

## Septuagint cont.

When turning now to the *background of this situation*, we are groping in the dark. The special character of the *Voyage* of the LXX seems to be related to the relatively early date of the translation enterprise (275–150 BCE), involving still earlier Hebrew manuscripts, which could reflect vestiges of earlier editorial stages of the biblical books.

If the description of these and several similar passages is correct, the growth of the biblical books is much more complex than has been imagined so far. What we have here may be only the tip of the iceberg. *(f)*



Prof. Marvin Sweeney and Prof. Emanuel Tov,  
Septuagint Lecture, September 6, 2005,  
Claremont School of Theology.

## Mt. Athos Closes

As a result of the decision of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (PIPS) to withdraw unilaterally from its agreement with the ABMC to participate in the Mt. Athos Project, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center has closed the Mt. Athos Monastery Digital Library Project. PIPS decided to withdraw from the agreement at its board meeting in May 2004 and announced its decision by letter to the ABMC in June 2004. Mt. Athos Project staff members Nicholas Zarkantzaz and Michael Phelps made appropriate and sustained efforts to restore the agreement, but those efforts ultimately proved unsuccessful. The project was able to complete the first stage of the catalog of Mt. Athos manuscript holdings. The ABMC looks forward to the time when the project may be completed. In the meantime, thanks are due to Nicholas Zarkantzaz and Michel Phelps for their leadership of the project and their efforts on its behalf. We wish both well in their future endeavors.



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# The Folio

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## The Septuagint and Literary Criticism

Emanuel Tov  
*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

(Editor's note: The ABMC was honored to host Prof. Emanuel Tov, Senior Editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls and one of the world's leading specialists in text critical studies, during the late summer, 2005. Many thanks are due to ABMC board members Prof. Kristin De Troyer, Dr. Daniel McConaughy, Sheila Spiro, and Dr. Gregory Bearman; to ABMC Staff members Susan Bond, Mariko Yakiyama, and Andrea Zimmerman; and to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, for making Prof. Tov's visit possible. The following is the text of Prof. Tov's ABMC Lecture, presented September 6, 2005.)



In the beginning God *made the heaven and the earth. Yet the earth was invisible and unformed*, and darkness was over the abyss, and *a divine wind was being carried along* over the water, And God said, "Let light come into being." And light came into being" (Gen 1:1-3 in the version of *NETS* 2005 based on the LXX edition of Genesis by J. W. Wevers, 1974).

According to the LXX, in this primeval chaos, at the beginning of creation, the earth was 'invisible and unformed.' These two Greek words translate the Hebrew *'tohu wabohu*, a phrase that cannot be translated easily, but which is traditionally rendered as "without form and void." The LXX thus added an exegetical dimension to the Scripture text, as a natural result of the semantic identification process applied to all words in the source text. In this study we will *not* deal with semantic identifications of this type.

Nor will we deal with any other *small* textual differences between the LXX and MT (that is, the

traditional or Masoretic Hebrew text) as in Gen 2:4 MT "And on the *seventh* day God finished the work that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done." In this verse the LXX (as well as the Sam. Pent. and the Peshitta) reads "And on the *sixth* day God finished the work that he had done." Important and intriguing as this small variation may be, it still points to a divergence on a very small scale.

Thousands of similarly small differences are significant, but the present analysis is limited to larger variations between texts, in particular differences that bear on the *literary* analysis of Hebrew Scripture. When differentiating between small details relevant to textual criticism and large differences bearing on literary criticism we go by formal criteria. A difference involving one or two words, and sometimes an isolated case of a single verse, is considered a small difference, while a discrepancy involving a whole section or chapter involves a substantial difference relevant to literary criticism. However, a *group* of seemingly unrelated small differences might display a *common pattern*, pointing to a more extensive phenomenon. This pertains to many small theological changes in the MT of Samuel, or the shorter readings of the LXX translation of Ezekiel, that is consistently shorter than MT, etc., etc.

We believe that the individuals who were involved in the creation of the texts, that is, authors and editors, created the larger differences. On the other hand, scribes who copied the completed compositions created the smaller differences. They were involved in the more technical task of copying the text for their own and the next generation. However, the distinction between these two levels is unclear at both ends since early scribes considered themselves petty collaborators in the creation process of Scripture, while authors and editors also inserted small changes in the text.

Differences in small details pertain to textual analysis. Large differences pertain to the explanation or exegesis of the text as well as to literary analysis. Literary analysis refers to the totality of the literary composition, involving such areas of

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# The Folio

The Newsletter of  
The Ancient Biblical  
Manuscript Center

*shedding light*

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*documentary  
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*Judaism and  
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## Publications cont.

"And they did so." Following Orders Given by an Old Joshua." Pages 145-157 in Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse. Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, eds. (Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship; Atlanta: SBL, 2005).

"Reconstructing the Old Greek of Joshua." Pages 105-118 in The Septuagint in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity. W. Klaus and G. Wooden, eds. (SCS; Atlanta: SBL, forthcoming, 2005).

### Lectures

In Budapest, Hungary at the European Society of Woman in Theological Research Conference, August 2005: "The Name of God in the Tradition: A New Look at Old Manuscripts."

In Zurich, Switzerland at the Name of God Conference, July 2005: "The Pronunciation of the Names of God."

## James A. Sanders

### Publications

Review of Biblia Hebraica Quinta: Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth, Adrian Schenker et al., eds., (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004) in Review of Biblical Literature online at [www.bookreviews.org/BookDetail.asp?Title=4725](http://www.bookreviews.org/BookDetail.asp?Title=4725).



'Lecture canonique: histoire, canon et debuts du christianisme." Pages 67-94 in Andre Lacocque, ed., Guide des nouvelles lectures de la Bible. Traduction de Jean-Pierre Prevost, (Paris: Bayard, 2005).

Biblical Archaeology Society  
2005 Lecture Series on DVD,

The Bible in Context: How History and Archaeology are Changing the Way We Read the Bible, Disk 3: "How to Read the Bible Today."

Torah and Canon: Revised Edition, (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2005).

Professor Kristin De Troyer was named a member of the editorial board of *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* and continues to serve as a member of the *Society of Biblical Literature Council*.

Professor Kristin De Troyer is currently on sabbatical. She is working on the Old Greek Leviticus Codex from the Martin Schoyen Collection at the Septuaginta Unternehmen in Goettingen, Germany. Her little son David is attending Kindergarten in Goettingen.

### Lectures

In Jackson, Mississippi for the Annual Lemuel C. Summers Lecture at Millsaps College, March 1, 2005: "Ancient Texts and Modern Communities."

In Mobile, Alabama at the Exploreum Museum of Archaeology for the current Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit, March 2, 2005.

In Los Angeles, California at Shepherd University, spring and fall 2005: taught courses.

With Amy Jill Levine of Vanderbilt served as judge of the best articles in the 2002-2004 issues of *Bible Review*.

## Publications and Upcoming Events

Marvin A. Sweeney

### Publications

“What Was Zephaniah Thinking? The Book of Zephaniah in History and Manuscript,” Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, no. 47; (Claremont: IAC, 2005).

“King Manasseh of Judah and the Problem of Theodicy, in the Deuteronomistic History,” in *Good Kings and Bad Kings*, (ed., Lester L. Grabbe; LHB/OTS 393; London: T and T Clark, 2005).

“The Democratization of Messianism in Modern Jewish Thought,” in *Biblical Interpretation: History, Context and Reality*, (ed., Christine Helmer, with T.G. Petrey; SBLSym 26; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

*Form and Intertextuality in the Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature.* (PaT 45; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming, November 2005).

*The Prophetic Literature.* (Interpreting Biblical Texts; Nashville: Abingdon, November 2005).

Dr. Sweeney has been named as the new General Editor of the *Journal of Hebrew Studies*, published annually by the National Association of Professors of Hebrew.

### Lectures

In Jerusalem, Israel at the World Congress of Jewish Studies, August 3, 2005: Plenary Lecture entitled “Reading Prophetic Books.”

In Hong Kong, China at the Third Meeting of the Philarchisophia Society on Reading Classical Literature, August 17, 2005: “Empirical Observation as Revelation in the Prophetic Books.”

In San Pedro, California at Temple Beth El, September 12, 2005: “Apocalyptic Vision in the Book of Daniel.”

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature,



## Reading the Immanuel Prophecy

Timothy D. Finlay, Ph.D.  
Azusa Pacific University

In my dissertation, supervised by Marvin Sweeney to whom I owe many thanks, I show how the typical birth report (a short passage narrating that a woman gave birth to a child) in the Hebrew Bible has an introductory setting, a conception element, a birth element, a naming element, and an etiological element. The same is true of the Septuagint (LXX), and in fact there is a tendency for individual birth reports in the Septuagint to conform more closely to the typical than is the case in the Masoretic Text (MT).

A passage illustrating this is Genesis 29:31-30:24 which includes the birth reports of 11 sons and one daughter. In the MT, the birth reports of two sons omit the conception element, but in the LXX all 11 birth reports of sons contain them. In the LXX, all the birth reports concerning Bilhah and Zilpah have conception elements with the form “Bilhah, handmaid of Rachel, conceived” or “Zilpah, handmaid of Leah, conceived” but in the MT, the phrase “handmaid of Rachel” is missing from the conception element of Dan’s birth report. Likewise, in the MT the birth reports of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar and Zebulun say that the woman “bore a son to Jacob” but the other reports omit “to Jacob.” The LXX contains the phrase “to Jacob” in the birth reports of Reuben, Simeon and Joseph also. In my dissertation, I argue that the introductory settings and the precise formulations of the birth reports suggest a pecking order of Jacob’s sons in this passage: Joseph, Leah’s first four sons, Leah’s last two sons, Bilhah’s sons, Zilpah’s sons. The LXX’s tendency to keep forms similar partly obscures this order. Both the MT and the LXX clearly minimize the role of Dinah, however.

Outside this passage, other examples where the LXX includes a conception element not present in the MT are Genesis 4:25, Exodus 2:22, and 2 Samuel 12:24. Conversely, there are no instances where the MT contains a conception element that the LXX does not. The translation technique of the LXX is such that if it does not contain a conception element, neither did its *Vorlage* (the Hebrew text



Kristin De Troyer

### Publications

*Die Septuaginta und die Engestalt des Alten Testaments. Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte.* (UTB, 2599; German translation of “Rewriting the Sacred Text, What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible,” Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).

*Joshua.* (Papyri Graecae Schøyen, PSchøyen I, ed. Rosario Pintaudi.; Papyrologia Florentina, XXXV/Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, V; Firenze: Gonelli, 2005) Pages 79-145 + Plates XVI-XXVII.

*Reading the Present in the Qumran Library. The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretation.* Kristin DeTroyer and Armin Lange, eds., with the assistance of Katie M. Goetz and Susan Bond, (Symposium Series 30, Atlanta: SBL, forthcoming, November 2005).

“Building the Altar and Reading the Law: The Journeys of Joshua 8:30-35.” Pages 141-162 in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library. The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretation.*

“Reading the Past, the Present and the Future in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 195-201 in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library. The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretation.*

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it is translating).

This has significance for a point of dispute between Jews and Christians concerning the Immanuel prophecy. The natural reading of the MT of Isaiah 7:14 is as follows: “Behold, the young woman has conceived [Hebrew *himmeh ha’alma harah*] and will bear a son and will call his name ‘Immanuel.’” But the LXX reads “A virgin will be with child (*parthenos en gastris exei*) ...” The Gospel of Matthew then applies this passage to the birth of Jesus in Matthew 1:23. Jewish tradition holds that Isaiah 7:14 was fulfilled during Isaiah’s lifetime, and many Christians today would agree that the literal fulfillment did occur then and that Matthew 1:22-23 exemplifies a *sensus plenior* (“fuller sense”) in which a passage can be applied to Jesus in a different manner. Historically, however, most Christians have held that Isaiah 7:14 refers to Jesus’s birth alone.

Leaving aside the question of whether “virgin” is an appropriate rendition of *’alma*, another problem for this view is whether the term *harah* can refer to a future conception. Apart from Isaiah 7:14, the identical term appears in two other birth announcements: to Hagar in Genesis 16 and to the mother of Samson in Judges 13. In Genesis 16:11, the context demands a reading of “behold, you have conceived and will bear a son (Hebrew: *hinnak harah weyoladt ben*)” because Hagar conceived in verse 4. In Judges 13:5, the identical phrase *hinnak harah weyoladt ben* occurs but this time the context seems to be an angel or messenger addressing a barren woman (see verse 2). If this is the case, then *harah* would refer to a future conception. One would also expect the following birth report to include a conception element and perhaps an intercourse element as well. However, there is no intercourse element or conception element in either the MT or the LXX. Given the translation technique of the LXX mentioned above, we can assume that there was no such element in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX either. The text of Judges 13, then, points to a missing conception element somewhere and it is just as likely to occur before the messenger’s announcement in verse 5 as after it. Given that Genesis 16:11 yields clear evidence for referring to a past conception and that the evidence from Judges 13:5 is ambiguous, the natural reading of Isaiah 7:14 as “has conceived” or “is with child” is to be preferred. (f)

A revised version of Dr. Finlay’s dissertation, *The Birth Report Genre in the Hebrew Bible*, will be published by Mohr Siebeck in the *Forschungen zum Alten Testament II* series this fall.

### Septuagint cont.

investigation as tendencies, authorship, date, possible revisional layers, and the structure of the composition as a whole.

Our discussion focuses on large differences between the LXX and MT. Most of these major differences derive from the Hebrew text from which the LXX was translated. Others reflect the translator's freedom allowing him to make major changes. Literary analysis of the Hebrew Bible is

*...Our analysis starts off with the Greek texts in which the deviating text of the LXX is supported by Hebrew evidence from Qumran or elsewhere.*

interested only in examples of the first type, since they shed light on the background of the different Hebrew texts that were once circulating. But also the translator's interventions in the text are interesting, such as in the much shortened Greek translation of Job.

Our analysis starts off with Greek texts in which the deviating text of the LXX is supported by Hebrew evidence from Qumran or elsewhere. These examples are meant to illustrate the relevance of the LXX to the literary analysis of Hebrew Scripture.

#### A. Deut 32:43 in the LXX and 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>

The main text is that of MT. The LXX colons (poetical units) in the LXX additional to MT are printed in bold between "+" signs, while differences between the two are italicized. Agreements between the LXX and the Qumran scroll 4QDeut<sup>a</sup> are indicated:

43 (a) Be glad/ acclaim?, O nations, his people MT/ Be glad, O skies, with him LXX,

=4QDeut<sup>a</sup>

(b) + and let all the sons of God worship him.+ =4QDeut<sup>a</sup>

(c) + **Be glad, O nations, with his people,**

(d) **and let all the angels of God prevail for him.**+

(e) For he'll avenge the blood of his servants/ sons LXX

(f) wreak revenge on his foes/ and take revenge and repay the enemies with a sentence LXX

(g) + **and he will repay those who hate,** + =4QDeut<sup>a</sup>

(h) and cleanse the land of his people.

This festive ending of Moses' Song differs in the

various versions. According to MT, the poem concludes with an invocation calling upon the nations to rejoice with God upon his punishing Israel's enemies. On the other hand, according to additional colons of v 43 found only in the LXX and 4QDeut<sup>a</sup> the *heaven and divine beings* are called upon to rejoice with God. This formulation of the end of the Song immediately calls to mind its majestic beginning ("Give ear, O heavens, let me speak; Let the earth hear the words I utter."). It seems that these elements have been removed from MT in an act of theological censorship. One of the arguments in favor of this assumption is that the poetic structure of v 43 is incomplete in MT so that the additional colons are needed.

V 43 (b) and let all the sons of God worship him. This colon occurs also in the Qumran scroll 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>, while it is lacking in MT. We are faced with the unusual situation that a colon is represented twice in the LXX, once in 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>, and not at all in MT. Probably this phrase was removed from MT in an act of theological censorship when the phrase "sons of God" was considered an unwelcome polytheistic depiction of the world of the divine. This phrase was likewise removed from Deut 32:8 where MT reads "When the Most High gave nations their homes and set the divisions of man, He fixed the boundaries of peoples in relation to Israel's numbers." The presumed earlier text referring to 'the number of the sons of the God' 'El' is reflected in the LXX and the Qumran scroll 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>.

In Deuteronomy 32, the major difference between the texts thus consists of polytheistic details in the LXX translation and a Qumran scroll and the lack of such details in MT. MT has probably been censored, which undeniably indicates theological doctoring of the text, probably at a relatively late stage in the development of the book.

#### B. The LXX of Jeremiah

The differences between the various texts of Jeremiah undeniably indicate that the Greek translation reflects a composition rather different from MT that goes back to an early stage in the creation of that book. The LXX is shorter than MT by one-sixth. It lacks words, phrases, sentences, and entire sections that are found in MT. The shortness of this text was always considered enigmatic throughout the scholarly inquiry of the Greek text, but less so at present since it has been identified also in the fragmentary Qumran scrolls 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup>. Likewise, the LXX deviates from the order of MT in several sections and chapters.

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### Septuagint cont.

The differences between the two text forms are not characteristic of changes inserted by scribes. Rather, these changes were created at an early stage, when the book of Jeremiah was still being written, and were coincidentally preserved in the texts that are known from antiquity. The differences between the LXX and MT are characteristic of different editions or recensions such as were often created in antiquity of a composition by an author or editor. The LXX and the two Qumran scrolls probably contain the earlier and shorter edition, while MT presents the expanded and later edition.

*...Most of the expansions by MT are based on ideas or details in the context, stylistic considerations, theology and other concerns of the reviser.*

Most of the expansions by MT are based on ideas or details in the context, stylistic considerations, theology and other concerns of the reviser.

The evidence of the LXX relating to the different compositional stages of the book is well visible in chapter 10 where the shorter (and earlier) text included in the LXX and the Qumran scroll 4QJer<sup>b</sup> and the longer one in MT. The prophecy contained in MT contains both mockery of the idols and praise of the Lord. The disdain of the idols refers to their not being able to walk, speak, and move around, as well as to the fact that they are man-made. The mockery is included in vv 2-5, 8-9, 11, while the remaining verses 6-7 and 10 praise the Lord. The verses containing this praise are lacking in the LXX, as well as in 4QJer<sup>b</sup>, dating to the first half of the second century BCE.

It is often assumed that the shorter text of the LXX and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> reflects the original text of this chapter, and that the tradition behind MT reflects a later tradition in which the praise of the Lord has been added as a counterweight against the futility of the idols.

When comparing the two traditions, we have to turn to logics. What is more logical? The assumption that the praise of the Lord was added in the text edition of MT, or the assumption that these elements were deleted in the text edition represented by the LXX and the Qumran scroll? In the development of Scripture, usually elements were added, not deleted, and it would be more plausible that verses of praise were added rather than omitted. As a result, MT reflects a secondary, not a primary layer in the development of this chapter.

The main text is that of MT. The verses lacking in the LXX and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> are written in parenthesis (slight differences are indicated by italics):

1. Hear the word which the Lord has spoken to you, O House of Israel.
2. Thus said the Lord: Do not learn to go the way of the nations, and do not be dismayed by portents in the sky; let the nations be dismayed by them!
3. For the laws of the nations are delusions; for it is the work of a craftsman's hands. He cuts down a tree in the forest with an ax,
4. He adorns it with silver and gold, He fastens it with nails and hammer, So that it does not totter.

5. (a) *They are like a scarecrow in a cucumber patch,* (b) they cannot speak. They have to be carried, for they cannot walk. Be not afraid of them, for they can do no harm; nor is it in them to do any good.

6. **(O Lord, there is none like You! You are great and Your name is great in power.**

7. **Who would not revere You, O King of the nations? For that is Your due, since among all the wise of the nations and among all their royalty there is none like You.**

8. **But they are both dull and foolish; their doctrine is but delusion; it is a piece of wood,**

9. Silver beaten flat, that is brought from Tarshish, And gold from Uphaz, the work of a craftsman and the goldsmith's hands; their clothing is blue and purple, all of them are the work of skilled men.

10. **(But the Lord is truly God: He is a living God, The everlasting King. At His wrath, the earth quakes, and nations cannot endure His rage.)**

11. Thus shall you say to them: Let the gods, who did not make heaven and earth, perish from the earth and from under these heavens.

**The sequence of the LXX is vv 5a, 9, 5b.**

Additional chapters and sections treated in the full text of the paper are Jeremiah 27 and 43; 1 Sam 2:1-11 (the Song of Hannah); the genealogy in Genesis 11; and the end of Joshua in the LXX. When comparing the LXX with the other ancient versions one notes that beyond MT, the LXX is the single most significant source of information pertaining to the editorial development of the biblical books. No such information is included in any other ancient version, while some material is reflected in the Samaritan Pentateuch and similar manuscripts from Qumran.

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