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Peregrinations in Septuagint Lexicography

In the year 1755, there appeared in London in two volumes folio a monumental work, in which "lexicography" is defined as "the art or practice of writing dictionaries." On the same page a "lexicon" is described as "a Dictionary; a book teaching the significance of words." We can hardly say that there is anything unusual in these two explanations. The meaning of "lexicographer," however, is expressed in more vigorous terms: "A writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words." In this manner, Samuel Johnson describes himself as well as a number of plodding men who had preceded him in lexicography and those who have been making dictionaries ever since his day. In the year 1756, however, there was published a smaller work, abstracted from the folio, in which a lexicographer, "a writer of dictionaries," is called "a harmless drudge," without any qualifying relative clause. Perhaps everyone who works in lexicography has to accept this characterization of himself as "a harmless drudge," for it is only by unremitting toil that anything can be accomplished in enterprises of this nature.

As the basis for a Septuagint lexicon, it is necessary, in the first place, to have an adequate word list. In this connection may be mentioned Konrad Kircher, who was born in Augsburg, and served as a pastor in Donauwörth and later at Jaxthausen. Apparently he had scholarly interests, and he dedicated seven years to a work known as *Concordantiae Veteris Testamenti Graecae Ebraeis Vocibus Respondentes Polychrēstoi* (Frankfurt, 1607). In this concordance, the Hebrew words are arranged in alphabetical order, and under each are found the various Greek expressions with citations. A Greek *Index Alphabeticus* was included so that the Greek words could

be found in the concordance. The impetus, however, for LXX lexicography in the Western world may be ascribed to Abraham Tromm, who was born at Groningen, Netherlands, in 1633. His most famous work was *Concordantiae Graecae Versionis Vulgo Dictae LXX Interpretum, cujus voces secundum ordinem elementorum sermonis Graeci digestae recensentur, contra atque in opere Kircheriano factum fuerat. Leguntur Hic Praeterea Voces Graecae pro Hebraicis redditae ab antiquis omnibus Veteris Testamenti Interpretibus, quorum non nisi fragmenta extant, Aquila, Symmacho, Theodotione et aliis, quorum maximam partem nuper in lucem edidit Dominus Bernardus de Montfaucon*. The drudgery of Tromm, however, did not immediately come into print. The approval of the theological faculty of Groningen was given November 17, 1710, but then for seven years the work lay dormant. Later, in a brief note dated July 4, 1717, he explained the delay in publication and shortly afterward wrote the preface at Groningen, July 24, 1717. Finally the Concordance in two tomes folio was published at Amsterdam and Utrecht in 1718. (Volume I consists of 1008 pages and a lexicon to the Hexapla of 70 pages and an index of scriptural references; vol. II contains 716 pages and an index of Hebrew and Aramaic words of 134 pages.) At that time, Tromm was eighty-four years of age, and two years later he died. Apparently the study of biblical languages had done him no harm.

This leads us to Johann Christian Biel, who was born at Braunschweig in 1687. After having studied at Leipzig and Rostock, he took up theology for one year at Helmstädt. His most important work was *Novus Thesaurus Philologicus sive Lexicon in LXX et Alios Interpretes et Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, but his labors were not destined to reach the press during his lifetime. After all this drudgery, he died in Braunschweig in 1745 at the early age of fifty-eight. His work, however, was taken up by Esdras Heinrich Mutzenbecher, a pastor who was born at Hamburg in 1744. Under his editorship, the lexicon was published in three parts at The Hague in 1779–80. Mutzenbecher died at Oldenberg in 1801, when he was only fifty-seven years of age.

Next on the scene appeared Johann Friedrich Schleusner, who was born at Leipzig, January 16, 1759, and studied at the university of his native city. He had a rather remarkable career. At the age of twenty-four, he was the morning preacher at the University Church in Leipzig. In 1785, he was called to Göttingen, where as *professor extraordinarius* he lectured on the exegesis of the Old and the New Testaments as well as on dogmatics and homiletics. In 1790, he was named *ordentlicher Professor* and in 1795, he became *Probst* of the *Schlosskirche* and *ordentlicher Professor* of theology at the University of Wittenberg. At the time of his death in that city on

February 21, 1831, he was the director of the royal *Predigerseminar*, the second incumbent in that position.

Biel had relied entirely upon his predecessor Tromm, whose misunderstandings and errors he faithfully transmitted. In Biel's work, many words were lacking; the connection of words in phrases was ignored, and textual criticism was neglected. Consequently, it was as an object of gratitude that Schleusner determined, first of all, to prepare a supplement to the lexicon of Biel. Beginning in 1784 and continuing for a decade, he published his various investigations of the vocabulary of the LXX, including the Apocrypha and the Hexaplaric fragments. In his researches, he studied classical usage and also employed the lexica of Suidas (tenth century A.D.) and Hesychius (fifth century A.D.?) as well as ecclesiastical dictionaries, such as the famous one of Johann Casper Schwyzer (Suicerus), *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus e Patribus Graecis* (Amsterdam, 1682). He also made improvements and additions to Montfaucon's edition of Origen's *Hexapla*. These extensive studies eventually came to a climax in his lexicon: *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et Reliquos Interpretes Graecos ac Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1820–21). In his introduction, Schleusner makes reference to his collating the rough and undigested mass of variants—or even errors—assembled by Holmes. He calls his labors: "*in me molestum ac taediosum negotium*" ("a business annoying and tedious to me"). Without knowing the term, he refers to himself as "a harmless drudge."

The lexicon of Schleusner still has great value for LXX studies, and cannot be ignored as an antiquated piece of work. Under each entry, he places the Hebrew (or Aramaic) roots or words in alphabetical order, provided he is not dealing with the Apocrypha, and defines the Hebrew and Aramaic and the corresponding Greek words. Often he makes some critical observations or explains how the translator came to his interpretation. He may suggest what word the translator read in the Hebrew text or how he treated his original. He often displays an uncanny insight into problems and interpretations, but the remarkable thing is that, with all his extensive theological interests and duties, he was able to compose the lexicon at all. It is written in Latin, the universal language of scholarship at that time. Unfortunately, in the present age, when many students of divinity have little Greek, less Hebrew, and no Latin, it remains for some a sealed book.

Even though we do not have a modern lexicon to the LXX, we cannot say that we are without help. The *Concordance* to the LXX, edited by E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath (Oxford, 1897–1906), enables the student to assemble the evidence for the translation of a certain Hebrew or Aramaic word or root in various books of the OT. Accordingly, it can often take the

place of a LXX lexicon. Occasional help in meanings can be found in the notes of F. Field's edition of the *Fragments of Origen's Hexapla* (Oxford, 1875). Naturally we can find a great deal of aid in Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* (new ed.; Oxford, 1940; Supplement, 1968), but frequently it is unsatisfactory. Once in a while definitions are available in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (B.C. 146–A.D. 1100) (Boston, 1870), but generally the student turns away in disappointment.

Since the Greek of the LXX represents the *koinē* of the third to the first century B.C., we cannot ignore the evidence of the papyri, and in this connection we have F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden* . . . (Berlin, 1925–31), and numerous word lists in various publications of papyri. Occasionally 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 LXX had a definite influence upon the language of the NT, we cannot ignore NT lexicography. In this connection mention should be made of G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT* (Stuttgart, 1935—); W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (5th ed., Berlin, 1958), and the English translation by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, published by the University of Chicago Press. Further useful tools are W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, *A Concordance to the Greek New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1897), and A. Schmoller, *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament* (8th ed., Stuttgart, 1949). Occasionally a non-classical usage in the LXX may be represented in the Church Fathers, and in this case some help is available in G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961–68). 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 LXX with MT in order to arrive at a reasonable interpretation. This is especially true when the idiom of the LXX is quite Hebraic, but this does not justify us in calling without qualification the vernacular of the LXX a Jewish-Greek dialect. As a result of his studies the writer has come to the conclusion that the *Vorlage* of the Greek translators was closer to MT than the emendations of various commentators and the notes in the *Biblia Hebraica* of R. Kittel would lead us to think. The LXX 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, in observing this phenom-

enon, the reader of the LXX 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 connection we should always observe the atmosphere of freedom in the LXX. We have good reason to believe that what the interpreters 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 this is an obstacle that the Alexandrian translators continually had to face.

For a number of years the writer conducted seminars on the LXX and LXX lexicography, and accordingly he began to compile a dictionary of LXX Greek. For some years with his graduate students he was able to make substantial progress on his venture, and most of the work compiled is now on microfilm and deposited in the Speer Library of the Princeton Theological Seminary. Unfortunately, however, for reasons of age he was forced to retire, and in consequence of having no students his work has been severely retarded. Beginning at this point we shall consider various phenomena of the vocabulary of the LXX as samples of what confronts the lexicographer,¹ 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 normal classical usage or of considering transliterations and proper names. A number of words, however, may be chosen which reflect the character of the LXX vocabulary. In treating various words in their LXX sense, we have, moreover, to bear in mind that "the Seventy" were pioneers in biblical translation. The Greek language had to be adapted to express a realm of thought foreign to Hellenic culture and the Greek religion, and consequently the translators had to mold the language to express the concepts of the OT; in many instances, this involved them in introducing vestiges of Hebrew syntax into Greek, in using Greek words in a Hebraic sense, and in giving to certain vocables connotations which 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.

The following survey of examples gleaned from the writer's collection of LXX words will consider some which represent a literalistic rendering, some which have received a Hebrew sense, and, finally, a few which have made a contribution to our religious vocabulary. In case the MT and the LXX chapter and verse numbers differ, those of the Greek are put in parentheses or brackets.

First may be considered a case where the translator misunderstood the root and produced a rendering which makes sense to the reader without

violating the Greek idiom. Such a word is *marturion* ("testimony," "witness"), which is used to render *mô'ēd* (from the root *y'd*), "appointed time or place," "meeting." In interpreting *ʕhl mw'd* as *ē skēnē tou marturiou*, the translator derived the word from the root *ʕd*, which in Hiphil means "testify," "bear witness." The instances of this translation are so numerous, especially in the Pentateuch, that there is no need to cite examples. It is important, however, to observe that in Ex 30: 36 the two Hebrew roots *y'd* and *ʕd* occur in two adjacent phrases: *lpny h'dt b'hl mw'd* ("before the testimony in the tent of meeting"); in Greek, this appears as *apenanti tōn marturiōn en tē skēnē tou marturiou*. Apparently the interpreter saw in these two words only the root *ʕd*, and it seems probable that here he did not intend to give *marturion* the Hebrew sense of "meeting." This usage, moreover, is found also in Joshua and Chronicles. In 1 Kings 8: 4, however, we twice have the expression *skēnōma tou marturiou*, but this hardly involves a change of interpretation, even though it be the sole instance of this combination.

In this connection should also be considered *marturion*, when it is not dependent upon *skēnē*. — 1 Sam 9: 24, *ky lmw'd šmwr-lk* ("for unto the appointed time hath it been kept for thee"): *oti eis marturion tetheitai soi*. — 13: 8, *šb't ymym lmw'd ʕšr šmw'l* ("seven days according to the set time that Samuel had appointed"): *epta ēmeras tō marturiō ōs eipen samouēl*. — vs 11, *lmw'd hymym* ("within the days appointed"): *en tō marturiō tōn ēmerōn*. — 20:35, *lmw'd dwd* ("at the time appointed with David"): *eis to marturion dauid*. These four citations from 1 Sam evidently are cases of what was intended to be a literalistic translation resting, nevertheless, upon a misunderstanding of the root. It may, however, be asked whether here the interpreter had meant to give the noun *marturion* the Hebrew meaning "appointed time or place," "meeting," or whether he did not understand the word. On account of the consistent usage of *marturion* in the Pentateuch in the sense of "witness, testimony," it is possible that the translator did not fully understand the word, and rendered it mechanically or in traditional fashion; in other words, he let it go at that, and was satisfied with what he had accomplished in having made what appeared to him a literal rendering. Sometimes, in fact, it is necessary to compare MT with the Greek in order to understand the LXX.

From this, we may proceed to instances where Greek words received a Hebrew meaning.

ikanos ("sufficient," "adequate")

Under this word may be cited a Hebrew idiom found in the Origenian addition, 1 Sam 18: 30, *wyhy mdy š'tm* ("and it came to pass as often as they went forth"): *kai egeneto aph ikanou exodias autōn*. The same idiom occurs

in 2 Kings 4: 8, *wyhy mdy ʕbrw ysr šmh l'kl-lḥm* ("and it came to pass that, as often as he passed by, he turned in thither to eat bread"): *kai egeneto aph ikanou tou eisporuesthai auton exeklinen tou ekei phagein*. In both instances, through a literalism, the phrase *aph ikanou* assumed a Hebrew meaning it does not have in classical Greek.

potos, o ("drinking bout," "carousal")

In a literalistic rendering, this word is used to translate *mšth* ("feast," "banquet"). Different individuals made a *mšth* ("feast"): Abraham (Gen 19: 3); Pharaoh (Gen 40: 20); Samson (Judg 14: 10, 12, 17); Nabal (1 Sam 25: 36); David (2 Sam 3: 20); Solomon (1 Kings 3: 15); Esther (Esther 1: 9; 6: 14); Ahasuerus (Esther, 1: 5; 2: 18); the sons of Job (Job 1: 4-5). Qoheleth (7: 2[3]) says, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of *mšth* (*potos*)." Jeremiah (16: 8) was not to go to the house of *mšth* (*potos*). In all these passages, the literal meaning of the Hebrew root is reproduced, and *potos* receives a Hebrew coloring and has to be understood in the sense of "feast."

pronomē, ē ("foraging," "foray"; pl. "foraging parties," "plunder," "booty," "store," "provision")

In 1 Kings 9: 15 [also A] (10: 23, B), the narrative reads: "And this is the account of the *ms* [forced labor], which Solomon levied." In Greek *ms* is rendered *pronomē*; thus goes the Greek: *autē ēn ē pragmateia tēs pronomēs*. Clearly in this case, *pronomē* signifies the same as Hebrew *ms*; it has received a Hebrew meaning. It may be that the translator made the subtle suggestion that the corvée was a form of plunder. Yet this may not be entirely original, for Hesychius defines *pronomia*: *ta opheilomena tō axiōmati ē ē ek tōn nomōn exousia*. Apparently he recognizes in the expression an obligation of services to the state. At any rate, it is not necessary to assume that the translator read *habbaz* instead of *hammas*.

prostithēmi

Among its meanings is "add," and this signification adequately expressed the sense of *ysp* ("add"). A few examples by way of illustration may be drawn from the Pentateuch. For the Qal, cf Lev 22: 14, *wyyp ḥmšytw ʕlyw* ("he shall add the fifth part of it unto it"): *kai prosthēsei to epipempton autou ep auto*. Cf also Lev 27: 13, 15, 19, 27. — Num 32: 14: *lspwt ʕd ʕl ḥrwn ʕp-yhw* ("to add still further to the fierce anger of YHWH"): *prostheinaī eti epi ton thumon tēs orgēs kuriou*. — Deut 19: 9, *wyspt lk ʕd šlš ʕrym* ("then thou shalt add three cities more for thee"): *kai prosthēseis sautō eti treis poleis*. The Niphal also is used in this sense: cf Ex 1: 10, *wnwsp gm-hw ʕl-šn ʕyryw* ("they add themselves," i.e., "join themselves

unto our enemies"): *prostethēsontai kai outoi pros tous upenantious*. For the adding of an inheritance, cf Num 36: 3-4, where *prostethēsetai* represents the Niphal of *ysp*.

A few examples of the Hiphil may also be cited: Gen 30: 24, *ysp yhw h ly bn 'hr* ("may YHWH add to me another son"): *prosthetō o theos moi uion eteron*. — Lev 5: 16, *w'l-hmyštw ywsp 'lyw* ("and the fifth of it [that is, of its value] he shall add to it"): *kai to epipempton prosthēsei ep auto*. Cf also Lev 5: 24 [6:5].

From this literal meaning of *prostithēmi*, it was easy in Hebrew fashion for the verb with a dependent infinitive to express repetition in the sense of "again." This usage is found in the Qal in a number of passages in which *prostithēmi* has assumed the Hebrew sense of repetition; when MT has the adverb 'wd, it is represented by *eti*. — Gen 8: 12, *w'l-ysph šwb 'lyw 'wd* ("and she [the dove] did not return to him anymore"): *kai ou prosetheto tou epistrepσαι pros auton eti*. — 38: 26, *w'l-ysp 'wd ld'th* ("and he knew her again no more"): *kai ou prosetheto eti tou gnōnai autēn*. For a similar usage to render the Qal of *ysp*, cf Lev 26: 18; Num 11: 25, without dependent infinitive; 32: 15; Deut 5: 22[25]; 20: 8.

The verb *ysp* denoting repetition, however, in the Pentateuch has more examples of the Hiphil than of the Qal. The following may in this connection be cited: Gen 4: 2, *wlsp lldl* ("and again she bore"): *kai prosethēken tekein*. — 4: 12, *l-tsp tt-khh lk* ("it shall no longer yield to you its strength"): *kai ou prosthēsei tēn ischun autēs dounai soi*. For a similar usage in Genesis, cf 8: 21; 18: 29; 37: 8; 44: 23. In Gen 25: 1, the verb *ysp* is followed by the *waw* consecutive and the imperfect tense: *wysp 'brhm wyqh 'sh* ("and Abraham took another wife"); in this case, the Greek sentence starts with the participle: *prosthemenos de Abraam elaben gunaika*. In both languages, the sense of "another" is implied in the sentence. For a similar construction, cf Gen 38: 5.

This sense of repetition in the Hiphil expressed by *prostithēmi* is found also in Ex 8: 25[29]; 9: 28, 34; 11: 6; 14: 13; Num 22: 15, 19, 25; Deut 3: 26; 13: 12[11]; 17: 16; 18: 16; 19: 20; 28: 68. In Num 22: 26, *wywspl ml'k-yhw h 'bwr* ("and the angel of YHWH went further") is thus rendered: *kai prosetheto o aggelos tou theou kai apellthōn*. In Ex 10: 28, there is a negative, *hšmr lk 'l-tsp r'wt pny* ("take heed to thyself, do not see my face again"): *proseche seautō eti prostheina i idein mou to prosōpon*. In this case the LXX does not render the negative, but evidently it is felt in the context in the verb *proseche*. The negative is found, however, in two minuscules, in the Syro-Hexaplar, and in the Bohairic (*vid.*). In Ex 5: 7, MT has the root 'sp for *ysp*: *l' t'spwn llt tbn l'm*; here, however, the Samaritan text writes *twsypwn*:

("ye shall no more give the people straw"): *ouketi prostethēsetai didonai achuron tō laō*.

In Judg 2: 3, a variant reading is indicated by the *hypolemniscus* (—), which is not represented in the MT: *ou prosthēsō tou metoikisai ton laon on eipa/tou exolethreusai* ("I will not again resettle [or, deport] the people whom I determined to destroy utterly"). It may also be noted that the Hebrew use of *prostithēmi* occurs in the NT, and accordingly is an example of the importance of the LXX for the vocabulary and syntax of NT Greek.

In connection with *prostithēmi* for *ysp* may be investigated *sph* ("snatch away"; intransitive, "come to destruction or to an end"); in Syriac, however, *sp' means* "collect," "heap together," while in Jewish Aramaic, the root signifies "collect," "disappear." Two examples of the Qal may be cited: Num 32: 14, *lspwt 'wd 'l hrwn 'p-yhw h* ("to add still more to the fierce anger of YHWH"): *prostheina i eti epi ton thumon tēs orgēs kuriou*. — Is 30: 1, *lm'n spwt h't 'l-h't* ("in order to add sin to sin"): *prostheina i amartias eph amartias*. In both cases, however, it has been proposed to read *sepet* (from *ysp*) instead of *s'pōl*. Apparently the LXX gave the root *sph* this rendering by association with *ysp*, unless the translators knew one of the Aramaic meanings.

In Amos 3: 15, however, a different problem confronts us: *wspw btym rby m* ("and the great [or many] houses shall come to an end"): *kai prostethēsontai eteroi oikoi polloi*. In the context of the LXX, this can mean: "And shall be added [to destruction] many other houses," unless we assume the possibility that the verb received a Hebrew connotation.

This brings us to the Niphal of *sph*. — 1 Sam 12: 25, *gm-tm gm-mlkkm tšphw* ("ye shall be swept away, both ye and your king"): *kai umeis kai o basileus umōn prostethēsesthe*. In the context there is a reference to a calamity, and accordingly the Greek may signify: "both ye and your king shall be handed over, or added [to destruction]." Obviously the verb in this context has received a Hebrew sense. A similar usage is found in 1 Sam 26: 10, *wnsp h* ("and he be swept away, or perish") *kai prostethē*. This verse refers to a battle, and the Greek means the same as the Hebrew; perhaps there is a semantic development from "being added or delivered [to destruction]" to "to be swept away." Such a meaning is also encountered in 1 Sam 27: 1, *'th 'essāpeh ywm-'hd byd-š'wl* ("I shall now be swept away, or perish, one day by the hand of Saul"): *nun prostethēsomai en ēmera mia eis cheiras saoul*. In this example, the difficulty apparently is eliminated through the preposition *eis*: "Now I shall be delivered one day into the hands of Saul." In this case, the sense of the Greek is clear.

The Hebrew root 'sp ("gather") is also rendered literally by *prostithēmi*, and when the Niphal signifies that a deceased person is gathered to his people,

there is no problem; for example, Abraham in Gen 25: 8, *wy'sp 'l-'myw* ("and he was gathered to his people"): *kai prosetethē pros ton laon autou*. For other examples of this usage, cf Gen 25: 17; 35: 29; 49: 29, 33; Num 20: 24, 26; 27: 13; 31: 2.

While the root 'sp has a basic connotation of "gather," it also developed the sense of "gather and take away," "remove," "withdraw," and, finally, "destroy." In this connection should be noted Judg 18: 25, *w'spth npšk wnpš bytk* ("and thou lose thy life with the lives of thy household"): *prosthēsousin psuchēn [sou, A] kai tēn psuchēn tou oikou sou*. Here the Greek verb obviously has the Hebrew meaning "destroy." A similar interpretation is met in 1 Sam 15: 6, *pn-'spk 'mw* ("lest I destroy you with him"): *mē prosthō se met autou*. In such passages, it may at times be difficult to understand the Greek without making a comparison with the Hebrew text.

In connection with this usage of *prostithēmi* having this Hebrew meaning of 'sp should be observed a few cases of *sunagō* which has assumed a Hebrew signification. — 1 Sam 14: 19, 'sp *ydk* ("withdraw thy hand"): *sunagage tas cheiras sou*. In line with this interpretation may also be considered *aposunagō* as a rendering of 'sp. — 2 Kings 5: 11, *w'sp hmšr'* ("and recover the leper"): *kai aposunaxei to lepron* ("he will remove the leprosy"); in vs 3, 6, 7 the verb *aposunagō* means "to remove" a person from his leprosy—that is, to cure him of leprosy.

Finally, it should be noted that in Sir 14: 4, the verb *sunagō* is employed in two senses in the same verse: *mwn' npšw yqbš l'hr* ("he that withholdeth from himself, gathereth for another"): *o sunagōn apo tēs psuchēs autou sunagei allois* ("he that withholdeth from himself, gathereth for others"). In this passage the first Greek verb has received a Hebrew sense, while in the second instance the Greek meaning has been retained.

skēptron, *to* ("staff," "stick")

As a translation of the Hebrew *šbṭ* ("rod," "staff"), the LXX follows normal Greek usage. In Hebrew, *šbṭ*, however, also means "tribe," and this sense has been adopted by the LXX. — 1 Sam 2: 28, *mkl-šbṭy ysr'l* ("from all the tribes of Israel"): *ek pantōn tōn skēptrōn Israēl*. — 9: 21, *mqtny šbṭy ysr'l* ("of the smallest of the tribes of Israel"): *tou mikrou skēptrou phulēs Israēl*. In this verse, *šbṭ* is represented also in the second sentence by *skēptron*. — 10: 19, *lšbṭykm* ("by your tribes"): *kata ta skēptra umōn*. — 10: 20, *kl-šbṭy ysr'l wykld šbṭ bnymn* ("all the tribes of Israel, and the tribe of Benjamin was taken"): *panta ta skēptra Israēl kai kataklēroutai skēptron Beniāmein*.

In vs 21, *skēptron* represents *šbṭ*, while *eis phulas* stands for *lmšpht* (pl., Q). For further examples of *skēptron* as a rendering of *šbṭ*, cf 1 Sam 15:

17; 1 Kings 8: 16; 11: 13, 31, 32, 35, 36; 12: 20–21. While this usage does not occur in the NT, it is found in some of the Patristic writers.

sumphōneō ("be in harmony," "make an agreement")

This verb is used in Gen 14: 3 to render *ḥbr* ("unite," "be joined"): *kl-'lh ḥbrw* ("all these joined forces"): *pantes outoi sunephōnēsan*. While this may be regarded as a free translation of *ḥbr*, in this case *sumphōneō* has a Hebrew meaning: "to join forces." The development of this military sense can easily be comprehended in the context.

sunaptō ("join together," "connect," "approach," "make contact")

This verb is employed to render the Hebrew *dbq*, which in the Hiphil developed the sense "pursue closely," which led to the meaning "overtake." — 1 Sam 14: 22, *wydbqw gm-hmh 'hryhm bmlḥmh* ("they followed hard after them in the battle"): *kai sunaptousin kai autoi opisō autōn eis polemon*. — 31: 2, *wydbqw plšty m-'š'wl* ("and the Philistines followed hard upon [or overtook] Saul"): *kai sunaptousin allophuloi tō Saoul*. — 2 Sam 1: 6, *wb'ly hpršym hdbqhw* ("and the horsemen pressed hard upon him"): *kai oi ipparchai sunēpsan autō*. In these cases, *sunaptō* received the Hebrew sense of *dbq*, and should be rendered "pursue closely," "overtake."

sunechō ("hold or keep together," "enclose," "compass," "constrain")

Hebrew *šwr* means "confine," "shut up," and "besiege." An example of the sense of "besiege" occurs in 1 Sam 23: 8, *lšwr 'l-dwd w'l-'nšyw* ("to besiege David and his men"): *sunechein ton Dauid kai tous andras autou*. In this case, *sunechō* represents *šwr*, from which it has taken over a Hebrew shade of meaning. In the context, however, such a semantic development is easy to understand.

suniēmi

From the literal meaning "bring together," "set together" came that of "perceive," "observe," "understand." This verb, however, under the influence of Hebrew can have another development in LXX Greek.

As a translation of *škl* in the Qal ("be prudent," "circumspect"), it may also signify "deal wisely," "prosper," "have success." One such example is found in a Hexaplaric addition in 1 Sam 18: 30, *škl dwd mkl 'bdy š'wl* ("David had more success than all the servants of Saul"): *sunēken Dauid para pantas tous doulous saoul*. Obviously the Greek verb here has the same meaning as its Hebrew counterpart.

In the Hiphil, the root *škl* means "consider," "ponder"; from this is derived the sense "have insight, or understanding"; then it has the signification "act circumspectly or prudently," whence it finally denotes either "to

prosper" or "to deal wisely."² — Deut 29: 8 [9], *lm'n tškyłw 't kl-šr t'swn* ("that ye may cause to prosper, or deal wisely in, all that ye do"): *ina sunēle panta osa poiēsele* ("that ye may bring to a successful conclusion, or cause to prosper, all that ye will do"). — Josh 1: 7, *lm'n tškył bkl 'šr llk* ("that thou mayest have success whithersoever thou goest"); vs 8, *w'z tškył* ("and then thou shalt have success"): *ina sunēs en pasin ois ean prassēs . . . kai tote sunēseis*. — 1 Sam 18: 5, *bkl 'šr yšłhnw š'wl yškył* ("whithersoever Saul sent him, he had success"): in a Hexaplaric addition, *en pasin ois apesteilen auton Saoul sunēken*. — 18: 14, *wyhy dwd lkl-drkyw mškył* ("and David acted wisely" or "was successful in all his ways"): *kai ēn Daueid en pasais tais odois autou suniōn*. It should be noted that the LXX, like MT, uses the participle. — 18: 15, *wyr' š'wl 'šr-hw' mškył m'd* ("and when Saul saw that he was very successful"): *kai eiden Saoul os autos suniei sphodra*. — 1 Kings 2: 3, *lm'n tškył 't kl-šr t'sh* ("that thou mayest cause to prosper, that thou mayest prosper in" or "that thou mayest deal wisely in all that thou doest"): *ina sunēseis a poiēseis* ("that thou mayest bring to a successful conclusion, or cause to prosper, whatever thou wilt do"). — 2 Kings 18: 7, *bkl 'šr-yš' yškył* ("whithersoever he went forth, he prospered"): *en pasin ois epoiei sunēken*. — Is 52: 13, *hnh yškył 'bdy* ("Behold, my servant shall prosper, or deal wisely"): *idou sunēsei o pais mou*. — Jer 23: 5, *wmlk mlk whškył* ("he shall reign as a king and prosper, or deal wisely"): *kai basileusei basileus kai sunēsei*. From these examples, it is obvious that the verb *suniēmi* took on a Hebrew connotation in the LXX.

sunteleia, ē

This noun has a number of meanings, of which only two need to be cited in this connection: "completion," "completed action."

In 1 Kings 6: 25 (24) the two cherubim had *qšb 'hd* ("one form"). Since the verb *qšb* means "cut," "cut off," we can understand how the noun *qšeb* developed the signification of "form" from "to cut." At any rate, in this passage *qšb 'hd* is rendered *sunteleia mia*, and in the context is to be interpreted in the Hebrew sense: "one form." To explain this usage, we may start with the verb *sunteleō* ("bring to an end, complete") and one connotation of *sunteleia* ("completion"). We may postulate this semantic development: "completion" can be understood as "final shape," or "form." At any rate, *sunteleia* has assumed the Hebrew meaning "form" in this passage.

sōzō (in the passive, "to be saved from death, kept alive, preserved"; "to come safe to a place")

In the Niphal, *młt* signifies "slip away," "escape," "be delivered." In a number of passages, where the Niphal of *młt* is rendered by *sōzō* in the passive, it may be difficult to determine whether the verb means "to be delivered" or "to escape," since the two senses inevitably blend into each other. In many cases, however, the translator gave *sōzō* the connotation of "escape"; but first should be investigated instances where the regular Greek meaning may have been used in a free translation; these may be designated as borderline cases, where the concept of "escape" and "deliver oneself" are equally good. — 1 Sam 19: 12, *wybrh' wymłt* ("and fled and escaped"): *kai ephugen kai sōzētai*. — vs. 18, *wdwd brh' wymłt* ("now David fled and escaped"): *kai Daueid ephugen kai diesōthē, (esōthē, A)*. — Esther 4: 13, *'l-tdmy bnpšk lhmlt* ("think not with thyself that thou shalt escape"): *mē eipēs seautē oli sōthēsē monē*. — Job 1: 15 and 16, *w'młth rq-'ny lbdy* ("and I only am escaped"): *sōtheis de egō monos ēllhon*. — Is 20: 6, *w'yk nmlt 'nħnw* ("and how shall we escape?"): *kai pōs ēmeis sōthēsometha*. — Jer 32[39]: 4, *l' ymlt myd hksdym* ("and shall not escape out of the hand of the Chaldeans"): *ou mē sōthē ek cheiros tōn chaldaiōn*. — 34[41]: 3, *w'th l' tmlt mydw* ("and thou shalt not escape out of his hand"): *kai su ou mē sōthēs ek cheiros autou*. — 38[45]: 18 and 23, *w'th l'-tmlt mydm* ("and thou shalt not escape out of their hand"): *kai su ou mē sōthēs*.

In passages, however, where motion is implied or a destination is indicated, the Hebrew meaning of "escape" is obvious in the Greek verb. — Gen 19: 17, *hmlt 'l-npšk . . . hhrh hmlt* ("escape for thy life . . . escape to the mountain"): *sōzōn sōze tēn seautou psuchēn . . . eis to oros sōzou*. — 1 Sam 27: 1, *'yn-ly twb ky hmlt 'młt 'l-rš plštym* ("there is nothing better for me than that I should escape into the land of the Philistines"): *kai ouk estin moi agathon ean mē sōthō eis gēn allophulōn*. — 1 Kings 18: 40, when the prophets of Baal were seized, Elijah said *'yš 'l-ymlt mhm* ("let not one of them escape"): *mētheis sōthētō ex autōn*. — 19: 17, in connection with slaying by Hazael and Jehu, *hnmłt mħrb hz'l . . . whnmłt mħrb yhw'* ("let him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael . . . and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu"): *ton sōzomenon ek romphaias Azaēl . . . kai ton sōzomenon ek romphaias eiou*. — 20[21]: 20, *wymłt bn-hdd mlk 'rm 'l-sws wpršym* ("and Benhadad, king of Aram, escaped on a horse with horsemen"): *kai sōzētai uios Ader basileus Surias eph ippou ippeōs*. — 2 Kings 19: 37, *whmh nmlt'w 'rš 'rrt* ("and they escaped into the land of Ararat"): *kai autoi esōthēsan eis gēn Ararath*. — 2 Chron 16: 7, *'l-kn nmlt hyl mlk-'rm mydk* ("therefore is the host of the king of Aram escaped out of thy hand"): *dia touto esōthē dunamis Surias apo lēs cheiros sou*. — Jer 41[48]: 15, *nmlt bšmnh 'nšym mpny ywħnn wyk 'l-bny 'mwn* ([and Ishmael] "escaped from Johanan with eight men and went to the Ammonites"):

esōthē sun oktō anthrōpois kai ōchelo pros tous uiōus Ammōn. — 48[31]: 19, *š'ly-ns-wnmlḥ* ("ask him that fleeth and her that escapeth"): *kai erōtēson pheugonta kai sōzomenon* ("and ask him that is fleeing and him that is escaping"). — Ezek 17: 18, in referring to Zedekiah, *l' ymlḥ* ("he shall not escape"): *mē sōthēsetai*; in this case "escape" and "be delivered" are very close in meaning, but in the context the sense seems to be "escape."

trissos, -ē, -on ("threefold")

In 1 Kings 9: 22 occurs the combination *šryw wšlšyw* ("his princes and his captains"). This verse is not represented in the Old Greek, but in the Origenian addition of this passage introduced from Aquila we have the words *archontes autou kai trissoi autou*. In the context *trissoi*, which is a literalistic rendering of the plural of *šlyš*, has to mean "officers," "adjutants," or "captains," as in Hebrew. In 2 Chron 8: 9, the plural of this noun is rendered *dunatoi*; this shows that the translators knew what the Hebrew word signified. In 2 Kings 11: 10, *tous trissous* is a case where either a copyist or the translator misread *hšlṭym* as *hšlšym*, and so this cannot be considered in this connection.

The problem, however, may be different in the book of Ezekiel, where *trissos* seems to mean "pertaining to a leader," or "distinguished." In Ezek 23: 23, *šlšym wqrw'ym* has been interpreted "officers and warriors," "captains and counselors," and "captains and men of renown." In Greek, this has been rendered *trissous kai onomastous*, a literalistic translation; this may be understood as "distinguished and notable ones." This takes us back to vs 15 in the same chapter: *mr'h šlšym klm*, which means literally: "the appearance of officers [captains], all of them." Here the Greek reads: *opsis trisse pantōn*, which may be rendered "a distinguished appearance of all," or "an officerlike look of all." This signifies that they all looked distinguished, or had an appearance like that of officers. In these passages, the LXX gave *trissos* a sense it did not have in Greek literature. In fact, the Greek in this usage would be hardly intelligible without a comparison with MT.

In connection with the expression "forever" has to be considered the root *nšh*, which means "be preeminent," "enduring"; in post-biblical Hebrew, it developed the sense "be victorious," "win," "prevail"; in Judeo-Aramaic and Syriac, it signifies "be brilliant, distinguished," "conquer," "triumph." Hebrew *nēšah* denotes "eminence," "continuance," "everlastingness," "perpetuity," whence the phrase *lnšh* signifies "forever" and is rendered (1) *eis telos*, Ps 9: 7. — (2) with a negative: *eis ton aiōna*, Is 28: 28; Jer 50: 39 [27:39]; *eis ton aiōna chronon*, Is 13: 20; 33: 20. In Is 57: 16, in a parallelism with a negative, *l'wlm* is rendered *eis ton aiōna* and *lnšh, dia pantos*. In Ps 49[48]: 20, which has a negative, *'d-nšh* is interpreted *eōs aiōnos*.

At this point may be considered *eis nikos* ("forever"). In this connection should be cited 2 Sam 2: 26, *hlnšh t'kl ḥrb* ("shall the sword devour forever?"): *mē eis nikos kataphagetai ē romphaia*. — Job 36: 7 *wyšybm lnšh* ("and he setteth them forever"): *kai kathiei autous eis nikos*. — Amos 1: 11, *w'brtw šmrh nšh* ("and he kept his wrath forever"): *kai to ormēma autou ephulaxen eis nikos*. — 8: 7, *'m-škh lnšh kl-m'syhm* ("surely I will never forget any of their deeds"): *ei epilēsthēsetai eis nikos panta ta erga umōn*. — In Zeph 3: 5, we have *kai ouk eis nikos adikian*, for which no Hebrew is extant. — Is 25: 8, *bl' hmwṭ lnšh* ("he will swallow up death forever"): Aquila and Theodotion render *lnšh, eis nikos*. — In Is 34: 10, *lnšh nšhym* ("forever and ever") is rendered by Aquila and Theodotion literalistically *eis nikos nikeōn*. — Lam 5: 20, *lmh lnšh tškhnw* ("wherefore dost thou forget us forever?"): *ina ti eis nikos epilēse ēmōn*. Finally, in Jer 3: 5, in a parallelism, *l'wlm* in the first member is rendered *eis ton aiōna*, while *lnšh* is translated literally *eis nikos*. This passage decides the meaning of *eis nikos* as "forever."

This study of *nikos* leads to the NT, 1 Cor 15: 54: *katepothē o thanatos eis nikos*, which is the rendering by Theodotion of Is 25: 8. The LXX interpreted *lnšh* by *ischusas*, but both Aquila and Theodotion translated it *eis nikos*. In this case, Saint Paul quotes Theodotion. In the context of the Epistle to the Corinthians, it appears that the standard English translation has to be retained: "Death is swallowed up in victory." Yet at the same time, we may consider a double entendre in the passage and bear in mind the OT interpretation by Theodotion: "Death is swallowed up forever." At any rate, in the LXX as a rendering of *lnšh*, the phrase *eis nikos* in the sense of "forever" is well established.

This selection of words from a large accumulation extending over a number of years in the writer's files shows some of the situations that confront a lexicographer of the LXX. It must be admitted that the Alexandrians have not only left problems for the philologist and the lexicographer but, in one instance, they were the source of a difficulty transmitted to later translators and unwittingly laid a basis for future controversy: Is 7: 14, where with the article *lmh (puella nubilis, mannbares Mädchen*, "marriageable young woman," and even a young woman until the birth of her first child) was rendered *ē parthenos*. This rendering, however, can be defended, since in classical Greek *parthenos* may mean "girl," "maiden," as well as "virgin," and the term was applied even to a young woman who was not a virgin (e.g., *Iliad* II, 514). If the Alexandrian translators had chosen *neanis*, as did Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion later on, no trouble would have been bequeathed to future generations; but the Vulgate rendered it *virgo*, and the interpretation "virgin" followed in the AV and the RV.

In the RSV, even though the text reads "a young woman," there is a note in the margin: "or *virgin*," which may continue to confuse the exegesis of the passage for some readers.

At last, however, we may depart from lexicography in the narrow sense and make some reference to the influence of the vocabulary of the LXX upon the English Bible and the religious language of the present day. In this connection should be considered the Greek work for "church." It is difficult to bring out in English the exact shade of meaning of Hebrew *qhl* ("assembly," "convocation," "congregation"), and probably the closest approach to the interpretation of this politico-religious term is the German *Gemeinde*. At any rate, in translating *qhl* by *ekklēsia*, the LXX furnished the word for "church" in the NT. Furthermore, in rendering *leḥem ḥap-pānīm* and *leḥem ḥammā'reket* by *oi artoi lēs protheseōs*, an interpretation was available for the *panes propositionis* of the Vulgate. Thus Luther had a basis for his translation *die Schaubrote*, whence English *shewbread*.³

Finally, two more examples will be chosen, and both are theological. The first is Hebrew *kappōrel*, which is translated in the AV, RV and RSV as "mercy seat," a rendering going back to Tyndale, who was influenced by Luther's *Gnadenstuhl*. In Ex 25: 17[16], *kpṛl* is translated by *ilastērion epithema*, which means literally "propitiatory cover"; in other words, *epithema* is an attempt at a literal rendering, while *ilastērion* gives the noun theological content. This is the only case, however, where the two words are used together; in the other instances *epithema* is omitted and *ilastērion* becomes a substantive, which then by itself signifies "mercy seat" or "propitiatory."

In conclusion, whether we are conscious of it or not in referring to the OT and the NT, we are using a term which owes its origin ultimately to the LXX. A discussion of the word "testament" involves Greek *diathēkē*, of which it is a translation. The Hebrew word *bryt* ("covenant"), when used of an agreement between men, involves the mutual acceptance of contract obligations. Between God and man, however, a covenant involves a free promise from 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 OT was translated into Greek, there was a difficulty of rendering *bryt*. The Greek word *sunthēkē* ("compact," "agreement," "contract," "treaty") might have suggested that God and his people were on the same plane in the covenant. Accordingly, the Alexandrians chose *diathēkē* ("disposition of property by will," "will," "testament") as the translation of *bryt* ("covenant"). It cannot be said, however, that this was a purely arbitrary meaning assigned to *diathēkē* by "the Seventy", since *diathēkē* con-

tains the concept of "arrangement," and the sense of "agreement" or "covenant" may be found even in classical Greek (cf Aristophanes, *Birds*, 440-41). But in the rendering of *bryt* by *diathēkē*, the place of God on the higher level was preserved, and furthermore the idea of mutuality was retained. The testator makes the will, but his heirs are bound by law to carry out its provisions. Accordingly, *diathēkē* 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, *diathēkē* signifies "covenant" and should be so understood; the idea of "testament," however, was not lost.

From the LXX this usage of *diathēkē* was taken over into the NT, and when the NT was translated into Latin, *diathēkē* was rendered literally *testamentum*, whence English "testament." In the NT, accordingly, "testament" is synonymous with "covenant," except in Heb 9: 16-17. In this connection, moreover, there must be recognized the double sense of *diathēkē* in Heb 9: 15-20. In vss 16-17, however, "testament" cannot be explained as "covenant," while in the other verses it should be so interpreted. On the other hand, in vss 16-17, the sense of "testament" cannot be avoided, and the word will have to be retained.

When the NT was formed, it was called *ē kainē diathēkē* ("the New Testament," or "the New Covenant"), since it contains the documents that attest God's new covenant with his new covenant people, the Church. How long the term was in vogue before its literary use in this sense, we cannot determine. Consequently from this usage the Scriptures inherited from Israel were called by Christians (2 Cor 3: 14) *ē palaiā diathēkē* ("the Old Testament"). We must credit "the Seventy" not only with freedom in their rendering *diathēkē* but also with imagination. That one word found its way into a new body of documents, to which it eventually gave the name; from this usage in the NT it rebounded to the original source to apply itself as a name of the Hebrew Scriptures. Now Jews as well as Christians speak of "the Old Testament." After all, we must admit 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.

NOTES

¹ Cf in this connection articles by the writer: "A Note on I Sam. 21: 13(14)," *JBL* 67 (1948), 241-43; "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1-15," *JBL* 68 (1949), 231-40; "Exegetical Methods Employed by the Greek Translator of I Samuel," *JAOS*, 70 (1950), 292-96; "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek," *VT* 1 (1951),

81-90; "Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis," *VT* 3 (1953), 141-48; "Some Types of Errors of Transmission in the Septuagint," *VT* 3 (1953), 397-400; "Greek Versions of the OT," *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, rev. ed. (1963), pp. 347-54; "Rambles in Septuagint Lexicography," *Indian Journal of Theology* 14 (1965), 90-101; "Adventures in Septuagint Lexicography," *Textus*, Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project, V (1966), 125-32; "The Septuagint", under "Versions," *The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (1970), pp. 971-75.

² In the Hiphil, the concept "to deal wisely" contains the implied consequence of success. The verb, however, does not express success alone, but success which is the result of wise provision. No single English word can express the full idea inherent in the Hebrew; cf S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text . . . of the Books of Samuel* (2d ed., Oxford, 1913), p. 149.

³ In Ex 25: 30 [29], *lhm pnyim* is rendered *artoi enōpioi*; in Neh 10: 34[33], *lhm hm'rakt* is translated *artoi tou prosōpou*.