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Our investigation is at an end, but it is anything but complete; to be complete it must include a study of the idea of the city of God in ancient Oriental literature as well as of the influence of Songs of Zion and their theology on the O.T. and the N.T. and finally over non-Biblical literature; such an investigation will demand a special book.

Rambles in Septuagint Lexicography

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Students of the Old Testament are sadly aware of the dearth of adequate lexical aids for studying the Greek version of the Old Testament. The Lexicon of J. F. Schleusner in five volumes (Leipzig, 1820-21) still has great value for Septuagint studies and cannot be ignored as an antiquated piece of work. It is written in Latin, the universal language of scholarship in his day, but unfortunately in the present age, when many students of divinity have small Greek, less Hebrew, and no Latin, it remains a sealed book. This work, however, has recently been reprinted, and accordingly this monument of erudition will be available to scholars for a number of years to come, and incidentally it may encourage the study of Latin by theological students.

If a student, however, cannot read Latin and uses Schleusner in his researches, he will not be without help in the study of the Septuagint. The *Concordance* to the Septuagint, edited by E. Hatch and R. A. Redpath (Oxford, 1897–1906), consists of two volumes of 1,504 pages with a Supplement of 272 pages. This work enables the student to assemble the evidence for the translation of a certain Hebrew word or root in various books of the Old Testament, and accordingly it can frequently take the place of a Septuagint lexicon. Occasional help in meanings can be found in the notes of F. Field's edition of the *Fragments of Origen's Hexapla*, two volumes (Oxford, 1875). Naturally, we can find a great deal of aid in Liddell and

Henry Snyder Gehman [1888-1981], "Rambles in Septuagint lexicography," Indian Journal of Theology 14.2 (April-June 1965): 90-101

⁷⁰ Another variant is 'sources'; but the one accepted here seems to be more suited to the context: the citizens of a new city are inclined to think of their new homes and rejoice ! Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 603.

Scott's Greek Lexicon (New edition, 1940), but frequently it is unsatisfactory. Once in a while definitions may be available in E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (146 B.C.-A.D. 1100) (Boston, 1870), but generally the student turns away in disappointment. From time to time one may refer to H. Stephanus (1528–98), Thesaurus Graecae Linguae (Paris), and to META AEZIKON THE EAAHNIKHE Dēmētrakos (Athens, 1933, 9 volumes, pp. 8056+).

Since the Greek of the Septuagint represents the KOLVY of the third to the first century B.C., we cannot ignore the evidence of the papyri, and in this connexion we have F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden ... (Berlin, 1925-31) and numerous word lists in various publications of papyri. Occasional help is found in J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-literary Sources (London, 1914-29). Since the Septuagint had a definite influence upon the language of the New Testament, we cannot ignore New Testament lexicography. In this connexion mention should be made of G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen); W. Bauer, Griechisch-Deutches Testament (Stuttgart, 1933-Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur (4th edition, 1952) and the English translation made by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (University of Chicago Press, 1957). Further useful tools are W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, A Concordance to the Greek Testament (Edinburgh, 1897) and A. Schmoller, Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament (8th edition, Stuttgart, 1949). Occasionally a nonclassical usage in the Septuagint may be represented in the Church Fathers, and in this case some help is available in G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Fasc. 1, Oxford, 1961. The Lexicon of Hesychius gives numerous suggestions, and from time to time Suidas should be consulted.

There are times, however, when it is necessary to compare the Septuagint with the Masoretic Text in order to arrive at a reasonable interpretation. This is especially true when the idiom of the Septuagint is quite Hebraic, but this does not justify us in calling the vernacular of the Septuagint a Jewish-Greek dialect. As a result of his studies the author has come to the conclusion that the Vorlage of the Greek translators in many cases was closer to the Masoretic Text than the emendations of various commentators and the notes in the Biblia Hebraica of R. Kittel would lead us to think. The Septuagint contains many literalisms, and some of these may imply that the Greek interpreters had a high regard for the exact letter, and some of the crudities of rendering may have such an origin. Yet surprisingly we often meet in the same verse or adjacent verses both literalism and extreme freedom of translation. At times the reader of the Septuagint is reminded of the swing of a pendulum from one end of the arc to the other. Sometimes it appears that the interpreter was working under a tension between literalism and freedom of rendering. In this way a certain balance

of approach was maintained by the translator, but in this connexion we should always observe the atmosphere of freedom in the Septuagint. We have good reason to believe that what the interpreters actually had in mind was to reproduce the sense of the original, even though they often were not facile translators. There are difficulties of rendering from one language to another, and beyond any doubt the Alexandrians as pioneers in Biblical translation had to face numerous problems.

For a number of years the writer conducted seminars on the Septuagint and Septuagint lexicography, and accordingly he began to compile a dictionary of Septuagint Greek. For some years, with his graduate students, he was able to make substantial progress on his venture, and most of the work completed is now on microfilm and deposited in the Speer Library of the Princeton Theological Seminary. Unfortunately for the progress of this work, he was forced to retire for reasons of age, and in consequence of having no students any longer his work has been severely retard-Beginning at this point we shall consider various phenomena ed. of the vocabulary of the Septuagint as samples of what confronts the lexicographer¹ but for reasons of space the range of citations will have to be limited.

Obviously there is no need of discussing words whose meaning follows the normal classical usage or of considering transliterations and proper names. A number of words, however, may be chosen and placed in categories which reflect the character of the Septuagint vocabulary. Manifestly such a classification is not always rigid, and there are cases where a word could easily be transferred from one section to another. In discussing various words in their Septuagint sense, we shall have to bear in mind that the Seventy were pioneers in Biblical translation. The Greek tongue had to be adapted to express a realm of thought foreign to the Hellenic culture and the Greek religions, and consequently the translators had to mould the language to render the concepts of the Old Testament; in many instances this involved them in introducing vestiges of Hebrew syntax into Greek, in employing Greek words in a Hebraic sense, and giving connotations to certain vocables which

66 I Samuel', Journal of the American Oriental Society, 70 (1950), pp. 292-296. Gehman, Henry S., 'The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek', Vetus Testamentum, I (1951), pp. 81-90. Gehman, Henry S., 'Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis', *ibid.*, 3 (1953), pp. 141-148. Gehman, Henry S., ''Aγuos in the Septuagint, and its Relation to the Hebrew Original', *ibid.*, 4 (1954), pp. 337-348. Cf. also, Reider, Joseph, Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila, Philadelphia, 1916. Eritech Cherles T. The Artific Anthronomous of the Greek Pentatauch

Fritsch, Charles T., The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch, Princeton, 1943.

Gard, Donald H., The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph, Series VIII, 1952.

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¹ Gehman, Henry S., 'The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15', Journal of Biblical Literature, 68 (1949), pp. 231-240.

Gehman, Henry S., 'Exegetical Methods Employed by the Greek Translator of 1 Samuel', Journal of the American Oriental Society, 70 (1950), pp. 292–296.

they did not have before. Generally, however, such a transformation or extension of the Greek vocabulary was not unreasonable and in many instances was developed under semantic principles.

In this survey of examples gleaned from the writer's collection of Septuagint words, it may be appropriate to commence with examples that have preserved a clear Hebrew usage; we may call them literalisms. Such are some in this category:

 $d\nu\eta\rho$, used in a distributive sense like 'ish: Judges 9:55, 'And they departed every one to his own place', $\kappa a i dn\eta\lambda\theta o\nu$ (A) [$\kappa a i \epsilon^{i} no\rho\epsilon i\theta\eta\sigma a\nu$ (B)] $d\nu\eta\rho\epsilon is \tau o\nu \tau \sigma no\nu a i \tau \sigma 0$. 2 Kings 3:25, 'they cast every man his stone', $\epsilon^{i}\rho\rho\mu\phi a i a v\eta\rho \tau o\nu \lambda(\theta o\nu$. Neh. 4:12, 'and the builders each one', $\kappa a i o i \kappa o \delta i \mu o i a v\eta\rho$.

 $d\pi \delta$, the preposition in sense of 'toward'. In this case examples will first be chosen where MT has the *he*-terminative: Joshua 17:10; 18:13, 14, Neghba, $d\pi \delta \lambda \iota \beta \delta \sigma_{\beta}$; 18:12, 18, Sāponā, $d\pi \delta \beta \delta \rho \rho a$. In this usage $d\pi \delta$ may also represent Min: Gen. 13:11, 'and Lot journeyed Miqedem (eastward)', where $d\pi \delta d\nu a \tau \sigma \lambda d\nu a$ paparently has the same meaning.

άποκαλύπτω το ώτίον (ούς), 'uncover the ear' in the sense of 'to inform'. This idiom is found in 1 Sam. 9:15; 20:2, 13; 2 Sam. 7:27; 1 Chron. 17:25, $drotyrv\mu\mu$; Ruth 4:4. This meaning is obvious and caused no difficulty to a Greek reader who had no Semitic background.

δίδωμι to express a wish like Hebrew *Mi-yiten* (Oh that) is found in various books: Num. 11:29, 'Would that all the LORD's people were prophets', καὶ τίς δώη πάντα τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου προφήταs. Deut. 5:29, 'Oh that they had such a mind', τίς δώσει οὖτως εἶναι τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Other examples of the same idiom are found in Judges 9:29; 2 Sam. 18:33 (19:1); Job 19:23; 29:2, τίς ἄν με θείη; Ps. 13 (14):7; 52 (53):7; 54 (55):7. In Job 6:8, where MT means literally: 'Oh that my request might come', G reads εἰ γὰρ δώη καὶ ἔλθοι μου ἡ αἴτησις.

 ϵi (if). The use of Hebrew Im in a negative oath has been faithfully reproduced by ϵi : 1 Sam. 17:55, Abner said: 'As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell' (Im-yāda'ati: if I know I do not know, or I cannot tell): in the Hexapla this is rendered ϵi otda. 1 Sam. 19:6, 'As the LORD liveth', Im-yumath, ϵi arobaveîrau (he shall not die). No further examples of this are necessary. It may be observed, however, that ϵi may occur, even though there is no equivalent in MT: 1 Kings 1:52, 'there shall not fall a hair of him to the earth' (Lo'-yipol); here in G the protasis is introduced by ϵar and ϵi as a negative introduces the apodosis.

The preposition $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ in many instances assumes in quite literal fashion the various meanings of b: 1 Kings 8: 24, 'thou speakest with (b) thy mouth and has fulfilled it with (b) thy hands'; here b denoting means or instrument is rendered in both cases by $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$. Job 40: 29, in connection with leviathan, we read: 'Wilt thou play with him (bô) as with a bird?' The G follows this literally, $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ a $\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\rho}$. The preposition b denoting place where is rendered by $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$: Gen. 14: 13, 'Now he was dwelling by (b) the terebinths of Mamre'; in G this is $\epsilon^{\nu} \tau_{\hat{H}} \delta \rho \nu i \tau_{\hat{H}} Ma\mu\beta\rho \eta$. Accompaniment denoted by b is also expressed by ϵ^{ν} ; Gen. 9:4, 'only flesh with the life thereof'; $\pi \lambda \eta \nu \kappa \rho \epsilon as \epsilon^{\nu} a \ell \mu a \tau \iota \psi \nu \chi \eta s$. In connexion with an oath b is used: 1 Sam. 17:43, 'And the Philistine cursed David Belohāw', where G has $\epsilon^{\nu} \tau \sigma \hat{\iota} s \theta \epsilon \sigma \hat{\iota} s \epsilon \delta \tau \sigma \hat{\upsilon}_s$

Certain verbs are modified by a phrase introduced by the preposition b, a case of Hebrew syntax: 1 Kings 10:9 (thy God), who delighted in thee (*Hāpes* $b^{e}k\bar{a}$) is rendered by $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\sigmao\ell$: in this case the verb carries over a special meaning from the Hebrew. The verb exdering as a rendering of Bahar should also be considered in this connexion: 1 Sam. 16:8, Gam-baze lo-bahar YHWH is idiomatically translated ovde τουτον εξελέξατο Κύριος, but in verse 9, where the same sentence occurs, we have $\partial v \tau o \dot{v} \tau \omega$. In 1 Kings 8: 16 both idioms are found in the same verse: $o \partial_{\kappa} \epsilon \xi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \xi \dot{a} \mu \eta \nu$ έν πόλει ... και έξελεξάμην έν Ίερουσαλήμ ... και έξελεξάμην τον $\Delta avei\delta$. Thus we have Hebraic literalism and good Greek in the same verse or in adjacent verses. In 1 Kings 8:44, the Hebrew idiom occurs with attraction, however, of the relative to the antecedent: obov $\tau \hat{\eta}_{S} \pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega_{S} \hat{\eta}_{S} \hat{\epsilon} \xi \epsilon \lambda \hat{\epsilon} \xi \omega \hat{\epsilon} \nu a \psi \tau \hat{\eta}$ (toward the city which thou didst choose). There should be observed here also the use of $\delta\delta\delta\nu$ for *Derek* in the sense of 'toward': this is a frequent idiom. The use of b with nouns of measure after a numeral has occasionally been transferred to the Greek: 1 Kings 6:6(2); 7:10(23); Ezek. 40:5, where we have $\epsilon \nu \pi \eta \chi \epsilon \iota$.

 $E\xi a i \rho \omega$ is a literal translation of $N\bar{a}sa^{i}$ (to pull up stakes, set out, depart); Gen. 35:5, Wayisā (and they set out, journeyed): $\kappa a \lambda \delta \xi \hat{\eta} \rho \epsilon \nu I \sigma \rho a \eta \lambda$. In Exod. 14:19 the same verb is used in connexion with the Angel of the LORD and also the pillar of cloud. There are numerous examples of this usage in the Book of Numbers, and it is a well-established idiom in the Septuagint. Cf. also Jer. 4:7, 'a lion has set out, had gone forth', which is rendered $\delta \xi \hat{\eta} \rho \epsilon \nu \kappa a \lambda \delta \xi \epsilon \nu$.

This use of $\xi \epsilon a i \rho \omega$, however, should not be too strange because $a \pi a i \rho \omega$ (a frequent rendering of $N \bar{a} s a^{*}$) in classical Greek is applied to the departure of ships or of an army.

έχθές καὶ τρίτην (ἡμέραν) is a literal rendering of Tenôl Shilshom (yesterday (and) three days ago = formerly). In 1 Sam. 21:5 (6) the expression means 'about these three days', or 'for some time'. In the sense of 'in time past', 'heretofore', 'before time' the expression is found in 1 Sam. 4:7; 10:11; 14:21; 1 Chron. 11:2. The same meaning is expressed in Ruth 2:11 by ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης. In Gen. 31:2, 5 ὡς ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν signifies 'as formerly'; the same expression is found in 1 Macc. 9:44, where we have no Hebrew original extant. In 1 Sam. 19:7 ὡσεί precedes this expression. In 2 Kings 13:5 καθώς precedes ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης; in Susanna 1:15 the genitive is also used after καθώς: ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης; in susanna 1:45 the genitive is also used after καθώς: ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας. With καθά (Joshua 4:18) and καθάπερ (Exod. 5:7, 14), where the accusative is used, the expression means 'as aforetime, as heretofore'. προστιθημι as a translation of yāsaph (add) may be employed to denote the idea of repetition and be rendered 'again', as in Gen. 4:2 watoseph lāledeth, 'and again she bore his brother', καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ; 8:21, 'I will not again curse', οὐ προσθήσω ἔτι του καταράσασθαι. The same idiom is found, e.g. in Gen. 18:29; Judges 3:12; 1 Sam. 3:21. In Gen. 38:5 Watoseph ôd wateled, 'and she yet bore a son'; in this case G employs the participle: καὶ προσθεῖσα ἔτι ἔτεκεν υἰόν. This verb may also be employed to render shub: 2 Kings 1:11 wayyāshob wayyishlah 'and again he sent', προσθετο...καὶ ἀπέστειλεν. It is probable, however, that this idiom would not have caused trouble to a reader who did not know Hebrew.

The other verb in Hebrew to express 'again' is shub (return): $G \epsilon^{\pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon \phi \omega}$. A few examples will suffice: Deut. 30:9, $y \bar{a} shub \dots$ lasus 'will again rejoice', $\epsilon^{\pi \iota \tau \rho \epsilon \phi \epsilon \iota} \dots \epsilon^{\nu \delta \phi \rho a \nu \theta \bar{\eta} \nu a \iota}$. Here G has the same construction as MT. When shub is followed by a finite verb, the same construction is adopted by G:2 Kings 13:25 wayyāshob... wayyiqah, $\kappa a i \epsilon^{\pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon \phi \epsilon \nu} \dots \kappa a i \epsilon^{\lambda} a \beta \epsilon \nu$. The same construction is met in 2 Kings 21:3 wayyāshob wayyiben' and he built again', $\kappa a i \epsilon^{\pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon \phi \epsilon \nu} \dots Cf. 1$ Sam. 3:6, where MT has the verb yāsaph.

 $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \sigma \delta s$ a translation of $sh\bar{a}lish$ (adjutant, captain) is a literalism, and is to be understood in the Hebrew sense. In 1 Kings 10:25 (9:22) και $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \delta l$ αν $\tau \delta t$ a rendering of $w^{e}sh\bar{a}lish\bar{a}w$ is a Hexaplaric addition. In 2 Chron. 8:9 the word is translated δυνατοί; this shows that the translators knew what the Hebrew word signified. In Ezek. 23:15 occurs *Mare'* shālishim kullām, 'all of them looking like captains (or officers)'; this is rendered in G öψιs $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \eta$ πάντων. In verse 23 shālishim is translated $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \sigma \delta s$. In this way the G gave technical meaning to a literalistic rendering.

 $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho$ to denote means or instrument as translation of $y\bar{a}d$ generally seems to be a facile rendering, and it may be not too far afield in connexion with *Massā*' (burden) rendered $\lambda\eta\mu\mu a$ (commission received) as in Mal. 1:1, $\epsilon\nu$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\lambda$ $d\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda ov$ $a\dot{v}\tau\circ\hat{v}$. We meet, however, a Hebrew literalism in 1 Kings 8:53, where God spoke $B^{e}yad$ Moshe, $\epsilon\nu$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\lambda$ δούλου σου Μωυση.

The word $y\bar{a}d$, however, is also used in the sense of monument, and $\chi\epsilon i\rho$ is adopted as a rendering of this meaning: 1 Sam. 15:12 kai $\dot{a}\nu\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\ a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\varphi}\ \chi\epsilon\hat{\epsilon}\rho a$ (monument). The same sense occurs in 2 Sam. 18:18, where *Massebeth* ($\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$) is called Absalom's monument ($\chi\epsilon i\rho$ ' $A\beta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\mu$).

There are numerous cases, moreover, where a Greek word received a Hebrew meaning, but these cannot always be called literalisms, and probably it should be said that they have received an extension of meaning or semantic development, or an interpretation through a confusing or throwing together of different Hebrew roots that have the same radicals. Accordingly such examples may be placed in a separate category.

 $\frac{d}{dy}\chi_{i\sigma\tau\epsilon}\dot{u}\omega$ (be next or near of kin, be heir-at-law). In Num. 36:8 as a translation of $y\bar{a}rash$ (possess) it acquired the same sense.

It also translates $g\bar{a}'al$ (redeem, act as kinsman), but there is a second root $g\bar{a}'al$ (defile). In Ezra 2:62, 'And they were excluded as unclean ($y^eg\bar{o}'alu$) from the priesthood'. G in the context has to mean the same thing: $\kappa al \eta \gamma \chi \iota \sigma \tau e^{i\theta} \eta \sigma a\nu a \pi \partial \tau \eta s$ $ie\rho a \tau e^{ias}$. It may be that the preposition $a\pi o'$ helped to clarify the sense. The same expression occurs in Neh. 7:64. The interpretation of the verb was carried over to the noun $a\gamma \chi \iota \sigma \tau e^{ia}$ (close kinship, right of inheritance) as a translation of go'alim (defilement). In Neh. 13:29 the noun received the sense of 'defilement', and in a negative meaning led to 'exclusion from the right of inheritance'.

dra β ολή (mound of earth, bank) in 1 Chron. 19:4 is employed as a euphemism for *Mipsāā* (posterior, buttock) $ξωs \tau \eta s$ dra β ολ ηs , 'as far as the hump'.

ἀνάστημα ἀνάστεμα (height, protuberance, prominence, erection, building, eruption). This word is used to translate $y^{e}qum\bar{a}$ (substance, existence, living thing), Gen. 7:23, πῶν τὸ ἀνάστημα. In verse 4 of the same chapter this Hebrew word is rendered ἐξανάστασις (literally, 'rising'); there A reads ἀνάστημα. In the context both ἀνάστημα and ἐξανάστασις have taken over the Hebrew sense 'living being', 'living thing'. The **G** translated the root of the Hebrew literally.

ἀνατολή (rising). The verb ἀνατέλλω (rise) has also the sense 'to spring out' in connexion with plants, whence the meaning 'shoot' for the noun was developed by the translators as a rendering of semah (shoot). The root and the verb are brought together in Zech. 6:12 'Aνατολή (semah) ὅνομα αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ (yismāh). In Zech. 3:8 'I will bring forth my servant the Shoot (semah)' which G renders ἐγὼ ἀγω τὸν δουλον μου 'Aνατολήν. Thus through a literalism a Hebrew meaning was transferred to a Greek noun.

 $\dot{a}\pi\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega$ (shut off, exclude from, shut up, close) corresponds in meaning to $s\bar{a}gar$, which in the Qal means 'close, shut'. The Piel is found in 1 Sam. 17:46; 24:19; 26:8; 2 Sam. 18:28. In all these cases $\dot{a}\pi\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega$ like the Hebrew means 'deliver up'. In 1 Sam. 23:11, 12 the Hiphil is used three times; in G, which lacks verse 12, the verb $\dot{a}\pi\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega$ in the passive is used twice in the sense of 'deliver'. The Greek verb clearly received an extension of meaning from the Hebrew. In this connexion should be considered $\sigma\nu\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega$ (shut, hem in, close) as a translation of $s\bar{a}gar$ in the Hiphil: Joshua 2:5A; Amos 1:6, 9; Obad. 1:14; Ps. 30 (31):9; 77 (78):50, 62. In all these cases this verb has appropriated the sense of the Hebrew, 'to deliver, give over.'

 $\dot{a}\pi o\sigma\tau o\lambda \dot{\eta}$ (sending off, or away, dispatching, payment, or tribute). In 1 Kings 4:32 (9:16) we read that the Pharaoh gave to his daughter Gezer as *shilluhim* which means 'sending away', 'parting gift', 'dowry'. In making a literal translation **G** gave the word the sense of 'dowry', which is a logical semantic development.

apovpa (tilled or arable land, earth, ground, land) in three passages is a rendering of 'eshel (tamarisk): Gen. 21:33, where

Abraham planted a tamarisk tree: $\epsilon \phi \dot{\nu} \tau \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \epsilon \nu \dot{A} \beta \rho a \dot{a} \mu \dot{a} \rho \sigma \upsilon \rho a \nu$. In 1 Sam. 22:6, Saul was sitting at Gibeah 'under the tamarisk tree', $\Sigma a \sigma \vartheta \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \dot{a} \theta \eta \tau \sigma \dots \dot{\upsilon} \pi \dot{\sigma} \tau \eta \nu \ddot{a} \rho \sigma \upsilon \rho a \nu$; 31:13, 'and buried them (the bones) under the tamarisk tree in Jabesh': $\kappa a \lambda \dot{\theta} \dot{a} \pi \tau \sigma \upsilon \sigma \nu \dot{\upsilon} \pi \dot{\sigma} \tau \eta \nu$ $\ddot{a} \rho \sigma \upsilon \rho a \nu \tau \eta \nu \dot{a} \beta \epsilon \ell s$. This use of $\ddot{a} \rho \sigma \upsilon \rho a$ is not recorded in our lexica; Josephus, Antiq. 1, 6, 12, 4; 6, 14, 8 took the latter two occurrences as a place name, but in the context it is clear that the translator had in mind a certain kind of tree.

 $\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta$ is the translation of *shālom*, which is quite extensive in its meanings: 'completeness, soundness, welfare, health, prosperity, peace'. In the **G** $\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta$ has taken over all the meanings of *shālom* beyond those referring to the absence of strife or war. In a number of instances *shālom* has a very comprehensive sense and cannot be limited to one shade of meaning.

In the Aaronic benediction (Num. 6:26) $\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta$ includes all the blessings of God, his protection, and favour and welfare, as well as the peace of God that passeth all understanding (Phil. 4:7). The sense of completeness in *shālom* is taken over by $\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta$ in reference to death and refers to the satisfaction of having lived a full life as regards longevity; this includes an inner satisfaction or peace, an undisturbed mind: Gen. 15:15, Abraham; 1 Kings 2:6, with a negative, Joab; 2 Kings 22:20, Josiah. Elpήνη is also applied to freedom from worry in the affairs of this life; it refers to a state of having the assurance that things are all right: 1 Sam. 1:17, Eli said to Hannah, $\Pi o \rho \epsilon v o \nu \epsilon is \epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta \nu$; 2 Sam. 15:9, David to Absalom, $\beta \delta \delta i \xi \epsilon \epsilon i s \epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta \nu$; 2 Kings 4:23, the Shunamite wanted to see Elisha, and in answer to her husband's questions, she replied: shalom, $\epsilon i \rho \eta \nu \eta$ (It will be well).

The word $\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\eta$ is also closely allied to salvation; in this connexion should be noted (Ezek. 34:25) $\delta ia\theta\eta\kappa\eta\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\etas$ (a covenant of peace) which brings safety and security. In fact $\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\eta$ may be parallel to salvation, as in Isa. 52:7, where $a\kappa o\eta\nu\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\etas$, $a\gamma a\theta a$ and $\sigma \omega\tau\eta\rho ia\nu$ are parallel. In Ps. 37 (38):4 iaous (healing, remedy) and $\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\eta$ are parallel; here $\epsilon i\rho\eta\nu\eta$ clearly means 'health'.

From this usage of $\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$ we note that asking about a person's shālom ($\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$) means to inquire about his health or welfare (Judges 18:15B). In 2 Sam. 18:29, 32 David asked the messenger whether there is $\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$ to Absalom, i.e. whether he is well or safe. In 2 Kings 4:26 Elisha sent Gehazi to ask the Shunamite whether there is shālom ($\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$) to her, to her husband, and to the child. The reply was shālom ($\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$), 'Health', or 'Yes, it is well'. 'To greet' or to 'salute', as in Hebrew, is expressed by $\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\eta\nu$ (ask) plus the direct personal object plus (r a) $\epsilon is \epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta\nu$: e.g. 1 Sam. 10:4. Eiph\eta\eta is widely used in connexion with greeting or saluting. From this we come to the expression $L^{\epsilon} shālom$ ($\epsilon is \epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta\nu$), which may mean 'to visit'. In 2 Kings 10:13 Jehu asked the kinsmen of Anaziah: 'Who are ye?' Their reply was: $\kappa ai \kappa a \tau \epsilon \beta \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon is$ $\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta\nu\eta \tau \alpha \nu vi \omega \tau \sigma 0 \beta a \sigma i \lambda \epsilon \omega s$: 'And we came to salute (or visit) the royal princes.' In this way the translators appropriated all the meanings of shālom for $\epsilon i\rho\eta\eta\eta$.

έξόδιον (literally, 'outgoing', whence it came to mean 'finale of a tragedy', 'tragical conclusion'; also 'gateway' in the papyri). In the G, however, the word received a connexion with the Exodus, and so the solemn assembly (*A*'sereth) on the seventh day of the celebration of the Passover was translated έξόδιον (Deut. 16:8). In like manner the solemn assembly (*A*'sereth) on the eighth day of Tabernacles was called έξόδιον (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35; Neh. 8:18). At the dedication of the Temple by Solomon (2 Chron. 7:9) the solemn assembly (*A*'sereth) on the eighth day is called έξόδιον. In these cases έξόδιον (going out) definitely signifies 'solemn assembly'.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau i\theta\eta\mu\iota$ (put upon, impose, middle, make an attempt upon, attack). Qāshar in the Qal means 'bind', 'conspire'; in the Hithpael, 'conspire together'. The noun *qesher* has the sense of 'conspiracy'. In 2 Chron. 23:13 Athaliah said: *qesher*, *qesher* (Treason, Treason!) which G renders $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nuo\iota$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ (you are committing treason). The Qal of *qāshar* is employed to express a conspiracy against the Kings Zechariah and Amon (2 Chron. 24:21; 33:24, 25) where G translates with the middle of $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$. In 2 Chron. 25:27 in the case of Amaziah, 'they conspired a conspiracy against him'; here G also has a cognate accusative: $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\ell\theta\epsilon\nu\tauo$ $a\dot{v}\tau\hat{\omega}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$. In 2 Chron. 24:25, 26, where the servants conspired against Joash, the Hithpael is used: in this case the Greek could do no better than use the middle of $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\taui\theta\eta\mu\iota$. In these cases the semantic of $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\taui\theta\eta\mu\iota$ with the sense of 'conspire' is clear.

Another meaning of $i \pi i \theta \epsilon \sigma i s$ is found in Ezek. 23:11: 'she was more corrupt in her $a'gh\bar{a}bh\bar{a}$ (doting, erotic attention, sensual desire, lust)'; G: $\delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \epsilon \pi l \theta \epsilon \sigma u s a v \tau \eta s$. In this case $\epsilon \pi l \theta \epsilon \sigma u s$ (placing upon, attention) acquired the sense of 'erotic attention', 'sensual desire', 'lust'. In this connexion may be considered $\epsilon \pi i \tau i \theta \eta \mu \iota$, which in the middle may mean 'apply oneself to'. In a pejorative sense, however, as a translation of $a'gh \bar{a}bh \bar{a}$ it signifies 'pay erotic attention to', 'to dote upon' (Ezek. 23: 5-20). $\epsilon \tau \sigma i \mu a \zeta \omega$ (prepare). The Hebrew root kun means in the

έτοιμάζω (prepare). The Hebrew root kun means in the Niphal, 'to be set up, established, fixed', and in the Hiphil, 'to establish, set up, make ready, prepare'. In other words, there is an overlapping of two senses. In 1 Kings 2:12 we read: 'And was established (watikon) his kingdom greatly.' This is rendered by G και ήτοιμάσθη ή βασιλεία αὐτοῦ σφοδρα. The verb here in Greek

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has to be understood in the Hebrew sense. In 1 Kings 2:24 $H^{\epsilon}kinani$ (he hath established me) is rendered by $\frac{1}{2}rol\mu a\sigma\epsilon\nu \mu\epsilon$. It appears that in these examples $\frac{1}{\epsilon}rol\mu\dot{a}\zeta\omega$ has received an extension of meaning, and is to be understood in the Hebrew sense. The adjective $\frac{1}{\epsilon}rol\mu\sigmas$ as a translation of the Niphal participle of $k\hat{u}n$ means 'established'; e.g., the throne of David (1 Kings 2:45); the throne of God (Ps. 92 (93):2); the human heart (Ps. 56 (57):8; 107 (108):2).

πιστός may be a rendering of the Niphal participle of 'Amen, as such it takes over the Hebrew meaning: 'made firm, sure, lasting, confirmed, established'. In connexion with olkos it may mean 'sure': house of a priest (1 Sam. 2:35); of David (1 Sam. 25:28); of Solomon (1 Kings 11:38). A prophet may be 'confirmed' or 'established' (1 Sam. 3:20): $\delta \tau \iota$ πιστός Σαμουήλ eis προφήτην: 'that established was Samuel to be a prophet.' An event may be 'established to take place', 'determined' (Hos. 5:9): έδειξα πιστά: 'I have shown established things', i.e. they will take place in the future. The adjective πιστός may also be used in a pejorative sense (Deut. 28:59): νόσους πονηράς και πιστάς: 'diseases dire and sure', i.e. lasting, or of long continuance.

If, however, the verb in Hebrew is perfect or imperfect, the finite verb is also used in G: 2 Sam. 7:16, $\pi \iota \sigma \tau \omega \theta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu a \iota \delta \sigma \delta \kappa \sigma s a \vartheta \tau \sigma \vartheta$; 'his house and his kingdom shall be established, or made sure.'

In this connexion should be noted the verb $\epsilon \mu \pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \upsilon \omega$. A word play of the verb 'Amen in the Hiphil (Ha'aminu) and the Niphal (Te'amenu) is taken over by G; 2 Chron. 20: 20 $\epsilon \mu \pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \sigma \tau \epsilon$ $\epsilon \nu \kappa \upsilon \rho \iota \omega \Theta \epsilon \tilde{\omega} \upsilon \mu \tilde{\omega} \nu \kappa a \epsilon \epsilon \mu \pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \upsilon \theta \eta \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon$. 'Believe in the Lord your God, and ye shall be established.' In the second verb the meaning of the Hebrew has been extended into the Greek.

This selection from a large accumulation in the files of the writer shows some of the conclusions reached by a lexicographer. In many cases he had to consider the exegesis of the translators, but in the present instance such a study would take us too far afield in the limited space at our disposal. There are numerous problems which confront the lexicographer, and the decisions reached must be placed under the proper meanings in the dictionary. The Alexandrians, however, have left problems not only for the philologist and the lexicographer, but in one instance they have worried the later translators and interpreters: Isaiah 7:14, where $a'lm\bar{a}$ (puella nubilis, mannbares Madchen, marriageable young woman until the birth of the first child) was rendered $\dot{\eta} \pi a \rho \theta \dot{\epsilon} v \sigma s$. This was a good translation, if we bear in mind that in classical Greek it may mean 'girl, maiden', and the term was applied even to a young woman who was not a virgin (e.g. Iliad II, 514). If the Alexandrians had chosen veâvis, as did Aquila, no trouble would have been bequeathed to future generations or to later translators, but the Vulgate rendered it virgo, whence the A.V., virgin. In the R.S.V., even though 'a young woman' is in the text, there is a note: 'Or virgin', which continues to confuse the issue.

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Finally, however, we may depart from lexicography in the narrow sense and make some reference to the influence of the vocabulary of the Septuagint upon the English Bible and the religious vocabulary of the present day. In this connexion, however, we can cite only a few examples. It is difficult to bring out in English the exact shade of meaning of the Hebrew $q\bar{a}h\bar{a}l$ (assembly, congregation), and probably the closest approach to this politicoreligious term is the German Gemeinde. At any rate, in translating this substantive by $\epsilon_{\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma ia}$, the Septuagint furnished the word for Church in the New Testament. In rendering lehem hapānim and lehem hammaa'rekheth by oi $\tilde{a}\rho\tau oi \pi\rho o\theta \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ a basis was laid for the expression panes propositionis of the Vulgate; thus Luther had a precedent for his rendering die Schaubrote, whence English shewbread.

Two more examples will be chosen, and both are theological. The first is the Hebrew *kapōreth*, which is translated in the A.V. and R.S.V. as 'mercy seat', a rendering going back to Tyndale, who was influenced by Luther's *Gnadenstuhl*. In Exod. 25: 17 *Kapō*reth is translated by $i\lambda a \sigma r \eta \rho \iota \sigma \nu \epsilon \pi (\theta \epsilon \mu a)$, which means literally 'propitiatory cover'; in other words, $\epsilon \pi (\theta \epsilon \mu a)$ is an attempt at a literal rendering, while $i\lambda a \sigma r \eta \rho \iota \sigma \nu$ gives the noun theological content. This is the only case, however, where the two words are used together; in the other instances $\epsilon \pi (\theta \epsilon \mu a)$ is omitted, and $i\lambda a \sigma r \eta \rho \iota \sigma \nu$ becomes a substantive, which by itself then means 'mercy seat' or 'propitiatory'.

In conclusion, whether we are conscious of it or not, in referring to the Old Testament and the New Testament we are using a term which owes its origin ultimately to the Septuagint. A discussion of the word *testament* involves Greek $\delta_{ia}\theta \eta \kappa \eta$, of which it is a translation. The Hebrew word b^{erith} (covenant), when used of an agreement between men, involves the mutual acceptance of contract obligations. Between God and man, however, a covenant includes a free promise on the divine side and the undertaking of obligations on the human side; thus, while the idea of mutuality is involved, God remains on the higher level.

When the Old Testament was translated into Greek, there was a difficulty in rendering $b^{e}rith$. The Greek word $\sigma \nu \nu \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \eta$ (compact, agreement, contract, treaty) might have suggested that God and his people were on the same level in the covenant. Accordingly the Alexandrians chose $\delta \iota a \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \eta$ (disposition of property by will, will testament) as the rendering of $b^{e}rith$ (covenant). It cannot be said, however, that this was a purely arbitrary meaning assigned by the Seventy, since it contains the concept of 'arrangement', and the sense of 'agreement' or 'covenant' may be found in classical Greek, as in Aristophanes *Birds* 440-441. But in the rendering $\delta \iota a \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \eta$ the place of God-on the higher level was preserved, and furthermore the idea of mutuality was retained. The testator makes the will or testament, but the heirs are bound by law to carry out its provisions. Accordingly $\delta \iota a \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \eta$ makes clear the two concepts: the covenant was God's free promise, and those who receive his gifts are on their part obligated to carry out the conditions he has imposed. In this sense $\delta_{ia}\theta_{\eta}\kappa\eta$ means 'covenant' and should be so understood. The idea of 'testament', however, was not lost.

From the Septuagint this usage was taken over in the New Testament, and when the New Testament was translated into Latin, $\delta \iota a \theta \eta \kappa \eta$ was rendered literally *testamentum*, whence the English *testament*. In the New Testament accordingly the word *testament* is synonymous with *covenant*, except in Heb. 9:16, 17. In this connexion there must be recognized the double sense of $\delta \iota a \theta \eta \kappa \eta$ in Heb. 9:15–20. In verses 16 and 17, however, *testament* cannot be explained as *covenant*, while in the other verses it should be so interpreted; in verses 16 and 17 the sense of *testament* cannot be avoided, and it will have to be retained.

When the New Testament was formed, it was called $\dot{\eta}$ kawh διαθήκη (The New Testament, or the New Covenant), since it contains the documents that attest to God's new covenant with his covenant people, the Church. How long the term was in vogue before its literary use in this sense, we cannot determine. Consequently from this expression the Scriptures inherited from Israel were called by Christians (2 Cor. 3:14) ή παλαιά διαθήκη (The Old Testament). We must credit the Seventy not only with freedom in their rendering διαθήκη, but also with imagination. That one word found its way into a new body of documents, to which it eventually gave the name; from the usage of the Church it rebounded to the original source to apply itself as a name to the Hebrew Scriptures. After all, it must be admitted that terminology can be quite convenient, and whether the layman be aware of it or not, the plodding Alexandrian translators, who knew Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, have bequeathed the word TESTAMENT to an age, when many students of theology resist the study of the original languages of Scripture.