression in Ambakoum. In one respect this was likely a matter of cultural and semantic register. The idea was likely embedded in the societal context in which he lived. Impiety was tantamount to the Hebrew idea of violence, viz. ways that are contrary to God. Therefore, true piety, which was expressed by the faith of the righteous (2:4), was like a well-spring for doing good: "Jewish piety became the true *paideia* and the synagogue, which non-Jews also frequented [at this time], became the nursery for the teaching of such true *paideia*."[500]

3.3.5 Toponyms

The toponymic references in Ambakoum serve to indicate both the provenance of the work, and how the translator dealt with unknown regions. They provide some insight into his style.

3.3.5.1 Wolves of Arabia

In the first example, the word ערב has been translated as Ἀραβίας (1:8). This change is simply explained as a repointing of the same consonants, switching from evening (עֶרֶב) to Arabia (עֲרָב).[501]

The keenness of the wolves of Arabia, τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας, might have had a political undertone, which is also similar to the reading in Isa 15:7. Seeligmann made the case that the Isaianic translator read this in light of the conquests by the Nabatean Kingdom of that period.[502] During the middle of the second century, the Nabateans

exist later in Philo and Josephus. Cf. Madeleine Weiger, "Εὐσέβεια et « crainte de Dieu » dans la Septante," in *Septuagint Vocabulary* (eds. Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons; SCS 58; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 102; Claude E. Cox, "Vocabulary for Wrongdoing and Forgiveness in the Greek Translations of Job," *Textus* 15 (1990): 123.

[499] For example, Pons comments that "ḥamas n'est pas que violence, et tout péché n'est pas ḥamas." See Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT*, 28.

[500] Cox, "Vocabulary, Greek Translations of Job," 120.

[501] It should be noted that this was not changed by Origen, who retained OG. See Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003; Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 128.

[502] See Seeligmann, *LXX Version of Isaiah*, 89; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 22 n. 6. Troxel has, however, shown that not all toponyms in Isaiah were used as "stock ciphers for places of his day," indicating political entities. But it did exist. He also did not make objection to this specific use

were entering into a period of geo-political expansion. Their conquest of the Transjordan would have been worrying to the eastern border of the Ptolemaic kingdom, which reached into the Cisjordan.[503] With Isaiah and the Twelve likely written around the same period and place, this similar reading can be understood as a semantic jump apart from the reading tradition of the period.[504] This also means that although it had a degree of error associated with it there was a circumstantial sensibility for the choice.

3.3.5.2 He Shall Come from a Place like Jerusalem

In the second example, rather than translate the well-known place הר פארן (3:3) the translator has used a descriptive phrase. The word Θαιμαν, with which it is in paradigmatic relationship, is a transliteration of the toponym תימן. The sense from the Greek word must be southerly, derived from the Hebrew,[505] so that God will come

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in Isaiah. Cf. Ronald L. Troxel, "What's in a Name? Contemporization and Toponyms in LXX Isaiah," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients* (eds. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Freibel, and Dennis R. Magary; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 327-44.

[503] The reading was corrected in numerous later translations. Although we have evidence of the correction in 8ḤevXIIgr to ἑσπέρας, which is also the case with α′, the portion of Zeph did not survive. The influence of OG was probably quite high. It is indeterminable in 1QpHab whether this is to be vocalised differently because the text is consonantal and the interpretation lends no light on this, referring only to the Kittim. The Tg. interpreted the text as MT (דיבי רמשא).

[504] If this motivation behind the misreading is accurate, the semantic connotation drawn from the consonantal reading from within the political world-of-the-translator then caused the misreading, whether from ערבי or ערב. An interpretative connotated sense such as "desert wolves," so Andersen, is compelling. The alternate reading of עֲבַר could be due to a combination of errors. Not only was the word vocalised differently (pseudo-variant), and likely contrary to the reading tradition, but likely evoked the political reading (cf. also 3:3). First, the word עֲבַר is not very common in the HB, found only four times (2 Chr 9:14; Ezek 27:21; Isa 21:13, 13). Second, although it is always translated by Ἀραβία, this Greek word translates a number of other Heb. words and phrases. Third, additional references to Ἀραβία or Ἄραψ crop up a number of times in the Septuagint without any textual correspondence to the Heb. consonants in question. In each respect a blunt misreading should probably be ruled out for what seems to be interpretative translations that makes reference to a region east of the Ptolemaic Kingdom. See Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 154.

[505] The MT word תימן is a derivation from the word for right-side, or right-hand side, which would therefore have a southward direction (because one is facing east). It is also a person's name (Gen 36:11, 15, 42; 1 Chr 1:36, 53) and also a place (Jer 49:7, 20; Ezek 20:46; 25:13; Amos 1:12; Obad 1:9). There is also the sense from MT Ps 78:26 that Teman is in the east. Although Andersen contests that תימן and פראן are not synonyms, the author has clearly paralleled these two proper nouns, perhaps indicating otherwise. Cf. Ibid., 293.

from somewhere-southward, likely in reference to Jerusalem. God's passage will be made through the wilderness.[506]

In spite of the cosmological features of chapter three, the phrase ὄρους κατασκίου δασέος likely indicates divine deliverance.

> ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Θαιμαν ἥξει
>
> καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου δασέος [ἥξει]

Instead of translating פארן as Φαραν the translator has described the mount, ὄρος, with an adjectival phrase.[507] As a result this particular literary phenomenon does fall within the category of a double translation, where the two adjectives are employed as options for the corresponding Hebrew toponym. However, although the doubling effect is likely related to some difficulty with the text, there are two reasons for considering as part of an effort to disambiguate: 1) the translator did not transliterate the toponym, i.e. Φαραν,[508] as a way to resolve the ambiguity for himself (and therefore his audience), which is common to the Septuagint, and 2) the nature of the change in Amb reflects a more conscious effort to resolve what is meant by ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Θαιμαν ἥξει καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ…

The word κατάσκιος has either positive (Amb 3:3; Zech 1:8) or negative (Jer 2:20; Ezek 20:28) connotations in the Septuagint.[509] In Zechariah the horseman stood between the two shady mountains (μέσον τῶν δύο ὀρέων τῶν κατασκίων), which in MT is between the myrtle trees that were *in the ravine* (בין ההדסים אשר במצלה). The rest of Zechariah's vision offers hope (v. 13, 17) as the LORD will once again rescue Jerusalem and Zion (vv. 14-15), the temple shall be rebuilt and the land prosper once more (vv. 16-17). The jealousy of the LORD is specifically directed against the nations that – only in OG, see v. 15 – amassed together to attack her. This subtle lexical link

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[506] Harper notes, "The Wilderness of פָּארָן is the desert region northwest of the Sinai Peninsula, south of Judah, and southwest of Edom, through which the people journeyed toward the end of the wanderings under Moses." See Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 129.

[507] See Gen 21:21; Num 10:12; 12:16; 13:3, 26; Deut 1:1; 33:2; 1 Kgdms 25:1[om.]; 3 Kgdms 11:18, 18. Also, Harper understands this phrase to only allude to "idolatrous cultic practices on hilltops." Cf. Ibid.

[508] An appeal to a misreading of פארן does not shed much light on the doubling. Cf. Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2424.

[509] In Classical and Hellenistic literature it may refer to a shaded place or a region. See LSJM, "κατάσκιος".

with the broadly common theme of divine rescue must also be reconciled with the use of δασύς – perhaps preserving the old Attic form δασέος, which fluctuated in use.[510]

On its own this word immediately marks the leafy places under which proscribed worship occurred, e.g. Deut 12:2; Isa 57:5.[511] However, when these words are used together they may denote a different sense. In this case it is not just a shady *or* leafy place, but a "thickly [or densely] wooded" mountain.[512] The idea here, that the LORD will come from a densely wooded area, implies a lush and rich place where there is living water. As Harl et al. asks, "avait-il l'intention de faire allusion à un autre lieu," perhaps a place, ideologically speaking, like Jerusalem?[513] This would be much in line with the reference from 3:2, which interpreted the meaning and timing of the LORD's revelation in his sanctioned dwelling place. He comes in from the South, which "est parfois considérée comme une allusion à la conduite du peuple hors d'Égypte."[514] As a future reference it further indicates an epiphany.[515] Thus, after following the ancient wilderness passage he then makes himself known among a rich and luscious location.

The translator sought an alternate reading and doubled it in order to further explicate the passage. It may be that the translator, writing from Alexandria, was unsure of the locale. But as a biblical toponym one might have expected him to follow the wording from Deuteronomy. His relative knowledge of Hebrew toponyms also points away from a Levantine provenance, lending additional support for an Alexandrian one. This has ramifications for other books that share similarities with the Twelve that are suggested to have been crafted in the Levant.[516]

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[510] See Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, 172.

[511] Lust notes that the MT word might have been read as פֹּארָה, *leafy branches*; but, although helpful, this would then leave the previous word unexplained. Cf. Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, "δασύς".

[512] Cf. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, "κατάσκιος".

[513] Although the interpretation of Jerusalem as the reference place is a later Christian one (Harl et al.), due to the changes here in OG this appears to have been the subtle link made by the translator. Moreover, a translator working in Alexandria might not have had a clear understanding of precisely where the location was, though he would have recognised it as a locale instead of a common noun (see Eidsvåg). This may then fall under Eidsvåg's third category for the "translation of names." See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 288; Gunnar Magnus Eidsvåg, "The Rendering of Toponyms in the LXX-Minor Prophets. An Indication of Alexandrian Provenance," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 59; vol. XIV; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 449-54.

[514] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 287.

[515] See ibid.

[516] Wagner provides more recent and compelling evidence from his analysis of Isaiah 1 for an Egyptian, no less Alexandrian, provenance for the writing of Isaiah; contra Schaper. Cf. Schaper,

3.4 Conclusion

The creative style of this translator has been understood through his use of Greek rhetoric and how he handled various linguistic details. The evidence for these rhetorical devices in Ambakoum adds further proof that the translator was a well-trained scribe. Although his Hebrew was by no means perfect, his stylistic concerns were highlighted when he had to make improvised choices. On a number of occasions he was able to steer his translation in such a way that he retained certain ST poetic features. These things show the dragoman as a linguistic negotiator.

Though LXX was probably translated a generation before this translation, the evidence here also shows that he was aware of the *technique(s)* used therein. This was observed in the translator's use of the interrogative phrases ἵνα τί and ἕως τίνος. Though I do concede that such things might have already become integrated into the linguistic schema of that region; such uses might have been considered quite normal, or at least acceptable dialectical developments. This concession should, however, be considered in light of the similar approach of the translator to use λῆμμα in a new literary context. We also observed some textual phenomena were likely due to an Aramaic interference.

These things also indicate that the translator was not only aware of linguistic and textual contexts, but that he had a certain pre-conceived notion of the Twelve, and in particular Ambakoum. We now finally turn to see how some textual changes reveal certain theological perspectives of the translator.

Eschatology in the Greek Psalter, 34-45; Eidsvåg, "The Rendering of Toponyms in the LXX-Minor Prophets," 453-4; Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 232-3, 237.

4.0 Theology and Exegesis

"A translation is a fact of whatever target sector it is found to be a fact of."[517]

"…καὶ εἶπεν Αμβακουμ κύριε ὁ θεός οὐχ ἑώρακα τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὸν λάκκον οὐ γινώσκω ποῦ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοῦ Αμβακουμ τῆς κόμης αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι" (Bel 1:35-36)

4.1 Introduction

The theology of Ambakoum follows the general theological thrust of MT. This is true while theological elements are added, which are otherwise not present, or, in some cases, implied in the ST. Although Ambakoum is only three chapters in length, it has received a somewhat disproportionate degree of attention in the Second Temple period, i.e. Qumran (1QpHab) and in the apocryphal work of Bel (see also Odes). A full analysis on the reasons behind this influence goes beyond the scope of this study. But to comment very briefly, this influence may be due to the poignant and catastrophic leitmotifs of exile and the anti-idolatry polemic of chapter two (cf. Bel). Moreover, the victorious military struggle of the LORD against his enemies, set in a terse psalmic song, may have also held sway over some minds. The prophet Ambakoum also stands in the tradition of the Major Prophets, suffering while denouncing the unrighteousness and lawlessness surrounding him, with familiar invocations of the LORD.

Grasping the nature of any given interpretation within the translational activity is difficult enough, let alone for the Septuagint. When trying to understand the theology of the Septuagint, a major problem that one faces is how to understand the numerous changes throughout. This problem would be greatly diminished if the ST were not available, with the translational approach clearly bearing marks of a foreign kind of literalism. For example, if the translator made unconscious errors, which were rooted in a form of improvisation, then is it really fair to call the differences *theological*, viz. should they be incorporated into the theology of any given book? [518] After all, if these were not *intended*, and in some cases edited out in later recensions, then should these make up part of a theology of Ambakoum? If a change is linguistic in nature, ought it

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[517] Toury, *DTS - and beyond*, 23.

[518] Cf. Jan Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante," *RTP* 132 (2000): 33.

to be included in theological discussion? Are "contextual changes" the only kind to be considered under the rubric of theology? As Joosten asks:

> Comment faire la part entre ce que le traducteur a voulu ajouter à sa version, ce qu'il y a mis de façon inconsciente et ce qui insinué de façon aléatoire?[519]

As explained in chapter two, the choice between a free and literal rendering, including both mishaps and intentional changes, is fluid, occurring sometimes within the same clause or sentence. Many factors could have been present in any given change that were not related to a determinate literalism. This places intended and unintended changes within the same context of the transformation process, at least at the clause-level, notwithstanding the interpretative tradition of the scribal community, as explained in chapter two. Rösel is right that, in spite of these phenomena, the fact is these changes literarily exist and must be considered as part of the literary-theological teaching.[520] They were formed as part of the translator's communicative act, which was originally intended for a certain audience – it had an occasioned mind-set. The "downstream"[521] recipients would have been the language community in which it was produced. By way of text reception, this is true for each emended version, whether being the result of inner-Jewish tensions that pre-date Christianity,[522] or of those afterwards.[523]

The present state of this discussion is set upon a spectrum with one group (maximalists) seeing extensive theological/exegetical evidence throughout the translated texts, and the other (minimalists) accepting the differences as more linguistic. Pietersma explains this as the difference between the translator as a conduit (minimalist), who "does not add to nor subtract from the source text," and the translator

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[519] Ibid., 35.

[520] See Martin Rösel, "Towards a Theology of the Septuagint," in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; vol. 53 of Septuagint Research, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 251.

[521] Ibid., 252.

[522] See Siegfried Kreuzer, "From 'Old Greek' to the Recensions: Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Reference Text of the Septuagint?" in *Septuagint Research* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 231-235.

[523] One need only mention G^L and Hexaplaric recensional features, the Hesychian being even more difficult to determine. For an extended discussion on this see, Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 53-65.

as author (maximalist), who substitutes the source work for his own.[524] Of course, this operates along a continuum so that the actual evidence, from book to book, suggests degrees of change, rather than holding to any one position *in extremis*.

The most helpful component of this paradigm is spectral. This is because, on the one hand, the translators sought to faithfully convey the meaning of the ST without making inappropriate changes. But, on the other hand, they encountered various textual difficulties, whether linguistic or otherwise, and therefore made modifications. Yet in neither case was the translator only author or conduit, but an interpreter – a negotiator without precedence. The very earliest translators had no prior methodological basis from which to work – not that we know of – which is something that helped later translators and redactors with the benefit of hindsight and reflection.[525]

The interpretative act of translation involved many decisions. When the text, for whatever reason, was hard to understand the translator sought to make it clear and understandable within the schema of his interpretative tradition. This might involve the process of improvisation, which, due to its nature, leaves much room to cross-over into a freer approach. This creates unintended opportunities for the translator's personal theological interference. That a theological concept or idea would have come to the translator's mind, as he sought to explicate a linguistically difficult text, is true. Although in many instances the translator followed his kind of literalism, in a handful of instances he negotiated the meaning by employing an interpretation that fit within his theological framework.[526]

However, even this point is debated among scholars. So, if any given – or even all! – change could be explained as a mistake or adaptation, then, within a minimalist system, there is not much of a foundation upon which to build a Septuagintal theology.

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[524] Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," in *Septuagint Research* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 35-36.

[525] The redactors and translators of later periods also had their own *a priori* views that partly controlled their own translation approaches. But they had a point of reference that the first translator(s) did not have.

[526] Glenny finds this sort of approach true throughout the translation of Amos, likely translated by the same person as Amb. De Sousa also finds a similar phenomenon in LXX Isa. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*; Rodrigo Franklin De Sousa, *Eschatology and Messianism in LXX Isaiah 1-12* (516; New York, N.Y.; London: T&T Clark, 2010), 17.

It would have to arise from within the context of text reception. Though, as suggested here, if the new content was constructed from an interpretative tradition or framework, which itself may at times be reasonably connected to other inner-Septuagintal changes, and in some cases to Hebrew-based content, then that theology must be properly reckoned with and not discarded. This is a bridge to systematics at the level of text-production. Furthermore, this is more prominent when both sides of the link are suggested to have been made by the same translator, as with the Twelve. It is presupposed that the TT possessed a degree of coherence to its translator. This leads us to another important issue discussed by scholars: How many theologies are there in the Septuagint?

As Cook points out, scholars "differ rather dramatically"[527] on this area too. First, as already mentioned, the theology of the Septuagintal books does not differ greatly from the main theological points of the STs. While there are some important differences, the overall message of the Septuagint conveys that of its source. Much like modern translations of the Bible, the Septuagint is a relatively reliable translation in which is conveyed the biblical message.

This is, second, due in part to the degrees of literalism present in each book, so that changes lend the books towards divergent theologies. The "commitment to the *Vorlage*, which no translation can ever completely repudiate, will always, somewhat, disqualify it [Septuagint] as a document of an independent theology."[528]

And third, as each translator will encounter different linguistic or contextual challenges in each book, the kind of changes will therefore differ, potentially pushing the theology of the TT away from that of the source. This will either redefine or even break systematic touch points, but it may also create new ones exclusive to the Septuagintal-only content. Conceptually speaking, such changes might possess some kind of semblance across texts that are made by a single translator, or even a group with a similar mind-set and approach. This would naturally include theological alterations that might appear alien to the modern reader, but which might have entirely made sense to that group/individual.

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[527] Johann Cook, "Towards a Formulation of a Theology of the Septuagint," in *Ljubljana 2007* (ed. A. Lemaire; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 621.

[528] Isaac L. Seeligmann, "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," *Textus* 15 (1990): 223.

Both Cook and Rösel have independently put forward gued proposals on how to understand and formulate a Septuagintal theology.[529] In both respects the authors have argued that a theology, or theologies, of the Septuagint is possible. Cook states that a "'theology,' or 'ideology' for that matter, is to be [first] located in the way any given translator in fact renders his parent text."[530] He offers three ways to understand his paradigm for determining a theology of the Septuagint: first, it must be done with the OG text; second, because of the different views of each book many theologies should be expected; and third, working from the second point, "a theology…of the LXX [Septuagint] should be more than, and hence different from, what is formulated in a theology of the Hebrew Bible."[531]

This is close to what the evidence shows. There are multiple theologies located in the different books of the Septuagint. The literary cohesiveness of the overall biblical message, due in part to the variant and tradent nature of the translations, means that there is significant systematic overlap. The systematic biblical message, derived from a canon of texts, is true for the Septuagint as much for MT, the former having more books and therefore more texts from which to draw.

The Septuagintal books also possess theological nuances that are unique to themselves. This is no different than original texts by disparate authors. These differences exist because of both textual and contextual reasons. The introduction of a new theological perspective, hence, finds a degree of theological coherence within the mind of the translator/author. Not having access to the translator, therefore, is problematic, but not insurmountable. It does not introduce uncertainty as a principle. There is no guarantee of certainty gained from having access to him, especially if he was improvising during the translation.[532] Moreover, appeal to subjective data as the

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[529] See Cook, "Theology of the LXX."; Rösel, "Theology of LXX," in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (eds. Kraus and Wooden; ed Peters); Martin Rösel, "Schreiber, Übersetzer, Theologen. Die Septuaginta als Dokument der Schrift-, Lese- und Übersetzungskulturen des Judentums," in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

[530] Cook, "Theology of the LXX," 622.

[531] Ibid., 636.

[532] A translator, much like those in the modern industry, does his best with a certain word of part of a text that, upon later reflection, he may change in any given direction given another opportunity to do so. But in the process of making the first choice the translator found it to be sensible and right – it then acts like a yard-stick for later changes. As Nick King recently pointed out at the Heythrop conference on translation (*The Signs of the Times*, 2013), translators will often use a first instinct

basis from which to explain a translator's decisions can push analysis into the realm of the absurd – the argument becomes unassailable. This simply means that great caution is required when determining whether a textual feature is in or out of the theological milieu. As Joosten further points out:

> Le contenu de la version, ou plutôt la divergence du contenu par rapport à celui du texte hébreu, permet un certain accès aux idées des traducteurs. Mais cet accès reste en général limité à des cas d'interférence inconsciente; les auteurs de la Septante visent le plus souvent à transmettre le sens de l'hébreu tel qu'ils le perçoivent, et non corriger la teneur théologique de leur texte-source d'après leur propre agenda.[533]

That we find amounts of so-called unintended theology within the Septuagint does not square with the tradition of the translator(s). It muddies the waters. As there are no unmotivated choices in verbal communication, what may have been unconsciously done revealed a certain theological posture. As Glenny notes on Amos, "…the reader catches snippets of the translator's biases and the influences of his environment and culture in small and subtle differences between the *Vorlage* and the translation."[534] I am not aware of any wide-scale or systematic theological tinkering occurring in Ambakoum, which seems to be also true of Amos and Zechariah. But there is a development of themes that are not present in MT. These characteristically Septuagintal distinctions together make up the theology of Ambakoum.

4.2 The Prophetic Characteristics of Ambakoum

There are a number of characteristics of the prophet Ambakoum that are different from MT. These differences may be understood through a combination of lexical variation, which is sometimes accompanied by a shift in syntax, expansion of the text and an alternate reading of ST consonants. These features are related by how they expand the experiences and role of the prophet: he suffers along with God's people at

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approach that then measures further thoughts. Sometimes the initial decision is right and the translator keeps going; there is no absolute rule or guide on this, especially within such an ancient context as proposed for the translator-scribes of the Septuagint. Moreover, modern translations are now dominated by levels of editorial committees, no one person has the final comment or view of how to translate any word, phrase or sentence. Everything is reviewed extensively in light of a pre-determined translational and theological approach.

[533] Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante," 46.

[534] Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*, 240.

the hands of the impious, identifies with those of the exile – a key concept of the book – and is tacitly established as a pedagogue to explain the invasion, committed by idolaters. These occur across all three chapters of the book, partially indicating the unity of the book at the time of the OG translation.

4.2.1 The Suffering Prophet

The subject of Ambakoum's suffering occurs in Amb 1:2; 3:2, 16. In each case, it does not seem that this subject is implied in MT. The prophet Habakkuk is frustrated and vexed by the injustice around him (Hab 1:2). Although this same theme exists in Ambakoum, the description of the prophet's suffering (ἀδικέω) is particular to the TT.

	Amb 1:2c-d	Hab 1:2c-d
c	βοήσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἀδικούμενος /	אזעק אליך חמס \
d	καὶ οὐ σώσεις	ולא תושיע
	Being wronged shall I cry out to you,	Shall I cry out to you, "Violence!"
	and you will not save?	and you will not save?

First, the alternate reading of the vocative חמס is both a grammatical and a semantic difference. One might simply repoint the nominal's consonants as a passive participle for a simple explanation, e.g. חָמֻס. However, there is no evidence to support an alternate reading tradition.[535] Second, the use of the passive participle ἀδικούμενος was a way to express a judicial complaint against unmerited wrongdoing in the Hellenistic period.[536] Therefore, this change is likely related to a translational tradition over how the word חמס is understood in this context as it relates to the suffering of the prophet.[537] The translator's choice is consonant with that view.

The subject of the suffering prophet recurs in Amb 3:2 and 3:16. In each instance there is a textual difficulty that caused the translator to adapt. Amb 3:2 is a fairly well-known complicated series of doublets. The example of this translation unit reflects the translator's penchant to sometimes double words and clauses. Whether this is due to difficulty with the text (2:16), or a form of exegetical recursion (1:5, 6; 3:3), is very

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[535] The pass. ptc. of ἀδικέω usually translates עשק (Deut 28:29, 33; Pss 102:6; 145:7), with what seems to be some interpretative variations in Isa (Isa 1:17; 25:3, 4). This pass. ptc. is also in 3 Macc 3:8; Sir 4:9; 35:13; Ep Jer 1:53.

[536] See Cox, "Vocabulary, Greek Translations of Job," 127.

[537] See p. 123.

difficult to pin down. This is due to the conflated nature of the expanded text, which also leaves open the question as to whether this was meant to remain in the final text-form. There is here a combination of literal and free renderings of the ST that exist in addition to the doublets.

	Amb 3:2	Hab 3:2	
a	κύριε εἰσακήκοα	יְהוָה שָׁמַעְתִּי	
b	τὴν ἀκοήν σου	שִׁמְעֲךָ	
c	καὶ ἐφοβήθην	יָרֵאתִי	
d	κατενόησα		
e		יְהוָה	
f	τὰ ἔργα σου	פָּעָלְךָ	
g	καὶ ἐξέστην		
h	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ	שָׁנִים...[תְּוָדַע?]
i	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ	בְּקֶרֶב...
j	ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ		
k	ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι τὴν ψυχήν μου		[בְּרֹגֶז רוּחִי]
l	ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ	בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר	

Amb	κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ ἐφοβήθην
Barb	κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ εὐλαβήθην
Hab	יהוה שמעתי שמעך יראתי

Amb	------ κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην
Barb	κύριε κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην
Hab	יהוה פעלך

The first set of doublets is observed in the juxtaposition of εἰσακούω (שמע) and φοβέομαι (ירא), which is paralleled in the second line by the pairing of κατανοέω and ἐξίστημι. The second vocative for the LORD is dropped entirely. It is quite unlikely that there was a problem understanding the common Hebrew words, thus the problem for the translator is *how* to interpret or transform the text. Eaton is right that שמע should go with ירא, and therefore the second line is an interpretative re-working of the previous one. This makes the conjectural reading of ראיתי for κατενόησα unnecessary.[538] Thus the exegetical object of פעלך, ἐξέστην, is a free contextual addition.

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[538] See J. H. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," *ZAW* 35, no. 2 (1964): 147.

The following clauses, lines *h-j*, are not straightforward to understand when compared to the ST. It is evident that the translator correctly read (vocalised) the first two words of MT (בקרב שנים),[539] but mixed them between the lines, thus paralleling ἐν μέσῳ (בְּקֶרֶב) with ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν (בִּקְרֹב), and δύο (שְׁנַיִם) with τὰ ἔτη (שָׁנִים). In the first line there are at least three possible options to explain the differences with MT. First, if the phrase חייהו is to match ζωῶν, then the translator likely sought a translational equivalent through the adjective חי (חיים), and then added γινώσκω,[540] which according to MT is from the following line (ידע). Or, second, if he understood חייהו through √חוה,[541] which is then translated as γνωσθήσῃ, then he added the adjective anaphorically by translating it as a plural substantive (ζωῶν). However, third, he may have contextually changed his translation by reading the form as two words, e.g. חַי יְחַוֶּה, and made the substantive plural. In each case the pronoun הו is absent and the translator has contextually omitted or added something, further exemplifying his knowledge of the surrounding text.[542] The concept derived from the pronoun was likely a reference to the LORD's appearance in the temple in Jerusalem, which might also have spurred these interpretations.[543] The third Greek clause, line *j*, is the most free in every respect. It is an interpretative and exegetical rendering that was likely just one more effort to explain the meaning of the passage. The multiplication of translational attempts shows both an interpretative free hand, and use of contextual changes.

One notable difference between the next and final doublet (ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι…), lines *k-l*, is that the additional line textually precedes its MT referent. It is doubtful that the translator intentionally sought to overtly embed a theological point with the reference to the prophet. If the translator began with an alternate vocalisation (בְּרֹגֶז) and misread the subsequent word as רוּחִי, he may have then realised his mistake and

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[539] If he read the *Vorlage* as infinitives, so Soisalon-Soininen, the result was interpretative based on the analysis presented here, cf. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die infinitive* (STTAASF 132,1; ed. Veikko Väänänen; Helsinki: Suomalaien Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 200.

[540] See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 286.

[541] See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 122.

[542] The translator always recognises the rarer pron. הו in the Twelve, changing it once to a pl. in Joel 2:4. On this basis, confusion of pron. is best ruled out.

[543] See F. F. Bruce, "Habakkuk," in *The Minor Prophets* (ed. Thomas McCormiskey; vol. 2; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2009), 880; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nah, Hab, and Zeph* (OTL 1 ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 131; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 286.

began again, hence the terseness of the line. With the repetition of the previous clause-initial infinitive phrases, it could have been a simple mistake. But as this occurs on the heels of the previous free interpretations, it may alternately indicate a freer adaptation here too. In either case, the translator has, once again, presented Ambakoum as a travailing prophet. This harkens back to Amb 1:2-4 where the prophet cries out about the injustice around him that he himself experiences.

The next thematic link of this suffering prophet is in Amb 3:16. A misreading of the very common relative particle has been suggested, so that he read the rare אֲשֶׁר, and added the possessive pronoun, thus אַשְׁרִי.[544] This is translated with the common substantive ἕξις. Neither of these words mean the same thing, and it seems very unlikely that the translator misread the prosaic particle. So why would he change the meaning if it was clear?

	Amb 3:16d-g	Hab 3:16d-g
d	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν τρόμος εἰς τὰ ὀστᾶ μου /	יבוא רקב בעצמי \
e	καὶ ὑποκάτωθέν μου ἐταράχθη ἡ ἕξις μου	ותחתי ארגז
f	ἀναπαύσομαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως /	אשר אנוח ליום צרה \
g	τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς λαὸν παροικίας μου	לעלות לעם יגודנו

And trembling entered into my bones, and my gait was troubled beneath me; I will rest in a day of affliction, to go up to a people of my sojourning.	Decay enters into my bones, and I tremble in my place; yet I will wait for a day of distress, to come up against a people who attack us.

It does not seem likely that he misread his *Vorlage*. The initial problem here is the balance between the parallel lines (something the Masoretes fixed: אֲשֶׁר אֶרְגָּ֑ז; and through typesetting is further clarified in *BHQ* 13).[545] The particle is at an odd juncture as clause-initial, either making line *e* shorter or line *f* longer than its parallel line. The translator interpreted the particle as being part of line *e*. The difficulty of the reading was not the semantics of the words but the logical relationship between the lines. He adapted the word to the context as it did not make sense as it stood. This change is exegetical. The added personal pronoun also makes immediate contextual sense, due to the presence of the other aspects of the prophet's present distress (and in the case of Ambakoum his identification with those of the exile). It is also another broad literary

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[544] See Eaton, "Habakkuk 3," 157; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2427.

[545] See Eaton, "Habakkuk 3," 157; Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 102.

link across the rest of the previous chapters of the book. It further develops the theme of a suffering prophet, and therefore the literary character of Ambakoum.

4.2.2 The Disciplinary Teacher

Ambakoum 1:12 deviates quite clearly from its ST, making alternate lexical choices and inverting the syntax. The first noun is taken verbally, and the controlling finite verb is substantive, though a pronoun is retained. Harl et al. explains this change as highly interpretative. It directs the reader away from the thought that God is personally involved in the judgement of his people:

> peut-être choqué par l'idée que l'envahisseur puisse être chargé par Dieu de châtier Israël, le traducteur reporte cette fonction sur le prophète qui reçoit un rôle pédagogique.[546]

This may be explained in two ways. First, instead of following the Hebrew across the two lines (יהוה למשפט שמתו \ וצור להוכיח יסדתו), which makes one fundamental point regarding the Chaldean chastening of Israel, the translation instead makes two. The first line agrees that the Chaldeans are to invade (*Seigneur, pour le jugement tu l'as placé* [κύριε εἰς κρίμα τέταχας αὐτόν]), which is a close representation of the Hebrew; then the second line announces a new role for Ambakoum (*et il m'a façonné pour que j'atteste son enseignement* [καὶ ἔπλασέν με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ])[547] – implying he must explain why God's people suffer.[548] This second line marks a clear departure in meaning from the source.

Most critiques of the translator's approach explain that his word-choices were sought atomistically; hence each word-choice is understood by how each translated word corresponds, in sequence, with its source word.[549] This means that the way to

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[546] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 268.

[547] Ibid.

[548] A similar role change also occurred in 1QpHab where God hands over judgement into the hand of בחירו to judge all the nations. This shift in sense, explained later in the pesher, moves judgement from the hand of the nations, i.e. the Kittim, to the agency of God's elect. Therefore, God is still judge of the nations, but not the one directly executing it.

[549] See Arie van der Kooij, "Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible and the History of Reception. The Case of Habakkuk 1:11-12," in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer* (eds. Ulrich Dahmen, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000), 91.

understand καὶ ἔπλασέν [με] is through a misreading of וצור,[550] and in turn παιδείαν αὐτοῦ through misreading יסדתו. Because of the matching of word-order within the book this approach has some merit, but if made determinative, it might inadvertently rule out other factors that were germane to the translator's choices. As argued here, the evidence shows that the translational choices were due to linguistic factors that were part of a clause-wide decision.[551]

Scholars have pointed out that the difference in translation of the first word could be the result of either a vocalisation change[552] or a misreading, so that צור is taken

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[550] Peters, however, argues for a different *Vorlage* to that of MT, so that, "The LXX translator read his text as a verb coming from יצר…and it appears that verb was suffixed with the first person singular." Cf. Melvin K. H. Peters, "Revisiting the Rock: TSUR as a Translation of Elohim in Deuternonomy and Beyond," in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint* (eds. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp; VTSup 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 48.

[551] A comparison between MurXII and 1QpHab to MT demonstrates negligible differences in the biblical text for Hab 1:12. It is a little unfortunate that MurXII has not been preserved to reveal the phrases of major interest in our study, viz. וצור, and יסדתו. 1QpHab differs in the prepositional phrase of line four by taking the *hipʿil* inf. as a *hipʿil* ptc., thus למוכיחו, plus suf. This is unlikely the result of a misreading, and, as Kim explains, altered for interpretative reasons. The suf. was likely added cataphorically so that it anticipates the interpretation. Because its absence leaves open the interpretation, it was, therefore, added intentionally to concretise the referent. As Kim concludes, "In 1QpHab wurden beide Wörter, deren Adressaten in MT nicht konkret sind, durch die bloße Hinzufügung eines Pronominalsuffixes am Ende des *lemmas* konkretisiert." Moreover, as Brownlee notes, "this widely divergent text is essential to the interpretation given in the document [1QpHab]." Lastly, Andersen also comments that the first word of this clause, צור, can here be only understood as a noun, and in this context, as a vocative in poetic apposition to יהוה, as in MT. In sum, there is so little difference between MSS that an alternate *Vorlage* for either the copyist of MurXII or 1QpHab does not seem likely, at least in this section. See Jong-Hoon Kim, "Intentionale Varianten der Habakukzitate im Pesher Habakuk: Rezeptionsästhetisch untersucht," *Bib* 88, no. 1 (2007): 31-32; Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 26-27; Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 180.

[552] Brownlee's case for a misreading of the Heb. is derived from an understanding through either צור or יצר. As he explains, "…one has a choice between צור II, [צור] III, and צרר I & III, with common meanings such as 'bind, besiege, show hostility, distress.' It would appear best to derive the term from צור in both G [OG] and DSH [Dead Sea Habakkuk, i.e. 1QpHab]; for this would yield a common term from which the divergent senses of fashion and distress were drawn. If one reads the inf., he may retain MT וצור but interpret it as a verb form." The first choice is more likely due to the non-quiescent first radical *yôd*. In this case the form would be very similar. The first option would yield a reading such as וצרני. In this case we have a difference of three consonants: the middle component, and the pronominal suf. In the second option there is also a consonantal difference of three, ויצרני. There is a *yôd* for the first radical and also the obj. suf. He concludes, however, that the MT form may be retained by instead reading it as an inf. and thus "interpret it as a verb form." This might fall under the category of vocalic variant if further developed. See Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 27.

verbally.[553] However, none of the suggestions satisfactorily explains the presence of all the syntactic parts, particularly that of the object pronoun.[554] The logical implication is that this text was based either on a different reading or *Vorlage*, which must then consider the suffix, conjunction and other words in syntagmatic relationship, or be attributed to the translator's style.

Scholars also argue that similarity of consonants caused the final word to be mistranslated as παιδείαν αὐτοῦ, misreading it through a form of יסר, though rightly identifying the third-person pronoun.[555] Gelston's observation that the change is a result of what occurred in the first noun is partly correct.[556] The two elements are connected but the linguistic difficulty was more likely with the final word not the first. This would have given the translator pause for further consideration of his choices.

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[553] Gelston suggests that the translator saw a verb instead of a noun and merely added the obj., noting also the same interpretation by the Syr. Translator. But the latter change might have been caused by the former. However, none of this adequately explains the presence of the pron. Cleaver-Bartholomew provides a complicated solution to try and address the presence of the pron. He suggests that, while the *Vorlage* was likely the same as MT, in light of the accurate reading from 2:18, the translation difference may be understood as: first, a confusion of *yôds* for *wāws*; and second, a transposition of the final *rêš* for the pron. The result would be a pseudo-variant of יצרי; the process is: יצרי < יציר < וצור. But, first, did the translator really mix up the difference between an obj. suf. on a pf. verb for a poss. one? Second, orthographically speaking, the misreading between a *yôd* and *wāw* could just have easily gone in the other direction. Hence the idea of transposition between the *rêš* and *yôd* is moot. Incidentally, this leaves the addition of the Greek conj. unexplained. And third, although the form יצרי could be explained as a misreading for a part. with suf., i.e. Isa 49:5, the translational choice would not be consistent with the translation of verbal participles throughout the book. Thus the problem is regularly compounded by the presence of all syntactic parts. A literal retroversion, in this case, must consider a form and vocalisation such as וַיִּצָרֵנִי. See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 117; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 142-3.

[554] Fabry, although discussing the Heb. reception of Hab in Qumran, has pointed out the allusive reference of Hab 1:12 in 1QHᵃ, where the text reads, למשפט יסדתני. There is a vague reference here to Hab 1:12, but more so with Amb 1:12 via the presence of the first per. suf. The similarity is observed across the two final Heb. lines of the verse. However, the problem here is that πλάσσω usually translates יצר (also cf. n. 565), and θεμελιόω usually יסד. Hence, while there is not a clear quotation, there exists a similar idea of one being established for judgement. See Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, eds., *1QHodayotᵃ* (ed. Emanuel Tov; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 167; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "The Reception of Nahum and Habakkuk in the Septuagint and Qumran," in *Emanuel* (eds. Shalom M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 255.

[555] Muraoka notes (†) that the Gk. word παιδεία is found twice in reference to an understanding through the Heb. word מוסר through the root יסר. This is noted for both Amos 3:7 and Amb 1:12. See T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 181.

[556] See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 94, 117.

The flow of analysis is not always linear because the translator would be aware of his sentence, and therefore other elements in his clause. He is making sense of the entire passage, not progressing from word to word.

All of these theories have some appeal through the similarity found between the forms of each possible solution. The verb root צור is identical in form to the noun צוּר, and יסד is very similar to יסר. Moreover, as Rudolph suggests, the translator may have understood this reading through the variant root יְסוּר, thus יְסוּרוֹ, which is also found in 4QBeat (ביסוריה).[557] So should this not be simply put to rest as a series of straightforward misreadings? It would be easy to conclude that the presence of the pronoun was just the translator's way of making sense of things – end of story. But this leads to further questions. Did he really misread a word (צוּר) so common throughout scripture that it is *always* correctly understood (eighty-two times) by all translators, across all books, including its uses as a metaphor for, or pertaining to, the LORD?[558] Quite notably it is never taken verbally except in this case. Moreover, why would he choose a first person pronoun and not perhaps a third? On what basis did he think himself warranted to recast the prophet as a pedagogue of sorts? This does not mean the translator did not have difficulty with his text. The question is where. How can we explain his approach so that we can rightly understand the reason(s) behind the evidence?

First, as explained above, there are textual phenomena across all three chapters of the TT that are related through literary and thematic alterations to the prophet. This is true whether it is a change to his experiences or role. It is far more likely (for linguistic

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[557] See Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha-Zephanja* (KAT 13,2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1975), 209; Martin G. Abegg et al., eds., *DSS Concordance. Vol. 1, Pt. 1* (2 vols.; vol. 1; Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2003), 314.

[558] There are sixteen nominal references in LXX. Of these it is used in three ways: a proper noun (Num 23:9; 25:15; 31:8); a common noun, such as an inanimate obj. like a rock or crag (Exod 17:6, 6; 33:21, 22; Deut 8:15; 32:13); and in allusion or direct reference to divinity (Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 31, 37). Notably, in every instance in Deut the metaphor πέτρα is changed to θεός (see also Exod 17:6). Outside of LXX there are sixty-six nominal references that have a number of similar usages. While in every instance where it is used as a metaphor it is made explicit through translation by θεός, or something interpretative of the character of God or his deeds, i.e. helper, strong tower, etc., only in Amb 1:12 is the metaphor taken in a verbal and distinctly different sense. This change might have been part of a translation tradition that subtly addressed an anti-anthropomorphic *Denkart*. Olofsson's statistical work is helpful on this specific subj.; cf. Staffan Olofsson, *God Is My Rock* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), 44-45, 140-2, 149-51; Dines, *The Septuagint*, 132; Wevers, *Notes on Deuteronomy*, 518.

reasons stated below) that the translator recognised the divine appellative here in Hab 1:12. But, because it was part of a translational approach to concretise it, i.e. less metaphorical (something which is also common to translations in general), he may have sought to change it accordingly (cf. n. 558). In addition, at the occasion of the translation there might have been some aversion to presenting God as an inanimate object.[559] But this theological point is much in present dispute.

Second, he was perhaps unsure of the meaningful application of the final word.[560] His recourse was to assess what was the most logical semantic path, which was probably not related to Amos 3:7 through visual association with the noun סוד, in spite of the similarities between each. The fact that the translator chose παιδεία is, third, due to the implied meaning derived from the infinitive.

The word ἐλέγχω is used to translate יכח in the *hip'il* when the context is concerned with instruction or teaching. Although the Hebrew meaning is often associated with chastening, the other sense, as Harl et al. points out, of "réfuter, donner la preuve, prouver, attester" is the better sense for the passage.[561] This probably explains the

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[559] In fact, so consistent is the inner-Septuagint evidence for how this is translated that Olofsson points out, "The translator of the Book of Psalms always treated צור as a divine title differently from its literal and its ordinary metaphorical meaning and the same is true of the translators of the other LXX books. A literal rendering of צור was consistently avoided when it referred to God." This is something with which Peters vigorously opposes, arguing well for an alternate *Vorlage* in all these instances. It is not clear from this evidence in Amb whether or not this was caused by an anti-anthropomorphic stance. Cf. Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 45, 140; Peters, "Revisiting the Rock," 37-51.

[560] If the translator knew the meaning of יסד he likely changed it here for linguistic reasons, rather than because of a mistake. It is found only once in LXX (Exod 9.18) where it is *nip'al*. Outside of this, it is found forty-four times with a number of references each in the Psalter, Isa and Twelve. In a similar form as found in Hab 1:12, i.e. 2ms pf., it is found six times, with the five other references only in the Psalter. It is often translated by θεμελιόω (always except once in the Psalter) but contextually altered for different meanings in different books. This is also true in the Twelve, except in Amb, which points away from a misunderstanding of the word. It is understood verbally by α′ (θεμελιόω) and σ′ (ἵστημι), which also take the word *rock* substantively and interpretatively, στερέος and κραταιός respectively. Incidentally, these other translations tacitly point to an interpretative stance towards this portion of Amb, which might indicate the translational paradigm, see p. 13.

[561] Cleaver-Bartholomew has explained that in the process of time the Greek word underwent a change in meaning from "scorn," to include meanings such as "to expose, resist, interpret and expound," and also "to investigate." This "includes all aspects of education from the conviction of the sinner to chastisement and punishment, for the instruction of the righteous by severe tests to his/her direction by teaching and admonition." Notably, it is also commonly found "in conjunction with יסר/מוּסָר." This, he concludes, gives it a pedagogic sense. See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 269; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 152; Muraoka, *Greek/Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index*, 220.

difference between the English translations and both BdA and LXX.D.[562] In this sense, *discipline* is bound up in the concept of God's desire to reprove his people, so that l'expression signifie que le prophète serait chargé de justifier le bien fondé du châtiment à venir.[563] Therefore, in summary, the clause-wide choices were greatly affected by obscurity of the final word in context.[564] Because this was the controlling finite verb the translator sought a decision that made sense in the context of the passage. The approach was thus a logical improvisation by contextual change, rather than a misreading or some guess-work. The choice for the verbal form of צור is likely derived from its use in LXX.[565] In this case, God remains the subject, and the addition of the pronoun in reference to the prophet is literarily consistent.[566]

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[562] Both the BdA and LXX.D/E projects have taken the interpretation along the line of the second sense (*enseignement* instead of perhaps *châtiment*, and *Erziehung* instead of perhaps *Züchtiger*) rather than the other sense of discipline taken by some English translations (NETS, "chastening;" Brenton, "correction"). See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 268; Bons et al., eds., *LXX.D*, 1204; Pietersma and Wright, eds., *NETS*, 808; Brenton, *English Translation of LXX*, 1106.

[563] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 269.

[564] If Peters is right that there was an alternate *Vorlage* then there probably ought to be an alternate reading for the final form too. This is not clearly addressed. But the slightly unique nature of this change in Amb might point away from such things. Cf. Peters, "Revisiting the Rock," 48.

[565] In the vast majority of instances πλάσσω translates יצר. It also sometimes translates the verb צור (Exod 32:4; Ps 138:5). In a number of other instances it translates words with very different meanings, e.g. בדא, or יצב, or חול, to name a few (3 Kgdms 12:33; 4 Kgdms 19:25; Pss 89:2; 118:73; Prov 24:12; Job 10:8, 9; Isa 29:16, 16; 38:14). It is also used exegetically without a source word *per se* (Gen 2:15; Job 34:15; Isa 53:11), and is also used in a handful of apocryphal writings. The translation, however, of a substantive in Amb 1:12 is unique. This information points in a number of directions. First, in a handful of instances πλάσσω was used somewhat interpretatively for different reasons, which seem to be restricted to each individual context. Second, the majority of evidence supports the fact that πλάσσω is used for יצר I and צור III. Due to the aforementioned textual difficulties of Hab 1:12, the translation process was different in Amb 1:12 from the instances where this Greek word was used. It does appear, however, that consonantal similarity was likely a factor that helped the translator resolve the textual issue he faced. But, and it is emphasised, the essential problem here in Hab was difficulty in another part of the clause. The consonantal similarity between this noun and the verbs יצר and צור was like a stepping stone to help the translator with his decision, which was how to reconcile the well-known divine appellation in light of the entire linguistic problem. Furthermore, a thematic link may have existed. The poignant content of Exod 32:1-6 is thematically linked to Amb 2:18-19 where πλάσσω also translates יצר. Moreover, the Greek word πλάσσω is more semantically suitable to the context of Amb 1:12 than, for example, ποιέω.

[566] Harl et al. goes on to explain that this is a thoroughly biblical, non-Hellenistic, chastening that creates an inner-biblical theological point (e.g. Lev 26:18; Deut 8:5, etc.). This linguistic development from the Greek/Heb. *to reprove* is thus completed, in translation, by pairing it to *his discipline/education*. This, therefore, leaves the prophet in a peculiar situation whereby he must justify the validity of the chastisement. Harl, commenting on Deut, notes that "[s]i un caractère est commun à

4.2.3 Exile

The next series of interpretative changes are related to the leitmotif of exile. They are also all made possible by reading a *wāw* for a *yôd* in the ancient script (Amb 1:11, 12; 3:16), which also occurs in 2:4 for other reasons (see pp. 112, 156).[567]

In Amb 1:11 the translator interpreted the suffix on the final word as a first instead of third person possessive pronoun. It is probably not due to a misreading through the orthographic similarity between the *wāw* and *yôd* in the ancient script, but the uniqueness of the MT form.[568] The alternate spelling for אלהים, אלוה, never has a suffix except in Habakkuk. The slight oddity of the form might have caused the translator to interpret this as a first person suffix (he also shows no trouble translating אלהים in construct state in Hab 3:18). Although translators show a tendency to change the pronoun on this proper noun,[569] this change in Ambakoum is, however, unique. It would seem that the oddity of the form contributed to part of the translator's interpretation of the passage.

	Amb 1:11	Hab 1:11
aA	...καὶ ἐξιλάσεται	...ואשם
aB	αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ μου	זו כחו לאלהו

…and he will propitiate.
This strength belongs to my God.

…and he will become guilty
– he whose strength is his god.

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ces divergences et aux mots « supplémentaires » que nous avons relevés pour cette partie, il s'explique par le souci de précision, d'actualisation, de mise en accord avec les traditions et les pratiques juives de l'époque. *Les divergences ne semblent pas résulter d'un projet global d'interprétation théologique*" (emphasis mine). See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 268; Marguerite Harl and Cécile Dogniez, eds., *Le Deutéronome* (BdA 5; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 39.

[567] As Cleaver-Bartholomew notes, in the majority of instances within Amb (40/52x) the translator always translated the suffixes with the same person, but in a small number of instances did not. See David Cleaver-Bartholomew, "One Text, Two Interpretations," *BIOSCS* 42 (2009): 58.

[568] Contra Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 117. There would have been a reasonable degree of orthographic comprehension so that scribes understood the difference between a *wāw* and a *yôd*. This does not do away with all mistakes but such appeals ought to be limited. Rather, a translator might have sought an alternate reading through the switch between these two similar looking letters due to other linguistic difficulties.

[569] In the 119 instances where אלהי is found in MT, the majority of translations keep the pron. However, there are a number of instances where the entire phrase/form is omitted, or changed to ἡμῶν, or the noun is interpretatively changed to τὸ γλυπτόν μου or replaced by κύριε though still omitting the pron.

There is no confusion with the pronoun זו, which is translated αὕτη. The change to the more regular spelling of זה in 1QpHab is merely a spelling variation. The object of the demonstrative is ἡ ἰσχύς, like MT, but the translator has omitted the suffix on the substantive כח. The pronoun is evident in both 1QpHab and MurXII, the former having a plene spelling. The translator of Ambakoum seldom omits suffix pronouns. In each instance it appears to be due to difficulty with the passage, as is the case here.[570] The final word likely caused the translator to omit the first possessive pronoun here to ensure clarity in the reading, which is a free contextual omission.

The MT prepositional phrase is interpreted as a dative possessive. The translation of a *lāmed* plus אלוה/אלהים is handled many different ways throughout the Septuagint, changing case, omitting the preposition, etc. It appears that context decides. In this case the same is true, and the new phrase has clarified an underlying theological point. The source of the Chaldean strength to propitiate for their misdeeds against Israel comes from the God of Ambakoum.[571] They do not derive their strength from their idols because the LORD raised them up for his purposes – the exile of his people according to promise (Deut 28:49-68). While this theological interpretation was not the primary reason for altering the text, it was how the translator made sense of it. It occurred through a combination of improvisation and free style.

The last instance of this kind of textual change is the interpretation of the final word in Hab 3:16. The similarity between this form and the final word in Hab 1:12 is that the translator, in each case, sought to retain the pronominal suffix of a verbal form. In this case, if the translator was unsure of the reading, rather than misread it, he may have sought to resolve it through גור√. Eaton notes that he may have read it as יְגוּרֵנִי (*that* makes me sojourn), and then translated it exegetically to suit the context.[572] A change through similarity between the third radical and *dālet*, and the change in person of the suffix, is consistent with the translator's style. But a contextual change, or even a guess, which involved a grammatical alteration, is more likely than a misreading, the latter being more difficult to support. The translator has, therefore, resolved a difficulty

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[570] See Amb 1:8; 2:6, 15; 3:14, 14, 19. The prepositional phrase in Amb 2:18 is re-ordered to smoothe out the Greek.

[571] The Tg. reading of לטעותיה, as an exegetical translation choice, also hints at an understanding that the strength of the invaders was limited because their strength was rooted in the error of idolatry and not the living God of Habakkuk. Cf. DJPA, "טעו"; Jastrow, "טעו". Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 460.

[572] See Eaton, "Habakkuk 3," 157.

by yet again adapting the prophet to the context. The prophet personally identifies with the people of the exile – a motif of the prophecy.

4.3 Eschatology

Eschatology in this study refers to the way(s) that Hellenistic Jews interpreted the end of the age. The English word *eschatology* in part comes from the Greek adjective ἔσχατος, which generally means *last*, *final*, *furthest*, etc., and its technical definition comes from its use in theological contexts, i.e. Deut 4:30; Mic 4:1; Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; Dan 2:28; John 6:39; 2 Tim 3:1; 1 Pet 1:5, etc. In this period of study, the "later days" (e.g. ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν / באחרית הימים) came to be understood as how the LORD would bring an end to injustice and institute his rule on the earth. This would be marked in very particular ways, which were naturally deduced from a close reading of the scriptures. There were differing opinions on precisely how this new kingdom would emerge, or what its signs would be. While this theological construct can be derived from interpreting MT, there are certain ideological changes along these lines within Ambakoum that point towards the translator's understanding of these things.

4.3.1 The Day of the LORD

The act of raising up the Chaldeans is ideologically associated to the eschatological Day of the LORD (1:7). This connection to an end-time event is only made in Ambakoum, not in MT. It is identified through the alternate choice of lexeme regarding the LORD's instrument of wrath: the Chaldean.

Amb 1:7	Hab 1:7
aA φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν /	אים ונורא הוא \ aA
aB ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ /	ממנו משפטו \ aB
aC καὶ τὸ λῆμμα αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσεται	ושאתו יצא

He is fearful and glorious,	He is dreadful and fearful,
His judgement will be from him,	His jutice and his authority go out
And his proclamation will go out from him.	from him.

Of the twenty-one instances of the Greek adjective ἐπιφανής in the Septuagint the most well-known is its use in the appellative Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής (1 Macc 1:10; 10:1; 2 Macc 2:20; 4:7; 10:9, 13; 4 Macc 4:15). Aside from this it almost always translates the Hebrew verb ירא (Judg 13:6; Joel 2:11; 3:4; Amb 1:7; Zeph 3:1; Mal 3:22; 1 Chr

17:21).[573] It has a wide variety of use and meaning in Hellenistic literature. Within the Septuagint it generally means *notable* or *distinguished*, perhaps with an embedded sense of gloriousness or splendidness, and can also mean *renowned* (Mal 1:14).[574]

The regular translation choice for ירא/יראה is φοβέομαι/φοβός. The adjective is derived from the *nipʿal* participle,[575] and in each instance within the Twelve where ἐπιφανής is used it is in reference to the Day of the LORD (Joel 2:11; 3:4; Amb 1:7; Mal 1:14; 3:22). This is a stylistic characteristic of the Twelve.[576] Whereas the ST gives the sense that this judgement will be fearful or awesome, the TT expresses this as a great manifestation, a great epiphany. When the context pertains to the Day of the LORD the translator of the Twelve always uses ἐπιφανής instead of φοβερός to translate נורא.

The phrase φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής is unique within OG, as is אים ונורא.[577] And φοβερός never translates אים elsewhere, which might have been better translated with θαμβός, as in 8ḤevXIIgr.[578] The Greek juxtaposition of these words has explicitly connoted the Day of the LORD with the description of the Chaldean. This is not a

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[573] This might exempt Zeph 3:1, but this appears to be a misreading for the *hipʿil* ptc. of ראה. See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 108.

[574] Proverbs 25:14 is the only reference to translate an alternate word, הלל (*to glory* or *shine forth*), which is in reference to the visual manifestation of the elements. All the untranslated or expanded texts also have the same meaning of distinguished or glorious: Esth 5:1; 2 Macc 6:23; 14:33; 15:34; 3 Macc 5:35. See Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 286.

[575] The majority of these participial forms are likewise translated by φοβερός, with a handful of exceptions: θαυμαστός in Exod 15:11; 34:10; Deut 28:58; Pss 45:5; 65:6 (5); 68:36 (Dan [TH] 9:4); κραταιός in Deut 7:21; ἔνδοξος in Deut 10:21; Isa 64:2; the interpretative use of τιμή in Job 37:22; χαλεπός in Isa 18:2; and ἰσχυρός in Dan 9:4; otherwise φοβερός is used for the majority (Gen 28:17; Deut 1:19; 8:15; 10:17; 1 Chr 16:25; Neh 1:5; 4:8; 9:32; Pss 47:3; 66:3; 66:5; 76:8; 76:13; 89:8; 96:4; 99:3; 106:22; 111:9; 139:14; 145:6; Isa 21:1). Outside of the Twelve the only place where נורא is translated with ἐπιφανής is Judg 13:6, where it is used to describe the manifestation of the angelic being, and 1 Chr 17:21, where it is used to describe the glorious name of the LORD. Otherwise, the rest of the references are found in the Twelve with only three minor exceptions (There is the expanded text of Esth 5:1, where it retains the similar meaning of majestic or remarkable, and the interpretative use in Prov 25:14 where it is superlative [ἐπιφανέστατοι]. Note also the nominal use [ἐπιφάνεια] in 2 Kgdms 7:23).

[576] Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 263.

[577] The Heb. word אים is a very rare word and is found twice more in Song 6:4, 10. It means terrible or dreadful, and derived from the word אימה, which is found throughout scripture a number of times. See HALOT "אימה".

[578] There is not enough evidence in 8ḤevXIIgr to prove a system wide change from ἐπιφανής to φοβερός, but it may indicate such a redaction. See Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 128.

reference to the LORD himself, in spite of the use of the Greek adjective.[579] There is no indication of a change of subject. The immediate logical and grammatical antecedent is the subject from the previous line, the Chaldean nation (τὸ ἔθνος), which inherents other's dwellings. This nation, in this epigrammatic verse, is the manifestation of the LORD's act of judgement.[580] The Chaldean is, therefore, *meant to be understood* as an instrument of divine judgement. The subtle thematic link through these Septuagintal semantics invokes the concept of the future (ἔσται) Day of the LORD. This is a free contextual change where the translator substituted a generally accepted word, such as φοβερός, for something more conceptual.

4.3.2 End-Time Destruction

The idea of consummative destruction (συντέλεια) is common to a number of books of the Septuagint: the Psalter, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Twelve. This kind of consummation is close to the idea of annihilation and has an eschatological bent to it. The word itself, having a relatively wide use in pre- and Hellenistic works, has a variety of meanings.[581] In the more mundane sense of consummation, as in to complete something, there are various uses.[582] From the data at hand, it seems that when the context of a passage possessed, at least for the translator(s), some sort of eschatological notion, he thought himself warranted to use the term in this new way. In agreement

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[579] The reason that the Chaldean is referred to as glorious is because he has been raised up by the LORD for judgement, and so this eschatological event has to be marked properly for the reader – he is the LORD's work, hence glorious he must be. The switching back and forth of referents for the pronouns in v. 7 is grammatically unsound. Moreover, the relative neut. pron. in v. 5, ὅ, refers to the work ἔργον, which is also neut., in the preceding clause. There does not, therefore, appear to be any evidence of grammatical shifting, contra Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 130-4.

[580] In addition to the above references see also: Pss 65:3; 66:5; 76:7; 75:13; 89:8; 95:4; 98:3; 105:22; 111:9; 145:6; Odes 12:3; Sir 1:8; 43:29; Dan 2:31; 4:37; 9:4.

[581] The substantive has a handful of different meanings, which are from a number of classical Greek writings, mostly Polybius' *Historiae*. It is mostly used in reference to the joint gathering of public contributions or collection of military provisions (recruits). It has a variety of similar meanings related to a "body of citizens," the "union of communities" and also to the company of the gods. Aside from these the word commonly means the "consummation of a scheme." See LSJM, "συντέλεια".

[582] It is not until LXX that use of συντέλεια began to mean "complete, end," or "to make an end of [something]," which in turn, has come to mean *destruction*. BDAG explains this to mean "a point of time marking completion of a duration, *completion, close, end*." It also distinguishes between the different senses within OG. See ibid.; BDAG, "συντέλεια".

with Delling, Schaper calls this a *technical term*,[583] which is not far from calling it a neologism. To be clear, it is not that whenever συντέλεια is used that it carries the meaning of consummative destruction, but that in some instances it does. And, because it is used dozens of times in different contexts in the Septuagint, its nuanced senses of meaning can be understood in those instances. What does emerge in a palaeographical analysis is that the idea of wrothful destruction is a sense that is novel to the Septuagint.

Within Ambakoum there are at least two different meanings in which the word is used.[584] The first reference in 1:9 pertains to the consummative destruction of the impious. This pericope (Amb 1:5-11) is a terse but extended description of the nature of the Chaldean invasion. Within the text there are eschatological signals (Amb 1:7, 9), which may be due, in part, to the invasion being understood as a mini-episode of the final great judgement. The reference to the Day of the Lᴏʀᴅ in 1:7 is only two verses before the interpretative reading of 1:9.

The choice to alternately read the particle כל plus a suffix (כלה) as the substantive כָּלָה was most likely interpretative, not being due to a misreading. One of the meanings of συντέλεια (*complete, stop something*) does have semantic correspondence with the Hebrew lexeme כָּלָה. Furthermore, the word is also used interpretatively throughout the Septuagint. One might say that it translates a number of different words, e.g. סופה (Amos 1:14; Nah 1:3), מספר (Exod 23:16), כול (Ezek 21:23), אחרית (Deut 11:12), אסיף (Josh 4:8), תקופה (2 Chr 24:23), תכלית (Job 26:10), בצע (1 Kgdms 8:3) with special mention of the lexeme כליל (Judg 20:40) and the Aramaic word כֹּלָּא (Dan 4:28); it is also used in other Jewish Hellenistic works bearing the same variable meaning as that found within the Septuagint – in *T. Benj.* it is used with the same eschatological sense of Daniel.[585] Its use was determined by the respective authors' decision to contextually adapt his text.[586] As a result, there really should no longer be any good reason to think

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[583] Cf. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 67.

[584] NETS seems to be sensitive to the distinctions, cf. 3:19. The awkwardness of 1:15 is unfortunately still left hanging in light of the alternate use in 1:9. See Pietersma and Wright, eds., *NETS*, 807-10.

[585] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 67.

[586] This does not mean that translators did not encounter textual difficulties, or even make mistakes, i.e. Job 30:2, so that use of συντέλεια was used by means of improvisation. Such an example of this exists in Amb 3:19 where the translator appears to have improvised his text, as explained below. But it is important to bear in mind that the abstract substantive כָּלָה (meaning a "*totality…all* and *every [of something]*") is more often translated by the more semantically close ὅλος or πᾶς. In some contexts it has the adverbial meaning, "*totally, entirely,*" and with a suf. has "the vague meaning of *totality of that*

that the translator merely (mis-)read the word as כָּלָה (or some variation, i.e. כָּלֹת), *pace* Gelston, et al.[587]

The apocalyptic meaning of the word is understood within an eschatological context. As Delling correctly explained, the understanding of "final end"[588] is quite clear from its various uses within Daniel where it translates this concept derived from קץ. The essence of this point might explain why the new meaning of the word was adapted for this use in Jewish Hellenistic works rather than Greek ones, the latter having no such genre.

In Amb 1:9 the impious (ἀσεβής) are said to meet a consummative end. Yet this is not the only significant change in the sentence, where the following clause reads, *having opposed by their faces in front*:

Hab 1:9	Amb 1:9
כלה לחמס יבוא	συντέλεια εἰς ἀσεβεῖς ἥξει
מגמת פניהם קסימה	ἀνθστηκότας προσώποις αὐτῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας
ויאסף כחול שבי	καὶ συνάξει ὡς ἄμμον αἰχμαλωσίαν

This second clause does not seem to refer to the Chaldean invader, although continuity with the change to the plural for reference to him in the previous verse would have grammatical concord. The change to the singular in the third clause gives the sense (anaphorically) that the first two lines were an interlude, referring to someone else known as the impious – a group introduced earlier (1:4), which will also be later mentioned in the refrain of chapter two (2:8, 17). The question is whether or not this destruction shall come against only those who caused (implicitly) the invasion, or if both are considered as impious, perhaps even creating one collective group arraigned for judgement. The former seems more plausible in light of how the impious are referred to throughout Ambakoum's first two visions (chps. 1-2). It is the impious who surround the righteous (1:4), they will be held to account (1:9), they again persecute

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= *each*." The interpretative use of both συντέλεια and συντελέω reflects a particular orientation, perhaps even a tradition, towards translation of the consonants (or similar looking) כלה within certain books, but not restricted to this. The Pentateuch never translates this *literally*. Cf. Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §139e, g; §146j.

[587] Cf. Mozley in Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 66.; and also Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 116; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 265; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2419.

[588] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, n. 266.

the righteous in the land (1:13) and the Chaldean ravages the land *because* of the impious (2:8, 17). The two are closely connected, but initial fault seems to lie with the impious, being the wicked among the people of Judah.

The contextual meaning of complete destruction is further understood by its proximity to the subsequent relative clause. No one knows anymore what the *hapax legomenon* word מגמת (from מגמה?) means. Various meanings are offered, such as "hordes," or an "assembling," or a "totality, all of [something]," *Gesamtheit*,[589] and even *breath*.[590] Modern translations struggle to understand the meaning of the word, which has been translated with diverse grammatic and semantic choice.[591] Although it is reasonable to conclude that the translator made a contextual guess of מגמת,[592] the presence of other common words were likely to have also contributed to his overall decision process.

The clarity of other words from the clause meant the translator had a certain liberty to manipulate the context through careful guesswork. The Hebrew form קדימה is sometimes translated using the sense of *before* or *opposite* instead of *east*, or *eastwind*. Although the translator's choice of ἐξ ἐναντίας is semantically quite different,[593] this

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[589] See T. Muraoka, "Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Setpuagint Lexicography," in *VII Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SCS 31; Leuven: Society of Biblical Literature, 1991), 215.

[590] Cf. HALOT, "מְגַמָּה"; BDB, "גמץ"; TWOT, "מְגַמָּה"; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The DSS Study Ed., vol 1* (2 vols.; vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 13.

[591] It is sometimes translated as a substantive, e.g. horde (CEB, NASB, NIV, and RSV). Other times it is taken adjectivally, e.g. *avides* (LSV), and the ESV omits it. It is also common to be taken adverbially, e.g. eagerly, *avidement, stracks* or *drängt* (CJB, BFC, GSB and Rudolph). The NET, HCSB and KJV are interpretative. The meaning is simply uncertain and most are guesses based on context or by particularising consonants, i.e. גם or גמא, so BDB meaning, "*eagerness,* comparing (questionably) גְּמָא *swallow* Jb 39:4" or "*ingurgiter*…on interprète en supposant que le mot exprime un désir ardent" (CAT). Cathcart and Gordon point out that the Targumist may have "regarded *(m)gmt* as equivalent to *(l)'mt,* which is regularly translated by *(l)qbyl* ('in front of')." The Tg. reads, *opposite their faces they appear like the east wind.* The interpretation of the pesher focuses on how the anger of the Kittim shall be observed in their faces, *And in rage they heat up, and in burning wrath, and (with) enraged faces they will speak* (ובחמה יכ[מרו וב]חרן אף וזעף אפים). The introduction of the comparative verb דמה and preposition כְּ to Tg. may have been, in part, due to the difficulty of the reading. Also, the place where this word was translated in 8ḤevXIIgr is now lost. In each respect, based on this evidence, scribes sought to explain this through either explicit metaphor or pesher. Cf. CAT, p. 148; BDB, מְגַמָּה; Cathcart and Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 146; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The DSS Study Ed., vol 1*, 14; Rudolph, *Micha-Zephanja*, 203.

[592] In the process of trying to understand this, the translator of Amb likely made a contextual guess at the meaning, perhaps similar to σ´ attempt with ἡ πρόσοψις (*the appearance*).

[593] It is also the most divergent from other ancient translations and witnesses. 1QpHab has copied this as קדים, with Tg. also similar with its interpretation of רוח קדומא. As already noted, 8ḤevXIIgr is

kind of translation choice exists elsewhere in the Septuagint.[594] These instances provide a basis upon which to understand the translator's choices. One might wonder why he did not simply translate this as (prep. +) ἀνατολή. It would have been consistent with many other uses. However, it may have been additionally caused by the problem of reading מגמת *followed by* פניהם. The latter is often translated as ἐξ ἐναντίας (e.g. Num 16:22; 17:10; Deut 11:4; Ps 21:13; Ezek 1:10; etc.).[595] The translator was then compelled to take פניהם nominally, in turn קדימה was interpreted adjectivally.[596]

Therefore, the translator appears to have adapted the second line in view of the context and syntagmatic structure of particular words and phrases. The spurred conclusion was eschatological destruction for the enemies of the LORD. Use of the word ἀνθίστημι (ἀνθεστηκότας) echoes the enemies of the conquest, who opposed God's people in war (Num 10:9; Deut 28:7). At the word level, the translator's choice

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also semantically close with its choice of only καύσων, and σ′ somewhat with ἄνεμος καύσων. The Vg. is *ventus urens*. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The DSS Study Ed., vol 1*, 12; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 459; Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 128; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1003.

[594] In Ezek 47:3 and 41:14 the speaker is facing eastward so that the choice of κατέναντι and ἐξ ἐναντίας respectively is opposite from where he is standing. Ezek 41:14 has a similar use (κατέναντι) except that the direction in mind appears to be more difficult to understand, with perhaps the translator entering into the speaker's commentary and having this open area at the side of the temple before him in his mind. Moreover, due to the regular use of ἀνατολή as a translation choice throughout Ezek it does not seem that the selection was in any way stereotypical. Contextual sense seems to have been the route of the translator's choice. In short, these words, in Ezek, were alternate translation options for קדים. Outside of Ezek this is translated by ἐξ ἐναντίας in four other locations except Hab. Notably, in the Joshua references it is combined with ἀνατολή, which is the most common translation choice for קדים. In these instances ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν translates מִזְרָח. The locative *hê* for the Heb. form gives direction, whereas in Greek it is the nature of the gen. with the second proper noun that makes clear the boundary lines.

[595] In Ezek 40:6, 22; 42:15; 43:4 the following construct פניו דרך הקדימה is regularly translated as τὴν βλέπουσαν κατὰ ἀνατολάς. See also Ezek 42:12; 47:1; Amb 1:9.

[596] Moreover, although the explicit sense of eastward (ἀνατολάς) is lost in the translation, there are two thematic links that may have further contributed to the current translation choices. First, the word קדים is translated in contexts where there is the sense of either judgement (Gen 41:6, 23, 27; Exod 10:13; Isa 27:8; Jer 18:17) or salvation (Exod 14:21; Hos 5:1; Ps 47:8). In the latter the wind, under the power of the LORD, is directed to do his bidding. Second, with the general theme of the Day of the LORD, a descriptive explanation of the LORD's judgement upon the impious may have further helped define how he made sense of a difficult passage. In MT Isa 27:8 the day of the eastwind, ביום קדים, known for its scorching heat, is taken quite interpretatively as a wrathful wind, πνεύματι θυμοῦ. The easterly wind that beat down on Jonah's head caused him to complain so much he wished for death. The choice word in this instance was a burning wind (καύσωνος), as used in 8ḤevXIIgr. These thematic links would have contributed to the translator's choices in the face of a contextual guess.

for an adjectival participle may have partly been through similarity to the feminine singular form from Aramaic or Hebrew.

The other sense of the word συντέλεια, which is closer to its non-Jewish/religious uses, is that of destruction in general. The idea of completing or consummating a destructive action or scheme is evident with its use in Amb 1:15. Here the Chaldean invader is described as he who will bring up (ἀνασπάω) *destruction* or *consummation* in a hook, like a fisherman who draws up his nets and brings an end to the life of his catch. The implied metaphor is that Israel are fish, basically helpless. It might be inappropriate, however, to adduce that the meaning is the same here as in 1:9 – though it might be open for rhetorical affect to which the Psalm of chapter three answers. This is because the objects of the Chaldean invasion include, in this case, the suffering righteous. They suffer along with the impious. In a post-Deuteronomistic context the righteous are not utterly destroyed because in the end they will be delivered from the ends of the earth (Deut 28). The LORD will be compassionate. While the Chaldean does indeed sow destruction he does not obliterate. The proximity of difference in meaning is slight. Both indicate destruction, but each of a different kind.

Lastly, another sense used in Amb 3:19 is not destructive, though it could possibly fit within the domain of eschatological. In this instance it may be positively translated with the general sense of completion. The LORD will strengthen *to completion* – "guide *to the end*"[597] – his prophet Ambakoum as part of exalting him. It may be that the translator misunderstood the uncommon lexeme אילה (*hind*, or *doe*), or the rarer phrase כאילות, even though most other translators had no trouble with it.[598]

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[597] King, *The OT. The Prophets*, 400. (Emphasis added.) The presence of the preposition might suggest the presence of *lāmed*. See Harper, "Responding to a Puzzled Scribe," 173.

[598] It is commonly translated by the semantic equivalent ἔλαφος (2 Kgdms 22:34; Pss 17:34; 29:9; Prov 5:19; Job 39:1; Jer 14:5). It appears to be interpretive in Cant by use of ἰσχύς (Cant 2:7; 3:5), which has some conceptual overlap with Barb, ἀσφάλεια ("*security from stumbling,…steadfastness*"), and also Ps 21:1, ἀντίλημψις. Fabry suggests the translator of Cant may have sought his understanding through the homophone אַיָּל (*fallow deer*), cf. אַיָּל. Ambakoum 3:19 is the only reference to change entirely the semantic quality of the word. If the translator was unaware of the word he may have sought recourse through the consonantal similarity of the inf. *piʿel* (כלות) of כלה (Fabry), while of course knowing that this was not the same lexeme. This would be improvisational. There is also the possibility that he sought to concretise the explicit metaphor (simile), which is quite common in Amb. See LSJM, "ἀσφάλεια"; HALOT, "אַיָּל"; "אַיָּל"; Fabry, "Ambakum / Habakuk," 2428.

4.4 My Faith and His Faith

Of all the passages from the prophecy of Habakkuk, more ink has probably been spilt on chapter two verse four than any other. In spite of its brevity, the meaning of this passage is a central tenet in Pauline theology (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; cf. Heb 10:38). Ambakoum, akin to the NT, does not match exactly the morphosyntax of MT. The translator appears to have taken textual leave of his *Vorlage*, which, seems to point towards a more interpretative view of the overall passage. The teaching of Amb/Hab 2:4 is so essential to Christian theology that it could be easy for later theological presuppositions to creep into discussions concerned with the change found in OG. The present analysis seeks to shed further light on the divergence from MT through understanding the translator's approach within this altered literary context.

There are particular literary markers that must be accounted for when dealing with this passage. There is an alternate literary unity here that is seldom considered. The numerous grammatical and semantic changes are stitched together differently than in the ST – the connective particles of vv. 2-5 differ from MT.[599] A contextual reading of 2:4 indicates that it must be read in light of the previous verse(s) (probably back to 2:2), and also the subsequent one (2:5). These three verses (2·3-5) *elucidate* (διότι) the charge given to the prophet to clearly write down a vision given to him. The translator seems to have read the text differently so that the meaning has changed beyond the unexpected choice of a word or pronoun. When these details are taken together the character of certain theologically orientated changes are better understood. There are three important concepts that are introduced in this passage: an eschatological vision (2:2-3), and the righteous and arrogant man (2:4-5):

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[599] This literary and grammatical structure does not reflect the ST, where אם is *paired* to הנה (both translated by ἐάν), indicating that a parallelism of the same kind in the TT was not intended. The option to read the Hebrew interj. with the following verbal word was also made possible through an Aramaic interference – a semi-authorised reading (see p. 112). There is here a rhetorical structure germane to the translator's interpretative view. The coming righteous one shall neither be late in his arrival, nor shrink back, because he shall live by faith; but the arrogant man is the one who draws back, he displeases the Lord. This is how the passage should be understood. Likewise, and alternatively, the passage could be read: "si quelqu'un « recule », alors qu'il faut « attendre » la vision, Dieu ne se complaît pas *en cet homme*." The difficulty of the reading, particularly for Christians, is clear, because the coming one is the Messiah – the Christ. It is possibly this very reason (to ensure there was no confusion about God's view of the coming one) that caused the inversion of the lines in Heb 10:38. But, from the gospel accounts, Jesus did not recoil, showing himself to be the coming one, the true Messiah, not a pretender. See Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 276.

§	Amb 2:3-5bB	Hab 2:3-5bB	§
3aA	**διότι** ἔτι ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν	כִּי עוד חזון למועד	3aA
3aB	καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας	ויפח לקץ	3aB
3aC	καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν	ולא יכזב	3aC
3bA	**ἐὰν** ὑστερήσῃ	אִם יתמהמה	3bA
3bAα	ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν	חכה לו	3bAα
3bB	**ὅτι** ἐρχόμενος ἥξει	כִּי בא יבא	3bB
3bC	καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ	לא יאחר	3bC
4aA	**ἐὰν** ὑποστείληται	הִנה עפלה	4aA
4aB	οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ	לא ישרה נפשו בו	4aB
4bA	ὁ **δὲ** δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται	וְצדיק באמונתו יחיה	4bA
5aA	ὁ **δὲ** καψοινωμένος καὶ καταφρονητὴς ἀνὴρ ἀλάζων οὐδὲν μὴ περάνῃ	וְאַף כי היין בוגד	5aA
5aB		גבר יהיר ולא ינוה	5aB
5bA	ὅς ἐπλάτυνεν καθὼς ὁ ᾅδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ	אשר הרחיב כשאול נפשו	5bA
5bB	καὶ οὗτος ὡς θάνατος οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενος	והוא כמות ולא ישבע	5bB

The identification of the grammatical subject(s) of vv. 3-4 is not a simple puzzle. It is not entirely unwarranted for scholars to think a καιρός, from the prepositional phrase in 3a, is carried forward as the subject for each succeeding clause, throughout the entire verse, up to and including 4a. This is because the referent of the pronoun in the fifth clause, αὐτός (3e) must be masculine, and therefore cannot refer to the vision, ὅρασις. Scholars resolve the necessary grammatical congruence by suggesting that it must refer to this appointed time, which is both masculine and a near logical referent. Thus, the LORD is not pleased with the vision should it recoil (4b). But not all scholars agree.

The long-held historical view that a new subject is introduced in 3d remains true.[600] The pronoun in 3e refers to the implied subject of 3d. This is poetically disambiguated

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[600] Janzen's article on reading this MT passage through an Isaianic lens is compelling. If the translator also held to a similar view of prophecy and that of the interpretation of Amb 2:2-4, in conjunction with the analysis below, there is then ancillary support for a very similar reading of the Heb. as that which is transformed into the Greek. See in particular J. Gerald Janzen, "Habakkuk 2:2-4 in the Light of Recent Philological Advances," *HTR* 73, no. 1/2 (1980): 72-78.

as the poem is read, being grasped when the text is read as a whole. My argument is broken into two main parts: logic and grammar. First, the connective particles throughout the pericope help mark a qualitative distinction for the subject in question. The subject from 3d should have the same *kind* of qualities of that to which it is contrasted in 4c, ὁ **δὲ** δίκαιος. This is an important point. The subject must logically correspond to what the LORD is not pleased with in the previous line (4b). The idea that the LORD is not pleased with an appointed time, which is given by the LORD for the prophet to write down (2:2), does not make much sense. It is also positively described in 3a-c. Second, a contrast between the success of an *appointed time* and the *righteous one* in 4c makes no sense. If the contrast is with one who lives by my faith (objective genitive), what does that mean for this appointed time? The qualitative contrast is forced – it is nonsensical. Clearly *someone* is in view, not *something*; the reader is caused to replay back the subjects of 3a and 3d.[601] A certain kind of person is being contrasted with another kind – a person who lives by faith and one that recoils, i.e. might not live by faith. In this sense, metaphorically speaking, faith is taking hold of something/someone, whereas faithlessness is to recoil. Therefore, the first change of subject is marked by the particle ἐάν, something which is clearer in the whole scope of the pericope.

As this concerns grammar: introduction of conditionality is alien to MT, but clearly the make up of Amb. The translator has to resolve the protasis in each case.[602] The first sentence (3d) is paradigmatic to the subsequent one (4a), where both pronouns, αὐτός, refer to the *same* implied subject from the subjunctive verbs. The first conditional sentence has an imperative in the apodosis (3e), which is followed by an explanation, ὅτι (3f-g). In the second protasis there is a general assertion of response (4b), which is, instead of being explained, contrasted to how things should be – the righteous will live by the LORD's faith (4c). Both verses must be read together and sequentially:

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[601] Such poetic disambiguation of is often done unconsciously by readers through recursion as they move through the text.

[602] See Dietrich-Alex Koch, "Der Text von Hab 2:4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament," *ZNW* 76, no. 1 (1985): 73.

Ref.	Protasis	Apodosis	Explanation/Contrast
3d-g	ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ	ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ	
4	ἐὰν ὑποστείλεται	οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ δίκαινος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται	

When these verses are read in unity, i.e. without verse dividers, the repetitive conditionality is obvious. The new subject is first introduced in 3d with a protatic third class clause ἐαν ὑστερήσῃ, which is then syntactically repeated in v. 4 as ἐαν ὑποστείληται: if he seems to delay / if he shrinks back. This is a double use of a third class condition structure. This is marked in the protasis by ἐαν plus a verb in the subjunctive mood (any tense),[603] which is the main grammatical feature, and also lack of ἄν in the apodosis, with the verbal word in any mood and tense.[604] It is a fairly common Hellenistic literary device. Although this class can suggest a condition with a likelihood of occurrence, it does in fact "encompasses a broad range of potentialities in Koine Greek," which may include a "mere hypothetical situation or one that will probably not be fulfilled."[605] Boyer statistically determined that in the majority of instances such probability is unlikely to be fulfilled.[606] What is emphasised here is that

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[603] Also some grammarians have argued that because the mood is the main grammatical marker one can also see this same semantic use with the syntax εἰ + subj., which was not uncommon in Homeric and Classical Greek. Clearly the importance place on this syntax and the mood was consistently important through the developments of the language. Cf. Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT* (1; ed. D. A. Carson; New York; Bern: Peter Lang, 1989), 309.

[604] See Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 689; Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT*, 307-11.

[605] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 696-7. Porter also notes that it conforms to general usage of the subj. mood to express projection without any statement of the probability of its coming to pass. Also, the idea that some concern over the conditionality and identification of the individual seems to have caused the clauses to be inverted in the quotation of Heb 10:38 is not necessarily correct. The text is modified in order to apply it to the life of the believer, connecting the righteous (as a group) as those who must strive to please the LORD – they must not recoil. Hence the one who draws back is then the one who does not persevere, which is juxtaposed to the one who is coming and lives by faith – the Christ. The author of Hebrews switched the clauses around, clearly without respect to the broader distinction made here in this study. For example, one does not need v. 5 in order to make sense of the passage, it is simply an additional contrast, and it certainly does not significantly affect the exegesis here. Yet, what the reading from Hebrews does provide is ancillary support that the subj. of 3b is a person – Christ – not a coming vision. This is how it was read in the NT. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT*, 307.

[606] See Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT*, 308. As Porter argued, a number of Boyer's references are not ironclad, but the statistical result indicates a general sense that the result will likely not occur.

the displeasure of the LORD is *contingent* upon the life of this futuristic individual. One has to see how things play out. Because the, "conditional establishes a relation between a protasis and apodosis,"[607] context is absolutely essential to derive the correct logical inference, which has much to do with conditions that refer to the nature of human affairs.

In this poetic framework there are two categorically different answers to each protasis. In the first apodosis there is the ground of conditionality (if he seems to tarry) that should yield the correct inference, set in the imperative: wait for him. This is explained in the following clause, marked clearly by ὅτι. Then, in the paradigmatic sentence, the second apodosis is a category of cause and effect, where the cause of the LORD's displeasure is the condition of the individual's recoil. The use of the present indicative suggests a simple general supposition,[608] and the pairing of the conjunctions οὐκ...δέ (4b-c) is clearly contrastive.[609] By implication, the nature of the withdrawal (lack of faith) is contrasted to the kind of life which ought to be lived out, hence, the LORD is pleased with the righteous who will live by his faith (cp. Pss 50:21; 146:11). This is marked by δέ, rather than explained as in the previous paradigmatic sentence.

As a future event that has yet to occur, the success of this visionary person is set on edge. He is coming. But will he keep faith? The displeasure of the LORD pertains to whether this person actually recoils from faith. The coming individual, if he is the genuine article, will live by the faith of the LORD. He most certainly will not recoil. This is set within the context and complexity of human experience and the endeavour to please the LORD. Moreover, an additional contrast is made in v. 5. This implies that the one who recoils is more like an arrogant man – bold, self-willed, his trust is not in the LORD (Prov 21:24). The individuality of ὁ δίκαιος, which, in the context of OG, is contrasted to an arrogant man (ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών), seems to point away from a collective or corporate reading of the subject. So, if he hasn't arrived yet, just wait, and if he doesn't keep faith, he's not the righteous one.

There is also a relationship between the righteous one and the vision, which is suggestive by their respective descriptions and literary proximity. The implication is that the righteous one will neither be untimely nor draw back. The timing of the vision

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[607] Ibid., 320.

[608] See Ernest De Witt Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses* (3d ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1898), 107.

[609] See Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 672.

is then, it would seem, connected to the arrival of this visionary person. The quality of the vision (οὐκ εἰς κενόν) is somehow connected to the character of the coming one. Much like the vision that will occur at the right time, so will this person not tarry (μὴ χρονίσῃ). These two seem to be inextricably linked. If the vision were vain[610] and untimely so would be this visionary individual.

It may be that there was some kind of ideological concern that gave rise to these textual alterations, which then caused some free rendering of v. 4. Whereas it is argued that the rare word עפלה was read errantly,[611] perhaps √אלף,[612] it seems hard to imagine that the translator misunderstood the following finite verb ישר.[613] The interpretative choice for the latter was perhaps derived from LXX, where in Num 23:27 is is translated with the similar sense from ἀρέσκω. In both respects the interpretation is centred on how the upright please God by their life. The interpretation is more *literal* in R, which draws focus back to upright or straight actions by use of the adjective εὐθεῖα – closer to MT.

Now this is not the only grammatical change to occur in the sentence. In combination with the context and the translator's broader stylistic proclivities,[614] the

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[610] The vision will not lie as it will produce the desired effect, and therefore not be found empty or vain, i.e. "without purpose or effect." In a handful of instances a verbal form is substituted for the prepositional phrase εἰς + n. / adj. (for nouns: Hos 2:14; 13:6; Amb 2:9; Zeph 3:8; and for adjs.: Joel 2:26; Amb 2:3.) See BDAG, "κεινός".

[611] See Koch, "Der Text von Hab 2:4b," 73.

[612] See Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 118; William H. Brownlee, "The Placarded Revelation of Habakkuk," *JBL* 82/83 (1963): 323; Cleaver-Bartholomew, "An Analysis of the Old Greek Version of Habakkuk," 184.

[613] It is found many times throughout the HB. Although ישר is used a small number of times in the MP (Hos 14:10; Mic 2:7; 3:9; 7:2, 4; Hab 2:4), it does, however, undergo some interpretative changes, i.e. Mic 7:2, 4. Moreover, Amb 2.4a is the only instance in the Twelve where it is translated by εὐδοκέω.

[614] There is a broad stylistic tendency to newly introduce a first per. perspective into the text of the Twelve. It seems that the change here in Amb 2:4 is related to that activity. This translational effort alters the speaker or subj. to make reference to the LORD. As we also saw, sometimes the prophet's experience or role is altered, which appears to be unique in the corpus. In the vast majority of instances the change is not due to reading a *wāw* for a *yôd*, though oddly enough this particular phenomenon is most common to Amb. On the nature of this change: for pronominal: Hos 2:4; 4:4, 11; 6:5; 11:2, 11:3, 4; 12:5; 13:4; Amos 4:10; Mic 6:6, 7, 15; Joel 1:8; 2:27; 4:1; Jon 2:3; Amb 1:11, 12; 2:4, 4; 3:2, 16, 16; Zeph 2:8; Zech 1:6, 10, 17, 17; 2:4; 7:12; 8:12; 14:2; Mal 3:5, 10; for verbal: Hos 10:11, 15; 11:2, 10; Amos 3:15; 4:7; 9:11; Mic 7:3; Joel 2:20; Obad 1:1; Amb 1:2; 3:2; Zech 4:7; 8:8, 12; 13:6; Mal 1:9, 13; 2:2, 3, 13; 3:11. In every instance, except for the majority of references in Amb, the change in speaker or subj. refers to God (note the three anomalies below). Of all these instances, eighteen times a clause is altered through the addition of a personal pron. or phrase, or change in verbal per. Often this is for emphasis or clarification, e.g. ויאמר / εἶπεν πρός με (Zech 1:10), or ונשא / καὶ λήμψομαι (Mal 2:3). Other

subject of the second clause is changed to the LORD's soul (ἡ ψυχή μου). The following prepositional phrase is also altered in a similar way, the righteous will live *by the LORD's faith* (ἐκ πίστεώς μου).[615] Emphasis is clearly placed on the LORD. This change cannot help but be understood as having theological denotations derived from it.[616] The translator has no trouble translating נפשו in the following sentence (v. 5), τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ – what would have been a catastrophic mistake with the LORD as speaker (ὅς ἐπλάτυνεν καθὼς ὁ ᾅδης).

The textual differences (or literary distinctions) between the first two subjects of v. 4 also point toward an alternate understanding of the text. As explained, the subject of ὑποστέλλω is determined by the literary flow of the text from v. 3. The LORD is then speaker of εὐδοκέω. This is the logical sequence of the conditional sentence

times a suf. is changed to the first per., whether it was pl., second per., or fem. in MT. There are very few instances where the *wāw* (3ms) is taken for a *yôd* (1cs) (Hos 11:3; 12:5; Amb 1:11, 12; 2:4, 4). In fact, the most regular change is in Amb (the change in Hos 11:3 is read as part of the literary flow of the previous verses, and Hos 12:5 is an exegetical change to show anew that this applies, so Joosten, "aux contemporaines d'Osée." Neither change alters the experiences or role of the prophet). As for the three anomalies, first, in Hos 11:10 the change is said to be attributed to the final clause of the preceding verse so that the speaker is perhaps Judah, thus not the prophet himself. Second, in Zech 4:7, it is the LORD who brings out the stone of inheritance instead of Zorobabel. This perhaps diminishes the prophet's role. Incidentally, this first per. reading is rejected by Ziegler. And lastly, the addition in Joel 1:8 is a misreading of the impv., which leaves the subj. ambiguous. The Tg. added כנשיא דישראל עבידי (*O assembly of Israel*) beforehand in order to disambiguate it. Again interpretation is shifted away from the prophet unlike in Amb. Therefore, the result is that Amb seems to stand alone in the Twelve as emended in markedly similar ways across all three chps. of the book. Cf. Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stephan Kessler, eds., *Osée* (ed. Marguerite Harl; BdA 23.1; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002), 146, 150; Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl, eds., *Aggée - Zacharie*, 253; Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 50; Ziegler, ed. *Duodecim prophetae*, 298.

[615] Both pronominal suffixes are read in the third per. in 8ḤevXIIgr. But the first line is read as a verbless clause, with the initial verb (עפל) read as a metaphorical substantive (σκοτία), hence, ἰδ[οὐ] σκοτία οὐκ εὐθεῖα ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ [ἐν αὐτῷ]. Brownlee understands the sense for עפל II of "be covered, obscured, swoon," to be the thought behind the change in the Palestinian recension. This means that the original translator read it through עפל I, and the recensor the second. In each respect a lack of faith is attributed to the individual, hence failure to persevere, or darkness clouding one's inner person. This interpretative point likely lies at the root of the sentence wide changes. It may be, in conjunction, that the translator intentionally read the consonants in a way that *helped* him to structure the meaning of the verse. Cf. Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 132; Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 52; Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 43; DCH, "עפל".

[616] The Tg. may also point to an interpretative understanding of the passage in general, which interprets the first two clauses as, הא רשיעיא בלביהון לית כל אלין (*Behold, the wicked think in their hearts that these things are not so*). In light of all this evidence, there is no version of this text that has not undergone some significant change with the first two clauses of v. 4. Cf. Cathcart and Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 150-1.

(if…then).[617] But this is contrary to MT, where the same feminine subject (נפשו) is anaphorically read for both verbs, which quite obviously have feminine forms (עפלה\ישרה).

It seems that there was some concern in the transmission of OG regarding the placement of the second person possessive pronoun. In G^A 2:4c, and notably Heb 10:38a,[618] the pronoun has been brought forward to the subject, hence ὁ δὲ δίκαιός **μου** ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται;[619] whereas G^{B.S.Q.W*} have the pronoun in the prepositional phrase, ἐκ πίστεως **μου**, which is in syntagmatic agreement with MT. Placement of the pronoun rather than the semantics between צדק and δίκαιος was the primary concern.[620] As Fabry explains, perhaps following Koch, the cruciality here is, "der „Treue Gottes", denn der Gerechte wird „aus meinem Glauben" leben."[621] The keywords of righteous (*gerecht*) and faith (*Glaube*) are thus central to the interpretation of the concept of faith (*der Deutung des Glaubensbegriffes*), indicating the "Verhältnis des Menschen zu Gott [oder] moralisches Verhältnis des Menschen untereinander."[622] This theological concern, which gave rise to a textual alteration, would then sit within the same broad milieu as R, who *corrected* the text to the proto-MT, along with later translators.[623] If G^A preserves an old concern over the nature of faith, then this gives ancillary support to the concern that was placed over how to translate the passage in the best attested text.

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[617] Harl et al. understands these two verbal words to form a parallelism, but it is not clear how the logic can be thus formed, especially when considering the poetic structure. While this may be true linguistically, it is otherwise unclear. Cf. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 275.

[618] Kock provides a list of other notable witnesses, for example P^46, and some Coptic and Armenian texts. See Koch, "Der Text von Hab 2:4b," 70. See also Schmidt and Sanders, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection*, 193.

[619] Sanders and Schmidt commented that the correction in G^W may have been added from memory, indicating knowledge of another MS. There is, in fact, textual support for the different readings in later texts, which Koch helpfully tabulates in his article. See also Fabry, "Ambakum / Habakuk," 2416; Joseph A. Fitzmeyer S.J., "Habakkuk 2:3-4 and the New Testament," in *De la Torah au Messie* (eds. M. Carrez and J. Doré; Paris: Desclée, 1981), 450; Schmidt and Sanders, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection*, 193-4; Koch, "Der Text von Hab 2:4b," 70.

[620] Cf. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 262.

[621] Fabry, "Ambakum / Habakuk," 2416.

[622] Ibid.

[623] R clearly has chosen the 3ms prn. for both ψυχή and πίστις. MurXII does not preserve the reading, though it would likely match MT. Also, both α′ (αὐτοῦ) and σ′ (ἑαυτοῦ) reflect a desire to place emphasis on the nature of faith, not the righteous individual. See Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 52; Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 132; Field and Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum. Vol. 2*, 1005.

In conclusion, the central concern of this passage is to highlight that the righteous one shall live by faith. This is divulged through contrastive emphases. The expectant figure will find his strength, so to speak, in the LORD, because it is the LORD's faith by which he will live. A terse and poetic tension exists between whether or not he will please the LORD, viz. live uprightly. If he is really the righteous one then he will succeed. The theological reading, then, leads the reader to consider life lived by the faith that the LORD gives as a gift, per se.[624] It pushes away from a personal faith derived from upright living to one that is found in, or more specifically given by, the LORD – though neither necessarily or mutually exclusive. Moreover, the effect of the LORD speaking concerning his faith has real impact. The integrity of the individual righteous person is overshadowed by highlighting the LORD's own faith, which is grasped through an understanding of his faithful and immutable character. This may show some kind of theological development during the time of the translation, where faith, or faithfulness, began to be understood as derived from the LORD.

4.5 The Idolatry Polemic

In the last woe oracle of Amb 2:18-19 the prophet denounces idolatry. Similarity between this passage and the more well-known Isaianic rebuke of chapter forty-four is apparent (Isa 44:9-20). Idolatry is folly. The idol-sculptor ought to know better as he is the one that made the thing; it did not exist beforehand. He first asks: *What profit is a graven image, simply because they engraved it?* Amb closely represents MT Hab 2:18 in this first sentence with small grammatical changes. However, in the following sentence the translation makes a stark semantic departure.

The following terse sentence of MT reads, מַסֵּכָה וּמוֹרֶה שָּׁקֶר. Again, in the lengthier v. 19, the idol יוֹרֶה. In each case the word ירה is read in Amb as a substantive. In v. 18 this is grammatically correct, noting the *hipʿil* participle; however, in v. 19 the MT word is verbal. It has been suggested that the translator misread the word through

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[624] The author of Hebrews, perhaps preserving this concern through an alternate textual tradition, draws this point out by comparatively concluding "but we are not those who draw back unto destruction." The inversion of the clauses from Amb 2:4, and change in the placement of the pron., still makes a qualitative contrast. The Christ is the coming one, prophesied by Amb, but the Christian (Christians) is the one who (Heb 10:38a) is *my righteous* one that will live by faith. In a new Christian context disambiguating the prophecy through such syntactical changes is understandable. The follower of Jesus is now the one who *might* recoil – it serves as a warning, which is very much the context of the passage of Hebrews – but perseverance is commended πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς.

ראה,[625] so that the use of φαντασία through a semantic path of something like light, eyes then see (teach, perhaps?) is how the translator made sense of the text.[626] But the translator also used this same Greek word in Amb 3:10, which syntagmatically corresponds to the phrase ידיהו, which is again said to have been adapted through ראה.[627] Yet again, the same translator used the word φαντασία in Zech 10:1, which corresponds to the Hebrew substantive חזיז. In this instance the translator is suggested to have read the word through חזה.[628] The word φαντασία also crops up once more in the Septuagint (Wis 18:17) where it is used without a translational reference.[629]

Now, if the translator read the different Hebrew forms through the common semantics of either חזה or ראה, then he would most likely *not* have used the word φαντασία. It is also mistaken to understand this word generally through its etymon φῶς without reference to the philosophical debate in which φαντασία was defined. As Watson notes, from the Classical period to late in the Hellenistic one, the word was "a term practically confined to technical philosophical debate in epistemology."[630] The meaning of φαντασία was very specifically defined within respective philosophical schools, being debated from one to the next. The definition given by the Stoa likely bore quite heavily upon its Greek usage during the various stages of Hellenism. It had, depending on the school, a technical and stable meaning. Therefore, I think it is prudent to first understand what the word meant in this very confined context. It did not quite mean illusion, nor representation or image, and certainly not imagination, at this period of time.[631]

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[625] Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 98. LXX.D suggests that instead of reading ירה he read it from the noun אור, which seems too figurative and interpretative, especially with respect to this study. Gordon and Cathcart note that the Tg. reading may be midrashic, *mwrh* as *mwr'*, see Cathcart and Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 153; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2423.

[626] LXX.E suggests "Licht, Schein, Lichterscheinung" from אור. See Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2423.

[627] For this change Rudolph suggests that "führt wohl auf die Lesung מריהו = מַרְאֵהוּ." See Rudolph, *Micha-Zephanja*, 236. Cf. also Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 100.

[628] Cf. Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl, eds., *Aggée - Zacharie*, 313; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2466.

[629] The word φαντασία is translated in a number of different ways within modern translations of the Septuagint. While this fact is no shock, the differences often, but not always, seem to indicate a different understanding of the word's use in relation to its *Vorlage*, rather than its use within the cultural context of its day.

[630] Gerard Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought* (Galway: Galway University Press, 1988), 59.

[631] As Watson rightly pointed out, a study on the concept of imagination in Plato could be written and never once mention the word φαντασία. On the same token, modern, or even Renaissance, ideas of

From the third century onwards Alexandria is said to have begun to "replace Athens as the centre of Greek civilisation and Alexandria was in turn replaced by Rome in the first century BC."[632] With the Twelve translated in Alexandria sometime in the early-to-mid second century, this means that the scribal class there would have been inculcated with Greek philosophy, poetry and rhetoric. It is highly likely that a Jewish scribe from Alexandria, being steeped in such training, would have known of the debate(s) concerning φαντασία.

The word φαντασία was considered a technico-philosophic term from the Classical to Late Hellenistic periods.[633] It first referred to the aspect of a human being that manages perceived things to how those things are grasped by the intellect or reason.[634] It was strictly confined to debates on epistemology within Platonic discussions and given great prominence in the later Stoic theory of knowledge. In fact it was foundational to Stoic epistemology. Watson notes that "in the process of thought and language phantasia comes first in Stoic theory."[635] Its place in this system of thought is described in the well-known aphorism by Zeno: Apprehension (*comprehensio*) upon the assent (assensus) to a φαντασία (*visum*) was the basis for knowledge.[636] It came to refer to more than just the carriage between intellect and perception, so Plato and Aristotle, and came to encompass broader distinctions such as images in the mind that arise from within the mirror of the soul – dream states included.[637] At this stage it does

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human imagination for the creation of art or literature cannot be directly drawn from Plato. The use of the word φαντασία did not connote the modern concept of imagination in the ancient world. See ibid., ix.

[632] Ibid., 59.

[633] It was rarely used during the Hellenistic period in reference to the idea of *pomp*, *pageantry*, or *reputation*. See LSJM, "φαντασία".

[634] Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 2-3, 6, 15-18.

[635] Ibid., 44.

[636] Cicero famously refers to Zeno's explanation of this process: Zeno would put his hand out with fingers outstretched, and say this is φαντασία, *visum*; then he would curl his fingers, this was assent (συγκατάθεσις), *assensus*; then he would make a fist, this is κατάληψις, *comprehensio*.

[637] The idea was metaphorically described as a ring pressed into wax, the soul being like wax, so that impressions of the sensible world (Forms, so Plato) could be made within one's being. This was altered in Stoic thought (Chrysippus), so that such impressions (φαντασία) were actual changes or alterations to it, ἀλλοίωσις, which was perhaps an attempt to maintain a coherent materialistic system in response to Plato's. This was important to ensure the veracity of knowledge within the Stoic empirical framework, and was accomplished through the added condition of "perceptual impression" (Allen). What this means is that the situation had to impart "clarity and distinctness" to the individual, which was through critical cognitive assent to that knowledge. See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*,

not have the semantic sense of imagination.[638] And because such things came to mind whether willed or not, judgement (δόξα) and dialogue (λόγος) were necessary to address the veracity of any given perception. In Stoic philosophy, one grasps the φαντασία having made a rationale belief about it; this was considered cognitive assent, φαντασία καταληπτική, to an impression (φαντασία).

First, the word took on a technical mantle early on when Aristotle reused the word in his epistemological debate in response to Plato.[639] This epistemological debate continued and grew in scope into subsequent major philosophic systems, i.e. Epicurean, Stoic. At this time the expansion and separation of Greek centres of learning throughout the Mediterranean basin meant that, along with the multiplication of philosophies, an environment for syncretism could more easily exist. A student/scribe in Alexandria could have come into contact with any number of major schools of thought, even if being taught a prominent one, e.g. Stoic. As Stoic epistemology was the most influential during this period, with φαντασία central to its

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45. David Sedley, "The School, from Zeno to Arius Didymus," in *Companion to the Stoics* (ed. Brad Inwood; CCP Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 15-16; James Allen, "Carneades," (ed. Donald M. Borchert; 2d ed.; Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2005), 47.

[638] See J. M. Cocking, *Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1991), 21-26; Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, ix-xiii.

[639] It was not until later in the Roman period that fuller discussions involving syncretistic meaning occurred. Modern philosophers accept this without consideration of the Septuagint or the evidence from 8ḤevXIIgr. In the scroll discovered from Naḥal Ḥever the use of φαντασία is retained in the revisionary translation of Amb 2:18. It is, however, modified in the following verse, and in spite of some destruction to the scroll, it is probably correct that the translator sought to match the proto-MT by using a verbal word (Tov, Ego). In this case the suggestion is that φαντασία may be verbalised by φωτίζω (φωτιεῖ). It follows other translational words for ירה in the Septuagint that often use φωτίζω. It also suggests that this verbal word was suitable to replace φαντασία. R would no doubt have had a version of OG before him, hence he was bringing it into line with his translational, and therefore ideological, concerns in light of the proto-MT. Next, regarding Amb 3:10, in the last stich, the remaining text suggested by BQ is, ΑΒΥΣΣΟ[ς φωνης αυτης …]ΣΙΣ. If this is correct, it may suggest the substantive φαντασίς, which was less common, but certainly used in relation to the discussions on φαντασία (Watson). It referred to the visionary object, a thing observed, and a term which had far more life in Neoplatonic thought. This may indicate early signs of philosophic syncretism in the first century, which emerged in a systematic way much later with the resurgence of interest in Late Hellenistic philosophy. That R thought φαντασία still relevant probably indicates at least two things. First, the influence of OG as the prominent translation of the proto-MT is here made evident, as is the case elsewhere. Second, this may also tacitly indicate the continued understanding and influence of Hellenistic thought at the period, something I would think less so in Palestine of the first century. R made numerous lexical changes so that there was plenty of latitude to change this here. The fact that he did not supports my two points. Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *DJD 8*, 185; Ego et al., eds., *BQ*, 134; Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 13.

system, this environment would then have likely generated different conceptual ideas on the meaningful and contextual uses for φαντασία.

Second, the word φαντασία is etymologically related to the word φάος, for light.[640] Aristotle mentions that this is true because without light we cannot see, and, therefore, obtain knowledge through the sense of sight, φαντασία being somehow related to perception.[641] Within philosophic debate it is discussed in relation to other words, such as φαίνω,[642] φαντάζω, φάντασμα and φανταστικός, this last term given to describe the faculty of φαντασία itself.[643] Yet in spite of these relationships, there is no additional light shed on the meaning of the word except that derived from its technical use within the debates. Quite simply, it was so restricted to these epistemological discussions, having precise definitions, that there is little else to go on.

As this pertains to the Septuagint, this does not mean, necessarily, that translators would have sought to integrate alien philosophical concepts. In some books there is said to be some colouring of Hellenistic ideas, and, as shown in chapter four of this study, there is evidence of Greek rhetoric. But it would be imprudent to suggest that we dive back into the text and try and find philosophical debates, and to some extent concepts, hidden therein. On the contrary, the main question here is how to rightly understand the contextual use of the word φαντασία within the Septuagint, which should be understood in relation to its own cultural context. Later meanings that have come to us many years down the road via numerous semantic shifts are to be pushed aside. Also, the presence of the word in the Twelve further indicates something concerned with the ideas and thoughts of that translator specifically, rather than the Septuagint as a whole. Does the context of Ambakoum elucidate why the translator would have chosen φαντασία rather than another word closer to the meaning of either ירה or ראה or חזה? As we have seen, φαντασία does not come close to meaning any of these. Furthermore, how does this bear on the use in Zech 10:1 and in Wisdom of Solomon? Can Amb 3:10 be translated with the same meaning as in 2:18-19?

The commonality between the two instances of φαντασία in Amb 2:18-19 is that both describe a graven image. They are each part of terse descriptive phrases. In Hab 2:18 it is a false or deceitful graven image, מורה שקר; and in v. 19 it teaches, הוא יורה

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[640] See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 33.
[641] See ibid., 25.
[642] In Classical works the verbal word for φαντασία was φαίνω.
[643] See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 35.

– it has a pedagogic quality for the observer.[644] In each instance the different forms of
ירה are translated by φαντασία. Gelston notes that the translator exegetically read these
through ראה.[645] However, what is quite noticeable is that throughout the Twelve the
translator always understood the meaning of ראה, yet translating it by either ὁράω,
ἐπιβλέπω, βλέπω, δείκνυμι, ἐφοράω, or ἀφοράω – never with a related verbal word of
φαντασία.[646] In Zech 3:4 and 6:8 ἰδού is used for the imperative רְאֵה, still retaining that
sense of look! And in Mal 3:2 the translator has interpreted it nominally using ὀπτασία.
Of all these sixty occurrences, seven are true for Ambakoum (1:3, 5, 13; 2:1; 3:6, 7,
10). Of course there are nuances in meaning between the Greek verbal words, but these
differences reflect contextual and stylistic changes that share some semantic
correspondence with the *Vorlage*. The same is also true for the less frequent חזה. This
is again regularly translated by ὁράω, and once by ὅρασις.[647]

It is also notable that the word φαντασία is seldom used. Because the contexts
where it is used are not the same, understanding what senses are implied for these
instances of φαντασία poses added difficulty. The context in Habakkuk pertains to an
important concern that frequently comes up in the Hebrew Bible: idolatry. Habakkuk
shares in the prophetic heritage of denouncing such activity. The rebuke in Habakkuk
is nuanced by the instructive nature of the idol – it teaches in v. 19. Idols are not usually
given to teaching, and the similar phrase in MT Isa 9:14 (מורה שקר)[648] has a false
prophet as subject, which is translated as a teacher of lawlessness, προφήτην
διδάσκοντα ἄνομα. Sometimes ירה is translated by φωτίζω, which, in this case,
figuratively has the sense of giving light to an individual, i.e. Jodae enlightened Joas

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[644] In Ezek 18 the wicked man lifts up his eyes to idols as a form of worship and is condemned for
doing so.

[645] The exegetical point is explicit in his notes for v. 19. I take it that he also means this for v. 18,
hence √ראה. Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 98.

[646] Discounted here are the instances where it was read from ירא, φοβέω (Mic 6:9), or omitted (Zech
9:14).

[647] This nominal word refers to an appearance of something in relation to the faculty of sight. It
doesn not have the same philosophical dimensions and connotations derived from φαντασία.

[648] The omission of the final letter in 1QpHab is likely intentional to avoid any misunderstanding
with the context of the pesher itself, thus no connotation may be drawn with to the Teacher of
Righteousness. Martinez et al. translates מרי שקר (perhaps from מְרִי) as a "sham oracle." The Psh
follows OG. Also, Gordon and Cathcart suggest that Tg. was based on a midrashic reading of *mwrh* as
mwr', hence an idol of deceit. Cathcart and Gordon, eds., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 153;
Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 121; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The DSS Study Ed., vol 1*, 21.

(4 Kgdms 12:3). It is also more common for it to translate אור and נהר.[649] And as noted above, the verbal word for φαντασία was, early on, φαίνω.

Furthermore, the translator of the Twelve does also seem to be very aware of the difference between the verbal word יורה and its homonym יורה, *late rains*. When the homonym of late rains is the word in context he correctly translates it by ὄψιμος (Hos 6:3).[650] When translating the *hipʿil* of ירה (Mic 3:11 and 4:2) corresponding verbal words are also used, similar to how other parts of the Septuagint are translated, noting the use of ἀποκρίνομαι. This sort of statistical analysis is particularly helpful in the context of the Twelve because the corpus was translated by the same person. Moreover, the passage in Ambakoum repeats the use of φαντασία, it does not just turn up once. In each instance it is in reference to idolatry. From this information it does not appear that the translator accidently, or even through some form of improvisation, misread the word through a word of similar consonants, and then choose a word highly charged with philosophic meaning. The semantic and contextual jump is too great. Before drawing final conclusions on this I will first examine the cases of Amb 3:10 and Zech 10:1.

Hab 3:10bA-B	נתן תהום קולו רום ידיהו [נשא]
Amb 3:10bA-B	ἔδωκεν ἡ ἄβυσσος φωνὴν αὐτῆς ὕψος φαντασίας αὐτῆς

In the first case, Amb 3:10 is a little odd. On the one hand, the meaning of φαντασία could be the Hellenistic and rare sense of *pomp* or *pageantry*. Yet, on the other hand, if vision is the right sense, which corresponds to Zech, then it may once more be connected to the meaningful use from Stoic debate. But both work. For example: *the deep lifted up her voice / her pomp/vision was on high*. It is not precisely clear how the translator could have misread the phrase ידיהו through the verb ראה.[651] It is true that the form is unique, and the common phrase is more often rendered by the more common suffix יו, than the rarer הו, but this could be a poor guide. Also, it has been recently documented that the guttural ʾaleph was sometimes interchanged by the

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[649] The choice of φοτίζω and φῶς in Hos 10:12 is just fine, *pace* Gelston. The translator interpreted the meaning of lamp and extended it to his word choices. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 20.

[650] The substantival use of γενήματα in Hos 10:12 appears to be a contextual adaptation.

[651] *Pace* Gelston. Also, φαντασία is not semantically related to the Heb. lexeme ראה. Cf. Gelston, ed. *BHQ*, 100.

consonantal *yôd* in Qumranic Hebrew.[652] Yet, still, in spite of the fact that this refers to Qumranic orthography, this would leave the translator with a clear verbal form that he translated nominally. But, even if there was truly some trouble with understanding the form, φαντασία would likely not be the choice for ראה, which, as I have shown, was regularly translated by other semantically similar words, viz. if *image* or *appearance* was the semantic destination – there were other more common and less technically charged words for such concepts.

There is the slight possibility that the translator interpreted this passage as another reference to idolatry. With the exaltation of natural elements for proscribed worship, and in light of the transformational changes in OG, there is a sense that the sun and moon are more than just metaphors, against which the LORD acts in the following verse.

Second, in Zech 10:1 φαντασία translates the word חזיז, meaning a *thunderclap*, *lightening* or *stiff wind*.[653] In context, the passage refers to the LORD giving the early and late rains to those who ask; he is the one who makes fruitful those who seek him. In the midst of this passage we find κύριος ἐποίησεν φαντασίας. Clearly it is a positive affirmation. The object of the LORD's action is φαντασίας. The Hebrew word in question is very rare, and the form is unique. The context has nothing to do with idolatry, but the LORD's sovereignty in agrarian needs. The meaning of *pomp* or *reputation* also does not fit within the context. But, if we consider another detail from Stoic theory, it would seem to convey some aspect of the technical sense from the philosophical debate.

MT Zech 10:1aA-B	שאלו מיהוה מטר באת מלקש
	יהוה עשה חזיזים
Zech 10:1aA-B	αἰτεῖσθε ὑετὸν παρὰ κυρίου καθ᾽ ὥραν πρόιμον [καὶ ὄψιμον]
	κύριος ἐποίησεν **φαντασίας**

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[652] Also, Reymond's examples are mostly of proper names. I am not aware of evidence for the word ראה being interchanged this way. There is an example of ʿayin substituting ʾāleph with the word נראתה (1QS VII, 14). But this is rare, and moreover, probably sufficiently different in consonants from the present form to rule out at least a misreading. Yet, if on the chance the translator did not know the phrase, he may have sought recourse through these things. See Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew* (RBS 76; ed. Harry M. Orlinsky; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 124, 94.

[653] See HALOT, "חָזִיז"; DCH, "חָזִיז".

This word is translated by NETS with *representation*, which obfuscates the meaning, and appears to have stereotypically done so because of the uses in Ambakoum. LXX.D has chosen *sichtbare Zeichen*, visible signs, which seems to have perhaps been influenced by Brenton's interpretation.[654] It is translated by BdA as *les fulgurances*, which approximates to flashes or sparkels – in reference to something moving brightly and fast. This French translation is based upon the idea that φαντασία refers to *une vision extraordinaire*. It comes close to the meaning derived from a Stoic discussion that also had φαντασία relate to "dreams and visions and any 'movement' of consciousness."[655] In Plato these were known as φάντασματα, which Aristotle also picked up on in respect to the images of the material world, and the interaction of the φαντασία between the perception and the intellect.[656] In this case, like Plato, the material world and light form together to produce a vision that enters the eye. In Aristotle φαντασία could be a form of vision, though in his discussion this is quite nascent.

Stoic, in spite of its materialism, gave dreams a prominent place in aesthetics. It was the interpreters, προφῆται, of dreams who were more desirable than the dreamers, μάντιδες. The mantic may speak without understanding. The mark of a true prophet was one who could interpret.[657] The images drawn from the lower part of his soul were next to meaningless without explanation. This lower aspect of the soul, which was metaphorically described in Platonism as a mirror, produced visions (φαντασίς or φάντασματα), which is where thoughts gathered from the mind. This is from where divination came, a concept that would be developed in Neoplatonsim.[658] Stoicism retained much of this Platonic idea, developing the rise of visions to the role of the φαντασία. This was mostly accomplished by the fact that the materialistic system made

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[654] Rudolph's promising suggestion that the translator interpreted the odd form via חזיון or חזון runs into difficulty when one considers that the translator of the Twelve always translated חזיון from ὅρασις, which is also common to the rest of the Septuaignt. He would have simply used that word again – but translators were not consistent. Or, if he borrowed from the semantics derived from חזיון, considering the form of the *hapax*, he may have chosen φαντασία for other contextual reasons. Cf. Bons et al., eds., *LXX.D*, 1222; Karrer and Kraus, eds., *LXX.E. Band 2*, 2466; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai-Maleachi* (KAT 13,2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1976), 190.

[655] Cocking, *Imagination*, 23; Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 45.

[656] See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 12, 19.

[657] See Cocking, *Imagination*, 25-26.

[658] See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 13.

no difference between internal and external perception[659] – there was nothing ethereal or incorporeal. A thing seen from the mirror-like change (ἑτεροίεσις) in the soul could be called a φαντασία, which pointed to the visionary aspect involved rather than the object, φάντασμα.[660] This was a development on Platonism. Therefore, the conceptual roots are here for a sort-of aberrant vision as suggested by Casevitz and Dogniez.

In Wisdom of Solomon 18:17, the Egyptians are smote with φαντασίαι: τότε παραχρῆμα **φαντασίαι** μὲν **ὀνείρων** δεινῶν ἐξετάραξαν αὐτούς (*then suddenly phantasiai, indeed, terrible dreams troubled them*). The relationship between φαντασία and ὄνειρος here is clearly made. The kind of φαντασία in view is indicated by the immediately following phrase, μέν. In Zechariah the LORD gave the φαντασία, which appears to have a positive connotation, and likely refers to a waking-vision; whereas in Wisdom of Solomon a terrifying and fearful kind is meted out. Both connote to the nature of φαντασία in Hellenistic thought with respect to mental-images.

What the evidence of this study has shown is that, first, a development on the meaning of φαντασία may have begun earlier than modern philosophers are aware. The Septuagint, as the largest body of Ptolemaic Greek literature, is, quite surprisingly, overlooked by scholars of Greek and Roman philosophy. Watson dates the first literary evidence of syncretism with the Neoplatonist Philostratus late in the second century C.E.[661] In these later debates, φαντασία is given a new kind of prominence.[662]

Second, when the translator of Ambakoum chose the word φαντασία in the last woe oracle against idolatry, he would most likely have been aware of its specific

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[659] See Eduard Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy* (trans. L. R. Palmer; 13th ed.; New York: Dover Publications, 1980), 212-3.

[660] In G^A Job 20:8 חזיון (vision) is translated with φάντασματα, rather than the OG use of φάσμα (*apparition*, or *visionary appearance*). The meaning of both Greek words are, as shown, sufficiently different from φαντασία. A number of φά- (and φάν-) words clearly connote vision(s), perceived objects – the application of light, even in the mind – in a variety of contexts. Cf. Rudolph, *Micha-Zephanja*, 190.

[661] See Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, 60-61.

[662] In this later debates it was argued that φαντασία was a better guide for artistic works, such as poetry and sculpting, than say mimicry (μίμησις). The ability for an artist to hold in his mind's eye the object that he wishes to create, which often occurred over long periods of time, can be seen in the seminal discussions of Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics in particular. The φαντασία that resides within the individual gives a kind of enlightenment for artistic design, whether for literary or physical representations. Jumping over Augustine and the Medievals, who used this to explain a number of theological phenomena, the European Renaissance saw a surge of this kind of view. The ability to imagine, or fantasise, was a guide to creating great works of art and beauty. The artist was exalted within societies, which fuelled the love of music, paintings and sculptures.

sense(s). The context of idolatry and choice of this word would have had a reasonably high degree of register with his real readers. I am inclined to suggest that this translator was perhaps working out of a more Stoic philosophy than otherwise, simply because of the way he uses φαντασία in cognitive senses, including dream states.[663] So, in Amb 2:18-19, by using this word, the text would likely have evoked for the reader a conceptual domain. The φαντασία ψευδή is not the object itself, viz. the graven image, but what the image causes within the cognitive process. By indicating that the φαντασία is deceitful, the individual must not assent nor grasp the signification of the graven image.[664]

This leads us to ask whether translational equivalents of "illusion" (BdA), "representation" (NETS), or "Trugbild" (LXX.D) really convey the meaning of the word in its cultural context. Of course, this problem relates to how one may evoke the same emotions or ideas through transference in a different culture – today. In the first instance, the choice of "representation" by NETS in every instance of Ambakoum does not seem to consider the contextual subtleties. Representation calls to mind the physical thing in question, rather than the use of φαντασία in its cultural milieu. Second, the choices of *Trugbild* and *illusion* might be somewhat closer to bringing over the meaning intended by OG. But, still, *illusion*, as an example from French, is itself in modern vernacular bound to other conceptual domains quite distant from the contemporaneous meaning of φαντασία:

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[663] This may also be true for the author of Wis.

[664] There is, however, a remote possibility that the translator, and also the author of Wis, intended to generate other ideas by use of this word, which were not confined to its technical usages. This might be similar to the way that a word such as ἀνάθεμα was used in the NT, in a semantic way that was entirely novel to its prior usages. But this is rather difficult to ascertain here for two reasons. First, in the contexts which the word φαντασία was used it is almost always used as a technical word within epistemological debates. This is unmistakeable. Second, as we plot the trajectory of its contextual uses from Plato to the Neoplatonists there is a clear development of philosophically derived ideas tied directly to the use of this word. It denoted very particular epistemological concepts, which depended on the school in which the hearer/author was trained.

Ver.\OG	Amb 2:18	Amb 2:19	Amb 3:10	Zech 10:1
NETS	representation	representation	representation	representations
BdA	*illusion*	*illusion*	*illusion*	*fulgurances*
LXX.D	*Trugbild*	*Trugbild*	*Trugbild*	*sichtbare Zeichen*
Rudolph	*Erscheinung*	*Erscheinung*	-	*Erscheinungen*
Brenton	image	image	form	bright signs
OSB	image	fantasy	form	great display

There does not appear to be an exact equivalent, because the central meaning of the word has been greatly affected through its transliterated and conceptual developments through time (fantasy, Lat. *imaginatio*). The word *impression* is how some modern philosophers understand it, and this may be the best choice here.[665] What is clear is that in some way, what is being referred to is not so much the object of a graven image, but what is meant as part of an observer's process of apprehension. Hence the idol is a false teacher – a liar – and to accept anything from it as true, good or beautiful, would be to kick against the goads of Ambakoum's rebuke. By using the technical jargon of his day the translator undermined the stupidity of idolatry, and headed-off any epistemological misconception concerning the nature of true divinity.

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[665] Variation between modern philosophers is also true for the translation of φαντασία, or its verbal word φαίνω, i.e. *fancy/vision* or *it seems* (Shorey/Fowler), *impression* (Long & Sedley), *representation* (Zeller/Palmer), *appearance* (LSJM) and even *imagination* (Cocking). See Cocking, *Imagination*, 20-26; LSJM, "φαντασία"; *Plato with an English Translation. Theaetetus and Sophist*, (eds. E. T. Page et al.; trans. Harold North Fowler; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 428; A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (2 vols.; vol. 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); *Plato The Republic. With an English Translation*, (eds. E. T. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse; trans. Paul Shorey; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), §382.E; Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy*, 212.

5.0 Conclusion

This study has proven that the translator of Ambakoum was an adroit scribe who sought to render creatively the teaching of his sacred Hebrew Scriptures into his familiar Greek tongue. The struggle to reduce the attrition of meaning in the transformation from one language to another was also a hurdle for this translator. By carefully reading the translation as an independent Greek document, the reader is given the sense of this transformed text. The translation hangs together a little differently than the source. The reasons for this then highlighted the translator's style and theological perspectives. These studies on Greek rhetoric, linguistic transformations and exegesis demonstrated the different ways that the translator understood the prophecy of Ambakoum, particularly in how he overcame various textual problems.

In some instances the textual transformations were caused by translational improvisation, which often had to do with some kind of obscurity with the *Vorlage*. Yet at some points there was a careful exegesis of the passage, which is often remarked as part of a free hand. In every respect, the translator faced the difficulty of how to render his target work, how to render the interpretation of his Hebrew text. The tension between his ancient form of literalism, and the multi-faceted kinds of concerns that attended his process of transformation, often occurred within the same phrase, clause or sentence. The ideas of the literature that were formed into the mould of his translation together make up the theology of the book.

As this pertains to theological interpretation, frequently the textual differences to MT find inner-Twelve and -Septuagintal thematic and lexical connections. This means that if one was to remove any number of apparently isolated semantic or grammatical shifts from the theological stew, one may be unwittingly excising ideas that were intentionally wrought. Because of the symbiotic relationship between MT and Septuagintal texts for themes and ideas, numerous avenues by which to understand the nature of any given change existed. Such things are restricted to related themes and matching lexemes. This indicates that the translator, in this case, was aware of the wider theological perspectives of the biblical books, and in particular those for which he was responsible. Joosten helpfully indicates:

> Un passage ou un mot qui n'exprime pas ce que dit son équivalent dans le texte hébreu peut fournir une clé pour l'idéologie du traducteur. Si le passage, ou le mot, est chargé théologiquement, la théologie de la Septante semble à portée de main.[666]

The theological or ideological *Tendenz* of the translator is more-or-less emphasised through these differences. These things were then likely part of an interpretative tradition during the period.

This thesis has narrowly examined Ambakoum within the wider scope of the Twelve. Additional work should now be done to understand the nature of similar evidence within all the other books of the Twelve, and perhaps also the parts of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, to which Thackeray had linked it. Because these stylistic devices are from the same hand they can also be seen in some degree throughout the other parts. Analysis to the degree done here would be of real benefit. It would, for example, add support to the arguments laid out here, and also lend additional support for the singularity of the translational hand. His individual hand can be seen from grammatical choices, but also by his attempts to integrate rhetorical flourish.

What I have also noticed is that the theological contours of each respective book of the Twelve, which are germane to them, are not flattened by the translator. He did not translate only a theology of the Twelve, but each book expresses its own prophectic burden. The contemporaneous relevance of these things is observed throughout different junctures within each book. The striking nature of the prophecy of Ambakoum, i.e. the LORD is himself raising up the Chaldeans for an awful judgement, might have spurred textual changes. Such leitmotifs caught the imagination of the translator, which arose within a theological community. The real readers were likely the scribal class, who for a period of time found the nature of the Twelve acceptable and good. The perceived textual drift, however, was not agreeable to later communities, hence we have seen changes throughout the centuries that followed. But in spite of the disagreements that ensued, OG retained a strong interpretative position. The fact that it existed and had had some acceptance may have held sway over later authors or translators, perhaps giving rise to the apocryphal work Bel where Ambakoum re-appears as a messenger of succour – he announced the exile, he now helps those suffering in it. The translation of Ambakoum was done faithfully to the

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[666] Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante," 35.

reading of its day. And it carries over the biblical message: the LORD shall deliver his people, and the impious shall in no wise be acquitted.

Appendix A

Translation of Ambakoum and Habakkuk

Amb/Hab 1:1

τὸ λῆμμα ὃ εἶδεν Ἀμβακουμ ὁ προφήτης
The oracle that Habakkuk the prophet saw:

הַמַּשָּׂא אֲשֶׁר חָזָה חֲבַקּוּק הַנָּבִיא

The oracle that Ambakoum the prophet saw:

Amb/Hab 1:2-4

§	Ambakoum	Habakkuk	§
G1aA2	Ἕως τίνος κύριε κεκράξομαι	עַד־אָנָה יְהוָה שִׁוַּעְתִּי	H1aA2
G1aB2	καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσακούσῃς	וְלֹא תִשְׁמָע	H1aB2
G1bA2	βοήσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἀδικούμενος	אֶזְעַק אֵלֶיךָ חָמָס	H1bA2
G1bB2	καὶ οὐ σώσεις	וְלֹא תוֹשִׁיעַ׃	H1bB2
G1aA3	ἵνα τί μοι ἔδειξας κόπους καὶ πόνους	לָמָּה תַרְאֵנִי אָוֶן	H1aA3
G1aB3	ἐπιβλέπειν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν	וְעָמָל תַּבִּיט	H1aB3
		וְשֹׁד וְחָמָס לְנֶגְדִּי	H1aC3
G1bA3	ἐξ ἐναντίας μου γέγονεν κρίσις	וַיְהִי רִיב	H1bA3
G1bB3	καὶ ὁ κριτὴς λαμβάνει	וּמָדוֹן יִשָּׂא׃	H1bB3
G1aA4	διὰ τοῦτο διεσκέδασται νόμος	עַל־כֵּן תָּפוּג תּוֹרָה	H1aA4
G1aB4	καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα	וְלֹא־יֵצֵא לָנֶצַח מִשְׁפָּט	H1aB4
G1bA4	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον	כִּי רָשָׁע מַכְתִּיר אֶת־הַצַּדִּיק	H1bA4
G1bB4	ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον	עַל־כֵּן יֵצֵא מִשְׁפָּט מְעֻקָּל׃	H1bB4
Ge1aA2	How long, O LORD, shall I cry out,	How long, O YHWH, shall I call out,	He1aA2
Ge1aB2	And you not listen,		
Ge1bA2	Being wronged, I shall cry out to you,	And you not listen,	He1aB2
		Shall I cry out to you, "Violence!"	He1bA2
Ge1bB2	And you not save?	And you not save?	He1bB2
Ge1aA3	Why did you make me look at toils and distresses,	Why do you make me see iniquity,	He1aA3
		And look at toil,	He1aB3
Ge1aB3	To look upon misery and impiety?	So that destruction and violence are before me?	He1aC3
Ge1bA3	Justice has come before me,		

Ge1bB3	And the judge receives it.	There has been strife,	He1bA3
		And contention is lifted up.	He1bB3
Ge2aA4	Therefore law has been scattered abroad,	Because Torah is benumbed,	He1aA4
		Justice will not come to fruition.	He1aB4
Ge2aB4	And judgement is not fully accomplished;	Because the wicked surrounded the righteous,	He1bA4
Ge2bA4	For the impious man oppresses the righteous;	So justice comes out crooked.	He1bB4
Ge2bB4	Because of this judgement will come out crooked.		

Amb/Hab 1:5-11

G1aA5	ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε	רְאוּ בַגּוֹיִם וְהַבִּיטוּ	H1aA5
		וְהִתַּמְּהוּ תְּמָהוּ	H1aB5
G1aB5	καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια	כִּי־פֹעַל פֹּעֵל בִּימֵיכֶם	H1bA5
G1aC5	καὶ ἀφανίσθητε	לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי יְסֻפָּר	H1bB5
G1bA5	διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐπ' ὑμᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν		
G1bB5	ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται		
G1aA6	διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξεγείρω τοὺς Χαλδαίους τοὺς μαχητάς	כִּי־הִנְנִי מֵקִים אֶת־הַכַּשְׂדִּים	H1aA6
		הַגּוֹי הַמַּר וְהַנִּמְהָר	H1aB6
G1aB6	τὸ ἔθνος τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ ταχινὸν	הַהוֹלֵךְ לְמֶרְחֲבֵי־אֶרֶץ	H1bA6
G1bA6	τὸ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς γῆς	לָרֶשֶׁת מִשְׁכָּנוֹת לֹא־לוֹ	H1bB6
G1bB6	τοῦ κατακληρονομῆσαι σκηνώματα οὐκ αὐτοῦ		
G1aA7	φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν	אָיֹם וְנוֹרָא הוּא	H1aA7
G1aB7	ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ ἔσται	מִמֶּנּוּ מִשְׁפָּטוֹ וּשְׂאֵתוֹ יֵצֵא	H1aB7
G1aC7	καὶ τὸ λῆμμα αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσεται		
G1aA8	καὶ ἐξαλοῦνται ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ	וְקַלּוּ מִנְּמֵרִים סוּסָיו	H1aA8
		וְחַדּוּ מִזְּאֵבֵי עֶרֶב	H1aB8
G1aB8	καὶ ὀξύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας	וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו	H1bA8
		וּפָרָשָׁיו מֵרָחוֹק יָבֹאוּ	H1bB8
G1bA8	καὶ ἐξιππάσονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ	יָעֻפוּ כְּנֶשֶׁר	H1cA8
G1bB8	καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν	חָשׁ לֶאֱכוֹל	H1cB8

G1cA8	καὶ πετασθήσονται ὡς ἀετὸς		
G1cB8	πρόθυμος εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν		
G1aA9	συντέλεια εἰς ἀσεβεῖς ἥξει	כֻּלֹּה לְחָמָס יָבוֹא	H1aA9
G1aB9	ἀνθεστηκότας προσώποις αὐτῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας	מְגַמַּת פְּנֵיהֶם קָדִימָה	H1aB9
		וַיֶּאֱסֹף כַּחוֹל שֶׁבִי	H1aC9
G1bA9	καὶ συνάξει ὡς ἄμμον αἰχμαλωσίαν		
G1aA10	καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐντρυφήσει	וְהוּא בַּמְּלָכִים יִתְקַלָּס	H1aA10
G1aB10	καὶ τύραννοι παίγνια αὐτοῦ	וְרֹזְנִים מִשְׂחָק לוֹ	H1aB10
G1bA10	καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς πᾶν ὀχύρωμα ἐμπαίξεται	הוּא לְכָל־מִבְצָר יִשְׂחָק	H1bA10
		וַיִּצְבֹּר עָפָר	H1bB10
G1bB10	καὶ βαλεῖ χῶμα	וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ	H1bC10
G1bC10	καὶ κρατήσει αὐτοῦ		
G1aA11	τότε μεταβαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ διελεύσεται καὶ ἐξιλάσεται	אָז חָלַף רוּחַ וַיַּעֲבֹר וְאָשֵׁם	H1aA11
		זוּ כֹחוֹ לֵאלֹהוֹ	H1aB11
G1aB11	αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ μου		
Ge1aA5	Look, you scoffers, and gaze!	Look among the nations, and observe!	He1aA5
Ge1aB5	And be amazed at marvellous things,		
		Gaze and be astounded!	He1aB5
Ge1aC5	And be destroyed!	For I am doing a work in your days,	He1bA5
Ge1bA5	Because I am doing a work in your days,		
Ge1bB5	Which you would not believe, even if someone should carefully explain.	You would not believe it, even if it was recounted.	He1bB5
Ge1aA6	For behold, I am raising upon you the Chaldeans, the warriors!	For behold, I am raising up the Chaldeans!	He1aA6
Ge1aB6	The bitter and swift nation,	The bitter and impetuous nation,	He1aB6
Ge1bA6	Who moves upon the broad places of the land,	Who march throughout the earth,	He1bA6
		To seize dwellings not belonging to him.	He1bB6
Ge1bB6	To possess dwellings not his own.		
Ge1aA7	His is fearful and glorious,	He is dreaded and feared,	He1aA7
Ge1aB7	His judgement will be from him,	His justice and authority go out from him.	He1aB7
Ge1aC7	And his proclamation will go out from him.		

Ge1aA8	Now, his horses will leap more than leopards,	Now, his horses are swifter than leopards,	He1aA8
Ge1aB8	And will be more cunning than the wolves of Arabia,	And keener than the evening wolves,	He1aB8
Ge1bA8	And his cavalry will ride forth,	And his horsemen come galloping,	He1bA8
Ge1bB8	And will charge headlong from afar;	His horsemen will come from afar,	He1bB8
Ge1cA8	And will spread out like an eagle,	They fly like eagles,	He1cA8
Ge1cB8	Eager to devour.	Swooping down to devour.	He1cB8
Ge1aA9	Destruction will come to the impious,	All of them come for violence,	He1aA9
		A *mgmt* is eastward before them;	He1aB9
Ge1aB9	Hardening their faces before them,	And he gathered captives like sand.	He1aC9
Ge1bA9	And like sand he will gather captives.		
Ge1aA10	And he will scoff at kings,	And he mocked at kings,	He1aA10
Ge1aB10	And tyrants will be his play-toy,	And rulers were a laughingstock to him,	He1aB10
Ge1bA10	And he will mock at every fortress,	He scoffed at every fortress,	He1bA10
Ge1bB10	And he will heap-up earth,	And piled up rubble,	He1bB10
Ge1bC10	And take hold of it.	And captured it.	He1bC10
Ge1aA11	Then the wind will change, and he will pass through, and propitiate.	Then he swept by as a wind, and crossed over, and incurred guilt;	He1aA11
Ge1aB11	This strength belongs to my God.	They whose strength is their god.	He1aB11

Amb/Hab 1:12-17

G1aA12	οὐχὶ σὺ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιός μου	הֲלוֹא אַתָּה מִקֶּדֶם יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי קְדֹשִׁי	H1aA12
		לֹא נָמוּת	H1aB12
G1aB12	καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν	יְהוָה לְמִשְׁפָּט שַׂמְתּוֹ	H1bA12
G1bA12	κύριε εἰς κρίμα τέταχας αὐτον	וְצוּר לְהוֹכִיחַ יְסַדְתּוֹ	H1bB12
G1bB12	καὶ ἔπλασέν με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ		
G1aA13	καθαρὸς ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν πονηρά	טְהוֹר עֵינַיִם מֵרְאוֹת רָע	H1aA13
		וְהַבִּיט אֶל־עָמָל לֹא תוּכָל	H1aB13
		לָמָּה תַבִּיט בּוֹגְדִים	H1bA13

G1aB13	καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ πόνους οὐ δυνήσῃ	תַּחֲרִישׁ בְּבַלַּע רָשָׁע צַדִּיק מִמֶּנּוּ	H1bB13
G1bA13	ἵνα τί ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπὶ καταφρονοῦντας		
G1bB13	παρασιωπήσῃ ἐν τῳ καταπίνειν ἀσεβῆ τὸν δίκαιον		
G1aA14	καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης	וַתַּעֲשֶׂה אָדָם כִּדְגֵי הַיָּם	H1aA14
G1aB14	καὶ ὡς τὰ ἑρπετὰ τὰ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἡγούμενον	כְּרֶמֶשׂ לֹא־מֹשֵׁל בּוֹ	H1aB14
G1aA15	συντέλειαν ἐν ἀγκίστρῳ ἀνέσπασεν	כֻּלֹּה בְּחַכָּה הֶעֱלָה	H1aA15
G1aB15	καὶ εἵλκυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ	יְגֹרֵהוּ בְחֶרְמוֹ	H1aB15
		וְיַאַסְפֵהוּ בְּמִכְמַרְתּוֹ	H1aC15
G1aC15	καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς σαγήναις αὐτοῦ	עַל־כֵּן יִשְׂמַח	H1bA15
		וְיָגִיל	H1bB15
G1aA16	ἕνεκεν τούτου εὐφρανθήσεται	עַל־כֵּן יְזַבֵּחַ לְחֶרְמוֹ	H1aA16
G1aB16	καὶ χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ	וִיקַטֵּר לְמִכְמַרְתּוֹ	H1aB16
G1bA16	ἕνεκεν τούτου θύσει τῇ σαγήνῃ αὐτοῦ	כִּי בָהֵמָּה שָׁמֵן חֶלְקוֹ	H1bA16
G1bB16	καὶ θυμιάσει τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρῳ αὐτοῦ	וּמַאֲכָלוֹ בְּרִאָה	H1bB16
G1cA16	ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλίπανεν μερίδα αὐτοῦ		
G1cB16	καὶ τὰ βρώματα αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτά		
G1aA17	διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφιβαλεῖ τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον αὐτοῦ	הַעַל כֵּן יָרִיק חֶרְמוֹ	H1aA17
		וְתָמִיד לַהֲרֹג גּוֹיִם	H1aB17
G1aB17	καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀποκτέννειν ἔθνεν	לֹא יַחְמוֹל	H1aC17
G1aC17	οὐ φείσεται		
Ge1aA12	Are you not from of old, O LORD, my holy God?	Are you not from of old, O YHWH, my God, my holy One?	He1aA12
Ge1aB12	And we shall not die.	We shall not die.	He1aB12
Ge1bA12	O LORD, you have appointed him for judgement,	O YHWH, you have ordained him for judgement	He1bA12
Ge1bB12	And have made me to reprove his discipline	And, O Rock, you established him for reproof.	He1bB12
Ge1aA13	Eyes so pure *as* to not see evil,	Eyes too pure to see evil,	He1aA13

Ge1aB13	You are unable to look upon toils.	And you are unable to look upon toil.	He1aB13
Ge1bA13	Why do you make *me* look at scoffers,	Why do you make *me* look upon scoffers,	He1bA13
Ge1bB13	You pass by silently while the impious swallow the righteous?	You pass over silently while the wicked swallows the one more righteous than he.	He1bB13
Ge1aA14	And you shall make men as the fish of the sea,	But you made man like the fish of the sea,	He1aA14
Ge1aB14	And as the creeping things who have no ruler.	Like the creeping things who have no one ruling over them.	He1aB14
Ge1aA15	He drew up destruction with a fish-hook,	He will bring all of them up by a fishhook,	He1aA15
Ge1aB15	And dragged him away in his casting-net,	He will drag him away by his net,	He1aB15
Ge1aC15	And gathered him into his dragnet.	And gather him into his dragnet;	He1aC15
		So he will rejoice,	He1bA15
		And be glad.	He1bB15
Ge1aA16	So he will rejoice,	For he will sacrifice to his net,	He1aA16
Ge1aB16	And his heart will be made glad,	And offer incense to his dragnet,	He1aB16
Ge1bA16	Because he will sacrifice to his casting-net,	Because in these his portion is fattened,	He1bA16
Ge1bB16	And burn incense to his dragnet.	And his food rich.	He1bB16
Ge1cA16	Therefore, in these *things* he enriched his portion,		
Ge1cB16	And his food was choice.		
Ge1aA17	Therefore he will drag in his casting-net,	Will he thus empty his net,	He1aA17
Ge1aB17	And through *it* all he will mercilessly slay nations.	And continually slay nations without sparing?	He1aB17

Amb/Hab 2:1-2

G2aA1	ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι	עַל־מִשְׁמַרְתִּי אֶעֱמֹדָה	H2aA1
G2aB1	καὶ ἐπιβήσομαι ἐπὶ πέτραν	וְאֶתְיַצְּבָה עַל־מָצוֹר	H2aB1
G2bA1	καὶ ἀποσκοπεύσω τοῦ ἰδεῖν τί λαλήσει ἐν μοι	וַאֲצַפֶּה לִרְאוֹת מַה־יְדַבֶּר־בִּי	H2bA1
G2bB1	καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλεγκόν μου	וּמָה אָשִׁיב עַל־תּוֹכִחְתִּי	H2bB1

G2aA2	καὶ ἀπεκρίθη πρός με κύριος	וַיַּעֲנֵנִי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר	H2aA2
G2aB2	καὶ εἶπεν Γράψον ὅρασιν	כְּתוֹב חָזוֹן	H2aB2
G2bA2	καὶ σαφῶς ἐπὶ πυξίον	וּבָאֵר עַל־הַלֻּחוֹת	H2bA2
G2bB2	ὅπως διώκῃ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων αὐτά	לְמַעַן יָרוּץ קוֹרֵא בוֹ:	H2bB2

Ge2aA1	Upon my watch-post I will take my stand,	May I make a stand upon my guard post,	He2aA1
Ge2aB1	And I will mount up upon a rock,	And station myself upon a fortified place,	He2aB1
Ge2bA1	And I will look steadfastly to see what he will say to me,	So I may keep watch to see what he will say to me,	He2bA1
Ge2bB1	And what I will answer for my reproof.	And whay I may answer for my reproof.	He2bB1
Ge2aA2	And Lᴏʀᴅ answered me,	And Yʜᴡʜ answered me and said,	He2aA2
Ge2aB2	And said, "Write down an oracle,	"Write down a vision,	He2aB2
Ge2bA2	and make it plain upon a wooden tablet,	And make it plain upon the tablets,	He2bA2
Ge2bB2	So that he who reads them may run.	So that he who reads it may run.	He2bB2

Amb/Hab 2:3-5

G2aA3	διότι ἔτι ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν	כִּי עוֹד חָזוֹן לַמּוֹעֵד	H2aA3
G2aB3	καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας	וְיָפֵחַ לַקֵּץ	H2aB3
G2aC3	καὶ οὐκ εἰς κένον	וְלֹא יְכַזֵּב	H2aC3
G2bA3	ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν	אִם־יִתְמַהְמָהּ חַכֵּה־לוֹ	H2bA3
G2bB3	ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει	כִּי־בֹא יָבֹא	H2bB3
G2bC3	καὶ οὐ μή χρονίσῃ	לֹא יְאַחֵר	H2bC3
G2aA4	ἐὰν ὑποστείληται	הִנֵּה עֻפְּלָה	H2aA4
G2aB4	οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ	לֹא־יָשְׁרָה נַפְשׁוֹ בּוֹ	H2aB4
G2bA4	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος πίστεώς μου ζήσεται	וְצַדִּיק בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ יִחְיֶה	H2bA4
G2aA5	ὁ δὲ κατοινωμένος καὶ καταφρονητής - ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών - οὐδὲν μὴ περάνῃ	וְאַף כִּי־הַיַּיִן בּוֹגֵד	H2aA5
		גֶּבֶר יָהִיר וְלֹא יִנְוֶה	H2aB5
G2bA5	ὃς ἐπλάτυνεν καθὼς ὁ ᾅδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ	אֲשֶׁר הִרְחִיב כִּשְׁאוֹל נַפְשׁוֹ	H2bA5
		וְהוּא כַמָּוֶת וְלֹא יִשְׂבָּע	H2bB5
G2bB5	καὶ οὗτος ὡς θάνατος οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενος	וַיֶּאֱסֹף אֵלָיו כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם	H2cA5
G2cA5	καὶ ἐπισυνάξει ἐπ' αὗτὸν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη	וַיִּקְבֹּץ אֵלָיו כָּל־הָעַמִּים	H2cB5
G2cB5	καὶ εἰσδέξεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς λαούς		

Ge2aA3	For the vision is yet for an appointed time,	Because the vision is for the designated time,	He2aA3
Ge2aB3	And shall hasten to the end,	And it will breathe out to the end,	He2aB3
Ge2aC3	And not be vain.	And it will not delay.	He2aC3
Ge2bA3	If he seems to tarry, wait for him;	If it delays, wait for it.	He2bA3
Ge2bB3	For he who is coming will come,	For he who is coming will come,	He2bB3
Ge2bC3	And he will not delay.	And he will not delay.	He2bC3
Ge2aA4	If he withdraws,	Behold, it is puffed up,	He2aA4
Ge2aB4	My soul is not pleased with him,	His soul is not right within him,	He2aB4
Ge2bA4	But the righteous will live by my faith.	But the righteous will live by his faith.	He2bA4
Ge2aA5	But an arrogant man – a sot and scoffer – won't amount to much;	But yet indeed wine is a scoffer, An arrogant man, and he will not rest,	He2aA5 He2aB5
Ge2bA5	Who opened wide his soul like Hades,	Who enlarges his soul as Sheol,	He2bA5
Ge2bB5	And like death is never satisfied.	And is never satisfied like death.	He2bB5
Ge2cA5	And he gathered to himself all nations,	And he gathered all nations to himself,	He2cA5
Ge2cB5	And welcomed to himself all peoples.	And collected all peoples to himself.	He2cB5

Amb/Hab 2:6-19

2:6-8

G2aA6	οὐχὶ ταῦτα πάντα παραβολὴν κατʼ αὐτοῦ λήμψονται	הֲלֹא־אֵלֶּה כֻלָּם עָלָיו מָשָׁל יִשָּׂאוּ	H2aA6
		וּמְלִיצָה חִידוֹת לוֹ	H2aB6
G2aB6	καὶ πρόβλημα εἰς διήγησιν αὐτοῦ	וְיֹאמַר הוֹי הַמַּרְבֶּה לֹא־לוֹ	H2bA6
G2bA6	καὶ ἐροῦσιν Οὐαὶ ὁ πληθύνων ἑαυτῷ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ	עַד־מָתַי	H2bB6
G2bB6	ἕως τίνος	וּמַכְבִּיד עָלָיו עַבְטִיט	H2bC6
G2bC6	καὶ βαρύνων τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς		
G2aA7	ὅτι ἐξαίφνης ἀναστήσονται δάκνοντες αὐτόν	הֲלוֹא פֶתַע יָקוּמוּ נֹשְׁכֶיךָ	H2aA7
G2aB7	καὶ ἐκνήψουσιν οἱ ἐπίβουλοί σου	וְיִקְצוּ מְזַעְזְעֶיךָ	H2aB7
G2aC7	καὶ ἔσῃ εἰς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς	וְהָיִיתָ לִמְשִׁסּוֹת לָמוֹ	H2aC7
G2aA8	διότι σὺ ἐσκύλευσας ἔθνη πολλά	כִּי אַתָּה שַׁלּוֹתָ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים	H2aA8

G2aB8	σκυλεύσουσί σε πάντες οἱ ὑπολελειμμένοι λαοὶ	יְשָׁלּוּךָ כָּל־יֶתֶר עַמִּים	H2aB8
G2bA8	διὰ αἵματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀσεβείας γῆς	מִדְּמֵי אָדָם וַחֲמַס־אֶרֶץ	H2bA8
G2bB8	πόλεως καὶ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτήν	קִרְיָה וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ	H2bB8

Ge2aA6	Will they not all take up a parable against him,	Will not all of them take up a taunt against him,	He2aA6
Ge2aB6	And a proverb for a narrative against him?	With mockings and riddles for him?	He2aB6
Ge2bA6	And they will say, "Woe to him who enlarges for himself things that don't belong to him!"	And he will say, "Woe to him who enlarges for himself things not his."	He2bA6
Ge2bB6	– how long? –	– how long? –	He2bB6
Ge2bC6	And who is heavily weighed by his ornate neck-chain.	And who loads himself with a burden of debt.	He2bC6
Ge2aA7	For suddenly those who bite him will rise up,	Will not those who bite you suddenly rise up,	He2aA7
Ge2aB7	And your plotters will come to their senses,	And those who make you tremble awake,	He2aB7
Ge2aC7	And you will be spoil for them.	And you become plunder for them?	He2aC7
Ge2aA8	Because you plundered many nations,	Because you despoiled many nations,	He2aA8
Ge2aB8	All the remnant peoples shall plunder you;	All the remnant of the peoples shall despoil you;	He2aB8
Ge2bA8	On account of the blood of men and impiety of the land,	Because of the blood of man and the violence of the land,	He2bA8
Ge2bB8	cities and all those living in it.	cities, and all those living in it.	He2bB8

2:9-11

G2aA9	ὦ ὁ πλεονεκτῶν πλεονεξίαν κακὴν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ	הוֹי בֹּצֵעַ בֶּצַע רָע לְבֵיתוֹ	H2aA9
G2aB9	τοῦ τάξαι εἰς ὕψος νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ	לָשׂוּם בַּמָּרוֹם קִנּוֹ	H2aB9
G2aC9	τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι ἐκ χειρὸς κακῶν	לְהִנָּצֵל מִכַּף־רָע	H2aC9
G2aA10	ἐβουλεύσω αἰσχύνην τῷ οἴκῳ σου	יָעַצְתָּ בֹּשֶׁת לְבֵיתֶךָ	H2aA10
G2bA10	συνεπέρανας λαοὺς πολλούς	קְצוֹת־עַמִּים רַבִּים	H2bA10
G2bB10	καὶ ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ ψυχή σου	וְחוֹטֵא נַפְשֶׁךָ	H2bB10

G2aA11	διότι λίθος ἐκ τοίχου βοήσεται	כִּי־אֶבֶן מִקִּיר תִּזְעָק	H2aA11
G2aB11	καὶ κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου φθέγξεται αὐτά	וְכָפִיס מֵעֵץ יַעֲנֶנָּה	H2aB11

Ge2aA9	Woe to him who covets an evil coveting for his house!	Who to him who profits from evil profiting for his house,	He2aA9
Ge2aB9	To put his lair up on high,	To put his nest in the high place,	He2aB9
Ge2aC9	To be out of reach from the power of evils.	To be out of reach of an evil hand.	He2aC9
Ge2aA10	You devised shame for your house,	You devised shame for your house,	He2aA10
Ge2bA10	You destroyed many peoples,	Cutting off many peoples,	He2bA10
Ge2bB10	And your soul sinned.	And your soul sins.	He2bB10
Ge2aA11	For a stone will cry out from a wall,	For a stone will cry out from a wall,	He2aA11
Ge2aB11	And a beetle will utter back with these *judgements*:	And a rafter will answer it from the woodwork.	He2aB11

2:12-14

G2aA12	οὐαὶ ὁ οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν ἐν αἵμασι	הוֹי בֹּנֶה עִיר בְּדָמִים	H2aA12
G2aB12	καὶ ἑτοιμάζων πόλιν ἐν ἀδικίαις	וְכוֹנֵן קִרְיָה בְּעַוְלָה	H2aB12
G2aA13	οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι παρὰ κυρίου παντοκράτορος	הֲלוֹא הִנֵּה מֵאֵת יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	H2aA13
		וְיִיגְעוּ עַמִּים בְּדֵי־אֵשׁ	H2bA13
G2bA13	καὶ ἐξέλιπον λαοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἐν πυρί	וּלְאֻמִּים בְּדֵי־רִיק יִעָפוּ	H2bB13
G2bB13	καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ ὠλιγοψύχησαν		
G2aA14	ὅτι ἐμπλησθήσεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν δόξαν κυρίου	כִּי תִּמָּלֵא הָאָרֶץ לָדַעַת אֶת־כְּבוֹד יְהוָה	H2aA14
		כַּמַּיִם יְכַסּוּ עַל־יָם	H2aB14
G2aB14	ὡς ὕδωρ κατακαλύψει αὐτούς		

G2aA12	Woe to him who builds a city in blood,	Woe to him who builds a city in blood,	H2aA12
G2aB12	And establishes a city in unrighteousness!	And founds a city in iniquity.	H2aB12
G2aA13	Are not all these things from LORD Almighty?	Is it not – behold! – from YHWH of Hosts?	H2aA13
G2bA13	And peoples were exhausted in fire,	And peoples have striven only for fire,	H2bA13
G2bB13	And many nations have fainted.	And nations fainted for nothing.	H2bB13

G2aA14	For the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of LORD,	For the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of YHWH,	H2aA14
G2aB14	It shall cover them as water.	As the waters cover the sea.	H2aB14

2:15-17

G2aA15	ὦ ὁ ποτίζων τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀνατροπῇ θολερᾷ	הוֹי מַשְׁקֵה רֵעֵהוּ	H2aA15
		מְסַפֵּחַ חֲמָתְךָ	H2aB15
G2aB15	καὶ μεθύσκων	וְאַף שַׁכֵּר	H2aC15
G2bA15	ὅπως ἐπιβλέπῃ ἐπὶ τὰ σπήλαια αὐτῶν	לְמַעַן הַבִּיט עַל־מְעוֹרֵיהֶם	H2bA15
G2aA16	πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σύ	שָׂבַעְתָּ קָלוֹן מִכָּבוֹד	H2aA16
		שְׁתֵה גַם־אַתָּה וְהֵעָרֵל	H2aB16
G2aB16	καὶ διασαλεύθητι καὶ σείσθητι	תִּסּוֹב עָלֶיךָ כּוֹס יְמִין יְהוָה	H2bA16
G2bA16	ἐκύκλωσεν ἐπὶ σὲ ποτήριον δεξιᾶς κυρίου	וְקִיקָלוֹן עַל־כְּבוֹדֶךָ	H2bB16
G2bB16	καὶ συνήχθη ἀτιμία ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου		
G2aA17	διότι ἀσέβεια τοῦ Λιβάνου καλύψει σε	כִּי חֲמַס לְבָנוֹן יְכַסֶּךָ	H2aA17
		וְשֹׁד בְּהֵמוֹת יְחִיתַן	H2aB17
G2aB17	καὶ ταλαιπωρία θηρίων πτοήσει σε	מִדְּמֵי אָדָם וַחֲמַס־אָרֶץ	H2bA17
G2bA17	διὰ αἵματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀσεβείας γῆς	קִרְיָה וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ	H2bB17
G2bB17	πόλεως καὶ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτήν		

Ge2aA15	Woe to him he gives his neighbour a drink with turbid upset!	Woe to him who makes his neighbour drink,	He2aB15
		Pouring out your wrath	He2aC15
Ge2aB15	Then makes him drunk.	And even makes him drunk!	He2bA15
Ge2bA15	Just so you look upon their nether parts.	So that he looks upon his nakedness.	He2bB15
Ge2aA16	Drink! – even you – dishonourable indulgence from glory,	You drank shame instead of glory,	He2aA16
		Drink – you also! – and be circumcised.	He2aB16
Ge2aB16	And shake and quake!		
Ge2bA16	The cup of the right hand of LORD came around to you,	The cup of the right hand of YHWH will come to you,	He2bA16
Ge2bB16	And dishonour was gathered upon your glory.	And shame upon your glory.	He2bB16

Ge2aA17	For the impiety of Lebanon will cover you,	Because the violence against Lebanon will cover you,	He2aA17
Ge2aB17	And the distress of wild beasts will startle you,	And the destruction against the beasts terrified them.	He2aB17
Ge2bA17	On account of the blood of men and impiety of the land,	From the blood of man and violence of the land,	He2bA17
Ge2bB17	Cities and all those living in it.	Cities, and all those living in it.	He2bB17

2:18-19

G2aA18	Τί ὠφελεῖ γλυπτόν	מָה־הוֹעִיל פֶּסֶל	H2aA18
G2aB18	ὅτι ἔγλυψεν αὐτό	כִּי פְסָלוֹ יֹצְרוֹ	H2aB18
G2bA18	ἔπλασεν αὐτὸ χώνευμα	מַסֵּכָה וּמוֹרֶה שָׁקֶר	H2aC18
G2cA18	φαντασίαν ψευδῆ	כִּי בָטַח יֹצֵר יִצְרוֹ עָלָיו	H2bA18
G2dA18	ὅτι πέποιθεν ὁ πλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ	לַעֲשׂוֹת אֱלִילִים אִלְּמִים	H2bB18
G2dB18	τοῦ ποιῆσαι εἴδωλα κωφά		
G2aA19	οὐαὶ ὁ λέγων τῷ ξύλῳ Ἔκνηψον ἐξεγέρθητι	הוֹי אֹמֵר לָעֵץ הָקִיצָה	H2aA19
		עוּרִי לְאֶבֶן דּוּמָם	H2aB19
G2aB19	καὶ τῷ λίθῳ Ὑψώθητι	הוּא יוֹרֶה	H2bA19
G2bA19	καὶ αὐτὸ ἐστι φαντασία	הִנֵּה־הוּא תָּפוּשׂ זָהָב וָכֶסֶף	H2cA19
G2cA19	τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἔλασμα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου	וְכָל־רוּחַ אֵין בְּקִרְבּוֹ	H2cB19
G2cB19	καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ		

Ge2aA18	What profit is a graven image,	What profit is an idol,	He2aA18
Ge2aB18	Because they engraved it?	When its maker carves it?	He2aB18
Ge2bA18	They make it a cast metal image,	A metal image and a teacher of a lie.	He2aC18
Ge2cA18	– a false impression –		
Ge2dA18	For the maker trusts in his work,	For he who makes his creation has trusted in it,	He2bA18
Ge2dB18	To make dumb idols.	When he makes dumb idols.	He2bB18
Ge2aA19	Woe to him who says to a wooden thing, "Get up! Arise!"	Woe to him who says to a tree, "Wake up!"	He2aA19
Ge2aB19	And to a stone, "Be exalted!"	"Get up!" to a dumb stone.	He2aB19
Ge2bA19	Even it is an impression.	It teaches.	He2bA19
Ge2cA19	This is overlain with gold and silver,	Behold it is overlain with gold and silver,	He2cA19
Ge2cB19	And there is no breath in it.	And there is no breath in its midst.	He2cB19

Amb/Hab 2:20

G2aA20	ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ναῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ	וַיהוָה בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ	H2aA20
G2aB20	εὐλαβείσθω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ	הַס מִפָּנָיו כָּל־הָאָרֶץ	H2aB20

Ge2aA20	But LORD is in his holy temple,	But YHWH is in his holy temple,	He2aA20
Ge2aB20	Let the whole earth make obeisance before his presence.	Hush! All the earth before his presence.	He2aB20

Amb/Hab 3:1

Προσευχὴ Αμβακουμ τοῦ προφήτου μετὰ ῷδῆς
A prayer of Ambakoum the prophet with song:

תְּפִלָּה לַחֲבַקּוּק הַנָּבִיא עַל שִׁגְיֹנוֹת
A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet upon s*higionoth*:

Amb/Hab 3:2-7

G3aA2	Κύριε εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ ἐφοβήθην	יְהוָה שָׁמַעְתִּי שִׁמְעֲךָ	H3aA2
G3aB2	κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην	יָרֵאתִי יְהוָה פָּעָלְךָ	H3aB2
G3bA2	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ	H3bA2
G3bB2	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ	בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ	H3bB2
G3bC2	εν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ	בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר	H3cA2
G3bD2	ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι τὴν ψυχήν μου		
G3cA2	ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ		

G3aA3	ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Θαιμαν ἥξει	אֱלוֹהַ מִתֵּימָן יָבוֹא	H3aA3
G3aB3	καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου δασέος διάψαλμα	וְקָדוֹשׁ מֵהַר־פָּארָן סֶלָה	H3aB3
G3aA3	ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ	כִּסָּה שָׁמַיִם הוֹדוֹ	H3bA3
G3aB3	καὶ αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ	וּתְהִלָּתוֹ מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ	H3bB3

G3aA4	καὶ φέγγος αὐτοῦ ὡς φῶς ἔσται	וְנֹגַהּ כָּאוֹר תִּהְיֶה	H3aA4
G3aB4	κέρατα ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ	קַרְנַיִם מִיָּדוֹ לוֹ	H3aB4
G3aC4	καὶ ἔθετο ἀγάπησιν κραταιὰν ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ	וְשָׁם חֶבְיוֹן עֻזֹּה	H3aC4

G3aA5	πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πορεύσεται λόγος	לְפָנָיו יֵלֶךְ דָּבֶר	H3aA5
		וְיֵצֵא רֶשֶׁף לְרַגְלָיו	H3aB5

G3aB5	καὶ ἐξελεύσεται εἰς πεδία οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ			
G3aA6	ἔστη καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ		עָמַד וַיְמֹדֶד אֶרֶץ	H3aA6
G3aB6	ἐπέβλεψε καὶ διετάκη ἔθνη		רָאָה וַיַּתֵּר גּוֹיִם	H3aB6
G3bA6	καὶ διεθρύβη τὰ ὄρη βίᾳ		וַיִּתְפֹּצְצוּ הַרְרֵי־עַד	H3bA6
G3bB6	ἐτάκησαν βουνοὶ αἰώνιοι		שַׁחוּ גִּבְעוֹת עוֹלָם	H3bB6
			הֲלִיכוֹת עוֹלָם לוֹ	H3bC6
G3aA7	πορείας αἰωνίας αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ κώπον εἶδον		תַּחַת אָוֶן רָאִיתִי אָהֳלֵי כוּשָׁן	H3aA7
			יִרְגְּזוּן יְרִיעוֹת אֶרֶץ מִדְיָן	H3aB7
G3aB7	σκηνώματα Αἰθιόπων πτοηθήσονται			
G3aC7	καὶ αἱ σκηναὶ γῆς Μαδιαμ			

Ge3aA2	O LORD, I have heard of your report and I am fearful.	I have heard, O YHWH, of your report,	He3aA2
Ge3aB2	I have seen your work, and I am amazed;	I fear, O YHWH, your work;	He3aB2
		In the midst of the years revive it,	He3bA2
Ge3bA2	In the midst of two living creatures you will be known,	In the midst of the years you will be made known,	He3bB2
Ge3bB2	In the approaching years you will be made known,	In wrath you will remember mercy.	He3cA2
Ge3bC2	In the coming of the appointed time you will be manifested,		
Ge3bD2	In the troubling of my soul,		
Ge3cA2	In wrath you will remember mercy.		
Ge3aA3	God will come from Thaiman,	God will come from Teman,	He3aA3
Ge3aB3	And the Holy One from a densely wooded mountain. Pause.	And the Holy One from Mount Paran. Selah.	He3aB3
Ge3bA3	His glory covered the heavens,	His glory covered the heavens,	He3bA3
Ge3bB3	And his praise fills the earth.	And his praise fills the earth.	He3bB3
Ge3aA4	His brightness will be like light,	And his radiance will be like sunlight,	He3aA4
Ge3aB4	Horns are in his hands,	And horns in his hands.	He3aB4
Ge3aC4	And he established a mighty love of his strength.	And there is the hiding place of his strength.	He3aC4
Ge3aA5	A report will proceed before him,	Before him goes pestilence,	He3aA5
		And plague goes out from his feet.	He3aB5

Ge3aB5	And he will go out, his feet onto the planes.		
Ge3aA6	He stood, and the earth was shaken,	He stood, and he shook the earth,	He3aA6
Ge3aB6	He looked, and the nations melted away;	He looked, and stirred up the nations;	He3aB6
Ge3bA6	And the mountains were violently burst through,	And the perpetual mountains were shattered,	He3bA6
Ge3bB6	The eternal hills melted away.	The eternal hills were bowed low,	He3bB6
		His ways are everlasting.	He3bC6
Ge3aA7	I saw his eternal footpaths instead of toil,	Instead of iniquity I saw the tents of Cushan,	He3aA7
Ge3aB7	The tents of Ethiopia were shaken,	The tent curtains of the land of Midian were shaken.	He3aB7
Ge3aC7	Even the tent curtains of the land of Midian.		

Amb/Hab 3:8-15

G3aA8	μὴ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὠργίσθης, κύριε	הֲבִנְהָרִים חָרָה יְהוָה	H3aA8
G3aB8	ἢ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμός σου	אִם בַּנְּהָרִים אַפֶּךָ	H3aB8
G3aC8	ἢ ἐν θαλάσσῃ τὸ ὅρμημά σου	אִם בַּיָּם עֶבְרָתֶךָ	H3aC8
G3bA8	ὅτι ἐπιβήσῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους σου	כִּי תִרְכַּב עַל־סוּסֶיךָ	H3bA8
G3bB8	καὶ ἡ ἱππασία σου σωτηρία	מַרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ יְשׁוּעָה	H3bB8
G3aA9	ἐντείνων ἐντενεῖς τὸ τόξον σου	עֶרְיָה תֵעוֹר קַשְׁתֶּךָ	H3aA9
G3aB9	ἑπτὰ σκῆπτρα, λέγει κύριος διάψαλμα	שְׁבֻעוֹת מַטּוֹת אֹמֶר סֶלָה	H3aB9
G3aC9	ποταμῶν ῥαγήσεται γῆ	נְהָרוֹת תְּבַקַּע־אָרֶץ	H3aC9
G3aA10	ὄψονταί σε καὶ ὠδινήσουσι λαοί	רָאוּךָ יָחִילוּ הָרִים	H3aA10
G3aB10	σκορπίζων ὕδατα πορείας	זֶרֶם מַיִם עָבָר	H3aB10
G3bA10	ἔδοκεν ἡ ἄβυσσος φωνὴν αὐτῆς	נָתַן תְּהוֹם קוֹלוֹ	H3bA10
G3bB10	ὕψος φαντασίας αὐτῆς	רוֹם יָדֵיהוּ נָשָׂא	H3bB10
G3aA11	ἐπήρθη ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἔστη ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς	שֶׁמֶשׁ יָרֵחַ עָמַד זְבֻלָה	H3aA11
G3aB11	εἰς φῶς βολίδες σου πορεύσονται	לְאוֹר חִצֶּיךָ יְהַלֵּכוּ	H3aB11
G3aC11	εἰς φέγγος ἀστραπῆς ὅπλων σου	לְנֹגַהּ בְּרַק חֲנִיתֶךָ	H3aC11
G3aA12	ἐν ἀπειλῇ ὀλιγώσεις γῆν	בְּזַעַם תִּצְעַד־אָרֶץ	H3aA12
G3aB12	καὶ ἐν θυμῷ κατάξεις ἔθνη	בְּאַף תָּדוּשׁ גּוֹיִם	H3aB12

G3aA13	ἐξῆλθες εἰς σωτερίαν λαοῦ σου	יָצָאתָ לְיֵשַׁע עַמֶּךָ	H3aA13
G3aB13	τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστούς σου	לְיֵשַׁע אֶת־מְשִׁיחֶךָ	H3aB13
G3bA13	ἔβαλες εἰς κεφαλὰς ἀνόμων θάνατον	מָחַצְתָּ רֹּאשׁ מִבֵּית רָשָׁע	H3bA13
G3bB13	ἐξήγειρας δεσμοὺς ἕως τραχήλου διάψαλμα	עָרוֹת יְסוֹד עַד־צַוָּאר סֶלָה	H3bB13
G3aA14	διέκοψας ἐν ἐκστάσει κεφαλὰς δυναστῶν	נָקַבְתָּ בְמַטָּיו רֹאשׁ פְּרָזָו	H3aA14
G3aB14	σεισθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ	יִסְעֲרוּ לַהֲפִיצֵנִי	H3aB14
G3bA14	διανοίξουσι χαλινοὺς αὐτῶν	עֲלִיצֻתָם כְּמוֹ־לֶאֱכֹל עָנִי בַּמִּסְתָּר	H3bA14
G3bB14	ὡς ἔσθων πτωχὸς λάθρᾳ		
G3aA15	καὶ ἐπεβίβασας εἰς θάλασσαν τοὺς ἵππους σου	דָּרַכְתָּ בַיָּם סוּסֶיךָ	H3aA15
G3aB15	ταράσσοντας ὕδωρ πολύ	חֹמֶר מַיִם רַבִּים	H3aB15

Ge3aA8	Were you angry against the rivers, O Lord,	Were you angry against the rivers, O Yhwh,	He3aA8
Ge3aB8	Or was your anger against the rivers,	Or was your anger against the rivers,	He3aB8
Ge3aC8	Or was your wrath against the seas?	Or your wrath against the seas?	He3aC8
Ge3bA8	For you mounted upon your horses,	For you rode upon your horses,	He3bA8
Ge3bB8	And your chariot is salvation.	Your chariot of salvation.	He3bB8
Ge3aA9	Surely you bent your bow;	You stripped bare your bow,	He3aA9
Ge3aB9	"Seven sceptres," Lord said. *Pause.*	Oaths of rods sworn. *Pause.*	He3aB9
Ge3aC9	A land of rivers will be ripped up.	You tore up a land of rivers.	He3aC9
Ge3aA10	Peoples will see you and travail,	The mountains saw you and writhed,	He3aA10
Ge3aB10	You scatter watery pathways;	Stormy waters swept by;	He3aB10
Ge3bA10	The deep lifted up her voice,	The deep lifted up its voice,	He3bA10
Ge3bB10	Her vision was on high.	Its hands lifted up high.	He3bB10
Ge3aA11	The sun was lifted up,	The sun and moon stood in their lofty place,	He3aA11
Ge3aB11	And the moon stood in its lofty place;		

Ge3bA11	At the light of your arrows they went away,	At the light of your arrows they fled,	He3aB11
Ge3bB11	At the flash of your glittering spear.	At the flash of your lightning spear.	He3aC11
Ge3aA12	In a threat you will diminish the land,	You marched upon the earth in fury,	He3aA12
Ge3aB12	And in anger you will break the nations.	You threshed the nations in anger.	He3aB12
Ge3aA13	You went out for the salvation of your people,	You went out for the salvation of your people,	He3aA13
Ge3aB13	To save your anointed ones;	For the salvation of your anointed one;	He3aB13
Ge3bA13	You cast death upon the heads of the lawless,	You smote the head of the house of evil,	He3bA13
Ge3bB13	You raised up fetters to the neck. *Pause.*	To strip bare from base to neck. *Pause.*	He3bB13
Ge3aA14	You cut-through in bewilderment the heads of the mighty,	You bore through with his rods the heads of his warrior princes,	He3aA14
Ge3aB14	They will be shaken in it.		
Ge3bA14	They will open up their bridles,	They stormed in to scatter me,	He3aB14
Ge3bB14	As a poor man eating in secret.	Their exultation was like those who devour the afflicted in the secret place.	He3aC14
Ge3aA15	And you caused your horses to mount upon the sea,	You marched upon the sea with your horses,	He3aA15
Ge3aB15	Troubling much water.	A surge of many waters.	He3aB15

Amb/Hab 3:16-19

G3aA16	ἐφυλαξάμην, καὶ ἐπτοήθη ἡ κοιλία μου	שָׁמַעְתִּי וַתִּרְגַּז בִּטְנִי	H3aA16
G3aB16	ἀπὸ φωνῆς προσευχῆς χειλέων μου	לְקוֹל צָלֲלוּ שְׂפָתַי	H3aB16
G3bA16	καὶ εἰσῆλθε τρόμος εἰς τὰ ὀστᾶ μου	יָבוֹא רָקָב בַּעֲצָמַי	H3bA16
G3bB16	καὶ ὑποκάτωθέν μου ἐταράχθη ἡ ἕξις μου	וְתַחְתַּי אֶרְגָּז	H3bB16
G3cA16	ἀναπαύσομαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως	אֲשֶׁר אָנוּחַ לְיוֹם צָרָה	H3cA16
G3cB16	τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς λαὸν παροικίας μου	לַעֲלוֹת לְעַם יְגוּדֶנּוּ	H3cB16

G3aA17	διότι συκῆ οὐ καρπορφορήσει,	כִּי תְאֵנָה לֹא תִפְרָח	H3aA17
G3aB17	καὶ οὐκ ἔσται γενήματα ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις	וְאֵין יְבוּל בַּגְּפָנִים	H3aB17
		כִּחֵשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה זַיִת	H3bA17
G3bA17	ψεύσεται ἔργον ἐλαίας	וּשְׁדֵמוֹת לֹא עָשָׂה אֹכֶל	H3bB17
G3bB17	καὶ τὰ πεδία οὐ ποιήσει βρῶσιν	גָּזַר מִמִּכְלָה צֹאן	H3cA17
G3cA17	ἐξέλιπον ἀπὸ βρώσεως πρόβατα	וְאֵין בָּקָר בָּרְפָתִים	H3cB17
G3cB17	καὶ οὐκ ὑπάρχουσι βόες ἐπὶ φάτναις		
G3aA18	ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀγαλλιάσομαι	וַאֲנִי בַּיהוָה אֶעְלוֹזָה	H3aA18
G3aB18	χαρήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου	אָגִילָה בֵּאלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי	H3aB18
G3aA19	κύριος ὁ θεὸς δύναμίς μου	יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי חֵילִי	H3aA19
G3aB19	καὶ τάξει τοὺς πόδας μου εἰς συντέλειαν	וַיָּשֶׂם רַגְלַי כָּאַיָּלוֹת	H3aB19
G3bA19	ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπιβιβᾷ με	וְעַל בָּמוֹתַי יַדְרִכֵנִי	H3bA19
G3bB19	τοῦ νικῆσαι ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ αὐτοῦ	לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹתָי	H3bB19

Ge3aA16	I took my guard, and my inwards trembled,	I heard, and my belly trembled,	He3aA16
		At the sound, my lips quivered,	He3aB16
Ge3aB16	From the voice of the prayer of my lips.	Decay entered my bones,	He3bA16
		And my loins trembled;	He3bB16
Ge3bA16	And trembling entered into my bones,	So I will wait patiently for a day of affliction,	He3cA16
Ge3bB16	and my gait was troubled beneath me;	To come up against a people who attack us.	He3cB16
Ge3cA16	I will rest in a day of affliction,		
Ge3cB16	To go up to a people of my sojourning.		
Ge3aA17	For though the fig tree will bear no fruit,	For though the fig tree bears no fruit,	He3aA17
Ge3aB17	And there will be no produce in the vineyard,	And there is no produce in the vineyard,	He3aB17
Ge3bA17	The work of the olive tree lies,	The olive tree feigns,	He3bA17
Ge3bB17	And the plains will not produce food,	And the fields produce no food,	He3bB17
		The sheep are driven from their pen,	He3cA17
Ge3cA17	The sheep fail from the pasture,		
Ge3cB17	And there are no oxen in the stalls,	And there is no cattle in the enclosure,	He3cB17

Ge3aA18	Yet I will exult in the LORD,	Yet I shall praise YHWH,	He3aA18
Ge3aB18	I will rejoice in God my saviour.	I shall rejoice in the God of my salvation.	He3aB18
Ge3aA19	LORD God is my strength,	YHWH God is my strength,	He3aA19
Ge3aB19	And he will perfectly order my feet,	And he has set my feet as a deer,	He3aB19
Ge3bA19	He mounts me upon high places,	And upon my high places he has caused me to tread.	He3aC19
Ge3bB19	To conquer by his song.		
		For the choir director with stringed instruments.	He3bA19

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