# THE ORACLES AGAINST THE PHILISTINES AND EDOM IN THE GREEK TEXT OF JEREMIAH: <br> CHAPTER 29 AS A MICROCOSM OF THE PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY The septuagint version of Jeremiah 

## BY

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## Notes to Chapter 1

1. For an interesting review of the use made of the Jeremiah tradition in early Judaism and Christianity see the recent study by C. Wolff, Jeremia im Frujudentum und Urchristentum, Berlin, 1976.
2. Such at least is the traditional picture of the origin and growth of the LXX drawn by H.B. Swete (Introduction, pp. 1-28) and H. St. J. Thackeray (ISBE, IV, $2722 \mathrm{ff} \mathrm{f}^{\prime} ; \mathrm{Jewish}$ Worship, pp. 10-11) and often repeated in handbooks and articles. In a recent contribution, E. Tov has cautioned against too readily assuming a connexion between Alexandria and the translation of the non-pentateuchal books of the LXX ("The Nature of the Hebrew Text Underlying the LXX", JSOT 7 (1978), esp. pp. 53-54).
3. Little work has been done on the relative dating of the various books comprising the LXX, but see the remarks by Thackeray in ISBE, IV, 2730, and in Jewish Worship, p. 28. For a helpful summary of Thackeray's views on the internal dating of the books see Jellicoe, SMS, pp. 64-70, esp. p. 67. Mention could also be made in this connexion of the article by H.A. Redpath, "Contributions Towards Settling the Date of the Translation of the Various Books of the Septuagint", JTS 7 (1906), 606615.

4. Cf. in the first apparatus of Ziegler's edition the appropriate quotes at 15:19, 17:26, 18:13, 28:44, $30: 10,34: 2$, 37:6, and 38:2.
5. The idea that the Sixtine edition was dependent on the Aldine was first mooted by Paul de Lagarde (Mittheiluncen, I, 123) and has since been confirmed by the studies of A. Rahlfs ("Die Abhlngigkeit der sixtinischen Septuaginta-Ausgabe von der aldinischen", ZAW 33 (1913), 30-46), M.L. Margolis ("The Aldina as a Source for the Sixtine", JBL 38 (1919), 51-52 ), and J. Ziegler ("Der Text der Aldjna im Dodekapropheton", Biblica 26 (1945), 37-51, esp. 49-51.
6. For background information to the publication history of both the smaller and larger Cambridge editions see H.B. Swete, The 01d Testament in Greek, I, xi; Introduction, pp. 188-190; as well as the "Preftutory Note to Genesis" in BM, I, 1906, i-v, and "Preface to the Octateuch", I, 1917, v-vii.
7. Cf. his remarks in Anmerkunpen, p. 3 (Mitt. I, 21), "Noch einmal", (Mitt. III, 230-231), and Pars prior, p. xvi.
8. For useful summaries on the history and objectives of the Gbttingen series see the articles by W. Kappler ("Ziele und Aufgaben des GUttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmens", GGA 202 (1940), R. Hanhart ("L'edizione dei LXX e la fondazione Gottingense che la prepara" RivStorLettRel 1 (1965), 351-352), and J. W. Wevers ("The Göttingen Septuagint", IOSCS Bulletin 8 (1975), 19-23).
9. Ieremias Vates e versione Ioudaeorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpretum graecorum emendatus notisque criticis illustratus, 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1824 ("Tomus 2 post obitum patris edidit, F.G.A. Spohn").
10. Das Buch Jeremia griechisch und hebryisch (Nach dem Tode des Herausgebers besorgt von J. Dahse und Erwin Nestle), Stuttgart, 1924.
11. For instance, the title page now prints the name as Jeremias with a "J" instead of with an "I" as in the first edition (this produces an inconsistency, however, since the name remains as "Ieremias" at the top of every page of the text). For other slight changes in the new edition see the discussion below in Ch. 3, pp. 132-133.
12. In Colligere Fragmenta (FS Alban Dold), eds. B. Fischer and V. Fiala (Texte und Arbeiten 2), Beuron, 1952, pp. 13-24.
13. Historisches Jahrbuch 77 (1958), 347-357.
14. The quote comes from M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice", Textus 3 (1963), 149, n. 70. Note also the recent comment by B. Childs in Old Testament Books for Pastor and Teacher, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 15-16, to the effect that he prefers "the very useful" edition of Swete in favour of "the eclectic text" of Rahlfs.
15. See the statement recorded above ( p .4 ) from the Cambridge University Reporter, 13 March, 1883, particularly the comment that the apparatus of the larger edition would "provide materials for the critical determination of the text". Swete remarks that the collation of HP "promise materials upon which a critical revision of the text may ultimately be based" (OT in Greek, I, ix), and with regard to his own edition he feels that a reliable reproduction of Codex Vaticanus "supplies at least an excellent standard of comparison, . . . until a critical text has been produced (Introduction, p. 190). According to their "Prefatory Note to Genesis", Brooke and McLean say that their object is to present "the evidence available for the reconstruction of the text or texts of the LXX" (BM, I, 1, i).
16. See the remark in "Prefatory Note to Genesis" on Lagarde: "He alone, if any one, could have 'sustained the labour,' --not only of the preliminary task which has been entrusted to us, but also of its more important sequel--the reconstruction of the pre-hexaplaric text of the LXX., so far as that is now possible" (p. iv). Compare also Swete's remarks on Lagarde, Introduction p. 288 and OT in Greek, $I$, $x$.
17. Again in the "Prefatory Note to Genesis" note the statement, "At an early stage of the undertaking it was decided that it would be premature to attempt to provide a reconstructed or 'true' text in this edition". Similarly in the "Preface to the Octateuch" (1917), "No attempt has been made to provide a reconstructed or 'true' Septuagint text. As Dr Deissmann said at the Oriental Congress at Hamburg when the plan of our edition was discussed, 'In the present state of LXX studies an edition of the LXX in the strict sense of the word is not yet possible. What however is possible and absolutely necessary is a trustworthy collection of the textual material.' The work originally undertaken by the Syndics of the Press in 1883 was based on the same view. In preparing the present volume we have come across no evidence of any sort which has led us to modify our belief in its absolute truth". See also Swete on Tischendorf: "It was plain to him that the time had not come for the construction of a critical text", OT in Greek, $I$, ix.
18. E.g., G. Lambert, Nouvelle Revue Théologique 80 (1958), 990. B. Botte, Recherches de Théolosie Ancienne et Médiévale 25 (1958), 147-148.
R. Tournay, RB 65 (1958), 292.
O. Eissfeldt, TLZ 83 (1958), 22-24.
H. Schneider, TRe 65 (1960), 101-106.
19. This remains the clearest example of the change of style in the second half even though the actual phrase oürws cime kupios occurs for the first time only in 30:1.
20. Already in 1794 M.G.L. Spohn suggested that the different versions of the parallel passage in 29:19-20 (49:18-19) // 27(50):44-45 implied different hands Ieremias vates (published 1824), pp. 9-10 (cf. also pp. 17, 20). See also the remarks by P.F. Frankl (1872), pp. 448-449, A. Scholz (1875), p. 14, C. Workman (1889), p. xxvii, A.W. Streane (1896), p. 1, n. 1, and J.J. Kneucker (1879), p. 83, n. 8. Only E. Kuhl (1882) made an explicit statement to the effect that the translation of Jer was a unity (p.8).
21. "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah", JTS 4 (1902-03), 245-266; Jewish Worship, pp. 29-37.
22. "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel", JTS 4 (1902-03), 398-411; "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books", JTS 4 (1902-03), 578-585: "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings", JTS 8 (1906-07), 262-278.
23. See for example the contributions by:
G. Buchanan Gray, "The Greek Version of Isaiah: Is it the Work of a Single Translator?", JTS 12 (1911), 286-293. J.Herrmann and F. Baumgurtel, Beitruge zur Entstehunggeschichte der Septuaginta, 1923.
O.J. Baab, "A Theory of Two Translators for the Greek Genesis", JBL 52 (1933), 239-243.
N. Turner, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel", JTS

7 (1956), 12-24.
M.S. Hurwitz, "The Septuagint of Isaiah 36-39 in Relation to that of 1-35, 40-66", HUCA 28 (1957), 75-83.
G. Howard, "Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos", VT 20 (1970), 108-112.
T. Muraoka, "A Re-examination of the Two-translator Theory of a Septuagint Book", unpublished paper read at Uppsala International meeting IOSCS, 1971.
T. Muraoka,"The Greek Texts of Samuel-Kings: Incomplete Translations or Recensional Activity", 1972 Proceedings, 1972 90-107.
J.A. Arieti, "The Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos", JBL 93 (1974), 338-347.
25. "The Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies", JAOS 61 (1941). 88, n. 31.
26. See for example the critiques by:
A. Kaminka, Studien zur Septuaginta, 1928, p. 9.
J. Ziegler, Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches

Isaias, 1934, pp. 31-46.
J. Ziegler, Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwblfprophetenbuch, 1934-35, pp. 1-16.
J. Ziegler, "Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job", Miscellanea Biblica, II, 277-296, 1934.
A.C. Johnson, H.S. Gehman, E.H. Kase, The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel, 1938, pp. 52-73.
I.L. Seeligmann, The Septuagint Version of Isaiah, 1948, pp. 39-42.

DoW. Gooding, The Account of the Tabernacle, 1959. The book argues for a unity in the translation of the LXX of Exodus, except for Ex 38 which comes from a different hand (cf. Chs. 4-7 of the book).
T. Muraoka, "Is the Septuagint Amos VIII 12-IX 10 a Separate Unit?" VT 20 (1970), 496-500.
D. Barthélemy, Les Devanciers díAquila, 1963, pp. 91ff.
27. Some representative examples are the following:
E. Duval, "Le texte grec de Jérémie d' après une étude récente", RB 12 (1903), 394-403.
L. Kלhler, "Beobachtungen", ZAW 29 (1909), 1-39, esp. p. 5, n. 4 .
W.W. Graf von Baudissin, Kyrios, 1929, I, 191, n. 1.
R.A. Martin, Syntax, 3957, p. 7.
W. Rudolph, Jeremia, 1968 , p. xxiii.
E. Würthwein, Der Text des Alten Testaments, ${ }^{3} 1966$,
p. 53, n. 1.
28. Ziegler says, "Bei der Untersuchung des Übersetzungscharakters ist zu beachten, dass die Ier.-LXX nicht einheitlich ist. Dies haben schon Mltere Textkritiker bemerkt, so Spohn. Thackeray nimmt zwei Ubersetzer an . . . . Mann muss.Thack. zustimmen . . . ." Ieremias, p. 128, n. i. In Beitruge he speaks for instance of "dem zweiten Ier.-Ubersetzer", pp. 28-29 and passim.

2 29. See K.H. Graf, 1862, pp. xl ff., and F. Giesebrecht, 1907, pp. xxvff. For a list of the major LXX omissions see A. Gelin, Dictionnaire de la Bible, IV, col. 857 ff .
30. MT order: Egypt, Philistines, Moab, Ammonites, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Elam, Babylon. LXX order: Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistines, Edom, Ammonites, Kedar, Damascus, Moab.
31. Ziegler thinks that this phrase has reference not only to the large transpositions of the oracles but also to the many differences in word order between the LXX and MT texts (Ieremias, p. 44, n.1).
32. "They [i.e. the Jewish elders] hid from the knowledge of the people as many of the passages which contained any scandal against the elders, rulers, and judges, as they could, some of which have been preserved in uncanonical writings (Apocrypha)" Ante-Nicene Library, X, p. 377 (in Gk, PG 11).
33. GCS, Origenes $X$, p. 388. See quote in translation below, p. 56.
34. E.g. HTR 57 (1964), esp. 287 (n. 28), 298-299; IEJ 16 (1966), esp. 82 (n. 6), 84-85, 92-93 (n. 36), 94; "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts", QHBT, esp. pp. 308-309.
35. E.g. RB 81 (1974), 631 (F.L.); CBQ 38 (1976), 109-110 (R.W. Klein); JJS 28 (1977), 198 (P. Wernberg-Møller); SOTS Book List, 1975, pp. 35-36 (W. McKane). Two extended reviews-both critical--are those by G.F. Hasel in Bibliotheca Orientalis 32 (1975), 236-238, and M. Dahood in Biblica 56 (1975), 429-431.
36. The closest approximation in the field of LXX to this method that I have found is the work by J.C.M. das Neves, A teologia da tradução grega dos Setenta no livro de Isaías, Lisbon, 1973, where he takes Ch. 24 as a test-case for exploring the theological tendencies of the LXX version of Isaiah. The method has also been used with profit in various book reviews, e.g. the review of L.H. Brockington The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament (Bibliotheca Orientalis 32 (1975), 84-85) where the reviewer evaluates the book on the basis of Gen 49.

- 1. A number of MSS listed by Ziegler (Ieremias, pp. 8-10) are incomplete or fragmentary and do not contain Ch. 29; these are $147,198,231,393,445,449,456,567,951,966,980$.

An additional nine MSS exist which do contain the text of Jer 29 but have not been collated for this study; these are 97, 228, 420, 430, 435, 461, 501, 568, 684. These late and less important minuscules were among those not collated for the GUttingen edition of Jer; they were therefore not included in their photo-graph-microfilm collection and consequently were unavailable to me during my visit there. MSS 97 (known in HP and Nestle-Dahse by the number 33 ) and 228 were collated by $H P$ (from whence they were taken over by Nestle-Dahse). These two, along with 430, 435, and 568, and "Catena" MSS and contain the same type of text as that described below in the section on the $C$ group (pp. 91-96 MSS 420 and 501 are dependent on 631 and 36 respectively, both of which have been collated for our study.

Ziegler (p. 11) also lists MSS 349, 533, and 573 as containing Jer texts but this information is incorrect according to Rahlfs' Verzeichnis. The MSS in question are indeed Catena texts as noted by Ziegler, but they do not contain the book of Jer (cf. Rahlfs, Verzeichnis, p. 26, pp. 186-7, p. 205).

Another. MS collated by HP (followed by Nestle-Dahse) is 41, but this MS according to Rahlfs' Verzeichnis is one of those which is "vorschollen".
2. In the collation of HP the codex is cited by the abbreviation "Alex" (for a MS reading included in the main text of Grabe's edition of Alexandrinus) and by the Roman numeral III (for a MS reading not incorporated into Grabe's text). Tischendorf used the symbol "Ax" in his critical apparatus.
3. Symbol in HP: XII. In the collation of Field this MS is known both as "Cod. XII" and "Cod. Jes", the latter name coming from Montfaucon's designation of it as "Ms. Jes[uitarum]".
4. The alternative and more common symbol for this MS has been the Heb letter $\mathcal{N}$, but printing and typing expediency favours the use of the letter $S$.
5. Symbol in HP: 23.
6. Those oracles with different page number for the Philistine and Edom oracles follow the Heb arrangement of the text. An exception is MS 106 which has a special order (see below p.105).
7. In Field's collation this MS is designated 87*.
8. In Field's collation this MS is designated 87. MS 88 in Field has reference to a collation by Bernardo Stephanopoli of a not very accurate copy of the original codex executed by Leo Allatius (d. 1669).
9. This MS is one of the few which contains the entire Bible; in $B M$ referred to by the letter " $p$ ".

9 ${ }^{\text {a }}$. Designated 144 in HP and Nestle-Dahse.
10. This papyrus, containing fragmentary verses from Chs. 2832, is one of five papyri unavailable to Ziegler at the time of his publication (in addition to 986, these are 804, 817, 837, and 984). However, the yield from Jer 29 is not great: only the two end letters -us from the definite article roús in 29:11
11. Three remote Latin allusions to the text of Jer's Philistine and Edom oracle on file at the Centre d' Analyse et de Documentation Patristique at Strasbourg are the following:

1) Origen, in his commentary on Matthew, (GCS, Origenes XI, p. 7) is thought indirectly to hint at 29(47):4 in the following remark: ". . . quomodo et visio Tyri vel quaecumque prophetantur de Tyro vel de principe Tyri, quomodo etiam visio quadrupedum in deserto apud Esaiam pendent in duobus istis mandatis".
2) Pseudo-Cyprian in Adversus Iudaeon (CCL 4, p. 273; also in the edition of D. van Damme, Freiburg, 1969, p. 127) may have 29:19(49:18) in mind in the phrase "et ad solitudinem Sodomae patriam eorum redegit".
3) Victorinus Poetovionensis in In Apocalypsim (CSEL 49, p. 52) may allude to 29:23(49:22) // MT 48:40 in the phrase "et quod morte devicta ascenderit in caelis extendens alas suas".

However, these allusions are so uncertain and secondary that they can be dispensed with in the collation.
12. Walton made no attempt to harmonize the $G k$ and Heb texts in parallel columns, so that LXX Jer 29 is found opposite MT Jer 29!
13. The term preferred by Ernest C. Colwell ("Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings", pp. 96-97). For Colwell a "variation unit" is defined as a certain length of text "wherein our manuscripts present at least two variant forms; it is that passage in which differences occur". By this concept Colwell wishes to avoid the misleading impression that can be created by the setting up of one text as the norm against which "variants" are plotted (see also the article by E.J. Epp, "Toward the Clarification of the Term 'Textual Variant'" in the George D. Kilpatrick FS, especially pp. 156-157). We may accept Colwell's point and caution, but the fact remains that the only practical way to proceed is to use one particular text against which to plot other readings. It only needs to be emphasized again that this collation text is entirely neutral and that no value judgement on the "variants" to that text is intended at this stage.
14. Even earlier, groupings of MSS had already been noticed by Holmes and Parson in the process of their collations (cf. the comments in the preface to vol. 1 on the peculiar text represented by MSS 19, 108, 118, in the Pentateuch).
15. Account must be taken of the change of textual pattern within some MSS; e.g. 130 is under influence of the $L$ group in Chs. 1-9, similarly 538 in Chs. 17-20, 37-38, 48-49 (cf. Ziegler, Ieremias, p. 83).
16. By the term "recension" in this discussion is to be understood a text that has been subjected to consistent and deliberate revision, as opposed to one that has been formed by accidental or ad hoc scribal change.
17. Previous scholars (e.E. Thackeray, Grammar, p. 4; Soisalon-Soininen, Der Charakter der asterisierten Zuzdtze in der Septuaginta, p. 1; D.W. Gooding, Recensions of the LXX Pentateuch, $p_{\text {. 5 }}$ 5) have pointed to the Origenic recension as the place to start in the work of LXX text restoration, and my research confirms the methodological validity of this approach.
18. Gk text in GCS, Origenes X, p. 388. English translation taken mainly from M. $\bar{F}$. Wiles, "Origen as a Biblical Scholar", CHB I, p. 457.
19. Other references by Origen to his use of the critical signs can be found in the following places: Epistula ad Africanus, PG 11, cols. 56-60; Johannescommentar, GCS, Origenes IV, p. 410; Die Schrift vom Gebet, GCS, Origenes II, p. 332.

The traditional view that Origen took over the 'A Piotápxela
 on the Hexapla is well presented by Swete, Introduction, pp. 69ff. In more recent times the question has been raised by P. Kahle whether these signs were ever present in the Hexapla at all ("The Greek Bible Manuscripts Used by Origen", JBL 79 (1960), 116). It is true that nowhere does Origen explicitly state that he employed these signs in the Hexapla itself. As Jellicoe has pointed out (SMS, p. 124), this is only an inference we make and as such may be quite erroneous. For our present purposes, however, the question is purely academic. The vital point is. that Origen on his own testimony--and this can hardly be contro-verted--did use these signs somewhere. Jellicoe suggests in response to Kahle's challenge that Origen some time after the completion of the Hexapla may have composed a separate recension of the LXX with the signs included, butthis is pure speculation and has no more merit in it than the traditional view. Apart from the evidence of Mercati's Hexaplaric fragment of the Psalms (which may be open to other explanations, cf. Bo Johnson, Die Hexaplarische Rezension des 1. Samuelbuches der Septuaginta, pp. 14-15), it still seems in order to speak of the fifth column text of the Hexapla as containing the LXX recension of Origen replete with the critical signs.
20. It goes without saying that not every asterised reading in our MSS is uncritically to be attributed to Origen. The question of the reliability of the signs is a problem that must be dealt with case by case. This will be demonstrated in the analysis below.
21. Critical signs are occasionally found in other MSS besides those mentioned here, e.g. at 29:4 in MSS 449-770 (see below, p. 64 ).
22. Other forms of the obelus attested elsewhere are - $-\div$
（cf．Field，I，lv－lvi）．The sign $\propto$ is of infrequent occurrence and is unique to Syh．Field devoted a special section to it （ $I$ ，lxiv－lxvii）and concluded that it is mercly a different form of the obelus．Ziegler agrees with this in regard to its use in Jer（Ieremias，pp．78－79），but in Is（Isaias，p．59，n．1）and in Ez（Ezechiel pp．42－43）he thinks it is used rather as a kind of index．to point out a reading present in Syh but absent in 88.

23．See below p． 66 n． 26 for a discussion of the reliability of Hexaplaric signs on double readings．

24．Compare the comment by Margolis，＂The principle of ex－ pressing the Hebrew nota accusativi was present to the mind of Origen when he started his work of revision；where he failed to live up to it in the earlier edition he made up for the omission in the subsequent recension＂（Margolis is speaking of the Hexapla and Tetrapla editions respectively），＂The Textual Criticism of the Greek Old Testament＂，Transactions of the American Philosoph－ ical Society 67 （1928），194．

25．This view was defended by Wevers in his article，＂A Study in the Textual History of Codex Vaticanus in the Books of Kings，＂ZaW 64 （1952），189．S．P．Brock came to a negative con－ clusion on this subject in his study of the recensions of the Gk Samuel，1966，p． 55.

26．The same pattern of new reading asterised，old reading no sign may be observed in 88－Syh on eleven occasions elsewhere in Jer（3：19 5：5 6：12 $31: 30 \quad 31: 31 \quad 34: 7 \quad 36: 2 \quad 38: 8,12$ 39：8 51：28）．On eight occasions in 88－Syh both elements of a double reading are marked（new reading asterised，old reading obelised： $2: 6$ 4：20 $6: 2 \quad 31: 36 \cdot 37: 6 \quad 38: 13,1445: 9$ ）．Six times in 88 －Syh neither part of a double readinghas preserved a sign （29：14 33：17 38：12 48：9 49：1 51：23，cf．Ziegler，Ieremias， p．79）．These statistics point to the inconsistency with which Origen＇s critical signs have been preserved even in our primary Hexaplaric witnesses．For confirmation of this compare the ar－ ticle by C．T．Fritsch，＂The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro－Hexaplar of Proverbs＂，JBL 72 （1953），169－181．

27．An alternative explanation might be that iTiminoria！ was intended to translate $\operatorname{aby}$ ．（cf．the translation mrspoquñovour for $1 \mathrm{~h}^{7}$ ing Is 40：31），but this seems less likely．According to

 iby，both，in Aquila and in the LXX），while the reading K＜i i imiminuctar of Symmachus in $86^{\text {mg }}$ is definetely sub asterisco indicating an addition；also the presence of the conjunc－
 to the Heb הスナ＂，rather than הらy＂．

28．Where it is assumed，but cannot be proved because of the nature of the Syriac language，that $S y h$ attests the same reading as 88 ，this is indicated by the annotation $88(-5 y h)$ ．
29. Ziegler thinks that the $Q^{m g}$ reading which assigns the addition of $\alpha^{2} \lambda \lambda$ o údous $\mathrm{mg}^{\text {to }} \alpha^{\prime} \theta^{\prime}$ is the correct one rather than the $o^{\prime}$ symbol in $86^{\mathrm{mg}}$ (see his second apparatus).
30. Jerome's words are: "vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber, qui ista[i.e. additamenta hexaplaris] non habeat" (CSEL 55, p. 389).
31. For example, Ziegler has determined that 233 is a MS heavily influenced by the Hexaplaric recension and wherever possible associates it with the 0 group. There is no evidence in Jer 29 which would of itself lead to this conclusion and the matter can be decided only on the basis of a study of the entire book. In fact, it will be argued below (pp.118-19) that 233 is not Hexaplaric in the OAN section.
32. This is the same methodology as that employed by S.P. Brock in his unpublished Oxford dissertation, The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel, cf. p. ix.
33. It should be noted that this symbol differs from the italicized $L$ employed by Ziegler; in the latter's text the joint attestation of the sub-groups $\underline{L}+\underline{I}$ is marked L'. In the critique of Ziegler's text (Ch. 3) when citing directly from his apparatus I sometimes employ his italicized symbols (cf. pp. 118 ff. ); otherwise I normally use the unitalicized forms which entail no commitment to Ziegler's sub-groups.
34. An unintentional scribal change from $\pi$ to $\sigma$ is theoretically also possible.
 attested approximately 100 times in Jer (cf. Ziegler, Ieremias, pp. 102, 106). In Jer 29 we have additional examples of his translation in vv. $3(2 \dot{x}), 4,9,20$.
36. In the majority text the phrase reads OTITAYEK $\Delta \mid \omega \bar{\zeta} \omega$. In the hypothetically faulty uncial, the middle arm of the $\epsilon$ may have been missing and hence the letter would have been read as a sigma (c). To make sense of the resultant text, otitaxyckalwg the first part was read as orl TAXYC, followed by full stop. The $K$ was then taken for the conjunction $K A 1$, and the latter part read $K A l$ Alwj $\omega$ (cf. the remark by Ziegler, Ieremias, p. 81 that several erroneous readings show that $\underline{L}$ goes back to an uncial "codex archetypus").
37. The incidence of readings in this section would probably have been higher still had the whole of the chapter been quoted by Chr/Tht. For it should be understood that when Chr/Tht fail to support a reading from $0 / L$ or simply $L$ this is more often due to the fact that the reading in question is not attested by Chr/Tht than to the fact that they have a different reading.
38. There are a total of six double readings in the $L$ recension of Jer 29. Here they are all brought together:
 29:10 oo i/oí

 29:14 coop / iv , यध́ow رŕpous
29:20 kail toils vsaríokous imiaitinv imiotrioate / kail ais ikicktós trios wítir ímiokíqoual
39. The omission in $V .8$ of بُx< to topic aútiv $L^{-514074491}$ was undoubtedly caused by scribal parablepsis: ouvetwv wx\&to logia $\alpha$ UTWV.
40. "Constantinopilis usque Antiochiam Lucian martyris exemplaria probat," Praefatio Hieronymi in librum Paralipomenon, PL 28, col. 1392.
41. See the works of Ceriani("Le recension deil LXX e la versions latina detta Ital", p. 1 R. Instituto Lombardo, 1866), Field (Origenes Hexaplorum quad supersunt. . . fragmenta, I, 1875, pp. Ixxxiv-xciv; II, pp. 428-429), Lagarde (Ankundigung, p. 22; Pars Prior, pp. xiii-xv: Mittheilungen, I, 175), Rahlfs (Septuaginta-Studien III) and Moore ("The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint", The American Journal of Semitic Languages 29 (1912-13), 37).
42. See "La prétendue 'recension lucianique'" in Les Devanciers d'Aquila, 1963, pp. 126-127, and especially his "PostScriptum: la 'recension lucianique'," appendix to the article "Les problèmes textuels de 2 Sam 11,2-1 Rois 2,11 reconsidérés a la lumiere de certaines critiques des 'Devanciers d' Aquila'", in 1972 Proceedings (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 2), ed. R.A. Kraft, 1972, pp. 64-89.

Quite arbitrarily Barthélemy proposes that the term "recension" must be reserved for a text that gives evidence of deliberate approximation towards the Heb ("Post-Scriptum", pp. 72-74). But why the Heb must be a criterion for the definition of a recension is a mystery. It seems better to continue using the term with reference to a text that has undergone conscious revision according to certain discernible guidelines. Under this definition the L group of Jer certainly qualifies as a "recension".
43. The situation which obtains in Jer is therefore quite different from the text commonly labeled Lucianic in Samuel where already Wellhausen showed that it contained many ancient readings lost elsewhere in the Gk Tradition.
44. According to Rahlfs' Verzeichinis there exist another four Jer Catena MSS: 97, 430, 435, 567(fragmentary), and 568. For Ziegler's assertion that MSS 349, 533, and 573 are also Catena MSS containing the book of Jer see p. 15 n. 1 above;
for Ziegler's contention that MS 68 is dependent on the Catena text see below, p. 109 n. 54
45. Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften, Freiburg, 1889, p. 2, n. 2.
46. C readings have not been documented in these lists.
47. The discovery of pre-Hexaplaric revisions or recensions is no new thing; cf. earlier the discussion by D.W. Gooding, "The Argument for a Pre-Origenic Recension", pp. 88-89 of his Cambridge thesis The Greek Deuteronomy (1954) and the articles by G. Zuntz and P. Katz in ZAW 68 (1956), 124-184, and ZAW 69 (1957), 77-84, respectively. Most recently one thinks of the Kaige recension discovered by Barthélemy.

My conclusions on the character of the $Q$ text--which were reached quite independently--correspond to those of Ziegler (Ieremias, p. 63) and thus tend to confirm the soundness of his interpretation (contra R. Tournay, RB 65 (1958), 292, in a review of Ziegler's Jeremiah text).
48. Compare the very similar textual phenomena in the recensions of 1 Sam where readings attested within the limits of $0 / \underline{D}+\underline{L} / \underline{E}$ are likely to be Hexaplaric, whereas those with wider support or those without the support of $\underline{O} \underline{D}$ are less likely so (Brock, Recensions, pp. 127ff.).
49. "Le recensioni dei LXX dêaversione latina detta Itala," 1886, p. 106; De codice Marchaliano seu Vaticano graeco 2125 Prophetarum, 1890, pp. $48 \mathrm{ff} ., 105 \mathrm{ff}$.
50. R.R. Ottley, Isaiah According to the Septuagint, I, 1904, pp. 6ff., 14ff.; II, 1906, pp. xff., xxxiff; Handbook to the Septuagint, pp. 91ff. W.O.E. Oesterley, Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos, 1902, p. 2 ("That $Q$ contains the Hesychian text is universally admitted"); F.C. Burkitt, EB, IV, 1903, col. 5021 ("the Hesychian text is best represented by the first hand of Codex Marchalianus"); W. Grossouw, The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets, 1938, p. 16; A. Vaccari, "The Hesychian Recension of the Septuagint," Biblica 46 (1965), 60-66; Gehman, JBL 48 (1929) 329-332, and HSDB, 1963, p. 351; J.W. Wevers, IDB, IV, 1962, p. 275.
51. Rahlfs was sceptical of being able to trace the Hesychian text, cf. Septuaginta, I, p. xxxi, though earlier, Septuaginta Studien, II, 1907, pp. 183-197, he had identified the Hesychian recension with the Lower Egyptian text in Psalms. Ziegler has been negative throughout, cf. Isaias, p. 23, Ezechiel, p. 29, n. 3, Daniel, p. 47, n. 1. Others have tried to identify it with the $B$ text, e.g., Grabe, Letter to Mill, 1705; recently re-argued by Jellicoe, JBL 88 (1963), 409-418.
52. Ceriani, De codice Marchaliano, pp. 34-35; Swete, Introduction, p. 144.
53. The above are more significant A readings; there are of course other unique A readings which are merely clerical and orthographic.
54. Another pair of minuscules that belong to this group are 68 and 122, but these are near identical copies of $B$, at least in Jer. Ziegler describes 68 as a Catena text (Jeremias, p. 11 ), but this is definitely not so in Jer. Some examples from Jer 29 that prove the dependence of 68 and 122 on $B$ are the following:

29:3
${ }^{\prime} \varphi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} B S\left[\begin{array}{lll}68 & 122 & 130\end{array}\right]\{\pi \cdot$ rel.

29:9 $\delta \alpha 1 \delta \alpha \mu \quad B 68122]$ dedav 401 538 544; סedova 534; dardan rel.
29:10 $\dot{\omega} s$ BS 68 122] work ep A-106-410 C-613; woks rel.
29:11 om. Ki BS 68122130
29:13 $\varepsilon \bar{i} \pi \varepsilon(r) B S \quad 68122538] \lambda<y<1$ rel.
29:21 גútív $B S^{*} 68122106410 \quad 130538$ ] auth $A ;$ auth $S^{*} 26$;


## Notes to Chapter 3

1. Some examples of the decidedly secondary readings which it attests for Jer 29 are the following (underlined):

 TIts $k \times \pi \pi a d o k i a s=M T$
 Tiv micoal $=$ MT

29:16 iou щikpóv = MT

29:19 om. Tovtokpátwp $=$ MT
29:22 om. örl = MT ; om. Kaki = MT
2. A comparative chart of selected readings from Jer 29 illustrates the kind of trivial modifications found in various editions of the LXX textus receptus:


3. Cf. above, p. 6 . He was, of course, aided by a great deal of scholarship that had already been expended on the LXX of Jer (cf. his remark, "Die notierte Literatur zeigt, dass bereits in ausgiebiger. Weise die LXX von Ier. Thr. Bar. untersucht worden ist" BeitrHge, p. 6).
4. Note that Lagarde listed the witnesses in this order, "Noch einmal", pp. 230-231.
5. The sub-divisions in some of the other editions one feels
become too complicated to be helpful, e.g. Isaias $\underline{\underline{L}}^{\prime \prime}=1 I+1 I I$ $+\underline{I I I}$, and $\underline{C}^{\prime \prime}=\underline{C}+\underline{c} I+\underline{c} I I_{\text {。 }}$
6. See his comments in Duodecim Prophetae, pp. 138-139; however, in Isaias the insert sheet "Erklthrung der Zeichen und AbkUrzungen" contains an extensive list of "codices mixti".
7. Cf. above the discussion on the sub-divisions in $L$, pp.87-9
8. For example, why in 29:15 are V-239-538 joined by hyphens for the reading rà " $\theta \vee n$, but 106239538 are not joined by hyphens for the variant $\pi \alpha \rho \propto y i v \varepsilon \sigma \theta_{\varepsilon}$ ? Why in 1:19 for the variant $\varepsilon \bar{i} \pi \varepsilon(v)$ is 410 included with the $Q$ group rather than with the B group?
9. Question: Why does Ziegler employ a period with abbreviations for the Church Fathers but not for the daughter versions?
10. These extraordinary omissions are as follows:

> In Is

| 15:1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | 109 | $91^{t \times t}-490$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 17:1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ |  |  |
| 19:1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | 407 | $763^{t x t}$ |
| 21:1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | 301 |  |
| 21:11 | $106538^{t x t}$ | 393 |  |
| 22:1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | 763 |  |
| 23:1 | $106538{ }^{\text {txt }}$ | 763 | t $407{ }^{\text {txt }}$ |

In Jer

| 26(46):13 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 27(50):1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ |  |
| 29(47):1 | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | Bo $\mathrm{Arm}^{\text {p }}$ |
| 29:8(49:7) | $46106538^{t x t}$ |  |
| 30(49):1 | $46106538{ }^{\text {txt }}$ | $\mathrm{Arm}^{p}$ |
| 30:6(49:28) | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ |  |
| 30:12(49:23) | $106538^{\text {txt }}$ | $763^{t x t}$ |

11. For example, for the reading isou $\mu$ ikpós at 29:16 Ziegler cites all the supporting and non-supporting evidence; why he made an exception in this case is not entirely clear.
12. Ziegler's comment to the effect that this calculation "ist nicht allzu schwierig" (Ieremias, p. 138) is not entirely fair. For somebody well familiar with the MS evidence for a particular book such calculations may not be too demanding, but for the occasional reader or scholar who quickly needs to know the supporting evidence for a particular reading the process is not at all so simple.
13. Cf. the entry at 1:19: $\lambda$ '́ycı Cyr Tht.] sires(v) B-S-239-538 V+ 0-233 C. The mention of Cyril and Theodoret with the lemma text does not mean that they only attest the $\lambda$. ry $\varepsilon_{1}$ reading; rather it means that $\lambda$ éy $\mathrm{c}_{\mathrm{l}}$ is found in all Gk MSS not mentioned for eitrek), plus the Fathers Cyril and Theodoret.
14. Hence S.P. Brock's remark in the SOTS Book List, 1978, p. 46, to the effect that the new edition "is evidently a straight reprint of the 1957 edition...without any alterations" remains generally true with the exception of the apparatus to Jer 29.
15. See for example the work being done on the Armenian version: M.E. Stone, "The Old Armenian Version of Isaiah: Towards the Choice of the Base Text for an Edition", Textus 8 (1973), 107-123.
16. Cf. the critique of Wever's edition of Genesis by K.G. O'Connel in CBQ 39 (1977), 119 ff.
17. Some anonymous marginal readings are known to come from the Hexaplaric recension while others come from the Lucianic recension (see above, p. 86 ). It must be a difficult, if not impossible, task on every occasion to correctly associate these readings with the right group. Ziegler more of ten than not links an anonymous marginal reading with the Hexaplaric recension.
18. See Ziegler's explanation for this procedure, Isaias, p. 113.
19. The term "contemporary" approach is mine rather than Walters'. Walters employed no parallel term to the adjectives "traditional" and "documentary" used to describe the first two alternatives.
20. A couple of minor differences may however be noted. In the case of the movable nu Ziegler follows the "school rule" (cf. his comment Duodecim Prophetae, F. 118) whereas Rahlfs inserts it regardless of what letter follows. In the Edom oracle compare the following spellings:


By contrast Ziegler appears always to employ the final sigma for oütws where Rahlfs occasionally omits it, cf. 13:9, 35:6.

21．See the comment by G．D．Kilpatrick in his review of R． Hanhart＇s Zum Text des 2．und 3．Makkablerbuches（1960）：＂It is quite clear from these pages（i．e．Ch．1）how much students of the Greek Bible owe to Dr．P．Katz，but we have to distinguish between what our authors wrote and what is philologically correct，＂GGA 215 （1963），12．See also a comment to the same effect by T．Mura－ oka in his review of Walters＇Text，JSS 19 （1974），307．

22．Ziegler himself says that in the matter of proper names he has subjected Rahlfs and Katz to a new appraisal，the result of which is embodied in Ch． 2 of Beitruge，＂Transkriptionen＂．

23．The comment is not necessarily meant as a criticism but merely as reporting on Ziegler＇s methodology．

24．W．Kappler，＂Ziele und Aufgaben des GUttinger Septuaginta－ Unternehmens＂，GGA 202 （1940），115－124．

25．Cf．above，p．5n． 8
26．The most common Heb equivalence is as might be expected nיフスリ（Gen 45：7 $2 \mathrm{Ki} 14: 7 \quad 4 \mathrm{Ki} 19: 31$ Is $14: 30$ Jer 27（50）：26 Jer 27（40）：11）or $7 \pi \downarrow$（Is 10：22 14：22），but it is also used to


27．The interpretation of the phrase is complicated by the un－ certainty regarding the reading dia xipa at the commencement of the verse which Ziegler emends to imixsipd，but on the basis of
 Mou might be translated，＂they have perished each by the hand

 each by the hand of his brother，my neighbour＂，where the deity seems to speak of Israel as＂my neighbour＂．

28．The same thing can be seen happening in Ziegler＇s decision
 In 1：19 and 2：3 Ziegler opts for the form diys，kueros on the basis of translation pattern（see below，p． 197 n .32 ）against that of the main MS evidence（cf．his explanation Beitrlge，p．38）．

29．In NT textual criticism there is a lively on－going de－ bate concerning the validity of the eclectic method and how far it is to be carried；see for instance the Festschrift for Prof．G． Kilpatrick Studies in New Testament Language and Text（1976）which includes essays both pro and contra Kilpatrick＇s own position． Three useful survey articles on the present state of the debate are those by J．E．Epp in JBL 93 （1974），386－414，HTR 69 （1976）， 211－257，and D．Parker，NTS 24 （1977），149－162．A real desideratum for LXX textual criticism is a careful analysis and evaluation of the craft of textual criticism as it has been practiced and is being practiced today in the Gk OT．For a sampling of Kilpatrick＇s method applied to the LXX see his review of W．Kappler and R．Han－ hart＇s editions of 1，2，and 3 Maccabees in GGA 215 （1963），10－22．

30．＂Diese Ausfuhrungen zeigen，dass eine $v 011$ e Gewthr fur die Ursprunglichkeit verschiedener Lesarten nicht immer geboten werden kann．．．．．Die fortschreitende Forschung mag manche Lesarten，die im App．stehen，in den Text aufnehmen und umgekehrt＂，Duodecim Prophetae，p． 133.

31．See the statistics given by B．Metzger，The Text of the New Testament，pp．184－5．

32．Cf．K．Lake，The Text of the New Testament，pp．9－10． For a review of the arguments advanced against the practice of emendation in the NT in a paper advocating a return to this prac－ tice，see the lively article，written with wit reminiscent of $A_{\text {．}}$ E．Houseman，by John Strungnell，＂A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament＂，CBQ 36 （1974），543－58．
 the former found only in the construct form with
 latter in all other contexts．For the purpose of this review， no such distinction is necessary．

34．The same tendency simply to employ the root meaning of
7． $\boldsymbol{N} N$ is characteristic of the Min Gk VSS．Thus Aquila， where attested，almost uniformly uses duviorns（Is 34：7， 46：12，Ps 21（22）：13，49（50）：13，77（78）：25，131（132）：2，or Suvatós （Is 10：33），except 1 Sam 21：7（8）＂́ex～v（MS 57 sub $\sigma^{\prime}$ ）and Lam 1：15 imepucyí日ns（probably reading ר•TN）．The other versions were more free but still stayed close to the base meaning，e．g．，Symmachus has duváorys（Is 49：26），duvarós （Is 10：33），kpataiós（Is 34：7），okinpós－（Is 46：12），
 （Ps 67（68）：31），广行eíqaros （Ps 77（78）：25），yeyrotaves
duváotns（ $\mathrm{Ps}_{\mathrm{s}} 77(78): 25$ ）， keátos（Is 10：33）．

Among the Eng VSS the RV tends in the same direction， cf．，Jud 5：22＂strong ones，＂and similarly Jer 8：16，26（46）：15．
 rect equivalence）was facilitated in each instance by the associa－ tion of 7 ， $2 \boldsymbol{R}$ with some other animal，e．g．，in Jer 27（50）：11
 The Eng VSS agree that the correct translation there is＂strong horses＂（RV）or＂stallions＂（RSV，NEB，JB）．The LXX（mis）transla－ tion Boidiov has determined the further mistranslation of

 （cf．，5：8 8：16，13：27，38（31）：7）．The important point to note， however，is that the meaning $\beta$ oidiov was derived from the immediate context．

36．The majority of MSS have the reading im macias＂$\pi$ irmer but this is undoubtedly a double reading，as recognized by Giese－ brecht（p．231），K甘hler（p．16）Streane（p．111），Rudolph（ZAW，
p．279），and Ziegler（Beitryge，p．99）．That ！$\pi \pi \alpha \sigma$＇${ }^{\prime}$ s and not $i \pi \pi \omega v$ was the original reading is made virtually certain by the following considerations：it is inexplicable why the read－ ing immarias should have been added to＂immus since the addition would make a clear reading more difficult and would not correspond to the Heb；on the other hand，it is easy to see that $i \pi \pi w /$ could have been added later to give sense to the Gk，cf．，the omission of＂＇ד＂Tuv in V－46－86－198－239－544 0－ 233 verss Possibly＂immwr was at one time a marginal gloss on $i \pi \pi \alpha \sigma$ ís which was later incorporated into the text． Origen probably found only i $1 \pi \pi_{\infty}$ oiks in his Vorlage，otherwise he would also have included $i m \pi w s$, placing one of the words under obelus．Ziegler correctly prints only iminoias in the text．

37．All the MSS read ó nóvnos ó ékizkrós，but again it is possible that we have heré another double reading（so Giesebrecht，p．231，K甘hler，p．21，and Streane，p．263）．Ziegler is also convinced that the pair form a double reading but is less certain which of the two words was original and which was added later．In his discussion of，this lectio duplex（Beitrdge，p．96） he seems to prefer íkicktós as the original，though he admits that $\mu$ ó $\sigma \times s$ could also be considered such，in which case ikrckrós is later approximation to the Heb．In the text he shows his ambivalence by printing both words but placing
ó＇ck入cktós in square，brackets．Whether póoxos or lkдektós or even ： it is clear that the translation was derived from the context as a parallel to the Egyptian bull－god Apis（a translation based in
 ＂swept away＂）．

38．These could represent different Vorlagen（for 1 Sam 21：8 cf．Lagarde＇s suggestion that LXX testifies to a reading
 176；for Ps 75（76）：6 BHS propose ？？큰 $\}$ BHS suggest－T 7 ），or they may be desparate attempts by the translators to make sense of the Heb that for one reason or another was difficult to the translator（cf．for instance the various translations of 7 ＇ユス in the Eng VSS of Is 46：12）．The Heb and Gk of Job is notoriously difficult to correlate and in the case of ¿ súvaros we cannot even be sure that this was intended as a translation of 7 リ $2 N$（cf．the question marks in HR）．

> 39. Text of the NT, p. 185, n. 1.
> 40. Ibid, p. 183.

41．According to the researches of H．J．M．Milne and T．C． Skeat（Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus，London， 1938，pp．54－55），the book of Jer（along with Is，Lam，MP，ShepHer） was copied by Scribe B．The careless habits of this copyist they find hard to describe in moderate language and are amazed he could have been chosen for such an important job．They write， ＂He［Scribe B］seems to have had no firm visual impression of Greck，so barbarous and grotesque are the forms which his
misspellings can present to the eye，and with such utter incon－ sistency does he sway from correct to incorrect．．．．Pure blunders，like telescoping of words and omission of letters or syllables，are incredibly common ．．．；more curious is the wrong insertion of the consonant in the middle of the word，as in
$\pi(\rho) O 1 \eta \sigma \eta$（Jer 37：24），$\delta o \rho(\mu) \alpha+\alpha$（Jer 26：4），$\sigma \alpha(v) \rho k \alpha v$ （Jer 51：35）．Another frequent error is produced by metathesis， бeTal for $2 \sigma$ Tal（Is 35：6），diaرlev for diapevel （Jer 3：5）．．．．＂In the light of this testimony it is not．dif－ ficult to see how the ot of $\dot{\prime}$ rómos could have been inverted by metathesis to ro ，or how a $\rho$ might suddenly have appeared between $\pi$ and 0 of Tos to yield mpos（cf．$\pi(\rho)$ oinon Jer 37：24）．
 this presumably means that the translator read iJs as a collective for lis 。

43．According to Ziegler（Beitryge，p．68），Grabe proposed Kai keuuyn Oudiogns ooup．But this is not correct．The statement in the＂Prolegomena＂clearly reads，＂pro $\theta \alpha \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \eta s$ oủk in Rom．Cod．legendum sit $\mathrm{z} v$ Oג入íoon oovp ，juxta Heb． ワノーロ・ュ

44．This translation is found in Ex 10：19 13：18 15：4，22 23：31；Num 14：25 21：4 33：10，11；Dt 1：40 2：1 11：4；Josh 2：10 4：23 24：6；Jud 11：16（A text）；Ps 105（106）：7，9，22 135（136）：13， 15；Neh 9：9．In $3 \operatorname{Re} 9: 26$ is found $\operatorname{Tj} \mathrm{j}$ ioxárns．

45．According to Streane，the addition of the negative is found in 2：3（2x）5：2 9：5（4）23：32 28（51）：58 29：22（49：21）38：35 （31：37）．The omission is found in $2: 25,4: 15: 3,10$ 18：18 28（51）：3 43（36）：25．Streane also refers to Wellhausen，Der Text der Bucher Samuelis，p．26，for evidence of the same phenomenon happening in 1 and 2 Reg ．Along the same lines compare the re－ cent article by M．L．Klein，＂Converse Translation：A Targumic Technique＂，Biblica 57 （1976），515－537，especially pp．516－529， ＂Addition or Deletion of the Negative Particle＂．

46．Cf．the device employed in the current Peshitta pro－ ject，The Old Testament in Syriac，General Preface，1972，p．VIII．

47．Compare J．Barr＇s review of Walters＇The Text of the Septuagint，particularly his comment，＂Walters seems to have belonged to an age which accepted the emendation of the text more readily than the present generation of scholars does＂， HJ 26 （1975），61－63．

48．For some examples of conjectured readings that have been vindicated by papyri discoveries in Ezekiel，see Ziegler， Beitrlge，p．17．

## Notes to Chapter 4

1．Thackeray actually delineated three translation units in the book，the third being the＂Historical Appendix＂，Ch．52， which he designated＂Jeremiah y＂；however，he adduced only scant support for the third translator and seemed less sure of his case in this matter（cf．＂Gr．Tr．Jer．＂，pp．246，260）．

2．Ziegler＇s treatment of the multiple translator problem in Jer is in fact ambiguous and unsatisfactory．Several times he distinguishes between＂Ier．1＂and＂Ier．II＂and refers to them as＂der erste Ier．－Ubersetzer＂（Beitruge，$p$ ：127）and＂der zweite Ier．－Ubers．＂（Beitrage，p．49）；this distinction then becomes the basis for text－critical decisions，e．g．，in the pre－ ference for the form $\lambda$ \｛y\＆i kúeros at $1: 19$ and $2: 3$ where the majority of MSS have $\varepsilon \bar{i} \pi \kappa(v)$ kúpios and $\varphi{ }^{\prime} \circ(v)$ kJeios res－ pectively（cf．Beitruge，p．38；Ieremias，p．44）．On other occasions he simply speaks of＂der Ubersetzer＂apparently with reference to the whole book and makes decisions on the basis of the unity of the translation，e．g．his preference for the word $k \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \eta^{\prime} \mu \alpha \sigma^{\prime} \alpha$ at 29：10（Jer $b^{\prime}$ ）versus the majority text read－ ings $\left.k \alpha T^{\gamma} \alpha \lambda \operatorname{ci} \mu \mu \alpha(-\alpha\urcorner \alpha\right)$ on the precedent of the translation kala $\mu \bar{\alpha} \sigma \theta \in$ for bbiy at 6：9（Jer a＇）Beitruge，p．48）．

3．For elaboration of this part of Tov＇s argument see pp．6， 42， 135 of his book，and particularly the appendix，＂Why is Jer－R＇s Revision Preserved Only in Jer b＇？＂，pp．162－165．

4．Cf．LSJ．Usually the context is one of joy，exultation or victory rather than one of pain or grief，but the latter sense certainly is attested，including the NT usage at Mk 5：38．

5．Rahlfs．Jer $a^{\prime}: 1: 18$ 5：19 16：10 18：23 19：15 23：8． Jer b＇：29：2 33：2，2 36：1 39：23 43：11，16，32 $47: 5$ 48：12 51：1．

Elsewhere：Gen 19：4 Lev 6：22 Deut 22：19，29 Josh 6：12， 13，19 $2 \operatorname{Re} 3: 25 \quad 3 \operatorname{Re} 2: 26 \quad 12: 24 \quad 13: 11 \quad 1 \operatorname{Chr} 10: 1116: 47$ 17：10 Esth 8：13 9：28 Ps 21：23 Prov 25：4 Am 7：10 Zech 7：5 Ez 38：8 Dan（Th．）4：8．

6．Ziegler．Jer a＇：18：23 19：15 23：8；Jer b＇：29：2 33：2，2 39：23 48：12 51：1．

7．Tov believes that the readings To Ü廿os oou（from
 in 29（47）：6（frcm $\cdot n$ v versus $\mathrm{MI} \cdot n T$ ）are additional examples of the same deliberate attempt to avoid the roots הヶT／art•

8．Not 29（49）：！as in Tov，p．31．
9．The totals include all occurrences of the translated name in question whether or not a corresponding sハスユథ
is found in the MT. My totals do not always coincide with those of Tov. For instance, in the case of $\sigma \alpha \beta \alpha \omega \theta$ his total of 58 for Is and 8 elsewhere seem to be based on the aggregate sums as found in HR. My totals, where possible, are based on Ziegler's critical texts. In the case of Jer we both record 7 occurrences of Tavtoरpátwp in Jer b', but Tov obtains this figure by including 37(30):3 attested by SAVC but rejected by Ziegler, while he fails to mention 38:36(31:35), a firmly attested occurrence of $\pi \alpha$ vтokpátup - Tov's reference to maviokpaitup in Jer 29:29 must be corrected to 29:19.

## 10. $\frac{\sigma \alpha \beta \omega \theta}{J o s h ~ 6: 16(17) ~}$

$1 \operatorname{Re} 1: 3,11,20$ 15:2 17:45
1 Esd 9:46
Is 1:9,24 2:12 3:1 5:7,9,16,24,25 6:3,5 7:7 $\quad 8: 18$ 9:7(6) $10: 16,24,33 \quad 13: 4,13 \quad 14: 22,24,27 \quad 17: 4 \quad 18: 7,7 \quad 19: 4,12$, 16,25 21:10 22:5,12,14,15,17,25 23:9,11 25:6 28:5,22,29 $\begin{array}{llllllll}29: 6 & 31: 4 & 37: 16,32 & 39: 5 & 44: 6 & 45: 13,14 & 47: 4 & 48: 2\end{array} \quad 51: 15$ 54:5.
11. $\frac{\pi \alpha v \text { то } \rho^{\prime} \alpha \text { тwp }}{2 \operatorname{Re} 5: 10} 7: 8,25($ MT v.26)27
$3 \operatorname{Re} 19: 10,14$
1 Chr 11:9 17:7,24
Sir 42:17
Hos 12:5 Am 3:13 4:13 5:14, 15, 16, 27 9:5 Mi 4:4
Na 2:14 3:5 Hab 2:13. Zeph 2:10 Hag 1:2,5,7,9, 14
$2: 4,6,7,8,9,9,11,23,23$ Zech 1:3,4,6,12,14,16,17 2:8, 9,11,(MT 12,13,15) 3:7,9,10 4:6,9 5:4 6:12,15 7:3,
$9,12,12,13$ 8:1,2,3,4,6,6,7,9,9,11,14,14,18,19,20,21,22,23
9:15 10:3 11:4 12:5 13:7 14:16,17,21,21 Mal 1:4,
$6,8,9,10,11,12,14,17,4: 1,3$ (MT 3:19,21)
Jer a' 3:19 5:14 15:16 23:16 27(50):34 28(51):5,57
Jer b' 29:15(45:18) 32:13(25:27) 38:36(31:35) 39(32):14,
19 40(33):11 51(44):7
Bar 3:1,4.
12. $\frac{\text { Tîv } \delta u v \alpha^{\prime} \mu<\omega v}{\text { Josh } 5: 13(M T \text { v. } 14 \text { Nבs) }}$
$2 \operatorname{Re} 6: 2,18$
$3 \operatorname{Re} 17: 1 \quad 18: 15 \quad 4 \operatorname{Re} 3: 14 \quad 19: 20,31$
Ps 23(24):10 45(46):8,12 47(48):9 58(59):6 68(69):7
79(80):5,8,15,20 83(84):2,4,9,13 88(89):9.
13. Thackeray was aware of the rendition Trartokpátwp running right through Jer and MP but could accomodate this to his multiple translator theory (Jewish Worship, p. 33).
14. These totals are based on Ziegler's text which means that for the purpose of our sums at least, we accept the elimination of ráde at $9: 17$, oútws at $21: 7$, while reading

خéyci rather than eíizr at 29:13.
15. Comparison with Tov's statistics (p. 17) and mine reveals some discrepancies in the sums achieved. But since Tov does not give references for most of his totals it is impossible to check one against the other. His total of 49 instances of

Tर́de $\lambda$ éys, in Reigns may include the formula at 1 Re 14:7 which however is found in a passage attested only by the $A$ text among the uncials. For 2 Chr I count 6 rather than 5 occurrences of Táde خéyci while for MP I find 44 rather than 43. Where Tov does give references these are found to be incorrect in the following places: The translation of הוה $\boldsymbol{H}$ by táse خéyer kúpios occurs in Jer 61 times not 58 times as stated by Tov, pp. 21, 56, 57. Tov's list on p. 56 fails to note the occurrences of Táse خéya at 2:2,5 and 28:36. The totals for oürws citre in Jer b' are 71 not 69; Tor fails to mention $34: 13,40: 12$, and 41:2 (2nd occurrence), while his list includes Bar 2:21 (Bar references are not incorporated in our lists). Tov's total of 3 for oütws $\lambda$ éyer includes 21:7 where, however, the oưtws is eliminated by Ziegler; it is strange to find Tor not following Ziegler here since in almost every other instance he does accept Ziegler's text.


8:4 9:7,15,23(6,14,22) 10:2,18 11:3,11,21 12:14 13:1,8,13 $14: 15 \quad 15: 2,19 \quad 16: 3,5,9 \quad 17: 19,21 \quad 18: 13 \quad 19: 3,11,15 \quad 20: 4$ 21:4,8,12 22:1,3,6,11,18 23:2,15,38 24:5,8 25:15(49:35) 27(50):18,33 28(51):1,33,36,58

Jer b' 29:1(47:2) 29:8,13 (49:7,12)
Ez 2:4 3:11,27 5:5,7,8 6:3,11 7:2,5 11:5,7,16,17 12:10,19,23,28 13:3,8,13,18,20 14:4,6,21 15:6 16:3,36,59 17:3,9,19,22 20:3,5,27,30,39,47(21:3), 21:9,24,26,28(14,29, 31,33) $22: 3,19,28 \quad 23: 22,28,32,35,46 \quad 24: 3,6,9,21 \quad 25: 3,6,8$, 12,13,15,16 $26: 3,7,15,19 \quad 27: 3 \quad 28: 2,6,12,22,25 \quad 29: 3,8,13,19$ $30: 2,10,13,22 \quad 31: 10,15 \quad 32: 3,11 \quad 33: 27 \quad 34: 2,10,11,17,20 \quad 35: 3,14$ $36: 2,3,4,5,6,13,22,33,37 \quad 37: 5,9,12,19,21 \quad 38: 3,10,14,17$ 39:1, 17,25 43:18 44:6,9 45:9,18 46:1,16 47:13.
17. oütws عīte

1 Chr 17:4 2 Chr 12:5 18:26 $34: 23$
2 Esd 1:2
Is 18:4 21:6,16 31:4
Jer b' $30: 1,6(49: 1,28) \quad 31(48): 1,40 \quad 32: 1,13,14,18$ $(25: 15,27,28,32) \quad 33(26): 2,4,18 \quad 43: 1,3,13,16(27: 2,4,16,19)$ $35(28): 2,11,13,14,16 \quad 36(29): 4,8,10,21,31,32 \quad 37(30): 2,5,12,18$ 38(31):2,7,15,16,23,36(35) $39(32): 3,14,15,28,36,42 \quad 40(33): 2$, 4, 10, 12 $41(34): 2,2,13,17 \quad 42(35): 17,18 \quad 43(36): 29,30 \quad 44(37): 7$, $9 \quad 45(38): 2,3,17 \quad 46(39): 16 \quad 49(42): 9,15,18 \quad 50(43): 10 \quad 51(44): 2$, 7,11,25,30 51:32,34(45:2,4).
18. Oütws héys1

Gen 32:4(5)
Jud 11:15
1 Chr 21:10,11 2 Chr 34:24,26
Is 8:11 28:16 30:12,15 37:33 42:5 43:1,14,16 $44: 2,6,24 \quad 45: 1,11,14,18 \quad 48: 17 \quad 49: 7,8,22,25 \quad 50: 1$ '17 $51: 22 \quad 52: 4$ 65:8 66:1

Jer a' 14:10 (21:7 lec. dup. acc. to Ziegler) 23:16 Jer b' 41(34):4 42(35):13.
19. The following is a list of the textual variants for the messenger formulas as found in Ziegler's apparatus:


| Varia | for | -üTws | $\lambda^{\prime} c^{\prime} y<1$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14:10 | Tவ่ઈع | déyer | BLms 710 |
| 23:16 | -0゙тws | くime(v) | -0.233 L |
| 41:4 | -0̈tus | cim\& ( ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | O-86ms - 233 |

42：13 oüтws sím\＆（v）O．233 L
Variants for oürws \＆ime
The form Táds $\lambda$ íyel is found in the $L$ group（or part． thereof）at $31: 40$ 32：13，18 $35: 2,14 \quad 36: 8,21 \quad 37: 18 \quad 38: 7,16$ 39：14，28，42 41：2，17 43：29． $44: 7,9 \quad 45: 3$ 49：15，18 51：11，25．

The form oütws $\lambda$ éycl is found in miscellaneous MSS（indicated in the parentheses）at 35：2（233）36：8（233） 36：22（534）37：12（A 613）38：16（233）39：14（233）40：12（Q－V＋OLC） 43：29（87 txt）51：7（239）．

Where the MF is missing in the LXX it has been supplied
 36：16，17，25 40：17，20，25 38：35 42：19 and by oüтws خiy\＆1 at 18：11．

The most common variant in the above lists is the change in the $L$ recension from the anomalous form oütws cime to the standard usage ráde $\lambda i y \cos$ ，not surprisingly，considering what is already known about the tendency of that recension to prefer a more natural Gk．The opposite tendency of changing Tade／oütws déyci to oütws sïite is found in 13：1 17：19 23：16 41：4 42：13．

20．Ta入a•ாw ${ }^{\prime}$ w $\quad 4: 13,20,20 \quad 9: 19(18) \quad 10: 20 \quad 12: 12$ 18，20（Tov also includes 38（31）：2 where MT has ，тワч）．


29（47）：4
5：6 28（51）：53，55
Q－613 Zi．30：6（49：28）．
21．Ta入a1mwpia $\quad 6: 7,26 \quad 15: 8 \quad 20: 8 \quad 28(51): 56$
onsOPOs
$31(48): 3,8,32$.
22．$\frac{\mu \alpha ́ x \alpha+\rho \alpha}{2: 30} 4: 10 \quad 5: 12 \quad 9: 16(15) \quad 11: 22$ $12: 12 \quad 14: 12,13,15,16,18 \quad 15: 2,2,3,9 \quad 16: 4 \quad 18: 21,21 \quad 19: 7$ $20: 4,4 \quad 21: 7,7,9 \quad 24: 10 \quad 25: 17(49: 37) \quad 26(46): 10,14,16 \quad 27(50): 16$ ， $21,35,36,36,37,37,29(47): 6 \quad 31(48): 2,10 \quad 32: 2,13,15,17,24$, （25：16，27，30，31，38） $33(26): 23 \quad 34: 6(27: 8) \quad 38(31): 2 \quad 39(32): 24$, 36 41（34）：17


24．$\mu \alpha_{\alpha} x_{\alpha, \rho \alpha}$ Gen 22：6，10 27：40 31：26 34：25，26 48：22 Ex 15：9 17：13 22：24（23）Lev 26：8，25，33 Num 14：43 21：24 22：29，31 Deut 13：15（16）20：13 32：25，41，42 33：29 Jcsh 5：2，3－10：11，19：47 21：42 $24: 30^{\text {a }}$

25. $\mu_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \times \times \rho a \quad$ Ez 5:2,12 26:6,8,9,11,15 28:7,23 $30: 4,5,6,11,17,21,22 \quad 31: 17,18 \quad 32: 12,19,21,23$ (2) 24, 26,27,28,29, 30,31,32, 33:27 35:5,8 38:4,8,21 39:23.
éouqаí $\quad$ Ez 5:1,2,12,17 6:3,8,11,12 7:15
11:8,10 $\frac{\rho 0 \mu q \alpha 1 \alpha}{12: 14,16} \quad 14: 17,21 \quad 21: 9,11,12,14,15,19,20,28 \quad 23: 10,25$ 24:21 29:8,10 30:24,25 30:10,11 33:2,3,4,6.
26. ${ }^{\xi} v \tau i \lambda \lambda \lambda_{0 \mu} \quad 1: 7,17 \quad 7: 22,23,23,31 \quad 11: 4,4 \quad 13: 5,6$ $\begin{array}{llllll}14: 14 & 17: 22 & 19: 5 \quad 23: 32 & 27(50): 21 & 28(51): 59 & 29(47): 7 \\ 39(32): 23\end{array}$ 42(35):6,10,14,18 $43(36): 5,8,26 \quad 45(38): 10,27$
$\begin{array}{llll}39(32): 13, \frac{\sigma u v T a, \sigma \sigma w}{35} 41(34): 22 & \begin{array}{ll}33(26): 2,8 & 34(27): 3(4) \\ 44(37): 21 . & 36(29): 23\end{array}\end{array}$
27. kxeós/ny 2:27,28 3:17 4:11 5:24 6:15. 8:1, 7,15 10: 15 11:12,14,14(MTTy) $14: 8,19$ 15:11,11 $18: 23$ 26(46):21 27(50):4,16,20,27,31 28(51):6,18

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { xpóros /ny } & 29: 9(49: 8) & 37(30): 7 & 38(31): 1 .
\end{array}
$$

28. Biblical Words for Time, ${ }^{2} 1969$, elaborating a point made by G.B. Caird in The Apostolic Age, p. 184, n. 2.
29. Op. cit., p. 37; for further remarks on the words for "time" in the LXX cf. pp. 125-127.
30. Origen tried to guess at the meaning of the word: imincieov
 Ghisler II 841 (not 481 as in Schleusner, Tov, p.83, n. 30).
31. We call these "concluding formulas" because this is their main, though certainly not their only, function, cf. R. Rendorff, ZAW 66 (1954), 28.
32. Again the statistics are based on Ziegler's text which means reading $\lambda$ 'yc at $1: 19$ and $2: 3$ (against the majority text witnesses), taking 21:7 as a concluding formula by eliminating oüтws, and considering réy<ィ kj́pios at 23:29 a double reading. The totals include all occurrences of the Gk formula whether or not a corresponding formula is found in the MT.

As often, my figures differ slightly from those of Tov. He lists a total of 71 references for $\lambda$ cyci <úpros. ; my total is 75 (Tov omits the second occurrence of the formula at 2:19, 3:12 and 38(31):35; also he neglects to mention the occurrences
 fails to mention 34:12.

（रime кúpıos $\quad 30: 5,10(49: 5,32) \quad 27(50): 30,40 \quad 34: 6$ （27：8） $37(30): 8 \quad 38(31): 1 \quad 41(34): 5$

33．$\lambda$ éyci is changed to $\phi \eta \sigma^{\prime}(v)$ in sundry MSS at $2: 3$ 3：16 $\frac{\lambda \varepsilon y<1}{22: 16} \quad 25: 19$ 28：26 $34: 18$ it is changed to हiंतz（v） in some MSS at 1：8，17，19 19：12 27：31．

фno！is changed to $\lambda$ éys！in various MSS at $30: 2,15 \quad 31: 12 \quad 36: 23 \quad 37: 3,21 \quad 38: 27,31,32,35,37,38 \quad 49: 11$ ， and to eīr at 41：22．

 （as it frequently is）it is usually added in the 0 and $L$ recen－ sion（sometimes in conjunction with a few other MSS）．The most common form of the addition by far is pnoi（v）kúpros（65x： $3: 10$＇5：11 $7: 16$ 8：17 $9: 3,6 \quad 12: 17 \quad 13: 11 \quad 15: 9,20 \quad 16: 15$ 18：6 21：10，13，14 $23: 1,2,11,12,28,31,32,32 \quad 25: 7,9,12,17,18$ $27: 4,20,35 \quad 28: 48 \quad 29: 17 \quad 30: 2,5,8,9 \quad 31: 15,25,30,43,44,47$ $\begin{array}{llll}32: 15 & 34: 9 & 35: 4 & 36: 9,11,14,14,19,19 \\ 37: 11 & 38: 14,16,17,34\end{array}$ 39：5，30，44 40：14 41：17 42：13 46：17 51：29）；sometimes we find the form $\lambda$ éyel kipios（7x：8：3 15：21 23：29 27：10 28：25，48 36：32）；and occasionally even firke（v）cúpios （3x：8：12 26：25 38：14）．

34．Cf．Tov，p．89，n．110．In the list of references to
 to mention 29：19（49：18）and 40（33）：11．
 41，62
＂̈ßatos 6：8 12：10 28（51）：43 29：14，18（49：13， 17） $30: 11(49: 33) \quad 31(48): 9 \quad 32: 4,24(25: 18,38) \quad 39(32): 43$ 49（42）：18 51（44）：6，22．Cf．also 30（49）：2（הカカル bst）


37．Cf．Reider－Turner，pp． 1 and 37．


| Kata $\lambda$ u'w | 29:17(49:16) | 30:9(49:31) | 32:10(25:24) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\text { karoukif }_{\omega}$ | 7:3,7 |  |  |
| oikén | 31(48):28. |  |  |

39. There is a further difficulty in considering kata $\lambda$ úw a "synonymous rendition" to karaoknvów in 29:17(49:16). The sense demanded for karàiw in the context of 29:17 is that of "destroy" or "demolish" (Bagster:"burst"), rather than that of "lodge" as in the Heb. Is it reasonable to assume that a reviser, anxious to bring the Gk text into better conformity with the Heb, would replace a perfectly logical translation choice ( kata $k \eta v O^{\prime} w$ ) with another word (katadúw ) which in the syntax of the sentence gave it a meaning quite different from that of the Heb?
40. It was, in fact, this passage which Spohn already in 1794 pointed to as indicating different translators (Ieremias vates, p. 9).
41. $\frac{\text { roun }}{\text { Tómos }}$

Katáhuois
Karád u $\mu \alpha$

10:25 23:3,10 27(50):7,19,45
29:20(49:19) 32:16(25:30)
29:21(49:20)
40(33): 12 .
 (49:19) $33(26): 4 \quad 37(30): 20 \quad 38: 37(31: 36) \quad 41(34): 15,18 \quad 42$ (35):5,19 $43(36): 7,9,22 \quad 44(37): 20 \quad 47(40): 10 \quad 49(42): 2 \quad 51$ (44):10 52:12,33

45. On p. 5 and p. 20 Tov states that the reviser theory must be correct "by implication" if it can be shown that Thackeray's explanation of the agreements between Jer $a^{\prime}$ and $b^{\prime}$ is incorrect.

On p. 6: "It seems to us that the agreements between the two sections of Jer (chapter II) are of such a nature that the two-translator theory cannot be sustained."

On p. 42: "We have attempted to demonstrate in the preceding chapter that Jer $a^{\prime}$ and $b^{\prime}$ exhibit many important agreements which make a two-translator theory untenable."

On p. 45: "We suggest our working hypothesis in spite of the mentioned difficulties because the agreements discussed in ch. II do not seem to leave any other possible explanation of the differences between Jer $a^{\prime}$ and $b^{\prime} .{ }^{\prime \prime}$
46. See his remark on p. 8: "While the examples of chapter III are supposed to demonstrate that Jer $b^{\prime}$ has been revised, the examples of chapter IV can also be taken as proof of a twotranslator theory. However . : . the data provided in this chapter can be accommodated to our working hypothesis."
47. On Ch. V, p. 112: "It should be pointed out that this chapter provides no additional proof that Jer b' is a revision rather than a second translation."

On Ch. VI, p. 135: "Although the majority of the new translation equivalents of Jer-R are revisional, the examples themselves do not provide additional proof that the second part of Jer contains a revision rather than a different translation."
48. See, for example, Part I of Memory and Manuscript by G. Gerhardsson (Uppsala, 1961) for an interesting study of the role of memory within Judaism.
49. See the note by P.D.M. Turner "ANOIKODOMEIN and IntraSeptuagintal Borrowing", VT 27 (1977), $492-493$ as well as other unpublished studies by her along the same lines (e.g. "Unravelling the Internal History of the Septuagint: A New Method Exemplified", paper read at OT Seminar, Cambridge University, Feb. 1977).
50. Tov is forthright about the limitations inherent in his study. For instance, he says, "Our explanations of these difficulties may or may not be correct. In any event, we prefer the uneasy assumption outlined above over the "easy" two-translator theory suggested by Thackeray (p. 6). Similarly, "We cannot claim that our suggestion is without difficulty. There are too many gaps in our knowledge. However, if we pause for a moment and assume that the theory is correct . . . ." (p. 168). Such candor is refreshing. .
51. Nor is the case similar to our argument for a preHexaplaric revision underlying the $Q$ text since in the latter instance the urgument proceeds entirely from extant MSS readings.

## Notes to Chapter 5

1. It was an important part of A.P. Haustoupis' dissertation to show that many of the divergencies attributed to the LXX and MT texts of Jer were simply due to the lack of a trustworthy LXX edition of Jer. Cf. also W. Rudolph's article in ZAW 7 (1930), esp. 272-281.
2. G. Vermes has expressed himself to the effect that unless the matter is dealt with promptly the discovery threatens to become "the academic scandal par excellence of the twentieth century", The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective, 1977, p. 24.
3. On 2QJer see DJD, III, 62-69. On 4 QJer ${ }^{\text {a }}$ and $4 Q J e r^{C}$ Cross comments that they contain a text "with virtually no significant deviations from the traditional text", QHBT, p. 308, a statement which may be verified at least with regard to 4 QJer in Janzen's Appendix, pp. 174-181. For a discussion of the date (c. 200 B.C.) and orthographic features of 4QJer ${ }^{\text {a }}$, see Cross JBL 74 (1955), esp. 162-164, BANE, pp. 145-153, and QHBT, p. 316, n. 8. See also D.N. Freedman, Textus 2 (1962), 87-102.
4. The attention of the scholarly community at large was first alerted to the existence of this MS, together with a preliminary publication of part of one fragment in Cross' book, The Ancient Library of Qumran, 1958, p. 139, n. 38 ( ${ }^{2} 1961$, p. 187, n. 38). The MS is of slightly later date (the Hasmonean period) than 4QJer ${ }^{\text {a }}$ QHBT, p. 308).
5. It is recognized, of course, that $4 Q \mathrm{Jer}^{b}$ is not an isolated phenomenon in the entire range of LXX-Qumran studies. The Samuel scrolls from Qumran in particular have furnished evidence for an LXX-type Heb text on a much larger scale than 4QJer. By analogy, this would tend to increase our confidence in extrapolating from the small fragments of Jer, but arguments from analogy in these cases have to be handled with caution, as Goshen-Gottstein has reminded us (The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction, 1965, p. 14). Also, D.W. Gooding has made the point that, ${ }_{b}$ depending on whether the Heb Vorlage of the LXX of Jer and $4 Q \mathrm{Jer}^{b}$ are regarded as members of a close-knit Family or merely of a broad text-typg, the range in possible agreements between the LXX and $4 Q J e r$ had it survived in full could easily vary anywhere from as high as 95 per cent to, say, 60 per cent (JSS 21 (1976), 23-24).
6. The same point regarding concurrent expansion and contraction was also made by W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard in their book Atra-hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood, 1969, cf. p. 38.
7. The Descent of Manuscripts, Oxford, 1918.
8. The Primitive Text of the Gosrels and Acts, Oxford, 1914; The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford, 1933.
9. Gk renditions of the main introductory formulas:

This formula is rendered literally ó $\lambda$ óyos $\dot{o}$ yeróperos mpos lepçiur mapa kupiou in 37(30):1, $41(34): 1,8,42(35): 1$, also in 11:1, 18:1, 21:1, 39(32):1, 47(40):1, but in the latter instances with Teios lepcuíu/ Trap̀ kupíou inverted. On two occasions the same formula is found without הin 5 Nת (0.l) and the LXX follows suit in 25:1 and 51(44):1. On one occasion the formula is entirely missing in the Gk along with most of the following verse (for discussion of this see pp. 228-229).
b)

The construction is rendered literally $k \alpha i$ iysivero/
 13:8, 18:5, and 24:4. At 1:4 the LXX reads Teòs autóv instead of $\pi \rho o^{\prime} \mu^{\mu}$. For the omission of the formula in $2: 1$ and $16: 1$ see p. 228 and pp.229-230.

This formula is identical with the foregoing except that it
 Gk, translation, as expected, is kגi Eyśveto / zyernion lóyos kupíou tpòs leprgiar 35(28):12, 36(29):30, 40(33):1, 41(34):2 (MT adds הוהリ nNs which LXX omits), 43(36):27, 44(37):6 (MT adds Nיב3, om. LXX), 49(42):7. On two, occasions the Gk has TPós $\mu \varepsilon$ instead of $\pi \rho \dot{o}$ s lipquíar 39(32):26, 42(35):12. The formulas in MT 33:19;23 are missing in the LXX as part of the long passage vv. 14-26 absent from LXX Jer 40.

This formula is consistently rendered kov, ィīm kúpos TिPos $\mu \mathrm{L}$ 15:1, and 24:3.

This formula is found in four places in the OAN section of the book: 26(46):13, 27(50):1, 28(51):59, and 51:31(45:1), but only in the latter instance does the Gk follow the Heb exactly.

There are three closely related headings which contain this phrase: $33(26): 1,34(27): 1$, and $43(36): 1$. The LXX omits the formula in 34(27):1 while it attests minor variants in the other two verses. The omission of the introduction in 34(27):1 may be related to the problematic mention of opain $\quad$ in MT 27:1 which contradicts the content of the succeeding verses dealing with Zedekiah. The usual approach has been to emend Jehoiakim to Zedckiah (with some Heb MSS, Syr, and Arab), but Janzen regards

MT 27:1 secondary from MT 26:1 (p. 14, \# 24).
g) Miscellaneous introductory headings are found in 36(29):1, 37(30):4, and 46(39):15 where the LXX follows the MT exactly; in 1:1-2 and 39(32):6 the LXX diverges more significantly.
10. For the Gk translation of these see the preceding chapter, pp. 189-191 , notes 16, 17, 18.
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { 11. Missing on its own: } & 11: 22 & 13: 12 & 18: 11 & 22: 30\end{array}$ 36(29):25 38:35(31:37) 42(35):19;
Missing as part of a larger context: 17:5 34(27):21 36(29):16,17 40(33):17,20,25.
12. This figure includes the expression of MT 9:21. For Gk translations see preceding chapter, p. , n. 32.
13. Missing on its own: 3:10 5:11 7:13 8:3,17 9:3(2),6(5) 12:17 13:11 15:9,20 18:6 21:10,13 23:1,2,11,12,24,28,29, $31,32,32 \quad 25: 17,18(49: 37,38) \quad 27(50): 4,10,35 \quad 28(51): 25 \quad 29: 17(49: 16)$ $30: 5,8,9(49: 6,30,31) \quad 31(48): 25,30,43,44 \quad 32: 15(25: 29) \quad 34: 9(27: 11)$ 36(29):9,11 38(31):14,16,17,34 39(32):44 $41(34): 17 \quad 42(35): 13$ 46(39):17 51(44):29;
Missing as part of a phrase: 9:22(21) 16:5 21:14 25:7,9,12 35(28):4 36(29):14,14,32 39(32):5,30; Missing as part of verses unrepresented in the LXX: (MT references) 29:19,19 30:10,11 33:14 46:26 48:47 $49: 6$ 51:48.
14. Translated by címe kúpios in 6:15 29:19(49:18) + $\pi$ 人 rtokpátwp $31(48): 8 \quad 37(30): 3 \quad 40(33): 11,13$ 51(44):26.
15. Missing on its own in 30(49):2 and as part of a larger context in 8:12.
16. $6: 6,9 \quad 9: 6,16 \quad 19: 11 \quad 23: 15 \quad 25: 8,28,32 \quad 26: 18 \quad 27: 19$ 33:12 49:7,35 50:33 51:58.
17. 23:16.
18. 11:22 29:17(49:16).
19. $21: 4 \quad 23: 2 \quad 40(33): 4 \quad 49(42): 9 \quad 41(34): 2,13 \quad$ 51:32(45:2) 44(37):7:
20. $11: 3 \quad 24: 5 \quad 32: 1(25: 15) \quad 37(30): 2 \quad 39(32): 36$.
21. 13:22.
22. 5:14.
23. 7:21 19:15 27(50):18 28(51):33 $31(48): 1 \quad 35(28): 2,14$ $36(29): 8,21 \quad 38(31): 23 \quad 39(32): 15 \quad 42(35): 13,18 \quad 49(42): 15,18$ 50(43):10 51(44):11.

24． $7: 3 \quad 9: 15 \quad 16: 9 \quad 19: 3 \quad 34: 3(27: 4) \quad 35(29): 4 \quad 46(39): 16$ 51（44）：2，25

25． $32: 13(25: 27) 39(32): 14$
26． $34(27): 21$ 36（29）：25 42（35）：19
27．42（35）：17 45（38）：17
28．51（44）：7
29．5：14 15：16 23：16 27（50）：34 28（51）：5，57 32：13（25：27） 38：36（31：35）39（32）：14 40（33）：11 $51(44): 7$

30．Janzen＇s statistics in these tables are generally reliable， though it is to be regretted that he seldom gives references， thus making verification difficult．Some corrections，that need to be made are the following：

In Table B．1，in the column labeled＂Other＂，

for Ez ה




In Table B．3，in the column labeled＂Other＂，


On p． 159 in the column labeled＂Other＂，
for tx́dr déyer kúpios read ；Qzós

Also on p． 159 there are 9 （not 8）occurrences of the formula ヘヘッム～クズ in the MT．

According to Janzen＇s remark on p．78，the statistics for the divine name are given in Tables B．3，B．4，and B．5．But no troles B． 4 and B． 5 are found．It seems clear that a title is missing at the top of p． 159 which should read＂Table B． 4 ，
 （compare B． 3 ＂ $\operatorname{nin}$ ロボ and ラinのククN Outside Jeremiah＂）．As for Table B． 5 there is nothing in Appendix B corresponding to this．

31．All the Eng VSS consulted－－except NEB－－translate the -3 construction $\operatorname{lin}^{\circ} \mathrm{S}$ ， $7 \times 5$ in the normal way as in－ direct object of the infinitive construction 5 ククつから．．NEB， however，takes this as a direct object，＂．．．because the day is upon them when Philistia will be despoiled and Tyre and Sidon destroyed to the last defender＂．It is difficult to defend the NEB in this translation．Not only is it contrary to normal clas－ sical Hebrew usage but，like the LXX，it breaks the unity of the composition by deflecting the poem from its otherwise single－ minded preoccupation with the Philistines（was NEB influenced by the LXX？）．

32．Such an alliance after 605 B．C．is not otherwise known in historical sources，but its existence is quite plausible （see Bright，$A B$, p．310）．

33．The Heb is admittedly difficult．Literally it translates， ＂every survivor，helper＂．By taking 7 Ty in the sense of ＂escapee＂（＂Entronnener＂）instead of＂survivor＂，Duhm（p．344） declared the phrase＂blanker Unsinn＂．But this verdict is surely extreme．Volz（p．302）is much more sober in his estimate that in a passage which is poetically terse，the expression can be taken as a case of asyndetic apposition（cf．GK，131b，c）and hence proposes the translation＂jeden Ubrigen，nymlich Bundesgenossen＂． The RSV translation＂every remaining ally＂reflects this reasonable interpretation．

34．Compare the frequent use of $K \alpha+\dot{\alpha}$ 人oimol in vv． $4-7$. In v． 4 b and v .5 it translates $5 \cdot \neg x \nu$ ；in $v .7$ the Gk
 represents MT הTy， $\mathrm{O}_{\mathrm{y}}$ ，suggesting again a very free use of kańhormor．

35．It has commonly been regarded as a gloss by the commen－ tators，cf．Movers（p．22），Fried．Delitzsch（Lese und Schreib－ fehler，p．137），Schwally（p．195，n．3），Giesebrecht（p．234）， Streane（p．267），Duhm（p．344），Cornill（p．460）．

36．This explanation was first proposed by Giesebrecht （p．234）．

37．By means of this emendation，Christensen translates ＂How long will you whirl about， 0 sword of Yahweh？＂，omitting 1n with the LXX．But the emendation following 2QJer must be rejected out of hand；it is completely insensitive to the parallels in Deut 14.1 ，Jer $16.6,48.37$ cited．Moreover，2Q．Jer

 undoubtedly secondary in 2QJer（cf．the variant 17フ125 （text $17.71 / \pi$, ）in some Heb MSS at 5：7）．The example is typical of the many arbitrary emendations of the MT in Christensen＇s work（e．g．in MT 49：3 he emends the Heb in the opposite direction：
 in the article，＂Jeremiah 49．28－33；An Oracle Against a Proud Desert Power＂，by W．J．Dumbrell（The Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology， 2 （1972），99－109），which acknowledges indebtedness
both to Christensen and Janzen. In the works of Christensen and Dumbrell the ghost of Duhm has reappeared to haunt the interpretation of Jeremiah's poetry. The simple invocation of metri causa is apparently sufficient to justify a multitude of the most arbitrary emendations. From the same school, see the more sober comment by D.K. Stuart, Studies in Early Hebrew Meter, 1976, "Emendation may rarely be attempted metri causa alone" (p. 22).
 note register, cf. Brockington, p. 213.
38. Contra H.M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators", HUCA 26 (1975), 89-114, esp. 109-110.
39. For a discussion of the inner-Gk textual problems associated with the word k凶नa $\lambda<1 \mu \mu \alpha(-\alpha \gamma \alpha)$ see Ch. 3 above, pp. 156-7.
40. Rahlf's retention of $\sigma 01$ following $\hat{j} \lambda$ O人 in the body of the text is indefensible on text-critical grounds. See Ch. 3, p. 155.
41. 3:22? (Ziegler emends to oís e), 4:24 8:8,9 24:1 25:15(49:35) 27(50):12 29:13,16(49:12,15) 32:15(25:29) 37(30):23 39(32):17,24,27 41(34):2.
42. Participle-verb constructions (26 occurrences): 3:1 $\begin{array}{llllllll}4: 10 & 5: 11 & 6: 15 & 7: 5,5 & 10: 5 & 12: 16 & 13: 12 & 14: 19 \\ 22: 4\end{array}$ 26(46):28 28(51):58 $32: 14(25: 28) \quad 33(26): 15 \quad 33(26): 19$ 38(31):18,20 $43(36): 16,29 \quad 44(37): 9 \quad 45(38): 3,17 \quad 46(38): 18$ 48(42):10 49(42):19 51(44):17;

Noun-verb constructions (13 occurrences): 9:4(3) 17:24 22:10 23:32 26(46):5 27(50):34? 28(51):56? 31(48):9 33(26):8 39(32):4 41(34):3 45(38):15 47(40):14.
43. Jer $\alpha$ : 11:12 20:15 (Gk has participle only) 23:17,39; Jer $\beta: 29: 13(49: 12)$ 32:15(25:29) 48(41):6,15.

In addition to the preceding verses where the $G k$ attests only half of the Heb inf. abs. construction, there are also two occasions where the Gk omits the entire construction: 13:17 and 49(42):22. Then, of course, there are those occasions where the Gk construction is missing as part of a larger context missing in the LXX: 6:15 11:7 28(51):57 37(30):11 51(44):29. On yet other occasions the Gk translates in anomalous ways, e.g. 6:9,29 8:13 25:30(32:16) 51(44):25(3x). The last mentioned verse has three examples of the Gk infinitive with finite verb, the closest approximation possible to the MT but the worst possible Gk (these examples should be added to the lone instance of this phenomenon discovered by Thackeray in Josh 18:13, "Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the LXX", p. 600; Grammar, p. 47). Finally there are those occasions where the Gk has the typical construction associated with a Heb inf. abs. but where it is missing in the MT: 3:1 12:11 22:24 28(51):57 39(32):28 41(34):2.
44. Compare the different vocabulary $\dot{\alpha}$ owow / kaoapíhw and the different constructions, participle-verb/noun-verb.

45．For a useful discussion of the significance of this eeries in relation to the problem of Deuteronomic prose－form in Jer，see the discussion by $H$ ．Weippert，pp．187－91．

46．Since a series implies more than one，only those passages of two or more terms are included in the above list． However，there are also numerous instances where the same con－ struction is used with only one term，nsul，being the most
 and 29：18（49：17）is apator／הnub．Even where the Heb is lacking the $S$ prefix，the Gk，often translates as though it were present，e．g．，9：11（10）cis áqaviouóv／issu． On occasions a Gk series is created even where none exists in the


47．If $\rightarrow$ ユフォb is to be regarded as secondary，per－ haps the source of the reading is not 25：18－－which is after all subsequent to 25：11－－but rather the very similar phrase in 7：34


48．For another example of the translator＇s awareness of the contemporary situation，see the discussion on the omission of

71n9s in 29（47）：4，p． 64 above．However，the argument from Tendenz is admittedly vuinerable here（i．e．in $32: 4(25: 18)$ ），since in the very similar passage of 51（44）：22，the LXX does attest the translation of

49．Textus 8 （1973），26．
50．The rendition of $\boldsymbol{N}$ su by $\boldsymbol{\alpha} \pi \boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\lambda} \boldsymbol{c}$ since the normal Gk equivalent for $n$ sw in Jer blis $\ddot{0} \beta \alpha$ os （Jer a＇$\dot{\alpha} \phi \times v \sigma \mu o ́ s)$ ．The word is indeed found once elsewhere， 30（49）：2，apparently as a translation for $ה$ ה s $\psi$ but the passage is ambiguous．

> 51．This is the simplest explanation for the LXX reading i＇s buribiopóv in this verse．

52．Taking the approach that＂Das Nomen（ה）בר円（Jer 29：9， 11，18 44：22 49：13）ist in diesem Zusammenhang auffullig；denn es lldsst sich thematisch nur schwer mit den anderen Begriffen zu－ sammenbringen＂，H．Weippert（p．189，n．364）thinks this is the reason why the LXX omitted the verb in 25：11．and why it read 5 万クT
 the LXX omission of $ב\urcorner$ in MT 49：13，but presumably would apply a similar explanation．As has been pointed out，however，
 and the other terms is as radical as Weippert suggests，and even if it were to exist，it is doubtrul that the translator would have been alert to it． $\begin{gathered}\text { a } \\ \text { an } \\ \text { is well attested in Jer both }\end{gathered}$ on its own as well as in series and relates without great diffi－ culty to the other terms，so that an explanation from Tendenz as the reason for the omission in the $G k$ does not seem persuasive in these cases．

53．For a discussion of the textual problems connected with the $\mathrm{B}-\mathrm{S}$ reading $\theta_{\alpha \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma n s ~ o u ́ k ~ s e e ~ C h . ~}^{3}$ ，pp．170－172．

54．Compare the interchange of $T$ and 7 in the parallel passages，Ps 18：11（ ドヤ）and 2 Sam 22：11（ 人いい）， as well as in the Șamaritan variant $ה \times 7$（ to Deut 28：49（in the LXX rendered óp $\eta \mu^{\alpha} \quad$ ）．

55．The verb D $^{*}$ occurs only four times in the OT： Deut 28：49，Ps 18：11 and the parallel passages of Jer 48：40／／ 49：22．In Deut 28：49 it was，translated ós $\quad$ q $\mu \alpha$（see previous note），in Ps 17（18）：11 by $\pi$ cirou＊$^{\text {，simply repeating the trans－}}$ lation of the previous verb لا

56．In the LXX the verses are absent from their MT position within the chapter（i．e．following $v .6$ ）but do appear at the end of the chapter．

57．On account of the different chapier arrangement in the two texts，the omitted portion of the last two doublets cited is the second member of the pair when read in the Gk text only．

58．Janzen cites only eight examples，but he surely intends these to be representative rather than exhaustive．Other examples of larger duplicates that might easily be added are 7：31－32／／19：5－6， 16：14－15／／23：7－8，23：5－6／／33：15－16，39：1－10／／52：4－16．For use－ ful lists giving most examples of duplicates in Jer，large and small，see Kuenan，p． 253 and Driver，ILOT，p．259．

59．Since the appearance of Janzen＇s study，another thesis has beenwritten on the subject（unavailable to me）：Y－J．Min， The Minuses and Pluses of the LXX Translation of Jeremiah as Compared with the Massoretic Text，Jeruslaem，1977•

