Hebraizing Revision in Isaiah Quotations in Paul and Matthew

Huotari, Paavo

Peeters

2022

Raimo HAKOLA
Jessi ORPANA
Paavo HUOTARI

SCRIPTURES IN THE MAKING: TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSMISSION IN LATE SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

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Paavo Huotari and Katja Kujanpää

1. Introduction

It is well known that certain scriptural quotations in the New Testament resemble more closely the wording of the Masoretic text than that of the Septuagint. Various explanations have been offered to account for this curious phenomenon. It has been suggested, for example, that Paul and Matthew themselves translate directly from the Hebrew or at least revise their quotation in the light of it. Another explanation is that they used a collection of quotations, gathered together by the very first Christ-believers, that consisted of quotations translated directly from the Hebrew. Other scholars have suggested that a Greek translation other than the Septuagint was being used. Recently more and more scholars have become aware of the phenomenon of Hebraizing revision of the Septuagint translations, yet there are numerous misunderstandings among New Testament scholars concerning the dating, extent, and purpose of this phenomenon. Furthermore, it is seldom discussed what the existence of Hebraizing revision in quotations implies. Where did Paul and Matthew receive their Hebraizing quotations from? Did they consciously choose one reading over another?

The aim of this article is to highlight probable cases of Hebraizing revision in quotations from Isaiah in Paul and Matthew, to discuss how these cases help understand the textual plurality of the first century, and to raise important questions concerning the ways in which Christ-believers encountered the textual plurality of the first century.

Hebraizing revision refers to the phenomenon of "correcting" the Septuagint translation in the light of the Hebrew text that the revisers knew. Rather than producing a completely new translation from scratch, the revision aimed at bringing the Greek translation into closer conformity with the Hebrew text. This phenomenon became better known after the

publication of the Minor Prophets scroll of Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr) by
Dominique Barthélemy in 1963.[1] Due to repetition of the word καίγε in
the scroll, Barthélemy dubbed the entire phenomenon the *kaige* revision.
Since the revision shares affinities with readings traditionally attributed
to Theodotion, it is also called "*kaige*-Theodotion."[2]

   Since Barthélemy's discovery, knowledge of the Hebraizing revision
has increased enormously in Septuagint research.[3] In addition to the
Minor Prophets, Hebraizing readings have been found in the books of
Judges, Joshua and particularly in Samuel-Kings. In two sections of
Samuel-Kings (2 Sam 10:6–1 Kgs 2:11 and 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs), the major-
ity of the Greek witnesses preserve the Hebraizing Greek text. In general,
a Hebraizing reading can be identified by its correspondence to the Maso-
retic text or some other preserved Hebrew reading. Occasionally, how-
ever, one has to take into account the possibility that revision was made
to match a Hebrew reading that has not been preserved. Hebraizing read-
ings often contain the same number of elements as the Hebrew text.
Lexicographically, Hebraizing readings provide the basic meaning of the
Hebrew word, and the aim is to always render one Hebrew lexeme with
the same Greek equivalent.[4]

   The translation of Aquila represents a later realization of the same
ideal of close correspondence between the Greek and the Hebrew,
although Aquila is a case of a new translation rather than a revision.
Therefore, the readings of Aquila often show what was considered an
adequate rendering of a Hebrew word. If one has a reading that may be
Hebraizing, agreements with Aquila and Theodotion (and to a lesser
extent with Symmachus) increase the probability that the reading is
indeed Hebraizing. In other words, early Jewish Hebraizing revision
shares with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion the ideal of conformity

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[1] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du
texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton* VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963); Emanuel
Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr)*, DJD VIII
(Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

[2] See Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek
Version of the Bible,* trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 149–53; Folker
Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die
Septuaginta,* Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 84–86.

[3] On the origins and motives of the *kaige* revision, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, "The Origins
of the *Kaige* Revision," in this volume.

[4] See further Tuukka Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the *Kaige* Revision," in *The
Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after* Les Devanciers d'Aquila, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus
and Tuukka Kauhanen, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 146–68
(146–48).

of the Greek with the Hebrew text (the proto-Masoretic text).[5] In addition, they could be seen as part of the same continuum in a more specific sense: it is imaginable that Aquila and Symmachus could have known earlier Hebraizing readings and made use of them while producing their new translations. In any case, whether one assumes a direct relationship or not, one should expect to find agreements between the Hebraizing Greek text and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.[6] Unfortunately, only fragments of the readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are preserved in the margins of manuscripts and in ancient commentaries.

When discussing quotations in the New Testament, there is sometimes a tendency to explain affinities with the Masoretic text through Paul's or Matthew's own activity as translators. Hebraizing revision known to Paul or Matthew is presented as hypothetical and speculative, for in numerous cases there are no other Greek readings to support the reading of the quotation.[7] Furthermore, some New Testament scholars have misunderstood the phenomenon of Hebraizing revision as if it were a hypothesis about revision that occurred in only a few individual manuscripts.[8] It is

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[5] P. J. Gentry suggests that "Theodotion (ca. 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E.) was a real person and represents a reviser working within the *kaige* tradition. Aquila (ca. 120 C.E.) was also a reviser who later took the approach of formal equivalence to extremes. Symmachus (ca. 200 C.E.) represents a backlash, a reaction to Aquila, where equivalence to the parent text must be tempered by concern for the demands of the target language." "1.3.1.2 Pre-Hexaplaric Translations, Hexapla, post-Hexaplaric translations," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange, doi: 10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102.

[6] As for their Hebrew *Vorlage*, it has been argued that the Hebraizing revisers of the Greek text had connections with the group responsible for the proto-Masoretic text (which served as the base text for the translations of Aquila and Symmachus). Cf. Adrian Schenker, "What Were the Aims of the Palestinian Recensions, and What Did They Achieve? With Some Biographical Notes on Dominique Barthélemy," in *The Legacy of Barthélemy*, 14–22 (20), "This proximity in time and place of the recensional project with the appearance of typical MT readings suggests a common context for both phenomena [= proto-MT and Palestinian recensions]."

[7] A fine example is John Nolland's criticism of the theory of Hebraizing revision in quotations: "This view is not easy to falsify since, *ex hypothesi*, the primary evidence for the existence of the revision is the form of the quotations in Matthew." *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 33.

[8] Cf. Brian J. Abasciano's comments related to Hebraizing revision in quotations in Paul's letters: "I am skeptical of the current trend – but not consensus – to favour on principle a conjectural assumption of a manuscript for which there is no evidence in a specific instance." *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9.10–18: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*, LNTS 317 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 158. However, Hebraizing revision is a larger phenomenon than the question of an Isaiah manuscript known to Paul. As for manuscript evidence, it is of course rather random what manuscripts are preserved. See case 3 in this article for a Hebraizing reading that has manuscript support.

therefore important to understand that the phenomenon as such can be found in different books and that it has certain distinctive tendencies. Moreover, the ideal of close correspondence between the Hebrew and the Greek was present over a couple of centuries, both before and after the turn of the era.

It is uncertain at the moment how extensively Hebraizing revision touched different books of the Septuagint. In practice, the need for revision varied greatly between different books due to their different translation techniques and processes of textual history. In some books, early Jewish Hebraizing revision has so far not been identified in the manuscripts. In the case of Isaiah, such revision in the manuscript tradition has not been discussed.[9] Several Isaiah quotations in the New Testament, however, seem to match the aims of Hebraizing revision and the preserved examples of it elsewhere. Quotations in the New Testament can therefore offer a keyhole to the textual history of the Septuagint. All the examples in this article are from the book of Isaiah, the translator of which is notorious for his dynamic, interpretive translation technique. Because of this translation technique, the Greek Isaiah would certainly have needed Hebraizing revision to a much greater extent than most other books.[10] In all the cases discussed below, the differences between the Septuagint and the Masoretic text are striking and it is obvious why revision was needed.

In the following, we will examine five cases of Hebraizing revision of Isaiah: the quotations in 1 Cor 15:54; Rom 9:33, 10:15; Matt 4:15–16, 12:18–21.[11] In the conclusions, we will address the questions of how Paul and Matthew encountered Hebraizing readings and whether they were aware of their Hebraizing nature. In addition, we will make some remarks on Hebraizing revision, particularly in the book of Isaiah.

2. Case 1: 1 Cor 15:54/Isa 25:8

The quotation from Isa 25:8 in 1 Cor 15:54 represents a particularly clear case of Hebraizing revision of the original Greek translation of Isaiah. Paul's wording agrees verbatim with Theodotion and has significant agreements with Aquila and Symmachus as well (cf. εἰς νῖκος in Aquila

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[9] See further p. 339–40 in this article.

[10] Alternatively, one could also suggest that the number of differences means that it would have been easier to make a completely new translation.

[11] The section concerning Paul is written by Katja Kujanpää and the section concerning Matthew by Paavo Huotari. The introduction and the conclusions were written together.

and the passive καταποθῆναι in Symmachus). All four deviate clearly from the Septuagint's reading (see the table). For the sake of clarity, the tables in this article present only the textual variants that are most relevant for the matter at hand. Full evidence of textual variation can easily be found in critical editions (for Isaiah, in Ziegler's edition in the Göttingen series).[12]

Table 1: 1 Cor 15:24 and Isa 25:8

1 Cor 15:54	Isa 25:8 LXX	Isa 25:8 Masoretic Text
κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος	κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας	בִּלַּע הַמָּוֶת לָנֶצַח
Death is swallowed up in victory.	Death, having prevailed, swallowed [them] up	He will swallow up death forever.

Table 2: The Readings of Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila in Isa 25:8

Theodotion (Q)	Symmachus (Eusebius)	Aquila (Q)
κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος = 1 Cor 15:54	καταποθῆναι ποιήσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς τέλος	καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νῖκος
Death is swallowed up in victory.	…causes death to be swallowed up in victory	He sinks death in victory.

The Septuagint represents a very dynamic translation in which death is the subject of the sentence, whereas in all the other versions in the two tables above death is swallowed up (by God).[13] The original translation was probably corrected by a reviser that sought to bring the verse into closer correspondence with the Hebrew text he used. The form κατεπόθη is based on vocalizing בעל as a *pual* perfect and εἰς νῖκος reflects a reading of לָנֶצַח in the light of the Aramaic root נצח "to overcome" (common

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[12] Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum: Isaias*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

[13] In Symmachus, death is in fact swallowed up through the anointing of nations. For the original translator's possible understanding of Isa 25:1-12, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BHT 69 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr 1986), 61 n. 18.

in Aquila).[14] The resulting Hebraizing wording is preserved by Paul and Theodotion and may have been used as a model by Aquila and Symmachus as well.[15]

3. Case 2: Rom 9:33/Isa 8:14

In Rom 9:33 Paul conflates two stone-related passages from Isaiah. The beginning and end of the conflated quotation derive from Isa 28:16, whereas the middle part is from Isa 8:14. It is this middle part that shows clear signs of Hebraizing revision.[16] The two passages describe the stone rather differently. While Isa 28:16 speaks of the stone in purely positive terms, connecting it with perspectives of hope and life, the Hebrew text of Isa 8:14 and the Greek that Paul quotes describe it as "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense." For Paul's argument, both aspects are crucial: the stone has soteriological potential for those who believe, but for others it is a stumbling stone. Therefore, the conflation of the two passages should in all probability be attributed to him.[17]

It has been suggested that Paul quotes early Christian tradition, a *testimonia* collection or a more modest florilegium which contained both stone passages, and that 1 Pet 2:6–8 is dependent on the same collection.[18] In 1 Pet 2:6–8, Isa 28:16 and Isa 8:14 are quoted one after another but as separate quotations, and the words from Isa 8:14 are identical with their distinctive form in Rom 9:33.[19] It is, however, much more probable

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[14] For details, see Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, FRLANT 179 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 21 n. 7.

[15] Similarly, Koch, *Die Schrift*, 63; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 21.

[16] For the possibility of fainter traces of Hebraizing revision in the sections from Isa 28:16, see Katja Kujanpää, *The Rhetorical Functions of Scriptural Quotations in Romans: Paul's Argumentation by Quotations*, NTSup 172 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 138–41.

[17] Similarly Koch, *Die Schrift*, 179–80; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 120; J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "In Concert" in the Letter to the Romans*, NTS 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 133; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 613.

[18] C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952), 43; Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament,* STDJ 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 57; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 120 n. 109; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 33; Wagner, *Heralds*, 134 n. 51.

[19] Exactly the same words are extracted from Isa 8:14, and 1 Peter has the same Hebraizing syntax and the distinctive word σκανδάλου.

that 1 Pet 2:6–8 is directly dependent on Rom 9:33,[20] which makes the hypothesis of a very early collection unnecessary. Consequently, for the case at hand 1 Peter has no value as a textual witness and will be left out of the following discussion. The following table shows the entire conflated quotation in Rom 9:33 and its middle section from Isa 8:14 (in its immediate Greek and Hebrew contexts).

Table 3: Rom 9:33 and Isa 8:14 (the bold cursive in Rom 9:33 highlights the sections from Isa 28:16)

Rom 9:33	Isa 8:14 LXX	Isa 8:14 MT
ἰδοὺ τίθημι *ἐν Σιὼν* λίθον προσκόμματ**ος** καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλ**ου**, *καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ* *οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται*	**καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ** **πεποιθὼς ᾖς, ἔσται σοι** **εἰς ἁγίασμα, καὶ οὐχ ὡς** λίθου προσκόμματι **συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ** **οὐδὲ ὡς** πέτρας πτώματι	וְהָיָה לְמִקְדָּשׁ[21] וּלְאֶבֶן נֶגֶף וּלְצוּר מִכְשׁוֹל
See, I am laying *in Zion* a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense, *and who believes in* *him* *will not be put to shame*	And if you trust in him, he will become a sanctuary for you, and you will not encounter him as a stumbling caused by a stone nor as a fall caused by a rock	And he will become a sanctuary and a stone of offense and a rock of stumbling

In the section from Isa 8:14, Paul's wording appears to represent a Hebraizing revision of the original Greek translation.[22] While Paul's wording differs in significant ways from the Septuagint, it closely follows

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[20] None of the arguments against literary dependence are convincing. It is common to claim that 1 Peter *cannot* have disentangled Paul's conflation and completed Isa 28:16 with the middle part of the verse that Paul had replaced with Isa 8:14, apparently because this is considered too onerous. However, between the writing of Romans and 1 Peter, Christ-believers had several decades to notice that Rom 9:33 is a conflation and to localize its source texts in Isaiah. That 1 Peter uses the quotations separately and for a different purpose than Paul is no argument against literary dependence; see Kujanpää, *Rhetorical Functions*, 141–45. For further arguments, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Pauline Heritage in 1 Peter: A Study of Literary Dependence in 1 Peter 2:13–25," in *The Early Reception of Paul*, ed. Kenneth Liljeström, PFES 99 (Helsinki: FES, 2011), 125–47 (129, 144–45).

[21] The apparatus of BHS proposes the emendation לְמִקְשִׁיר ("conspiracy") here.

[22] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 183; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 123; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 23; Wagner, *Heralds*, 130.

the syntax of the Hebrew and has remarkable parallels in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (see Table 4 below). In theory, Paul could have suddenly decided to produce a meticulous translation of the Hebrew himself and ended up with a wording almost identical with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.[23] However, it is more probable that Paul quotes a text that had already been revised in the light of the Hebrew. Aquila and Symmachus represent later stages of the same development, and it is imaginable that they consulted earlier Hebraizing corrections when producing their translations.

Table 4: Readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Isa 8:14[24]

Rom 9:33	Aquila (Q 710)	Symmachus (Eusebius)	Theodotion (Q)
λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου	καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς στερεὸν σκανδάλου	εἰς δὲ λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς πέτραν σκανδάλου (Procopius: πτώματος)	καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς πέτραν πτώματος

The need for "correcting" the Greek translation is obvious, for the translator solved the interpretive problems arising from the Hebrew text in a most creative manner. In the Hebrew text, God becomes at the same time a sanctuary and a stone of offense. The Greek translator eases the tension between the images by modifying the entire sentence (the insertions are in italics):[25] "And *if you trust in him*, he will become a sanctuary

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[23] Of course, meticulous is hardly a word compatible with Paul's quotation practice in general.

[24] The readings in the table are gathered from marginal readings of manuscripts Q and 710 and from quotations by Eusebius and Procopius of Gaza. The textual data have been simplified here. For the exact reading of each witness, see Ziegler, *Isaias*.

[25] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 59–60. The negation may reflect a reading in which the first two letters of לאבן are duplicated: לא לאבן (Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 12 [Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934], 95). This could have been in the translator's *Vorlage*, or, more probably, it was what the translator thought the text should read; see further Jonathan D. H. Norton, *Contours in the Text: Textual Variation in the Writings of Paul, Josephus and the Yaḥad*, LNTS 430 (New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 143 n. 40. As for the conditional clause, it was probably inspired by both the nearby verse Isa 8:17, in which one trusts God, and by the other stone passage, Isa 28:16: "and the one who trusts will not be put to shame"; see Wagner, *Heralds*, 141; Dietrich-Alex Koch,

for you, and *you will not encounter him as* a stone of stumbling, *nor as*
a rock of fall."

Paul's wording has neither the Septuagint's conditional clause nor the
negations before the stone and the rock. Moreover, its genitive construc-
tions (λίθον προσκόμματος, πέτραν σκανδάλου) deviate from the Sep-
tuagint (λίθου προσκόμματι, πέτρας πτώματι) and render more accu-
rately the construct chains of the Hebrew.[26] The same syntax can also be
found in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The only difference
between Paul's wording and the Masoretic text results from the confla-
tion of the two passages. While the Masoretic text reads לְ and Aquila,
Symmachus, and Theodotion εἰς, in Paul's wording the stone and the
rock are direct accusative objects, as necessitated by τίθημι (from
Isa 28:16), which is the main verb in the conflated quotation.[27]

Was Paul aware that there were divergent Greek readings of the pas-
sage? If he was, he had a clear reason for preferring the reading that
enabled him to present the two aspects of the Christ stone, judgment and
hope, together.[28]

4. Case 3: Rom 10:15/Isa 52:6–7

In our second case from Romans, Paul's quotation from Isa 52:7 differs
considerably from the majority text of the Septuagint. Its syntax is much
closer to the Masoretic text, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and
one strand of the textual tradition of the Septuagint, the Lucianic text,
without being identical to any of them (see Tables 5 and 6). The Greek

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"The Quotations of Isaiah 8,14 and 28,16 in Romans 9,33 and 1Peter 2,6.8 as Test Case
for Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament," *ZNW* 101 (2010): 223–40 (234).
This suggests that the translator interpreted Isaiah 8 and 28 in the light of one another
(Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 95).

[26] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 60; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 123. The dative in the Septua-
gint follows from the insertion of the verb συναντάω.

[27] Another detail in which Paul agrees with Aquila against the Septuagint is the use of
σκάνδαλον instead of πρόσκομμα. Although σκάνδαλον seems to be a word Paul
likes, here it is more probable that the word derives from Hebraizing revision than from
Paul's own modification. Similarly, Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 23 n. 14. In Aquila, σκάν-
δαλον is used systematically to translate מכשול, which suggests that it could have been
considered the proper standard equivalent in the earlier Hebraizing revision as well.
According to Eusebius, σκάνδαλον is also used by Symmachus, whereas according to
Procopius Symmachus reads πτώματος. For the question about the reliability of these
conflicting accounts, see the diverging evaluations of Koch, *Die Schrift*, 60, and Wilk,
Die Bedeutung, 23 n. 17.

[28] Norton, *Contours*, 145. Norton finds "direct ideological and lexical evidence that Paul
knew and used different forms of the same passage" (ibid., 177).

parallels suggest that Paul quotes Isa 52:7 in a form that had been revised according to the Hebrew.

Table 5: Rom 10:15 and Isa 52:7

Rom 10:15	Isa 52:7 LXX	Isa 52:7 revised (Lucianic)[29]	Isa 52:7 MT
ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες [30] τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων [τὰ] ἀγαθά	ὡς ὥρα **ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων,** **ὡς** πόδες εὐαγγελιζομέν**ου** **ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης,** **ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος** ἀγαθά	ὡς ὡραῖ**οι** **ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων** πόδες εὐαγγελιζομέν**ου** **ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης,** εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀγαθά	מַה־נָּאווּ עַל־הֶהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מַשְׁמִיעַ שָׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב
How beautiful are the feet of those bringing glad tidings of good things!	As springtime upon the mountains, so are the feet of one bringing glad tidings of a report of peace, so is one bringing glad tidings of good things	How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of one bringing glad tidings of a report of peace, of one bringing glad tidings of good things!	How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of one bringing glad tidings, of one announcing peace, of one bringing glad tidings of good things!

[29] The reading is supported by manuscript 88, numerous Lucianic manuscripts (22ᶜ-62-*lII*-93-86ᶜ-456), two mixed codices (403´), and a quotation in Theodoret's commentary.

[30] Numerous witnesses (²א D F G K L P Ψ 33. 104. 365. 1175. 1241. 1505. 2464 𝔐, the Vulgate, part of the Old Latin witnesses, and the whole Syriac tradition) support the reading τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, which is a harmonization with the Septuagint; see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), 525.

Table 6: Readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Isa 52:7

Rom 10:15	Aquila (Q)[31]	Symmachus (86)	Theodotion (Eusebius)[32]
ὡς ὡραῖοι	τί ὡραιώθησαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη	τί εὐπρεπεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων	ὡς εὐπρεπεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη
οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων	πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκουτίζοντος εἰρήνην, εὐαγγελιζομένου	πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκουστὴν ποιοῦντος εἰρήνην, εὐαγγελιζομένου	πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων
[τὰ] ἀγαθά	ἀγαθόν	ἀγαθά	ἀγαθά

As was the case with the previous quotation, it is obvious why revision of the original translation would have been necessary. The Septuagint differs greatly from the Masoretic text, although not quite so much as modern editors and translators assume. Before discussing Paul's quotation and Hebraizing revision, it is necessary to be clear on what the Greek of the original translation means.

The passage is preceded by God's words: "for I am the one saying: 'Here I am.'" In the Hebrew it is clear that the sentence ends there and the next one begins with an exclamation: "How beautiful upon the mountains …!" This is also the syntax found in Romans, the Lucianic textual tradition of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Modern editions and translations of the Septuagint, however, assume that "Here I am" is immediately followed by three comparisons that explicate *how* the Lord is present: "*like* (ὡς) the springtime upon the mountains, *like* the feet of the one who brings glad tidings of a report of peace, *like* the one who brings glad tidings of good things."[33] Yet it would be extraordinary that the Greek translator could have misread the Hebrew so thoroughly that he made the Hebrew exclamation subordinate to "Here I am." In such a translation, God compares himself to the *feet* of a messenger! Instead, it is more probable that the ὡς-clauses begin a new

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[31] This reading of Aquila, preserved by manuscript Q, is also partly supported by manuscript 86.

[32] Eusebius gives readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion that are suspiciously close to the wording of Romans (for the full evidence, see Ziegler, *Isaias* under Isa 52:7). This is why too much weight should not be placed on Theodotion's reading here. Similarly, Koch, *Die Schrift*, 66 n. 41.

[33] Cf. Alfred Rahlfs's and Joseph Ziegler's Isaiah editions, Brenton's English translation of the Greek Isaiah, and the NETS translation by Silva. When attempting to find a rationale for such a Greek translation, Koch, *Die Schrift*, 66, notes that הנני indeed begins a new statement in Isa 58:9.

entity, just as in the Hebrew, and represent a variation of the construction
ὡς–οὕτως:[34] "*As* (ὡς) the springtime upon the mountains, *so* (ὡς =
οὕτως) are the feet of the one who brings glad tidings of a report of
peace, *so* (ὡς) is the one who brings glad tidings of good things." Com-
pared to modern editions and translators, this interpretation of the Greek
is already closer to the Masoretic text. Still, the difference in syntax is
obvious: in place of an exclamation ('how beautiful!'), the Septuagint
has a comparison ('as – so').

   Now that it is clear to what extent the original Greek translation differs
from the Hebrew, it is time to turn to Hebraizing revision. It appears that
by the first century CE, the wording of the Septuagint was "corrected"
to match the Hebrew text known to the revisers. In this verse, there is no
reason to assume that their Hebrew deviated from the Masoretic text. The
revised Greek wording is quoted by Paul and preserved by the Lucianic
manuscripts and some other witnesses for the Septuagint. It is noteworthy
that the Hebraizing wording they attest is clearly a revision of the Septua-
gint translation, not a completely new one.[35] In the revised wording, the
noun ὥρα ('springtime') is changed to the adjective ὡραῖος ('lovely'),
which can be considered an adequate rendering of the Hebrew.[36] The
second and the third ὡς that have no equivalent in the Hebrew text are
deleted, and thus the comparison ('as – so') is changed into an exclama-
tion ('how!'). In conjunction with this, the second εὐαγγελιζόμενος is
changed from the nominative to the genitive so that both references to
the messenger are symmetrically subordinate to "the feet" just as in the
Hebrew: "the feet of the one bringing glad tidings of a report of peace,
of the one bringing glad tidings of good things."

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[34] See *LSJ*, "ὡς"; Eduard Bornemann and Ernst Risch, *Griechische Grammatik* (Frankfurt
   am Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1978) § 285.1. This has been argued before in Kujanpää,
   Rhetorical Functions, 173, and I would like to repeat my thanks to Anneli Aejmelaeus
   for this insight.

[35] Eusebius gives readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion that are suspiciously
   close to the wording of Romans (for the full evidence, see Ziegler, *Isaias* under Isa
   52:7). This is why too much weight should not be placed on Theodotion's reading here.
   Similarly, Koch, *Die Schrift*, 66 n. 41.

[36] The Hebrew uses the verb נאה ("to be beautiful"), which is faithfully rendered in
   Aquila's reading ὡραιώθησαν. To render the root נאה with ὡραῖος or ὡραίοομαι is
   common in the Septuagint, and the adjective נאוה is rendered with ὡραῖος in Aquila,
   Symmachus, and Theodotion; see Joseph Reider & Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila:
   Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*,
   VTSup 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 260. Therefore, the adjective ὡραῖος used by the
   Hebraizing reviser agrees with the ideal of rendering the Hebrew more accurately,
   although syntactically Aquila's reading is even more precise. See further Kujanpää,
   Rhetorical Functions, 175 n. 145.

That this is a case of Hebraizing revision early enough to be used by Paul and not his own translation of the Hebrew is confirmed by the Lucianic witnesses.[37] Their reading is so close to Paul's wording that it is highly probable that both attest to the same Hebraizing reading. It is noteworthy that they agree in details that could be rendered very differently, such as the use of ὡς and ὡραῖοι.

The reason for the differences between Paul's quotation and the reading of the Lucianic witnesses is probably that Paul fits the quotation to his argument. He probably deliberately omits the geographic specification ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, which is almost unanimously attested by the manuscripts of the Septuagint and other versions. He has no need for such a phrase, for he is making a universal statement about proclamation that is not geographically limited.[38] The change from a singular messenger to the plural is almost certainly Pauline as it has no support in any Greek witnesses or in the Hebrew text.[39] The plural is related to the context of the quotation where Paul refers to preachers of the gospel in the plural (10:15, 16, 18).[40] In contrast, the omission of εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης may represent haplography. The phrase encompasses nothing that Paul would have needed to omit. In contrast, ἀκοήν would have created catchword connections with Rom 10:14, 16, 17. Although it is possible that Paul wished to make the quotation more concise even at the cost of these connections, the omission can also be explained by parablepsis: the scribe's eye could easily have slipped from the first occurrence to the second, thus missing a line.[41]

As for the possibility that the Lucianic reading is dependent on Romans, this appears improbable in light of the above mentioned differences between them: exactly those adaptations that can probably be traced to Paul are missing from the Lucianic reading.[42] The Lucianic

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[37] That Paul would correct the Septuagint's reading himself with the help of his knowledge of the Hebrew is suggested by Edward Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 14 n. 5; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, WBC 38B (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 621; Francis Watson, "Mistranslation and the Death of Christ: Isaiah 53 LXX and Its Pauline Reception," in *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Mark J. Boda, McMaster New Testament Studies (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 215–50 (236).

[38] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 122; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 137; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 26, 46.

[39] For Theodotion, see above n. 32.

[40] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 113–14; Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 140–41; Wagner, *Heralds*, 173–74. The definite article is also probably Paul's addition.

[41] Koch, *Die Schrift*, 82–83. For details, see Kujanpää, *Rhetorical Functions*, 176–77.

[42] Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 136; Wagner, *Heralds*, 172.

recension of the Septuagint (associated with Lucian of Antioch) took place around 300 CE, but it often appears that the Lucianic revisers had access to much older textual traditions. This explains how both Paul and Lucianic manuscripts could preserve a reading that was known in the first century CE (see Figure 1 below). The Lucianic revisers sometimes adopted Hebraizing elements through Origen's Hexapla, which reported Aquila's, Symmachus's, and Theodotion's readings. In our case, the Lucianic reading and Paul's reading resemble Aquila and Symmachus but are not identical with them. Aquila follows the Hebrew even more faithfully (see Table 6 and note 36). It is difficult to say where the Lucianic revisers found their Hebraizing reading. What is important here is this: the Hebraizing reading that both Paul and the Lucianic witnesses attest to is an older example of the same objective that Aquila later realized more completely in his new translation. The figure below presents two alternative possibilities of how the Lucianic revisers could have encountered the Hebraizing reading.
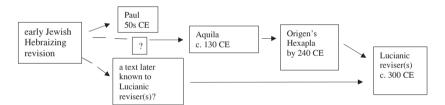

Figure 1: A rough timeline and the direction
of influence in this particular case[43]

5. Case 4: Matt 4:14-16/Isa 8:23–9:1

In Matt 4:14–16, the evangelist quotes a passage from Isa 8:23–9:1 that is not present in Mark or Luke. The quotation follows a narrative of Jesus withdrawing to Galilee after hearing that John the Baptist has been imprisoned. The evangelist interprets this incident as the fulfilment of the Isaian prophecy

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[43] Of course, this chart much simplifies the messy reality of textual transmission, yet it may be helpful as a crude visualization and timeline.

Table 7: Matt 4:14–16 and Isa 8:23–9:1

Matt 4:14–16	Isa 9:1–2 LXX	Isa 8:23–9:1 MT
¹⁴ ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· ¹⁵ **γῆ** Ζαβουλὼν **καὶ** γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, ὁδὸν θαλάσσης,	¹ Τοῦτο πρῶτον ποίει, ταχὺ ποίει, χώρα Ζαβουλων, ἡ γῆ Νεφθαλιμ [ὁδὸν θαλάσσης]⁴⁴ **καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν [κατοικοῦντες]**	^{8:23} הָרִאשׁוֹן הֵקַל אַרְצָה זְבֻלוֹן וְאַרְצָה נַפְתָּלִי וְהָאַחֲרוֹן הִכְבִּיד דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם
πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν,	**καὶ** πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν, [**τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας.**]	עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם
¹⁶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ **καθήμενος** ἐν σκότει **φῶς εἶδεν** μέγα, **καὶ τοῖς καθημένοις** ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς **ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς.**	^{2.} ὁ λαὸς ὁ **πορευόμενος** ἐν σκότει, **ἴδετε φῶς** μέγα· **οἱ κατοικοῦντες** ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, φῶς **λάμψει ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.**	^{9:1} הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ רָאוּ אוֹר גָּדוֹל יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צַלְמָוֶת אוֹר נָגַהּ עֲלֵיהֶם
¹⁴ That it might be fulfilled, which had been spoken through Isaiah the prophet, saying: ¹⁵ **Land** of Zebulun **and** land of Naphtali by way of the sea,	¹ This do first, do quickly, A **region** of Zaboulon, **The** land of Nephtalim [by way of the sea] **and the rest** [**who inhabit**] **the seashore and**	^{8:23} In a former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in a later time he made glorious the way of the sea,
beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations,	beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations, [**the parts of Judea**].	beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations.
¹⁶ the people who **sat** in darkness **saw** a great light, **and for those who sit** in a region and shadow of death light **has dawned to them.**	² The people who **walk** in darkness, **see** a great light! **Who live** in a region and shadow of death, light **will shine to you.**	^{9:1} The people who walk in darkness saw a great light. Who live in the land of deep shadow, light has dawned on them.

⁴⁴ The words within square brackets are not included in several witnesses of the Septua-gint (ὁδὸν θαλάσσης > S* *O´´ L´*`-96-311-456-764<sup>c</sup> *C* 301 393 538 544 Sa Syp Eus. comm.et dem. Bas. Chr. Tert. Hi. | κατοικοῦντες > S* O´ *L´*`-311-456-764^c *C* 393 Eus. Bas. Chr. Cyr. Tert. | τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας > *O´´ L´*`-46-233-456-764^c *C* 239´393 407 410 538 Co Syp Eus.comm.et dem. Bas. Tht. Cyr. Tert. Cypr. Hi.) but they are part of Ziegler's critical text of the Septuagint. See the discussion below.

Table 8: Preserved readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion
(Isa 8:23–9:1)[45]

Aquila (710 Q Syh Pr Hi)	Symmachus (710 Pr Hi)	Theodotion (710 Q Syh)
τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐκούφιζε	ὁ πρῶτος ἐτάχυνε γῆν ζαβουλων καὶ γῆν νεφθαλειμ	τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐκούφιζε
καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος ἐβάρυνεν ὁδὸν τῆς θαλάσσης	καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος ἐβάρυνεν ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου	καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος ἐβάρυνεν ὁδὸν τῆς θαλάσσης
θῖνας (-νες) τῶν ἐθνῶν	ὅριον τῶν ἐθνῶν	

Matthew's quotation does not contain two phrases attested in the Septua-
gint (Isa 8:23): καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες ('and the
rest, who inhabit the seashore') and τὰ μέρη τῆς Ιουδαίας ('the parts of
Judea'). These deviations from the Septuagint have produced several
explanations. It has been suggested that the evangelist deliberately omits
these phrases. According to this suggestion, the former reading contains
irrelevant information, and the latter reading does not fit into the context
of the Gospel, which highlights Jesus's ministry in Galilee.[46] These two
omissions and several minor details in the quotation, however, agree with
the Hebrew text attested in the Masoretic text. Therefore, it has been
suggested that the quotation either represents a unique translation of the
Hebrew text of Isaiah or that the evangelist himself attempted to revise
the Greek text in accordance with a Hebrew text available to him.[47] The
previous research is also divided concerning the question of whether
the translation or the revision was made by the evangelist himself or by
an early Christian community.[48]

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[45] The readings of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus vary between Greek witnesses.
For the entire evidence, consult Ziegler, *Isaias*.

[46] Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, WBC 33A (Dallas: Word Books, 1993), 73.

[47] Nolland*, The Gospel of Matthew*, 30, 172; Craig L. Blomberg, "Matthew," in *Com-
mentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Aca-
demic, 2007), 19.

[48] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, Hermeneia, trans. James E. Crouch (Minneapolis: Fortress,
2007), 129; see also 156–57, "Exceeding its context and at the same time useful as
a general Christian testimonium are Isa 8:23/9:1 (=Matt 4:15–16) and Isa 42:1–4
(=Matt 12:18–21). Here it is conceivable that Matthew was the first to add to his
Markan context a testimonium known to him from oral or written Christian tradition."
See the more detailed description of the previous research in Maarten J. J. Menken,
Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist, BETL 173 (Leuven: Leu-
ven University Press, 2004), 15.

Such suggestions, however, do not take into account the transmission history of the text of the Septuagint. The evangelist has quoted a Hebraizing Greek text of the Septuagint. The two plusses in the Septuagint and their absence in the Hebrew probably date back to an earlier phase than Matthew or any early Christian movements. The reading ὁδὸν θαλάσσης ('by way of the sea') and the plus οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες ('who inhabit the seashore') in the Septuagint may represent alternative translations of the same Hebrew phrase דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם.[49] At some point ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, which was perhaps first a marginal reading, probably slipped into the main text, thus producing the doublet in the Septuagint. It is imaginable that the original translator did not fully understand the Hebrew text, which refers to "a later time" (וְהָאַחֲרוֹן). Thus, the translator rendered the difficult Hebrew phrase with οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες "the rest who inhabit the seashore." The participle κατοικοῦντες has no equivalent in the Hebrew text.[50] The more accurate expression ὁδὸν θαλάσσης is thus probably a later translation.[51] Furthermore, the accusative ὁδόν does not fit into the context with the nominatives. Later, this expanded Greek text produced a problem for the Hebraizing reviser, who may have omitted the earlier (original) translation.

The readings ὁδὸν θαλάσσης and κατοικοῦντες are not attested in Codex Sinaiticus, Hexaplaric witnesses (including Codex Vaticanus and Codex Venetus), and Lucianic witnesses. Symmachus reads slightly differently ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν (Aquila and Theodotion: ὁδὸν τῆς θαλάσσης) but without a trace of οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες.[52] In this respect, the quotation corresponds to the reading only preserved in Symmachus, but as an earlier witness it probably represents earlier Jewish Hebraizing revision.

The second plus, τὰ μέρη τῆς Ιουδαίας, may be the original Septuagint reading. The original translator probably misread the Hebrew text

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[49] Cf. J. J. M. Roberts's (*First Isaiah*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984], 145) proposal: "LXX appears to omit the phrase וְהָאַחֲרוֹן הִכְבִּיד, though after דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם, 'the way of the sea,' it has a line that may represent a translation of this phrase and an alternate translation of דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם (…), καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες."

[50] The Hebrew verb הִכְבִּיד has no obvious equivalent in the Greek text, but the verb ποίει near the beginning may correspond to it.

[51] In contrast to Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 30, 172: "The LXX text of Is. 9:1–2 (LXX 8:23–9:1) seems to be based on a Hebrew version that has lost a phrase and has therefore, in compensation, been significantly restructured (…)."

[52] Note that, in Symmachus, in contrast to Aquila and Theodotion, we have a long reading that shows the absence of οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες (ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου). In all probability, Aquila and Theodotion do not have the phrase, but the fragmentary evidence does not allow saying this for certain.

עבר יהודה (cf. עבר הירדן)[53] and the reading πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου is a later correction agreeing with the Hebrew text. This correction probably slipped from the margin into the main text and thus produced the doublet in Greek. Just as with the first doublet discussed above, this expansion in the Greek text was probably omitted by the Hebraizing reviser according to the Hebrew text he had. This Hebraizing reading is also followed by the evangelist.[54] The reading τὰ μέρη τῆς Ιουδαίας is not attested in the Hexaplaric witnesses (including Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Venetus), the Lucianic witnesses, and the catena text of Isaiah. As usual, the latter part of the doublet is omitted in the Hexaplaric recension.

Several minor agreements with the Hebrew text also suggest that Matthew uses a Hebraizing Greek text:

(a) The Septuagint reads both χώρα (country) and γῆ (land), which refer to Zebulon and Naphthali. The quotation, however, reads γῆ twice and has the conjunction καί between these two areas, which completely agrees with the Hebrew text (אַרְצָה זְבֻלוֹן וְאַרְצָה נַפְתָּלִי).

(b) While the Septuagint reads καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου, the conjunction καί is absent in both the quotation and the Hebrew text.[55]

(c) While the quotation reads καθημένοις, the Septuagint has κατοικοῦντες. The verb κάθημαι is probably a Hebraizing rendering of the Hebrew verb יָשַׁב and is also preferred by Aquila.[56]

(d) The third person plural dative αὐτοῖς at the end of the quotation agrees with the Hebrew text (עֲלֵיהֶם) against the second person accusative ὑμᾶς in the Septuagint.[57]

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[53] See Exod 32:15 and 1 Kgs 5:4, in which עֵבֶר is translated with μέρος.

[54] Thus also Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 15, 32. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 33, criticizes Menken's view: "This view is not easy to falsify since, *ex hypothesi*, the primary evidence for the existence of the revision is the form of the quotations in Matthew." Menken's view is also preceded by Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Vanhan testamentin käyttö Matteuksen evankeliumissa Mt 21:4-5 valossa," *TA* 91 (1986): 98–102. In her article (written in Finnish), she argues that the quotation from Zec 9:9/Isa 62:11 in Matt 21:4–5 shows traces of the Hebraizing Greek text.

[55] The conjunction is preserved in the Greek MSS 106 *oII lI*-764ᶜ 301 403´ 538 Syp Eus. comm.et dem. Tert.III 434 Cypr.

[56] Reider & Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, 121.

[57] As for the Septuagint's imperative ἴδετε φῶς μέγα ('see a great light') against the indicative (εἶδεν) in the quotation, the consonantal Hebrew text (ראו) allows both renderings. The plural in the Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew text, but when the Hebrew is rendered with the indicative, the singular is necessitated by λαός. In brief, this is a case where both the Septuagint and the quotation agree with the consonantal Hebrew, although they represent different interpretations of it.

While numerous deviances from the Septuagint can be explained by Hebraizing revision, there remain traces of Matthew's own editorial activity. The quotation contains several unique readings not preserved in the Septuagint or the Hebrew text:

(1) The quotation reads καθήμενος ἐν σκότει ('who live in darkness'), which is against the Septuagint and the Hebrew text ('who walk in the darkness'). This is probably a unifying change toward the following κάθημαι, which is preserved in the Hebraizing Greek text (see above).[58]

(2) Regarding this latter κάθημαι the quotation contains an additional conjunction and the dative participle καὶ τοῖς καθημένοις against the nominative participle οἱ κατοικοῦντες in the Septuagint (cf. the Hebrew text). The use of the dative might be a slight improvement, which is also in accordance with the dative αὐτοῖς at the end of the quotation.

(3) The quotation reads ἀνέτειλεν ('has risen/dawned') in the aorist. This is against λάμψει in the future in the Septuagint, and נָגַהּ of the Hebrew text, which both refer to shining or giving light. Except for the aorist tense, which agrees with the perfect in the Hebrew (probable Hebraizing reading ἔλαμψεν), the lexeme might be a unifying change toward *rising star* in Matt 2:2, 9.[59]

A reconstruction of the Hebraizing Greek text that was the evangelist's source text:

9:1 γῆ Ζαβουλὼν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ ὁδὸν θαλάσσης πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν

9:2 ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει φῶς εἶδεν μέγα

οἱ καθήμενοι ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς ἔλαμψεν αὐτοῖς.

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6. Case 5: Matt 12:18–21/Isa 42:1–4

In Matt 12:18–21, the evangelist quotes a passage from Isa 42:1–4. This is the longest quotation from the scriptures in the Gospel. The evangelist interprets Jesus's warning not to tell others about him as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy. The quotation differs from both the Septuagint and the Hebrew text. In several minor instances, however, the quotation is

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[58] Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 24.
[59] Richard T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 143.

closer to the Hebrew text. Like the previous quotation, this one raises
similar questions about Matthew's source text. It has been suggested that
the evangelist himself changed the wording of his source text, produced
his own translation,[60] or made use of an earlier Christian tradition, oral
or written.[61] It has been argued that the use of earlier tradition would
explain a wording that is different from the Septuagint but that is also
inapplicable to the context of the Gospel.[62] This interpretation, however,
does not acknowledge several detailed agreements between the quotation
and the Hebrew text. Therefore, the quotation probably preserves
a Hebraizing Greek text of the passage. The small but important agree-
ments with the Septuagint and particularly the end of the quotation where
it agrees with the Septuagint against the Masoretic text (καὶ [ἐπὶ] τῷ
ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν) suggest that the quotation represents
extensive revision of the Septuagint rather than a completely new
translation.

Table 9: Matt 12:18–21 and Isa 42:1–4

Matt 12:18–21	Isa 42:1–4 LXX	Isa 42:1–4 MT
[18] **ἰδοὺ** ὁ παῖς μου **ὃν ἠρέτισα,** ὁ ἀγαπητός μου εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου· **θήσω** τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, **καὶ** κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν **ἀπαγγελεῖ.** [19] **οὐκ ἐρίσει** οὐδὲ **κραυγάσει,** οὐδὲ **ἀκούσει** τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις	[1] **Ιακωβ** ὁ παῖς μου, **ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ·** **Ισραηλ** ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, **προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν** ἡ ψυχή μου· **ἔδωκα** τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξ**οίσει.** [2] **οὐ κεκράξεται** οὐδὲ **ἀνήσει,** οὐδὲ **ἀκουσθήσεται** ἔξω **ἡ φωνὴ** αὐτοῦ.	[1] הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ־בּוֹ בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא [2] לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא־יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ

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[60] See W. D. Davies & D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew: Volume 2, Commentary on Matthew VIII-XVIII*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 323–29.

[61] Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 129.

[62] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, Hermeneia, trans. Wilhelm C. Linss (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 192: "Except for v. 21, therefore, in all cases it seems to me more probable that the wording of Isa 42:1–4 was changed for the sake of the Christological interpretation prior to Matthew."

τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. ²⁰ κάλαμον **συντετριμμένον** οὐ **κατεάξει** καὶ λίνον **τυφόμενον** οὐ σβέσει, ἕως ἂν **ἐκβάλη** εἰς **νῖκος** τὴν κρίσιν. ²¹· καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.	³ κάλαμον **τεθλασμένον** οὐ **συντρίψει** καὶ λίνον **καπνιζόμενον** οὐ σβέσει, **ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν** **ἐξοίσει κρίσιν.** ⁴ **ἀναλάμψει** **καὶ οὐ θραυσθήσεται,** ἕως ἂν **θῆ** **ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς** κρίσιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.	³ קָנֶה רָצוּץ לֹא יִשְׁבּוֹר וּפִשְׁתָּה כֵהָה לֹא יְכַבֶּנָּה לֶאֱמֶת יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט ⁴ לֹא יִכְהֶה וְלֹא יָרוּץ עַד־יָשִׂים בָּאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּט וּלְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ
¹⁸ **Behold**, my servant, **whom I have chosen**, my **beloved**, **in whom** my soul **is pleased**: **I will put** my spirit upon him **and** a judgment to the nations he will **proclaim**. ¹⁹ He will not **wrangle** or **cry out**, nor **anyone will hear** **in the streets** his voice. ²⁰ A **bruised** reed he will not **break** and a **smoldering** wick he will not quench until he **brings to victory** **the** judgment. ²¹ And in his name nations will hope.	¹ **Jacob**, my servant, **I will hold on him**, **Israel is** my **chosen**, my soul **has accepted him**, **I have given** my spirit upon him, a judgment to the nations he will **bring forth**. ² He will not **cry out** or **raise** *his voice* nor **will be heard** **outside** his voice. ³ A **crushed** reed, he will not **crush** and a **smoking** wick he will not quench **but because of truth** **he will bring forth** **a judgment.** ⁴ **He will shine** **and not break** until he **has put on the earth** a judgment, and in his name nations will hope.	¹· Behold, my servant, whom I will hold on him, my chosen, in whom my soul is pleased, I have given my spirit upon him, a judgment to the nations he will bring forth. ²· He will not cry out or raise *his voice* nor will not make heard in the street his voice. ³· A bruised reed he will not break, and a dimming wick he will not quench but because of truth he will bring forth a judgment. ⁴· He will not grow dim or be crushed until he has put on the earth a judgment and his law the coastlands wait.

Table 10. Preserved readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Isa 42:1–4[63]

Aquila (Q Syh Eus Hi Chr)	Symmachus (Q Syh Eus Hes Hi Tht)	Theodotion (Q Syh Eus)
ἰδοὺ [ὁ] δοῦλος μου ἀντιλήψομαι ἐν αὐτῷ	ἰδοὺ ὁ δοῦλος (οἱ ἄλλοι δοῦλος) μου ἀνθέξομαι αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου	ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ἀντιλήψομαι (-ψεται) αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου
καὶ λίνον ἀμαυρόν οὐ σβέσει	οὐδέ λίνον ἀμαυρόν σβέσει	καὶ στιππύον ἀμαυρόν οὐ σβέσει

In Isa 42:1, the Masoretic text agrees with the quotation in several instances against the Septuagint:

(a) The interjection ἰδού in the quotation corresponds to the Hebrew text (הֵן) but is absent in the Septuagint.[64]

(b) While the Septuagint refers explicitly to Ιακωβ and Ισραηλ as the servant and the chosen one of God, the quotation and the Hebrew text do not preserve these proper names. It is important that only the Hebraizing Greek text provides the possibility of a Messianic interpretation of the Servant in Matthew.

(c) The syntax of the Hebrew text רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי is much closer to εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου in the quotation than to the Septuagint (προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου). The original Greek translator rendered the Hebrew verb רצה ('to please') with προσδέχομαι ('to accept'), whereas the use of the verb εὐδοκέω ('to be well pleased') in the quotation is slightly closer to the Hebrew text.[65]

(d) The Septuagint has an additional accusative pronoun αὐτόν, which is absent in the Hebrew text. This necessary object in Greek, however, is constructed by the relative pronoun with a preposition εἰς ὃν in the quotation, and therefore is slightly closer to the Hebrew text.[66] As can be seen from Table 9, the quotation agrees in this detail with the

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[63] The readings of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus vary between Greek witnesses. For the entire evidence, consult Ziegler, *Isaias*.

[64] Ιακωβ] + ιδου ※ 88; pr. και ιδου 106. Origen used the asterisk to inform readers of the Hexapla of which reading is absent in the Greek text but attested in the Hebrew text.

[65] The word רצה occurs only once in Isaiah. In the LXX, it is translated by εὐδοκέω 22 times and by προσδέχομαι 12 times.

[66] Except for ἰδού and the absent proper name Ισραηλ in the Hexaplaric MSS 109-736 (oII), none of these variant readings in the quotation are preserved in any Septuagint

translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which may mean that they share a common Hebraizing tradition. Theodotion has the longest agreement with the quotation for it attests the interjection ἰδού, the relative pronoun ὅν, and the verb εὐδόκησεν.

In Isa 42:2,

(e) the Hebrew text וְלֹא־יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ and particularly שָׁמַע in the hiphil imperfect ('he will not make heard') and בַּחוּץ with prepositional article ('in the street') correspond to the active ἀκούσει and the reading ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ('in the streets') in the quotation. The Septuagint, in turn, has the passive ἀκουσθήσεται ('nor will be heard') and the adverb ἔξω ('outside').

(f) In Isa 42:3, the Septuagint and the quotation have major differences, but both render the Hebrew text very closely (the Septuagint / the quotation :: τεθλασμένον / συντετριμμένον; συντρίψει / κατεάξει; καπνιζόμενον / τυφόμενον).[67] Only the verb τύφω ('to smolder') in the quotation is a slightly better equivalent for כֵהֶה ('dim') in the Hebrew text than καπνίζω ('to make smoke') in the Septuagint. Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus read ἀμαυρόν (dark), which is a metaphor for dimming and therefore closer to the Hebrew text and the quotation than to the Septuagint.

In a few instances the quotation indeed shows traces of the evangelist's own editorial activity:

(1) The quotation reads ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ('my beloved') against the Septuagint and the Hebrew text ('my chosen one'). This is probably a unifying change toward the verses Matt 3:17 and 17:5 (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός).[68]

(2) The quotation reads θήσω in the future ('I will put') against the Septuagint and the Hebrew text ('I have put'). Here the evangelist probably attempts to harmonize the tense of the verb in accordance with other verbs (and probably changes the verb to δίδωμι).[69]

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witnesses. The agreement with a few Hexaplaric manuscripts and the quotation, again, is not a coincidence but provides hints about Greek texts available to Origen.

[67] Contrast to Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 492, who views Matt 12:20 as "independent translation of the MT."

[68] Davies & Allison, *Commentary on Matthew VIII-XVIII*, 323–25; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 84.

[69] In contrast to ibid., 85.

(3) The verb ἀπαγγελεῖ ('he will proclaim') is also against the Septua-
gint and the Hebrew text (which reads "he will bring forth").[70] The
verb ἀπαγγέλλω is probably the evangelist's choice which better
describes Jesus's ministry.[71]

(4) At the beginning of Matt 12:19, the quotation provides slightly dif-
ferent text (οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάσει, 'he will not wrangle or cry
out') than the Septuagint and the Hebrew text ('he will not cry out or
raise *his voice*'). The change is probably due the context in the Gospel
(Matt 12:1). The Pharisees are looking for a dispute that Jesus
attempts to avoid.

(5) The long minus at the end of the quotation (12:20) is unique (Isa 42:3
ἀλλὰ -42:4 θραυσθήσεται). It is not preserved in any Greek or
Hebrew witnesses of Isaiah. It has been suggested that the quotation
has suffered from parablepsis of the word κρίσιν.[72] This would
require that the text ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νῖκος τὴν κρίσιν in the quo-
tation would correspond to the text ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρί-
σιν in Isaiah. However, the quotation corresponds to the text ἕως ἂν
θῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κρίσιν in Isaiah. Thus, the omission in the quotation
does not represent homoioteleuton but a deliberate change. The words
"but because of truth he will bring judgment, he will shine and will
not break" were probably not considered an appropriate description
of the crucified Lord.

(6) The unique word νῖκος (victory) at the end of the quotation is prob-
ably the evangelist's interpretation of the expected outcome of Jesus's
ministry.

In brief, several differences between the quotation and the Septuagint
are probably due to Hebraizing revision of the Greek text that was the
source text of the evangelist. The evangelist has quoted the revised Greek
text of Isaiah but every now and then improved the text because of the
context of the Gospel.

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[70] Note also an additional conjunction καί in the quotation.
[71] Davies & Allison, *Commentary on Matthew VIII-XVIII*, 324; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 85.
[72] Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 191–92.

A reconstruction of the Hebraizing Greek text and the evangelist's source text:

42:1 ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ᾑρέτισα, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου·

ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει.

42:2 οὐ κεκράξεται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ.

42:3 κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεάξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει,

ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν.

42:4 ἀναλάμψει καὶ οὐ θραυσθήσεται, ἕως ἂν θῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κρίσιν·

καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.

7. Conclusions

In the five cases discussed in this article, it was demonstrated that there is no need to assume that Paul and Matthew consulted a Hebrew text. Rather, they had access to a Greek text that had already been corrected in the light of the Hebrew. In this particular sense, they were less active than has often been imagined. On the other hand, as has been seen in the examples, the use of a Hebraizing wording does not exclude their own editorial activity. How did Paul and Matthew become acquainted with Hebraizing readings? It is necessary to take into account the plurality of methods of how they could have encountered scriptures in general.

It is probable that Paul read and listened to the reading of scriptures throughout his life at different geographical locations. It is perfectly conceivable that he had access to scrolls at least in major cities and used those opportunities to make notes and to actively memorize passages. He may have discussed the interpretation of scriptures with his fellow Jews and fellow Christ-believers.[73] While it is possible that he could have used early florilegia of quotations, there is no evidence of this, nor do any quotations suggest it.[74] A pre-Pauline quotation collection made by Christ-believers would of course have to be extremely early. Methodologically it is in most cases impossible to distinguish whether Paul had memorized a passage or whether he had it in a written form of some kind.

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[73] Cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, 25–27; Norton, *Contours*, 34.
[74] Kujanpää, *Rhetorical Functions*, 335.

Such a distinction may not be crucial, for it is possible to modify a memorized passage as well as a text one has in front of one's eyes.[75] It is therefore impossible to determine whether Paul encountered revised Isaiah texts in Jerusalem or somewhere else around the Mediterranean. The same is also true for Matthew.

Despite his evident Jewish background, it appears improbable that Matthew translated or consulted a Hebrew text for the quotations. Most of his quotations agree with the Septuagint. Only the fulfillment quotations, which are not preserved in the Q material nor Mark, closely follow the readings of the Masoretic text while still having distinctive agreements with the Septuagint. Thus, we cannot exclude the possibility that the fulfillment quotations of Matthew were originally part of an early florilegium in Syrian Antioch to which the evangelist might have had access.[76] If so, this early florilegium often contained a Hebraizing Greek text. Yet the important conclusion is that Hebraizing readings were circulating in the first century, in one form or another, and available to both Paul and Matthew.

What can be said of Paul's and Matthew's awareness of textual plurality? Could they have consciously chosen a Hebraizing reading over the original translation? Jonathan D. H. Norton has convincingly argued that limited textual awareness of textual plurality is conceivable for such first century authors. It is necessary to distinguish between the awareness of text types as categories of modern textual criticism on the one hand and the general awareness that there were different readings around on the other.[77] Norton argues that some ancient exegetes were well aware that different readings had different "sense contours": "For the ancient exegete, a particular sense contour characterized a distinct semantic form of a passage."[78] Norton suggests that Paul was aware of alternative readings

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[75] Wagner, *Heralds*, 23; Norton, *Contours*, 26, 29.

[76] Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, lvi. Similarly Aejmelaeus, "Vanhan testamentin käyttö," 102, who points out that the combination of Zec 9:9 and Isa 62:11 in Matt 21:4–5 might indicate the existence of some sort of citation collection.

[77] Norton, *Contours*, 43.

[78] Ibid., 52; see also 37, 179. According to Norton, ibid., 54, "[a]n exegete may encounter (in a copy or a recital) a particular semantic form of a passage, associated with an exegetical idea, while remaining aware of other exegetical ideas commonly associated with that passage." In other words, ibid., 28, "when an individual makes direct use of a copy of a literary work within a textually diverse environment, the text of a passage can evoke associations with its other text-forms and various exegetical ideas connected with it. … These associations must not necessarily be perceived as rote recall, but as an individual's cumulative knowledge of a given passage and his perception of its significance."

and could intentionally make use of them.[79] As was argued above, the quotation from Isa 8:14 in Rom 9:33 is a case in which Paul would have had a clear reason for choosing one reading over another. Only the Hebraizing reading that depicts the stone as a stone of stumbling enables Paul to present Israel's failure to embrace the gospel of Christ as scripturally rooted. However, there is no evidence that Paul preferred a Hebraizing reading exactly because it rendered the Hebrew more faithfully. Using Norton's terminology, it is a choice between different sense contours rather than between the Hebrew and the Greek.

Hebraizing revision of the Septuagint is one example of the practice of revising texts in the light of an authoritative model. Similar developments can be found at different stages of the textual history of the Bible. For example, several quotations in the New Testament were later revised in accordance with the contemporary text of the Septuagint used by Christian scribes. Unique changes or interpretations made by the New Testament writers as well as Hebraizing revisional elements were then occasionally removed, which is observable in several witnesses. Just as some Jewish scholars harmonized their Greek texts with their authoritative Hebrew texts, some Christian scribes harmonized the quotations with their authoritative Scripture, the Septuagint. Neither group probably had an idea of the reasons behind the deviations between the texts. It is imaginable that they simply tried to remove the corruptions (present in all ancient texts) and recover the authoritative text. The closest Christian equivalent to Hebraizing revisers is of course Origen, who famously attempted to "heal" the text of the Septuagint by amending it with the help of the Hebrew text known to him.[80] What unites all these attempts at revision is that they result in quite a confusion in the manuscript tradition.

More work needs to be done to identify Hebraizing revision in Isaiah. It is possible that some of the Septuagint witnesses now classified as attesting to the Hexaplaric text type of the Septuagint may in fact represent Jewish Hebraizing revision. Because both the Hexaplaric witnesses and the possible Hebraizing witnesses attest a text close to the Masoretic text, it is often challenging to distinguish between them. Since Ziegler's Isaiah edition is from 1939, from the time before Barthélemy's findings, he could not take into account the possibility of early Jewish Hebraizing revision. Yet he already observes that Codex Vaticanus occasionally

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[79] Ibid., 180.
[80] *Ep. Afr.* (5–9); *Comm. Matt* (15.14).

contains additions and omissions that agree with the Masoretic text and that are not necessarily Hexaplaric (although he does not explain the phenomenon).[81] Obviously we cannot expect anything in Isaiah similar to the historical books where in two long sections the majority of the Greek witnesses preserve a Hebraizing text type. Numerous quotations in the New Testament, however, demonstrate that Isaiah underwent Hebraizing revision. The extent of this revision is thus far an open question, something to be tackled in future research.[82]

In conclusion, Hebraizing revision of the translation of the Septuagint is an important development in the textual transmission of the Greek texts. As has been shown above, it is crucial to understand the nature of this phenomenon in order to interpret the Hebraizing tendency in quotations used by New Testament authors correctly. Failure to do so will lead to untenable conclusions concerning Paul's and Matthew's use of scriptures and the linguistic interests of first-century Christ-believers.

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[81] See Ziegler, *Isaias*, 39–40.
[82] See Aejmelaeus, "The Origins of the *Kaige* Revision" in this volume.

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