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Creation in Translation

A Descriptive Study of OG Isaiah 45:1-7

Applying a

Descriptive Translation Studies Approach

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Abstract

In this thesis I analyze a passage from the Old Greek translation of Isaiah: Isaiah 45:1-7.

The choice of Isaiah 45 was motivated by a wish to study a text concerning creation, asking whether it is possible to glimpse a translator's theology in the translation he has produced. The thesis starts with a selective survey of research on the Old Greek of Isaiah. The analysis is preceded by a presentation of the theoretical framework that is employed: Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS).

Within DTS a translation is seen as consisting of three interrelated dimensions; the product (the translated text), the process of translation (the translator's methods) and the intended function of a translation in the target community. Such an analysis involves considering the translation's relation to its parent text (*Vorlage*), and its acceptability as a (translated) text in the target language, and this is what I have done through a detailed analysis of each verse of the Greek passage, compared to a Hebrew text.

Since intertextual references can be seen as a literary device, and therefore contribute to the literary qualities of the translation (thereby increasing its acceptability), the analysis of the text is performed with attention to potential influences from other septuagintal passages.

My analysis of OG Isaiah 45:1-7, is primarily a study of the process and product of translation, giving less attention to the prospective function of the translation.

On the basis of my analysis, I abstract the norms that seem to have guided the translator as he translated this text. He seems to stay quite close to his source text, but is willing to both omit and add elements, and seems particularly creative when it comes to lexical choice. He does seem concerned with the stylistics of the text he produces. It is finally argued that it *is* possible to see a glimpse of the translator's theology. The translation appears, even more than the source text, to focus on the Lord as the only God. Rather than a "creation-theology", the passage seems to express a "creator-theology".

Abbreviations

1QIsa ^a	The Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran Cave 1
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BDAG	<i>The Brown – Driver – Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon.</i>
BET	Biblical Exegesis and Theology
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BHRG	A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
GHCLOT	Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures

HALOT	Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HP	Hatch-Redpath Concordance
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
LSJ	Liddel, Scott, Jones A Greek- English Lexicon
LXX	Septuagint
MSL	A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NETS	A New English Translation of the Septuagint
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OG	Old Greek

Pl	Plural
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Sg	Singular
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
VTS	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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1 Creation and Translation - my point of departure

This thesis will explore an ancient Greek translation of a text from the Hebrew Bible – a text concerning creation. My academic interests may be summarized by the key-words: Bible, Creation, Hebrew, Greek and Translation.

My point of departure was a wish to write about creation and translation. The “translation” part of this soon materialized as a focus on the Septuagint, more specifically the topic of creation within the Septuagint. Since the “Septuagint” part too was in obvious need of delimitation, I decided to focus my attentions on a *passage* concerning creation and therefore turned to the book of Isaiah, where creation is a prominent theme.¹ This meant that my initial research theme could be narrowed down to “Creation in the Old Greek of Isaiah,” a topic still too broad for the scope of this paper, and so I narrowed it further to Isaiah 45, a chapter which is “dense” with creation-vocabulary in Hebrew.

It follows from this that my choice of OG Isaiah 45, further delimited to verses 1-7, was not made because of any peculiarities in the Greek text or particular deviations from its source, but rather because I wanted to examine how an ancient translator translated a message concerning creation from Hebrew to Greek, and more specifically I was interested in whether his rendering revealed a theology that was different from that of the source text he translated.

Questions that must precede analysis

Since my involvement with OG Isaiah does not happen in a vacuum, I will start my paper with a brief introduction to scholars who – to use a road metaphor – have walked with this translator longer than I have, who have tried to describe him (his *Übersetzungsweise*), his detours (the very free renderings), as well as his journey on the main road (the literal renderings) and what map he was following (his *Vorlage*).

¹ According to Terence E. Fretheim, creation is mentioned more frequently in Deutero-Isaiah than in any other prophetic book, *God and World in the Old Testament: A relational Theology of Creation*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 181.

Any introduction of OG Isaiah scholarship will be deeply intertwined with questions of methodology and hermeneutical principles, questions that are urgent, whether it is Isaiah or any other book in the corpus that is the object of study. What can a translation reveal about the theology of the translator? Is it even possible to speak of a theology (of creation, or any other kind of theology) that is specific to the translation, and not just carried over from the Hebrew source? In relation to OG Isaiah another central question seems to be what kind of historical information we can derive from this translated work. For an aid to handle such questions, I have followed the lead of one of the scholars to be presented shortly, Ross Wagner, and like him I have looked to translation studies – more specifically to Descriptive Translation Studies – for a theoretical and methodological framework. It is with DTS I will approach OG Isaiah 45.

The outline of this thesis

I will start by giving an introduction to research history into OG Isaiah, which naturally will lead to the presentation of my own theoretical/methodological platform.

Having presented DTS, I will give a short description of more practical matters regarding texts and editions before I finally present an in-depth analysis of OG Isaiah 45:1-7, proceeding verse by verse with my analysis, trying to describe and understand the translator's methods. Then I will summarize my findings by presenting the norms that seem to guide the translator in his work. I will further discuss to what degree this text appears to be an acceptable Greek text in its own right, as well as how this Greek text relates to other passages of the Greek scriptures. Informed by my analysis and the observations regarding both the norms behind the translation and its acceptability as a Greek text, I will finally discuss whether we can speak of a message or theology that arise from the Greek translation itself, and if so, what that message might be.

2 OG Isaiah Scholarship, some highlights

Introductory comments

Within the limits of this thesis, it is not possible to give an exhaustive presentation of OG Isaiah scholarship, nor to engage in a discussion with all the recent contributors on OG Isaiah. For a more thorough introduction, starting around the beginning of the twentieth century, I refer to Ronald Troxel's opening chapter,² or Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs' rather brief, yet very illuminating introduction.³ My own presentation starts from the 1930s and is a selection of scholars, who in various ways have shaped our thinking about OG Isaiah (Ziegler and Seeligman in particular); contributed to a lively debate over its character and the proper ways to approach it (van der Kooij and Troxel in particular, to a certain extent also Wagner); or who have a more direct bearing on my paper, through their demonstration of what I find to be promising approaches to OG Isaiah (Wagner and Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs).

²Ronald Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), especially the part subtitled "'Contemporizing' Interpretation," 4-29. His survey is colored by his wish to present the development of contemporizing interpretation.

³ Mirjam Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek Of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Its Minuses*, (SCS 61, Atlanta: SBL, 2014), in the part of her introduction subtitled "1.1. A brief survey of studies on the Septuagint of Isaiah," 2-12.

Selective survey of scholars who have studied OG Isaiah

Joseph Ziegler

I will, as others have done before me, draw a line before Ziegler and start by presenting his work.⁴ Michael van der Meer uses the word “epoch-making,”⁵ about Ziegler’s *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*,⁶ which was published in 1934. But it is not only *Untersuchungen* that should be called epoch-making, for Ziegler was also the editor of the critical edition of Isaiah in the Göttingen edition series.⁷ As such he has a direct bearing on my thesis, having edited the text that forms the starting point for my analysis of OG Isaiah 45.

In the preface to *Untersuchungen* he explained that in his attempts to “remove the veil” from difficult passages, he would especially emphasize seeing words in light of their context (unlike some of his predecessors, who would study a word *in isolation from* its context).⁸

He described a translator that was not concerned with presenting the details of his *Vorlage*, but was willing to omit difficult words, restructure passages, and that at times was carried away by some idea of his own,⁹ – in the words of Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, “shaping the text to his own preferences.”¹⁰ He did not however believe that all the differences between MT and OG Isaiah may be traced back to the translator, but was open to the possibility that

⁴ See Arie van der Kooij, “Isaiah in the Septuagint,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah; Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, Vol.2 (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁵ Michaël van der Meer, «Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Michaël N. van der Meer, (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 109.

⁶ Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, (ATA XII.3, Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934).

⁷ Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaiah. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum vol. XIV*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939).

⁸ Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, IV.

⁹Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁰ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 1.

the translator may have found many variants and explanatory glosses in the *Vorlage*.¹¹ This means that he was less inclined than for instance Seeligman to see differences between OG and MT as the translator's own contributions to the interpretation of Isaiah.¹²

As stated in his preface, Ziegler was concerned with understanding words in light of their context within the book, and for Troxel "the heart of his study"¹³ was the chapter devoted to the investigation of passages in Isaiah that illuminate each other,¹⁴ and the chapter on the relation to other scriptural passages.¹⁵ Troxel observes that "for Ziegler, LXX-Isaiah constitutes a witness to a *written tradition of interpretation* of the book of Isaiah via comparison with other scriptural passages,"¹⁶ (italics mine) an approach that also Troxel favors. Ziegler's observations, concerning the mutual influence of Isaiah passages on each other, still have explanatory force. Referring to Ziegler as an authority that demonstrated this translation strategy, Wagner explains renderings in chapter 1 in light of renderings in chapters 63 and 64.¹⁷ Ziegler's observations also have a direct bearing on my analysis, as we will see in the discussion on specific renderings in verse 3.¹⁸

¹¹ Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 4.

¹² Seeligman found him to be «rather too generous» with regard to explaining deviations as stemming from the *Vorlage*. Isaac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems, Mededelingen en Verhandelingen N° 9 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 7.

¹³ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 6.

¹⁴ "Gegenseitige Beeinflussung sinnverwandter Stellen in der Js-LXX", in Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 134-174.

¹⁵ "Die Beziehungen der Js-LXX zu anderen Schriften des AT", in Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 103-133.

¹⁶ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 6.

¹⁷ See Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck / Baylor University Press, 2013,) 74, including note 32.

¹⁸ See analysis of verse 3, and the translation of the verb προσδέχομαι there.

The legacy from Ziegler also includes more than the translator's usage of scripture. His investigation into vocabulary that served to link OG Isaiah to an Egyptian setting,¹⁹ to its *geographical context*, remains one of his major achievements, although this is not what is most important for Troxel.²⁰

Isaac Leo Seeligman praises Ziegler's contribution as "a happy combination of minute research and constructive theory," but observes that "(n)o problems of a historical, or religio-historical nature (...), have been discussed by Ziegler."²¹

Isaac Leo Seeligman

Within a decade after the publication of Ziegler's critical edition, another modern classic on the Greek translation of Isaiah was published, Seeligman's *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A discussion of its Problems*.²² In this monograph he discussed precisely the kind of matters that had not been discussed by Ziegler (cf. the citation above). Seeligman wanted to discover the theology underlying the translation, including its conception of God and its eschatological expectations, and said that his aim was "to show the Alexandrian translation of Isaiah as a source of *historical knowledge* of its time,"²³ (emphasis mine). Quite in line with this aim, he does find allusions to contemporary events (and persons), and describes the translator as "contemporizing" and "inspiring" the old text "with the religious conceptions of the new age."²⁴

Troxel emphasizes that for Seeligman a major influence on the translation was the Jewish, religious community in Alexandria,²⁵ seeing OG Isaiah as a "document of Jewish Alexandrian

¹⁹ Although he was not the first one to find "egyptisms" in the translations – see Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 178, where he refers to findings by his predecessors. Van der Meer, has later taken up the study of Egyptian papyri and "proceeded and expanded" from Ziegler's observations. Van der Meer, «Papyrological Perspectives», 109.

²⁰ Who only mentions the relationship with the vocabulary in the papyri in a footnote(!)

²¹ Seeligmann, *Septuagint*, 7.

²² See note 12 for bibliographical details.

²³ See his introduction, Seeligman, *Septuagint Version*, 4.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 7, citing Seeligman, *Septuagint Version*, 47.

Theology.”²⁶ But Seeligman only found the translator’s own ideas and his actualizing of prophecies in “isolated, free renderings.”²⁷

Although the work with connecting the translation to a historical situation and the search for actualized prophecies has been continued by several scholars after Seeligman, in a selective survey such as this it seems appropriate to make a leap from Seeligman to Arie van der Kooij.

Arie van der Kooij

Van der Kooij has been classified together with Ziegler, Seeligman – and Ottley – as one of four major contributors to the scholarly debate about OG Isaiah in the twentieth century.²⁸ In fact he is still an active contributor. He is known for seeing OG Isaiah as reflecting *actualized* or *updated prophecy*,²⁹ but to leave it at that, would be to simplify matters too much. Characteristic for his work is also an emphasis on the need to see the Greek text in light of its context and with regard to its coherence as a Greek text.³⁰

His methodological approach includes a study of MT, a comparison of the Greek text with MT, followed by a study of the Greek text “in its own right.” It is at this point he takes a *contextual* approach, in order to evaluate whether the translated text appears as a coherent text, in its immediate context, but also in light of the book as a whole.³¹ So far his approach is not very different from the approach I myself will use, except that he leaves questions regarding the *Vorlage* to the very last step in his analysis,³² which is one of the many aspects

²⁶ Seeligman’s final chapter is titled: “The Translation as a Document of Jewish-Alexandrian Theology.”

²⁷ Commonly noted; here from Van der Kooij, “Isaiah in the Septuagint,” 515, citing Seeligman, “Septuagint version”, 41.

²⁸ «Four large ships have plied these waters already in this century. R.R. Ottley, Joseph Ziegler, I.L. Seeligman and Arie van der Kooij have each made dominant, though very different, contributions to this field of study.” David Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56-66*, (JSOTS 318, The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 1, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 11.

²⁹ See for instance Wagner, *Reading*, 32-33.

³⁰ See for instance van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 7.

³¹ Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 17.

³² Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre* 18.

that Troxel has criticized about his methods. But his more controversial step follows: van der Kooij adds what we can call a second level of analysis, now asking whether the translator has produced a text that belongs to a specific prophetic *genre*,³³ a genre he calls “updated prophecy.”³⁴ So, in an analysis of for instance OG Isaiah 8: 11-16, which is a prophecy of doom, he asks about which *contemporary* events this prophecy might refer to.³⁵ Having discussed a specific situation in the history of Juda/Jerusalem, as known from external sources, he finds that the Greek text he has analyzed “makes perfect sense” as a prediction of this political situation in Jerusalem in this specific period.³⁶ While he does not suppose all prophecies in OG Isaiah to be “updated,”³⁷ questions of “updating of prophecies” are part of his method for analyzing translated texts.

Van der Kooij’s defines “the hermeneutic issue at stake” in relation to interpretation of OG Isaiah as “How literate people in antiquity read and understood prophecies.”³⁸ When he looks for actualized prophecies, it is because he reads OG Isaiah in light of the backdrop of practices of reading and interpreting prophecies both in Judaism, exemplified by Daniel 9, Tobit 14 and *pesharim* in Qumran, as well as in Targum Isaiah,³⁹ – and in Egyptian culture, exemplified by the “Oracle of the Lamb” and the “Oracle of the Potter.”⁴⁰ On the basis of this methodology, van der Kooij, like Seeligman, has been able to connect OG Isaiah directly to events, places and, notably, people – both with regard to its provenance and with regard to historical persons that he finds the translation to allude to. One could say that it is with remarkable precision he is able to anchor the translation in a very specific group of Jewish

³³ Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre* 18.

³⁴ Van der Kooij, «Isaiah in the Septuagint,” 519.

³⁵ Van der Kooij, «Isaiah in the Septuagint,” 528.

³⁶ Van der Kooij, «Isaiah in the Septuagint,” 529.

³⁷ Van der Kooij, “The Old Greek of Isaiah and other prophecies published in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, (WUNT 252; ed. Wolfgang Kraus et al., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 76,.

³⁸ Arie van der Kooij, “Do you understand what you are reading? (Acts 8:30) On Septuagint Hermeneutics and the Book of Isaiah.” in *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen*, (WUNT 361; ed. Sigfried Kreuzer et al., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 663.

³⁹ Van der Kooij, “Do you understand”, 664.

⁴⁰ Treated in the paper “The Old Greek of Isaiah and Other Prophecies published in Ptolemaic Egypt.”

scholar/priests, at a specific point in time and at a specific geographic place: Leontopolis in Heliopolis.⁴¹

Several other scholars have approached OG Isaiah in a similar vein to Seeligman and van der Kooij; van der Kooij himself mentions J.C. M. das Neves, R. Hanhart and J. Koenig.⁴² Also David Baer, whose work will sometimes be cited in this thesis, aligns his study on OG Isaiah with that of Seeligman and van der Kooij.⁴³ But van der Kooij's interpretive practice is not universally applauded, and I will briefly present one of his critics: Ronald Troxel.

Ronald Troxel

Ronald Troxel criticizes van der Kooij's approach in detail, and his entire monograph *LXX-Isaiah* can probably be seen as a critique of van der Kooij's methods and results regarding OG Isaiah.⁴⁴ In his (counter-)analysis, he hardly finds traces of contemporization, and he finds no signs of fulfillment-interpretation.⁴⁵ What he does find, though, is a *translator*, with a concern for writing fluent Greek,⁴⁶ attempting to “bring an understanding of Isaiah to his Greek readers.”⁴⁷ Although he admits that it is *possible* to see OG Isaiah in relation to “rewritten Scripture genre (found in Jewish literature from Palestine)”⁴⁸... he gives priority to comparing the translator methods with practices attested in Alexandria, more specifically with the scholarly work performed in the Alexandrian museum.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *Law, Prophets and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and their Books in the Septuagint Version*, (Johan Cook and Arie van der Kooij, Leuven: Peeters, 2012) 85.

⁴² See van der Kooij, “Isaiah in the Septuagint,” 515-516.

⁴³ Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 17.

⁴⁴ “Ronald Troxel’s 2008 monograph, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, mounts a full-scale assault on the notion that OG Isaiah is characterized by actualization”. Wagner, *Reading*, 33.

⁴⁵ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 287.

⁴⁶ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 287.

⁴⁷ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 288.

⁴⁸ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 291.

⁴⁹ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 291 for his conclusion, but also pages 20-35 for his presentation of the practices of textual editing of Homeric texts at the museum of Alexandria and how he thinks this relates to OG Isaiah.

Troxel's contribution has, however, been harshly criticized; Albert Pietersma⁵⁰ accuses Troxel of being a "maximalist" interpreter, imposing upon the text without warrant the specific context of the Alexandrian museum and the scholarly practices there.⁵¹ Pietersma, when pointing out what he finds lacking in Troxel's approach, explains and exemplifies how *he* suggests that a translation should be analyzed. As the approach that Pietersma suggests happens to be based on DTS, we will now leave Troxel (and his critics), and present a scholar who has in fact used DTS to approach OG Isaiah, Ross Wagner.

Ross Wagner

Ross Wagner's *Reading the Sealed Book* gives a brief introduction to DTS as a tool to approach OG Isaiah, and then analyses OG Isaiah 1 from this perspective. One could say that where others have "anchored" their approach to OG Isaiah in a specific historical setting, either in relation to a scribal milieu in Heliopolis (van der Kooij) or to the influence of the Alexandrian Museum (Troxel), Wagner anchors his approach in *theory*, both in translation theory (DTS) but also in theoretical reflection on the interpretation of texts in general, adopting from Umberto Eco the idea of a Cultural Encyclopedia.⁵²

Wagner reads OG Isaiah in light of the "Cultural Encyclopedia" of the translator, which in short means to read it in light of all the cultural knowledge that the translator has been drawing on in his work.⁵³ He explains that for the translator of OG Isaiah, this cultural

⁵⁰ Albert Pietersma is among other things the general editor behind NETS translation, and one of the scholars who has "taken" DTS to the field of Septuagint studies.

⁵¹ Albert Pietersma, "A Panel Presentation on Ronald Troxel's LXX-Isaiah," in *A Question of Methodology: Albert Pietersma, Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, (ed. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, BTS 14; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 340, 346, 357.

⁵² Wagner, *Reading*, 37.

⁵³ Wagner, *Reading*, 37-38.

encyclopedia must have included familiarity with the Greek Pentateuch, which provided an example of what biblical Greek could – or should – sound like.⁵⁴

In the spirit of Ziegler, Wagner reads OG Isaiah with a keen eye to investigating *intratextual* links, which means links to other passages within OG Isaiah, as well as *intertextual* references, which means links to other books and to the “wider culture.”⁵⁵ Since such links are assumed to contribute to the literary qualities of the translation as a Greek text, to detect such references helps Wagner assess the acceptability of the translation.⁵⁶ This is a central part of the DTS approach, which will be explained in the next chapter.

With this methodology, Wagner reaches the conclusion that the translator’s interpretation happens through “elucidating its language, modulating its discourse and contextualizing its message.”⁵⁷ He finds that the translator molds the elements of the text he translates in new ways, with the result that “(t)he voice of OG Isaiah is that of the Hebrew prophet. But he speaks with a Greek accent.”⁵⁸

Wagner’s contribution is not as much an assault on van der Kooij as Troxel’s. He does however deny that OG Isaiah 1 contains “actualizing” prophecy. He finds that the Hellenistic influence on the translation is reflected in the translation’s emphasis on the divine Law, and in the emphasis on the division between people who trust in the Lord and people who trust in human power. He calls these themes “Isaian motifs,” meaning that they already existed in the source text, but that they have been given further emphasis by the translator. With this emphasis, Wagner remarks, the translator appears as “a man of his time.”⁵⁹ Wagner, like his predecessors, is concerned with seeing the translator in light of his socio-historical background: Hellenistic diaspora Judaism. This is especially expressed through his examination of the translator’s cultural encyclopedia. Still Wagner connects OG Isaiah with this historical background in a more general way than what either van der Kooij or Troxel do.

⁵⁴ Wagner, *Reading*, 63.

⁵⁵ Wagner, *Reading*, 35.

⁵⁶ Wagner, *Reading*, 35.

⁵⁷ Wagner, *Reading*, 235.

⁵⁸ Wagner, *Reading*, 236.

⁵⁹ Wagner, *Reading*, 237.

Wagner is interested in features that affect the *literary* qualities of the translation; intertextual referencing is one such feature. The final scholar to be presented has also demonstrated an interest in stylistic and literary features in OG Isaiah; we will now turn to Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs.

Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs

Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs can be seen as following in the path of Ziegler, as she builds on his work on the pluses and minuses of OG Isaiah.⁶⁰ In *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of its Pluses and its Minuses*, she attempts to perform a more complete investigation of this matter. As her investigation covers the entire text of OG Isaiah, her contribution offers valuable perspectives on the translator's general practices, which means that for me, her observations can serve as a point of comparison for what I find in chapter 45.

She deals with various explanations for pluses and minuses in the text, both related to categories such as "implication" and "explicitation," (which can be seen as resulting from the translator's own efforts and artistry), as well as pluses and minuses that may be caused by a different *Vorlage* or by translation mistakes. As such her contribution offers a balanced treatment of the subject she investigates. She has found that stylistic considerations often seem to have played a part when the translator adds or omits material, and she takes a special interest in his use of rhetorical figures.⁶¹ The chapter where she investigates the relationship between OG Isaiah and Hellenistic rhetorical figures can be seen as the heart of her study, and her analysis leads her to suggest that the translator may have been familiar with the rules of classical Greek rhetoric.⁶² With DTS it is central to evaluate the *acceptability* of the translation *as a Greek text*, using literature originally composed in Greek as the standard of

⁶⁰ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 2.

⁶¹ In the collection *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, she contributes with a paper on this specific dimension of the translation "LXX-Isaiah and the Use of Rhetorical Figures," 173-188.

⁶² Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 297.

comparison.⁶³ This means that van der Vorm-Croughs' observations and conclusions concerning the translator's use of rhetorical devices are of great value for my thesis, even if she restricted herself to the study of the pluses and minuses.

John A. L. Lee, in a paper on the literary Greek of OG Isaiah,⁶⁴ approves of her methods and supports her findings, and his own findings regarding the literary Greek of OG Isaiah make him raise doubts concerning Van der Kooij's portrayal of the translator as a scholar-scribe.⁶⁵ With his previous study on the vocabulary of the Pentateuch,⁶⁶ and his more recent work on the language of OG Isaiah, also Lee will sometimes figure in my discussion.

My own interaction with these scholars

It is obvious that there are other scholars that could have had a say in matters relating to my passage, and I would particularly like to mention Philippe le Moigne, whose paper «C'est moi qui établis la lumière et fis l'obscurité, qui fais la paix et fonde les malheurs»: théologie du choix des thèmes verbaux des participes (présent vs aoriste) se rapportant à Dieu, dans la Septante d'Ésaïe,⁶⁷ would obviously have been valuable for my discussion, were it not that it is written in French.

The abovementioned scholars, however, all have a bearing on my thesis, each in a different way: with Ziegler, I search for the influence of scriptural passages on renderings in OG Isaiah; with Seeligman, I am curious about the translator's theological reflections; with van der Kooij, I look for the coherence of the Greek text; while with Troxel, I am hesitant to adopt this text as an actualized prophecy.

⁶³ See for instance Pietersma, "Panel Presentation," 349-350.

⁶⁴ John A. L. Lee, "The Literary Greek of Septuagint Isaiah," in *Semitica et Classica*, Vol.7, 2014.

⁶⁵ Lee, "Literary Greek," 145.

⁶⁶ John A. L. Lee, *LXX: A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SBL SCS 14, Chico, California: Scholars Press.

⁶⁷ Pages 71-104 in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*.

There are also two Isaiah scholars that have a more direct influence on my paper. Firstly, Wagner lead me to DTS, and his example has been formative for the way I have proceeded in approaching OG Isaiah 45. I will especially emphasize how Wagner taught me to look for stylistic devices and how he has demonstrated that intertextual references, which of course have an impact on the semantic side of the translation, also can be seen as attempts to assimilate to what is expected of Greek literature, and as such witness to the qualities of OG Isaiah as a Greek text. The interest in the stylistic features of the text has further led me to Van der Vorm-Crouchs. With her, I puzzle over the pluses and minuses in my text and try to evaluate the literary style of the translation.

Quite apart from the camp of OG Isaiah scholars, I am also influenced by the thinking of Barr as expressed in his paper “Typology of Literalism.”⁶⁸ With his wise observations of a more general kind, concerning ancient biblical translations in general, he provides an “outside-perspective” that is useful to avoid losing one’s bearing in the search for the theological – or artistic – imprint of the translator on his translation.

Maximalism and minimalism – hesitation and humility

It is apparent from this chapter that scholars interpret OG Isaiah along quite different lines, and this also happens to be the case in Septuagint studies in general. If we need two broad categories, we can talk about “maximalist” approaches, seeing LXX / OG as “a corpus with its own theological profile,” and “minimalist” approaches, seeing LXX/ OG as “an anthology of heterogeneous *representations of Hebrew (and Aramaic) texts...*”⁶⁹ (italics mine). Van der Kooij’s approach is certainly maximalistic, and as noted above, Troxel has also been accused of maximalism. Wagner, on the other hand is more inclined towards minimalism, but not of a strict kind. Still there are also purer “minimalists,” and Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint can

⁶⁸ James Barr, *Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

⁶⁹ Albert Pietersma, “LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?” in *A Question of Methodology: Albert Pietersma; Collected Studies on the Septuagint, BTS 14*, ed. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 274.

serve as an example of this category. They speak of how the translator of OG Isaiah has been “excessively credited with visionary imagination that does not hold up under investigation,”⁷⁰ and emphasize the uncertainty of the wording of the original Greek translation (OG), the difficulties related to deciphering a perhaps damaged *Vorlage*, and the uncertainty regarding the wording of the *Vorlage* in light of the many variants found in documents at Qumran.⁷¹

In the eagerness to find interpretive and theological aspects of the translation, these “minimalist” comments should be kept in mind. For here is what I am interested in: I am interested in examining a translated text, the exact wording of which we do not know, written in a version of the Greek language that is no longer spoken. I will compare it with a source text written in a language that was not spoken in this variant at the time of translation, and which is certainly not spoken in this variant today. To complicate matters further the exact wording of the source text too is unknown and must be attempted recovered through comparing the (uncertain, original) translated Greek text with other Hebrew texts that are assumed to resemble the source text.

Seen in this light, it is apparent that any results I am able to achieve regarding the translator’s theological ideas or interpretive tendencies should be presented with both humility and hesitation. Still, I *am* interested in finding out both how the translator of OG Isaiah performed his task, and whether it is possible to catch any glimpses of his ideas about God and creation in his translation. And I will do it through an approach that does focus on the text *as translation*.

⁷⁰Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1, II: the Isaiah Scrolls, Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants, DJD XXXII*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010), 92.

⁷¹ Ulrich and Flint, *Qumran Cave 1, II, Part 2*, 92.

3 Translation Studies – and Descriptive Translation Studies

Introductory remarks

Translation theories and Septuagint scholarship

As stated in the previous paragraph, I want to approach OG Isaiah 45 as a *translation*. I have therefore looked to the field of translation studies for insights. As noted already, my approach – like Wagner’s – will draw heavily on a branch of translation studies called Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). Although DTS has been adopted by scholars working with the translation of NETS (*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*) as the theoretical foundation for their translation project,⁷² DTS did not originate among Septuagint scholars, but was developed by the translation theorist Gideon Toury. In contrast with other theories in the field it is concerned with the *descriptive* study of translations, as opposed to theoretical or applied translation studies.⁷³ Other translation theories have also been applied to the study of Septuagint translations, but van der Kooij observes that the majority of Septuagint scholars who draw on translation theories, have chosen DTS.⁷⁴ In light of these observations, DTS appears to be a good starting point for an inquiry into the translation – and theology – of OG Isaiah 45.

DTS and Septuagint scholarship

As mentioned above, DTS has been used as a methodological foundation for the NETS translation, and the editors of NETS, Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, have published several papers in which DTS plays a major part in the argumentation. It is, however, primarily Cameron Boyd-Taylor, who has also been part of the NETS translation

⁷² Benjamin G. Wright “Moving beyond Translating a Translation: Reflections on A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)” in *Translation is Required; The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*. (Ed. Robert J.V.Hiebert et al, SBL SCS 56; Atlanta: SBL, 2010), 26-27.

⁷³ Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, (BTS 8, Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 55-56.

⁷⁴ Van der Kooij, “Do you understand,” 656.

team, who has adapted DTS to studies of the Septuagint, most thoroughly in *Reading Between the Lines*. In the explanation of DTS that follows, I will rely primarily on Boyd-Taylor's exposition of the method, but I will frequently refer to Wagner, Pietersma and Wright as well. I have now briefly presented the origin of DTS and its way to the field of Septuagint Studies, and it is now about time to show what DTS has to offer of insights for a study of OG Isaiah.

The outline of this chapter

I will start my introduction to DTS by explaining which aspect of the translation it is that DTS helps us examine, the key-word here is text *as produced*, as opposed to text *as received*. Having explained what it means to focus on text *as produced*, I will continue to explain one of the features that makes translations different from non-translations, the key-word here being *interference*.

When I have introduced interference, which is not a DTS term, but common translation-terminology, I will turn to what belongs decidedly within the DTS framework, the distinction between three different dimensions of the text, *process, product and function*. As the discussion of these three terms will show, the term function is connected to the *socio-cultural environment* the translation originated in.

I will further explain how, in this socio-historical context, there may be conflicting expectations for translation, and that these expectations can be seen as norms that guide the translator, and that there is assumed to be some kind of paradigm for translation in the culture that helps translators balance the norms.

This leads to a discussion of the term acceptability, as well as to a more concrete explanation of what I have in mind when I speak of translational norms.

Descriptive Translation Studies

Text as *produced* – not text as received

Within the framework of DTS it is emphasized that the focus of study is “text as *produced*” as opposed to “text as *received*.”⁷⁵ This has further been described as to delineate the “pre-reception-history” of the translation, as opposed to describing its reception history, which is the history of how this translation was later received and used.⁷⁶ It may seem superfluous to state that we must focus on the text as produced, for if the focus is on the *translator* and how he proceeded, it is not surprising that we should not focus on the *reception history* of the text. But the idea behind this strong focus on text *as produced* is that the interpreter is forced to remember the translation’s relation to its *source* text. When for instance Pietersma and Wright explain that the NETS translators should focus on “text as produced,” they reformulate it in the next sentence as “to focus on the translated corpus *in its Hebrew-Greek context*”⁷⁷ (italics mine). With a focus on text as produced, we cannot forget that the text we are analyzing was born from another text, so to speak.

Having emphasized that a translation must be seen in relation to the source-text, it follows that a translation cannot be interpreted in the same way as an “original composition.” This is the second “axiom” within DTS. To produce a translation is something quite different from writing an original work, and it follows that one cannot interpret the two kinds of texts with the same methods.⁷⁸ It is now time to explain what makes the language of translations different from the language of original compositions.

⁷⁵ Both Pietersma and Boyd-Taylor use the term ‘axiomatic’ about the need to keep these two concepts apart. For instance Albert Pietersma, “LXX and DTS”, 276.

⁷⁶ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 16-17.

⁷⁷ Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” in NETS, (ed. Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xv.

⁷⁸ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 19.

The interference from the source language in translated texts

All translations can be expected to contain *interference*,⁷⁹ “words or structures that are typical of the SL [source language] rather than of the TL [target language].”⁸⁰ There are basically two kinds of interference, *positive* and *negative transfer*. *Negative transfer* occurs when the translator represents a feature of the source in the translation in a way “that contravenes the norms of the target language.”⁸¹ *Positive transfer*, on the other hand, is “changes in the *distribution* of specific features of the target language,”⁸² (italics mine) due to influence from the source-language. Moïses Silva, the NETS translator of OG Isaiah, has noticed the Isaiah translator’s frequent use of the aorist indicative to translate Hebrew *qtl* forms, concluding that “his overuse of this tense, lends a distinct and odd quality to his translation.”⁸³ This happens to be an example of *positive* transfer, as aorist certainly is used in Greek compositions, but not quite so often as in OG Isaiah.

OG Isaiah as process, product and function

Toury distinguishes between three different, but interrelated aspects of any translation: the *position* or *function* intended for the translation within the target culture (*function*), the way it is derived from its source (*process*), and the translated text itself, i.e. (*product*).⁸⁴

The product

This terminology is not self-explanatory, and I will start by explicating the most concrete term, the product. The *product* of translation is the translated text with its grammatical,

⁷⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines* 59, drawing on Toury, *TT*, 72.

⁸⁰ Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, (BET 47, Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 23.

⁸¹ Wagner, *The Sealed Book*, 9. See also Boyd -Taylor, *Reading*, 58.

⁸² Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 58-59, Wagner, *The Sealed Book*, 10.

⁸³ Moisés Silva, “To the Reader of Esaias,” in NETS, 824.

⁸⁴ Wagner, *Reading*, 6, drawing on BT and Toury.

linguistic make-up.⁸⁵ So, to be even more specific, the product I will analyse in my thesis is seven verses from OG Isaiah 45, and verse 4bc will serve as an example:

ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσ με.

This half verse is part of the translator's product. It is a concrete text that may be studied: the words the translator has chosen, the grammatical constructions he uses, whether he writes ungrammatical Greek, or stylish Greek, whether the verse alludes to other texts or the context outside of the text. All these are things that can be described and analyzed as part of our study of the *product*.

And it is through an analysis of this translated product that we can make suggestions and perhaps draw conclusions regarding the two other dimensions.⁸⁶ I will start by explaining what is meant by *process*, after which I will focus on *function*, which is even more in need of explanation.

The process

If the product of translation is what the translator *made*, the *process* of translation is what he *did*, and *how* he did it. If we are to understand what he did, we need to see the Greek text in relation to the source text / parent text / *Vorlage*. For the sake of simplicity, we will here allow the text of Isaiah 45 as printed in BHS, but un-pointed, to serve as the source text.

To study the process of translation then is to examine the translator's methods, to try to understand what kind of linguistic strategies, what *translation technique* he used when he translated the Hebrew text into Greek.⁸⁷ To avoid a completely abstract explanation, I will again use Isaiah 45:4b as an example of what I have in mind. We will now have to look at both the Greek and Hebrew text. Without the Masoretic pointing, verse 4bc in BHS reads as follows:

⁸⁵ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 39.

⁸⁶ Wagner, *Reading*, 52, drawing on Boyd-Taylor, 307.

⁸⁷ Pietersma "LXX and DTS," 281.

To ask about the process of translation in this case is to try to understand how the translator proceeded when he translated it as: ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσ με?

Wagner views the investigation of process as tracing the translator's path between the two texts, "as he moved back and forth between his *Vorlage* and the text he was producing."⁸⁸ To make it easier to see the two texts in relation to each other, I will present them organized as coupled pairs (I will explain more about coupled pairs in the next chapter, but this will serve as an example of what I have in mind).

ואקרא	לך	בשמך	אכנך
ἐγὼ καλέσω	σε	τῷ ὀνόματί μου	καὶ προσδέξομαί σε,

The first word of the parent text is a verb with a prefixed conjunction, ואקרא. To use a descriptive term, we can call this form *wyqtl*. Although it is pointed as *wayyiqtol* in BHS, when unpointed, it is impossible to see whether it is *wayyiqtol* or *weyiqtol*. *Wayyiqtol* and *weyiqtol* are two distinct grammatical forms, and to simplify matters we can say that *wayyiqtol* commonly suggests that the verb should be interpreted as past tense, for instance translated "and I called," while the form *weyiqtol*, on the other hand, would suggest that the verb has a future reference, perhaps to be translated as "and I will call you." The problem is that the translator's *Vorlage* was un-pointed, and the translator had to choose how to interpret it. Of course, I do not assume that he operated with the categories that modern grammarians

⁸⁸ Wagner, *Reading*, 46.

use, such as *wayyiqtol* or *weyiqtol*, but that he had some understanding of how this ambiguous verbal form could be interpreted in different ways.⁸⁹

If we look at the Greek half of the coupled pair, we see that he translated it as ἐγὼ καλέσω. Although the Hebrew verb was preceded by a *waw*, there is no conjunction in Greek. We further notice that he has chosen to render the verb as future indicative, this tells us that he most likely interpreted the verb as *weyiqtol*.

Since both the Hebrew verb and its Greek counterpart are inflected for person, the verb καλέσω itself would have been sufficient as a translation of אָרָא, for καλέσω already means “I will call you,” and there is therefore no need to add a personal pronoun to show who the subject of the verb is. Still, the translator wrote ἐγὼ καλέσω. Why did he do this? Perhaps it was his habit to make explicit who the subject of verbs is, and perhaps he always added personal pronouns when he translated finite verbs? This can easily be checked. If we have a look at for instance verse 1, there are two Hebrew verbs, inflected as first person singular, יִתְקַח and פָּתַח, and further none of these verbs are accompanied by a personal pronoun. If we look at how the translator has handled these verbs, we observe that he has translated them as ἐκράτησα and διαρρήξω, without any addition of pronouns. This allows us to conclude that although the translator has added a personal pronoun without warrant from his source in 4a, he did not always do so – it is not a result of a standardized solution to the “problem” of translating finite verbs.

What we have done right here is in fact to start inquiries into the process of translation behind OG Isaiah 45:4bc.

The above observations concerning how the translator renders finite verbs, may lead to further investigation into his motivations for the addition of ἐγὼ in this particular verse. We will, however, leave this question for now. But the choice to translate אָרָא as ἐγὼ καλέσω, involved other considerations, for instance considerations concerning vocabulary. We have seen that the translator rendered the root אָרָא with καλέω. Perhaps this was his standard

⁸⁹I am indebted to other scholars who have explained aspects of the translator’s struggle to make sense of its source. The explanation I give here is my own entirely, but I have learnt from among others Wagner and Barr how to reflect on this aspect of the translator’s efforts.

equivalent for this Hebrew verb, or to put it differently, perhaps he always translated the root אק as καλέω. I have examined this question, and my analysis will show that the translator most often translated אק as καλέω, but that he also used the words κράζω, βοάω, ἀναγινώσκω, ἐπικαλέω and παρακαλέω. From this observation we have already learned something about his methods, and we can at least conclude that the choice of καλέω is not simply a result of a mechanic replacement of Hebrew words with standard equivalents.

The investigation of the process behind the translation of one single word, has already made us go back and forth between the two texts and has involved investigation of what the translator has done in other passages. And still we haven't even started to ask questions about what he did above the word level, but this example will have to suffice. Examination of the process of translation is as stated above to examine how the translator worked, what his techniques and strategies were, and as I will explain soon, it will also involve an attempt to abstract what kind of *norms* that guided his work.

As I have tried to demonstrate what *product* and *process* mean, I will now turn to the term function, and it is perhaps *function* that is most in need of an explanation. Within DTS, function means the *prospective use* of the translation, the *cultural slot* it was designed for.⁹⁰ Function does not refer to “the actual use to which a translation is put,”⁹¹ what we may be called its *Sitz im Leben*.⁹² In DTS, function is instead related to which “systemic slot it is intended to fill in the recipient culture.”⁹³ To ask about the intended function of a translation is therefore to ask about how it was meant to be used, and what kind of text it was meant to be.⁹⁴ Perhaps OG Isaiah was meant to be a liturgical text. Or perhaps it was meant to be an inter-linear like school text, aiding Greek-speaking students to study the Hebrew scriptures. Or perhaps the translation was meant to be a literary work? These are all examples of different possible uses for translations.⁹⁵ And, it is important to state that how the translation

⁹⁰ Pietersma, “LXX and DTS,” 280.

⁹¹ Pietersma, “LXX and DTS,” 280.

⁹² Wright, «Beyond translating a translation,” 26.

⁹³ Pietersma, “LXX and DTS,” 280.

⁹⁴ Pietersma, “LXX and DTS,” 280.

⁹⁵ See for instance Pietersma, “LXX and DTS,” 280.

was intended to be used, its *function* in the DTS sense of the word, did not dictate how the target community ended up using it.⁹⁶

The relation between function, process and product

I have now explained what is meant by the terms product, process and function. These three are closely related. The intended use, or function, governs what the translated text (product) will be like,⁹⁷ and also what kind of *process* or *translation technique* that is deemed as suitable to produce such a product.⁹⁸

If a translation was produced to function as an aid to read the Hebrew text in an inter-linear - like way, it would determine what methods the translator used, and it would constrain him in certain ways. He would hardly paraphrase longer passages, nor would he omit clauses he deemed superfluous or reshuffle verses. We can rather expect that he would use a methodology that kept the Greek text close to the Hebrew parent. This would in turn have consequences for what the end-product would be like; the syntax and grammar would reflect the close relationship with the parent text.

The constitutive character of the text

The combination of the process, function and product of a text together, can be called the *constitutive character* of a text.⁹⁹ Boyd Taylor uses the term *constitutive character* to connect the verbal *form* of a text with the *cultural milieu* that shaped it.¹⁰⁰ The idea is that there is a connection between what a translated text is like (“its verbal make-up”) – and what we can

⁹⁶ Pietersma, “Panel Presentation,” 282, drawing on Toury.

⁹⁷ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 56-57.

⁹⁸ Pietersma “LXX and DTS”, 281. Boyd-Taylor, however, describes ‘process’ as “more than just a mere description of translation-technique (...) Translation technique [process?] is thus to be understood in terms of the strategies adopted by the translator to achieve the sort of text he was required to produce and hence in relation to norms.” *Between the Lines*, 85, n.77.

⁹⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 39.

¹⁰⁰ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 35.

conclude about how it was meant to be used (its function). To give an example, Boyd-Taylor, after a descriptive analysis of OG Psalms, observes that the Greek Psalter seems to have the constitutive character of an *interlinear translation*,¹⁰¹ which allows us to think that the translator “endeavoured for the most part to *avoid* interpreting his source”¹⁰² (italics mine). While van der Kooij suggests that the Greek Psalter was produced by scribes, whose interest in the psalter was motivated by propaganda and ideology, and that it should be compared with the *Pesharim* from Qumran, Boyd-Taylor raises doubts about these ideas. He does so on the basis of his own observations regarding the constitutive character of the text.¹⁰³ Or to put it differently, Boyd-Taylor’s analysis of the *product* (an *interlinear-like text*) makes him doubt van der Kooij’s suggestions concerning its *function*.

And we should also notice that the observations regarding the verbal character of the Psalter have consequences for how we can interpret it; a translation that appears to *avoid* interpreting its source, can hardly give us access to the translator’s theological reflections.¹⁰⁴ It thus turns out that an analysis of the product, the translated text, indirectly gives us access to its function, how it should be interpreted, and to the cultural environment it came from. It is therefore appropriate to see what the role of this “environment” is in DTS.

¹⁰¹ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 266. Unfortunately, there is no room here to give a proper explanation of what Boyd-Taylor means by *interlinear*, but in fact *Reading Between the Lines* is an investigation into what the prototypical translation within the Septuagint corpus is like. Here he argues that interlinearity is a useful *metaphor* for the relationship between the prototypical translations in the corpus and their parent texts. When he says that OG Psalms have the constitutive character of an interlinear, he does not mean that the OG Psalms was in fact an interlinear translation, but that its relationship to the parent text is so close that it best can be understood by this metaphor.

¹⁰² Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 266.

¹⁰³ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 266.

¹⁰⁴Cf. James Barr, “Typology of Literalism,” 290, where he writes “Interpretation of the *content* is not a necessary element of a translation, and large areas in biblical translation *resisted* the temptation to provide interpretation” (italics mine).

The socio-historical environment within DTS

In my previous chapter I showed how scholars, in different ways, try to connect OG Isaiah to the historical context in which it was produced. Van der Kooij, commenting upon DTS and translation theories in general, laments the lack of contextualization within such approaches, “I am of the opinion that one should not only pay attention to the context in the literary sense of the word, but also to the cultural context of a given translation.”¹⁰⁵ But despite van der Kooij’s lament, the cultural context *is* given its due within DTS. First, DTS connects a translation primarily to the *target* culture; it is in light of the norms, conventions and expectations in this culture that we primarily analyze a translation.¹⁰⁶

It is, however, also emphasized that translators have to negotiate between the constraints that arise from the target culture, and constraints from the source culture.¹⁰⁷ This means that even if it should be true, as van der Kooij argues, that the translation of OG Isaiah was made to promote the interests of a group supporting the leading priest Onias in Heliopolis, and as such was heavily invested with interests from the source culture,¹⁰⁸ the translator of the scroll still faced the task of making this text a *Greek* text, and was therefore met by expectations to the language, style and literary features of Greek texts. As stated above, the translator would somehow have had to negotiate between these different sets of constraints.

This leads to questions on how the translator was to balance these claims. Within DTS it is assumed that translators worked within a (culture specific) model or paradigm of translation that helped them negotiate the claims of the source text and the claims from the target language.¹⁰⁹ This “negotiation” is thus not conceived of as something that happened in the translator’s own head – it is not only a question of the translator’s personal method or *intent* – but is assumed to reflect what this target community wanted a translation to be like. Within DTS it is assumed that as we analyze the product of translation, we can abstract the norms

¹⁰⁵ Van der Kooij, “Do you understand,” 656.

¹⁰⁶ Wagner, *Reading*, 7.

¹⁰⁷ See for instance Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot,” *BIOSCS* 39, (2006): 29.

¹⁰⁸ Van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *Law, Prophets and Wisdom*, 84-85.

¹⁰⁹ Boyd-Taylor, “Translational Norms,” 31.

behind it, and that this will allow us a glimpse of what this particular culture accepted as a good translation. This leads to a discussion of what DTS means by *acceptability*. After presenting acceptability, I will deal with the different kinds of norms behind translations, before I briefly comment on my own use of DTS in this thesis.

Acceptability – as a Greek text

To use the proper standard of comparison

Within the framework of DTS, acceptability is defined as “a translation’s relative conformity to the linguistic, textual linguistic and cultural conventions underlying textual production in the target culture.”¹¹⁰ Firstly, this means that acceptability does not refer to whether OG Isaiah reflects its Hebrew source in an appropriate way; that relationship is instead covered by the term “adequacy” (see below). Secondly, it means that when we evaluate the *acceptability* of OG Isaiah it is of little use to compare it with for instance the Greek Pentateuch or OG Psalms. This is because acceptability has to do with the product *as a Greek text*, and as such the translation must be compared with texts originally composed in Hellenistic Greek, as pointed out in Pietersma’s critique of Troxel’s methods.¹¹¹

Still, this is not the whole truth – it has been noted already that translations cannot completely conform to target expectations about what a well-formed text should look like – since all translations to some extent contain interference. But according to Gideon Toury, this is not necessarily undesirable: “It is not unusual for a certain amount of deviance to be regarded not only as *justifiable*, or even *acceptable*, but as actually *preferable* to complete normality, on all levels at once.”¹¹² Perhaps the target community did not want a translation of a sacred, Hebrew text to sound like, say, literary Greek? Wagner has pointed out that the existence of a body of translated sacred Jewish literature, (at least containing the Greek Pentateuch), probably shaped the expectations of the target community regarding what a translation of

¹¹⁰ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 9.

¹¹¹ Troxel, «Panel Presentation,” 349.

¹¹² Wagner, *The Sealed Book*, 9 who cites Toury, DTS (1995), 28.

Jewish sacred writings would be like.¹¹³ Wagner draws on Tessa Rajak's *Translation and Survival*,¹¹⁴ which is concerned with the story and function of the translation of the Pentateuch in the diaspora. She points out how the (translationese) language of the Pentateuch may have served as an identity marker for Jews in Hellenistic Egypt.¹¹⁵ We thus see that to be an acceptable translation, therefore, is not exactly the same as being an acceptable Greek text.

To assess acceptability: Acceptability on different levels

DTS operates with a hierarchy of discourse levels – the linguistic, textual and literary levels of the translation, – and we must assess the (relative) acceptability of the translated text on all three levels.¹¹⁶

At the *linguistic* level one asks to what degree the translation is a linguistically well-formed text, whether it follows the grammar and syntax of the target language.¹¹⁷ As Boyd-Taylor points out, “For a text to qualify as a product of the target language *at all*, one would expect some degree of conformity at this level.”¹¹⁸ Previous research has shown that the translator of OG writes “good Koiné.”¹¹⁹ Although the translator's way through his translated text can be described as un-even, we can therefore probably expect to find a text that is quite acceptable at this lower level.

¹¹³ Wagner, *Reading*, 62-63.

¹¹⁴ Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁵ Wagner, *Reading*, 61, drawing Rajak.

¹¹⁶ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 59.

¹¹⁷ Wagner, *The Sealed Book*, 9,

¹¹⁸ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 59.

¹¹⁹ See for instance Abi T. Ngunga and Joachim Schaper, “Isaiah,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, (ed. James K. Aitken, London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 458. This category is somewhat problematic, and the “good Koiné” of Isaiah has recently been discussed in a very illuminating paper by John A. L. Lee. He does not dispute that the Isaiah translator writes good Koiné, it is the *terminology* that is problematic! «The Literary Greek Of Septuagint Isaiah,” in *Semitica et Classica*, Vol. 7, 2014.

At the *textual* level one asks to what degree the translation “conforms to the target culture’s expectations of a well-formed text.”¹²⁰ At this level we also examine the *cohesion and coherence* of the translation. Coherence has to do with thematic unity, while cohesion has to do with “the way discourse hangs together formally.”¹²¹ Concerning the textual level, my analysis will show that the translator does adapt his text somewhat at the textual level, reorganizing it slightly so that there is a clearer thematic division between verses 1-4 (which in Greek primarily deals with what the Lord will do for Cyrus, and why), and verses 5-7 (which in Greek focuses on who the Lord is, and the knowledge/recognition of this).

At the *literary* level one asks whether the text conforms to literary conventions of the target system. Included here are “rhetorical and stylistic conventions” and also the norms that govern “intertextuality and cultural referencing.”¹²² In my analysis there are examples that seem to witness to a concern for sound patterning and for the creation of chiasms, a concern that in verse 7 seems to override any concern for standardized renderings of verbs. Lee notes the translator’s apparent focus “on turning the text, not just into meaningful Greek, but into *stylish* Biblical Greek.”¹²³ With this I have already given some hints about the translator’s efforts towards target acceptability on the literary level; it appears that he cannot simply be guided by norms that tie him to the form of his source text. This makes it necessary to explain further what I have in mind when I write about translational norms.

¹²⁰ Wagner, *Reading*, 10.

¹²¹ Boyd -Taylor, *Translational Norms*, 39.

¹²² Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 59, also cited by Wagner, *The Sealed Book*, 10.

¹²³ Lee, «Literary Greek,» 145.

What are the norms behind the translation? ¹²⁴

The initial norm

Toury writes that the work of translation will be guided by an *initial* norm of either *acceptability* as a text in the target culture, or *adequacy* as an appropriate representation of the source text.¹²⁵ If the initial norm behind OG was *acceptability*, it means that OG Isaiah was produced with a primary concern for becoming an acceptable Greek text. If, however, the initial norm was *adequacy*, it means that the translator was more concerned about staying close to the source.

Boyd-Taylor, however, abandons this opposition between acceptability and adequacy. He argues that all translations are produced to be acceptable texts in the target culture. Still the norms behind a translation will influence to what *degree* it is acceptable. Boyd-Taylor therefore speaks of *relative* acceptability.¹²⁶ We are thus interested in finding out to what lengths the translator was willing to go to make his text acceptable as a Greek text; how far from the source did he allow himself to go to achieve that aim.¹²⁷

Describing and weighing the operational norms

In the process of translation, the translator will be guided by *operational* norms, that reflect what degree of acceptability the translator aims at. Such operational norms will determine for instance *whether* source items are replaced, *where* they are placed, and *what form* they take.¹²⁸ As part of my description of the process/product of OG Isaiah 45:1-7 I will observe which

¹²⁴ In the discussion of operational norms, I rely primarily on the paper “Translational Norms”, although here Boyd-Taylor has not yet abandoned the opposition acceptability /adequacy (as he has done in *Between the Lines*). In *Between the Lines* he engages himself in a lengthy discussion of different hierarchies of norms, strategies and processes. Although he himself uses this more complicated hierarchy of norms, and thus is able to be very specific in his analysis, I prefer here to use the basic distinction between initial norm and operational norms, as described in his earlier paper “Translational Norms”.

¹²⁵ Boyd-Taylor, *Translational Norms*, 31-32.

¹²⁶ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 69-70.

¹²⁷ Wagner, *Reading*.

¹²⁸ Boyd-Taylor, *Translational Norms*, 32.

operational norms that seem to guide the translator in this passage. This will include to observe whether he sticks to the word-order of the source (called serial fidelity), whether he reproduces the same number of elements as in the source or if he adds or omits elements (called quantitative fidelity). I will investigate whether he strives for morpho-syntactic correspondence (translating verbs as verbs, participles as participles, first-person pronouns as first-person pronouns etc.), and investigate what norm lies behind his lexical choices.

The operational norms form a hierarchy. Basic or primary norms, for instance, are more or less mandatory for the translator. The following example is a good illustration of this. If the translator is guided by a primary norm of *serial fidelity*, it means that he always follows the word order of the source text. Some norms are rather secondary, which means that they determine favourable choices. My analysis has led me to suggest that the serial fidelity is a secondary norm for the translator, since he usually follows the word order of his source, but still sometimes goes his own way. Finally, there are norms that govern choices that are permitted, but not favourable.¹²⁹

To make this less abstract, I will give an example of how translators are guided by different norms, or perhaps rather give them different weight.

Some translators seem to have been governed by a primary norm of lexical standardization, attempting to render a Hebrew word with the same Greek word, regardless of context; however, not all translators adhered to such a norm. I have examined how different translators have handled the Hebrew verb ברא, (in our passage found in verse 7a and b). It turns out that the translator of OG Psalms always renders ברא as κτίζω, while the translator of Genesis always renders it as ποιέω (with one exception for *niphal*). The analysis of how one single word is translated is of course not sufficient to be able to make the claim that the translators of Genesis and Psalms were guided by a primary norm of lexical stock-pairing, but is meant to provide an example of how two translators dealt with this Hebrew word.

If we turn to OG Isaiah, however, the picture is quite different. The translator uses no fewer than six different Greek verbs, including ποιέω (as in Genesis) and κτίζω (as in Psalms) to translate ברא. His translation of ברא alone contraindicates the idea that standard renderings are

¹²⁹ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 61, drawing on Toury, TT, 59f.

important to him! In light of his translation of this word alone it seems unlikely that lexical stock-pairing is a primary norm in OG Isaiah. Perhaps he was guided by a norm of lexical variation, or perhaps he normally used standard equivalents, but for some reason allowed himself to vary in the case of ברא. This evidence suggests that lexical standardization was a secondary norm for him.

The translation of this one single word is an example of how translators seem to have been guided by different norms, which explains why their products happen to be quite different kinds of translations. And the configuration of different operational norms leads to a text which is more or less “acceptable” as a Greek text.

Norms and acceptability

Having described and weighed the operational norms, it should therefore be possible to see what kind of acceptability the translator was aiming for.¹³⁰ Did he aim for a higher level of acceptability, assimilating his text to Greek expectations, or did he remain close to his source, thus producing a translation with a higher degree of interference. These rather abstract “norms” we discuss have had very real effects on translated texts, some texts being decidedly Hebraistic, others rather rewritten compositions in a new genre,¹³¹ and thus the previous discussion is relevant also for my analysis.

Before I get specific about the details around my analysis, I will briefly reflect on how I will deal with the question of function in my analysis.

The place of function within my analysis

As I analyze my passage, I will carefully try to describe and understand the translator’s methods. The main body of this thesis will be an examination of the process and product of translation. As explained above; the text holds the key to understanding the process that led to

¹³⁰Wagner, *Reading*.

¹³¹ This is what Boyd-Taylor suggests for OG Esther, *Between the Lines*, 50-52.

such a text, and it can point its intended function, and so it is the analysis of the text that has priority.

In my focus on describing the product and process, I will allow questions of function to receive less attention, finding that the product and process of translation is perfectly worth being studied in their own right. I will however refer to what Wagner has concluded regarding the function of OG Isaiah: Based upon his detailed analysis of OG Isaiah 1, he thinks that OG Isaiah seems to have been intended for use in the Hellenistic synagogue.¹³²

¹³² Wagner, *Reading*, 234.

4 Texts, manuscripts and coupled pairs

The purpose of this chapter

Now that the theoretical foundation for my investigation of Isaiah 45 has been laid, I will give further detail regarding which texts I will work with, and how precisely I intend to perform my analysis.

My analysis starts from the comparison of a critically reconstructed Greek text and the Hebrew text of a medieval manuscript. These texts will be discussed in the course of my analysis – not systematically, but when problems seem to arise from the comparison of the two texts.¹³³ Having presented my choices regarding texts /editions, I will explain which other Hebrew witnesses I have consulted as an aid to reconstruct the translator’s *Vorlage*, and briefly discuss how I will deal with textual matters in the course of my analysis. I will then explain how I will use “coupled pairs” to present the two texts together.

The Greek text in my thesis

I have chosen to use the Göttingen edition of Isaiah as the point of departure for my analysis. This is a critically reconstructed text, where corruptions and later variants are attempted removed.¹³⁴ I am, however, aware of the fact that it sometimes may contain unoriginal readings. As Ulrich and Flint point out, “the original Greek has been lost or disturbed at numerous points during the long history of the transmission of the Greek text.”¹³⁵ I therefore regard this text as an *approximation* of the Old Greek of Isaiah, but in lack of a better alternative, I will use it as the basis for my analysis.¹³⁶

¹³³ So also, for instance, van der Louw, *Transformations*, 91.

¹³⁴ Wagner, *Reading*, 46 n. 49.

¹³⁵ Ulrich and Flint, *Qumran Cave 1: II*, 92.

¹³⁶ Similarly, Wagner, *Reading*, 46 n. 49.

The text that I print in my analysis is thus the text edited by Ziegler in the Göttingen edition. I have also consulted Ralph's edition.¹³⁷ In the verses I will analyze, there is only one difference between the two editions, and I will discuss it as part of the analysis of verse 4.

When I have consulted other books in the Septuagint corpus, I have used the Göttingen edition, and unless otherwise noted, Greek Bible citations are taken from this edition. Since the Göttingen Septuagint does not yet cover the entire Septuagint corpus, I have used Ralph's edition for the books where there is no Göttingen edition available.

Hebrew witnesses

The Hebrew text printed in my thesis

As I explained in the previous chapter; when I investigate the process of translation, I have to compare the Greek text with its supposed Hebrew *Vorlage*. We do not know the exact wording of this *Vorlage*, but I have chosen to use the text of a Masoretic manuscript, Codex Leningradensis as my point of departure. The Hebrew text I will print at the beginning of each verse in my analysis, is thus the consonantal text of Codex Leningradensis, which is printed in BHS. Since the *Vorlage* the translator had in front of him must have been un-pointed, I will likewise present an un-pointed version of the text.¹³⁸ I will, however, from time to time discuss the Masoretic interpretation which can be seen in the use of vowels, accents and in the *qere* readings in the margin.

Other Hebrew witnesses

My choice of BHS is meant as a point of departure for further investigation of what the *Vorlage* of OG may have looked like. To try to reconstruct the Hebrew *Vorlage* of OG Isaiah 45:1-7, I have compared the text of BHS /Codex Leningradensis with other Hebrew

¹³⁷ As found in the Logos Bible software electronic edition: [*Septuaginta: With morphology*](#). (1979). (electronic ed.,). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

¹³⁸ This means that I have removed the vowels and Masoretic marks from the text of BHS.

witnesses: The Aleppo Codex¹³⁹ and the great Isaiah scroll from Qumran; 1QIsa^a. Since the consonantal text of Codex Leningradensis and the Aleppo Codex is identical in Isaiah 45:1-7, I will simply refer to this common text as MT.

Previous research has shown that there is no systematic agreement between OG and either MT or 1QIsa^a, the *Vorlage* of OG seems to have been “similar to, but not identical” to either of them.¹⁴⁰ When during the course of my analysis I observe that the Greek text does not seem to render MT transparently, I will compare it with the text of 1QIsa^a to see if this can help explain the rendering.¹⁴¹ I will not systematically discuss matters related to the *Vorlage* or the original Greek text, but I will deal with textual problems when they occur as I compare the two texts in the course of my analysis.¹⁴²

Coupled pairs

To understand the process of translation we need to compare the Greek text with its parent text, and I find it useful to present these two texts by laying them out as coupled pairs. A coupled pair consists of a translated unit and the source unit it translates.¹⁴³ I will give an example of what I have in mind; these are the coupled pairs of verse 45:1a:

כה	אמר	יהוה	למשיחו	לכורש
Οὕτως	λέγει	κύριος ὁ θεὸς	τῷ χριστῷ μου	Κύρω

¹³⁹ For the comparison with BHS I have used the text from the Aleppo codex as printed in Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah, Volume 3, chapters 45-66, The Hebrew University Bible*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1993).

¹⁴⁰ Ulrich and Flint, *Qumran Cave 1: II*, 92. Emanuel Tov characterizes the differences between the Hebrew Isaiah manuscripts as “relatively small.” Emanuel Tov, “Exegesis and Theology in the Transmission of Isaiah,” in *The Unperceived Unity of Isaiah: Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies* 28, ed. James H. Charlesworth, (Edinburgh: T& T Clark, 2018), 101.

¹⁴¹ I refer to Wagner, *Reading*, especially pages 49-51, for explanations of possible reasons why the Greek does not appear to be a transparent rendering of the Hebrew.

¹⁴² For instance van der Louw, *Transformations*, 91.

¹⁴³ Boyd-Taylor, *Analysis*, 33, drawing on/citing Toury, *DTS* (1995), 88-89.

When we see these coupled pairs, it becomes apparent that sometimes one Greek word translates one Hebrew word; as for instance in the case of [אמר]/[λέγει], but that this cannot be taken for granted, as can be seen from the translation of the tetragrammaton: [יהוה] / [κύριος ὁ θεός].

For practical reasons I will not split prepositions, conjunctions or pronominal suffixes from the word they are attached to, although I regard them as separate words. For instance [למשיחו] in fact consist of three different words: a preposition, a noun and a pronominal suffix. My delimitation of coupled pairs is therefore not entirely consistent, but it is sufficient for the purpose of this analysis.

English translations

When I present the coupled pairs, I will also present two English translations, to facilitate the reading of my paper. The NETS will serve as a translation of OG. The choice of NETS has further led to the choice of NRSV as a translation of MT, since NETS is meant to reflect, in English, the difference between MT and OG.¹⁴⁴ Unless otherwise noted all English Bible citations in this thesis are from NRSV and NETS.

¹⁴⁴ Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xv-xvi.

5 Analysis of OG Isaiah 45:1-7

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:1

Verse 1

כה	אמר	יהוה	למשיחו	לכורש	אשר	הקזקה	בימינו
Οὕτως	λέγει	κύριος ὁ θεὸς	τῷ χριστῷ μου	Κύρω	οὗ	ἐκράτησα	τῆς δεξιᾶς

לרד	לפניו	גוים	ומתני מלכים	אפתח
ἐπακοῦσαι	ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ	ἔθνη,	καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων	διαρρήξω

לפתח	לפניו	דלתים	ושערים	לא	יסגרו
ἀνοίξω	ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ	θύρας	καὶ πόλεις	οὐ	συγκλεισθήσονται

Introductory remarks

The first verse in our passage is indeed a long one, and it offers us a glimpse of this translator's methods. Although the presentation of previous research concerning OG Isaiah has allowed us to get an impression of him and his work, this verse offers us an opportunity to gain firsthand knowledge of how he proceeds. We will notice lexical variation, transformed pronominal-suffixes, and see an example of how he deals with an idiom which also causes challenges for modern interpreters. We will also observe an "expanded" translation of the divine name; the translation of the divine name will, however, be discussed in detail at the end of our analysis. But first we will see what he does with a formulaic expression: the Hebrew messenger formula.

Verse 1a

Thus says the LORD - (NRSV).

Thus says the Lord God - (NETS).

כה	אמר	יהוה
Οὕτως	λέγει	κύριος ὁ θεὸς

Translation of the messenger formula: default rendering or conscious choice?

Isaiah 45:1 starts with the messenger formula כה אמר. Here it has been translated by its most common equivalent in OG Isaiah; οὕτως λέγει. While this particular Greek messenger formula is used twenty-seven times in Isaiah,¹⁴⁵ elsewhere in LXX/OG corpus we find it only ten times. With one exception, οὕτως λέγει always translates כה אמר. While it is true that οὕτως λέγει is the preferred rendering of כה אמר in OG Isaiah, the Hebrew formula is also translated in two other ways; it is translated as τάδε λέγει eighteen times,¹⁴⁶ and four times as οὕτως εἶπεν.

In the comparison of these three different translation equivalents, I will emphasize the difference between εἶπεν and λέγει, since this difference is not only a stylistic variation but a difference between the aorist and present tense. In the case of οὕτως εἶπεν, the tense is aorist, and the aspect is therefore punctual, while when the verb of the messenger formula is λέγει, the tense is present, and the aspect is durative and linear.

If we look at the context in which these different renderings occur, I have found that in the four cases where we find the rendering οὕτως εἶπεν, the indirect object is always “me,” either οὕτως εἶπεν μοι¹⁴⁷ or οὕτως εἶπεν πρὸς με.¹⁴⁸ One case is particularly interesting. In 8:11,

¹⁴⁵ Including the variant spelling οὕτω λέγει.

¹⁴⁶ This expression once translates wayyictol אמר, and 12 times אמר.

¹⁴⁷ 18:4; 21:16; 31:4.

¹⁴⁸ 21:6.

where MT has כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֵלַי,¹⁴⁹ and we therefore expect the rendering οὕτως εἶπεν μοι / πρὸς με, the translator chooses οὕτως λέγει Κύριος, apparently leaving «to me» out. Regardless of why “to me” lacks here, we notice that once “to me” is absent in Greek, the verb is translated as present tense (as is the translator’s habit *except* when the messenger formula is followed by the 1.sg pronoun).

It thus appears that when the Lord’s words are addressed to the prophet himself, they are introduced by a messenger formula that is punctual in aspect, “οὕτως εἶπεν”. When the prophet delivers a message to an audience, however, he introduces the Lord’s words with a messenger formula that is durative, linear in aspect: “οὕτως λέγει”.¹⁵⁰ From this we learn that although the messenger formula indeed is a *formula*, the translator’s rendering varies, and the variation depends on the immediate context.

Translation of the divine name

Far more interesting than the rendering of the messenger formula, is of course the question of how the translator renders the divine name, YHWH, which occurs approximately 450 times in Isaiah, and which in the LXX/OG usually is translated as κύριος. In our seven verses, the tetragrammaton is found no less than five times; in verses 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, and in all five instances it is translated as κύριος ὁ θεός. If we are to simply describe this rendering, we can say that the translator has added the apposition ὁ θεός to the standard equivalent, κύριος.

In light of the frequency with which the tetragrammaton and the “expanded” translation κύριος ὁ θεός are used in our verses, this translation equivalency deserves a closer look, and I will provide an excursus on this topic at the end of the analysis of verse 7. Here I will make some preliminary observations.

¹⁴⁹ So does 1QIsa^a.

¹⁵⁰ The present tense is also used in the four instances where the messenger formula (τάδε λέγει) introduces the words of a human king.

The addition ὁ θεός as “explicitation” of the common noun κύριος

The tetragrammaton is a name (or rather a kind of acronym for a name) and unambiguously refers to the Lord/God. Κύριος usually functions as a translation of this name, but is in fact a common noun that means “master”. Κύριος for the tetragrammaton can be regarded as a calque; the chief meaning of a Hebrew word (יהוה) has been transferred to Greek (to the word κύριος), and has become part of the living language.¹⁵¹

The addition of the apposition ὁ θεός can be seen as a way of making explicit which or what kind of κύριος we are talking about. Using translation-terminology we can call this *explicitation*.¹⁵² Explicitation related to the translation of divine names/titles is, however, only one of several kinds of explicitation that Miriam van der Vorm-Croughs has found in OG Isaiah.¹⁵³

Verse 1aβ

To his anointed, to Cyrus - (NRSV)

To my anointed, Cyrus - (NETS)

למשיחו	לכורש
τῷ χριστῷ μου	Κύρω

Anointed and anointing in Hebrew and Greek

Hebrew משיח is a noun that means “the anointed one,”¹⁵⁴ and it is used of kings of Israel,¹⁵⁵ (high) priests,¹⁵⁶ the patriarchs¹⁵⁷ – as well as of Cyrus here. Although משיח in the Hellenistic

¹⁵¹ Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xvii.

¹⁵² Van der Louw, *Transformations*, 81, defines it as “a transformation whereby elements that are linguistically implicit in the source text are made explicit in the target text (...).”

¹⁵³ Van der Vorms-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 31-63, esp. 39-40.

¹⁵⁴ HALOT, מְשִׁיחַ.

period was used to refer to an eschatological savior, it is not used in this sense in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵⁸ Isaiah 45:1 is the only Isaiah passage where משיח and its equivalent χριστός occur. In the Septuagint, משיח is almost exclusively translated by the adjective χριστός, as here.¹⁵⁹ And since the use of χριστός in the Septuagint also almost completely overlaps with the use of משיח,¹⁶⁰ we can thus say that משיח-χριστός nearly forms a closed equation. This means that the translator here uses what can be called a standard equivalent in the Septuagint as a whole.

But we do not only want to find out what the translator's methods were, we are also interested in what the text meant, and how acceptable it was as a Greek text. This means that it is not enough to observe that the translator just did what all the other translators did when he translated משיח as χριστός, we also have to ask what χριστός means. So, what does χριστός mean?

Χριστός is a verbal adjective, from the verb χρίω. Χρίω is used in Koiné Greek also apart from the biblical literature, and when used together with *oil*, it means to “smear, anoint, anoint

¹⁵⁵ For instance, repeatedly in 1 and 2 Samuel.

¹⁵⁶ For instance, in Leviticus 4:3,5,16; 6:15.

¹⁵⁷ Psalms 105:15.

¹⁵⁸ HALOT, מְשִׁיחַ.5.

¹⁵⁹ The exceptions are: In Lev 4:3 and 2 Kingdoms (equals 2 Samuel) 1:21, the verb χρίω is used. Theodotion Daniel 9:25 has χριστός, while in OG Daniel 9:25, the word is part of a somewhat larger minus. In 9:26 (both in OG-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel) χρίσμα is used.

¹⁶⁰ χριστός is sometimes also used for the verb משה (Lev 21:10, 12), or the noun משהח (2 Chron 22:7). In Amos 4:13, MT reads מה-שחור, “reveals *his thoughts* to mortals” (NRSV). OG Amos on the other hand reads ἀπαγγέλλων εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, “and announces *his anointed* to humans” (NETS.) (Italics in both translations mine). This change from ‘thoughts’ to ‘anointed’ can perhaps be explained as a reading mistake on the part of either a Hebrew scribe or the translator, based on the similarities between the consonants of משיח and מה-שחור.

oneself.”¹⁶¹ In the Septuagint too, it can mean “smearing,” but it is also used in the more specific sense “to invest with office by performing the act of χρίω.”¹⁶²

Turning to the adjective χριστός itself, we find that apart from our corpus it means “to be rubbed on, used as ointment or salve...”¹⁶³ and in the Septuagint too, it is used in this sense.¹⁶⁴ But when it used as a noun in secular Koiné it means “ointment,”¹⁶⁵ so it is only in the Septuagint, as well as NT and related literature, that χριστός is used about *persons*.¹⁶⁶ In our corpus, χριστός, when used substantively, is defined as “one on whom the act of χρίσις has been performed.”¹⁶⁷

So even if χριστός and χρίω belonged to the vocabulary of Koiné Greek, the relation between “rubbing with oil” and investment with an office seems to be a specific *septuagintal* meaning.¹⁶⁸ This probably means that χριστός should be regarded as a “calque,” a Greek word that has taken on a Hebrew meaning and that has become part of the living language.¹⁶⁹ In light of how the word was used in secular Koiné, it appears that it was only within the Jewish

¹⁶¹ Grundmann, W., van der Woude, A. S., Hesse, F., & de Jonge, M. (1964–). [χρίω, χριστός, αντίχριστος, χρίσμα, χριστιανός](#). G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley, & G. Friedrich (Eds.), *Theological dictionary of the New Testament* (electronic ed., Vol. 9, p. 494). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

¹⁶²MSL, χρίω, 737.

¹⁶³ Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S., & McKenzie, R. (1996). [A Greek-English lexicon](#) (p. 2007). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

¹⁶⁴ MSL, χριστός 1, 737.

¹⁶⁵ Woude and de Jonge. [χρίω, χριστός, αντίχριστος, χρίσμα, χριστιανός](#). In Kittel, Bromiley and Friedrich (Eds.), *TDNT*, (electronic ed., Vol. 9, p. 495).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ MSL, χριστός 2.

¹⁶⁸ BDAG, χρίω, sees a parallel to this specific sense in Homer, *Hymn to Demeter* 237, where Demeter anoints (χρίω) someone with ambrosia as part of a ritual to make him a god. I however doubt that this can be seen as a parallel to the anointing of a person for a specific office that we see in the Septuagint.

¹⁶⁹ Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xvii.

subculture that it could be properly understood what was implied by the Lord's anointing / smearing (!) of Cyrus.

When "his" becomes "mine": The translation of "to his anointed"

If we take a closer look at the syntax, we notice that the Hebrew prepositional object למשיחו, "to his anointed," is translated by a dative object without a preposition: τῷ χριστῷ μου. When the Hebrew preposition (ל) is not rendered by a Greek preposition, we do not get what we can call *morphosyntactic correspondence*, but the result of this choice is perfectly acceptable in Greek.

What is most striking here is the translation of the pronominal suffix. Where MT has "his anointed,"¹⁷⁰ OG has "my anointed."¹⁷¹ We do not know, however, whether this rendering is a conscious change or caused by a scribal error: It is possible that the *vav*, which makes it a *third* person suffix, had been interchanged with a *yod*, which makes it a *first* person suffix; in the *Vorlage*,¹⁷² after all, the two letters are graphically similar. It is also possible that the translator himself misread the *vav* as a *yod*. But it may also be a conscious move. David Baer has noted a tendency of changing third person forms into first and second person, what he calls *personalization*, throughout OG Isaiah.¹⁷³ Since the translator is known to change third person forms in this way, it is in my opinion likely that he read "his" in his *Vorlage*, but still consciously translated it as "my". If this is what happened, he not only deviated from the norm of morphosyntactic correspondence, which is a rather abstract description of such a move, but he also changed the *meaning* of the utterance. Whatever the reason for the move is, even if it is caused by a reading mistake, with this change, the Lord's direct speech starts

¹⁷⁰ IQIsa^a supports MT.

¹⁷¹ Aquila has another word for anointed, and the 3.sg. pronominal suffix.

¹⁷² This is Emanuel Tov's explanation, see, *MT-LXX Parallel*, Is 45:1, Logos Bible Software.

¹⁷³ David Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 53.

already here in OG. In MT, on the other hand, we have to wait until the relative clause “*whose right hand I have grasped,*” for divine direct speech.¹⁷⁴

The apposition Cyrus – in Hebrew and Greek

Both in source and translation the name “Cyrus” functions as an apposition to “my anointed.”¹⁷⁵ Since τῷ χριστῷ μου is in the dative case, the apposition “Cyrus” has to be in dative too. It is not unusual for proper names in the Septuagint to have declinable Greek case-endings, although transliteration without Greek endings is more common.¹⁷⁶ In this case the translator did not have to come up with a solution himself, since he could simply use the already existing Greek name for the Persian emperor.¹⁷⁷

In MT the name Cyrus is preceded by a preposition, לכורש, thus both the head noun and the apposition are preceded by articles; לַמְשִׁיחוֹ לְכֹרֶשׁ. As is to be expected from the translation of למשיחוֹ as τῷ χριστῷ μου (without a Greek preposition), OG omits the preposition before “Cyrus.” But unlike the translation of לכורש as τῷ χριστῷ μου, “Cyrus” is translated simply as Κύρω, without the article. There are two other passages where the Hebrew resembles the syntax of the phrase we are discussing here: MT 2 Sam 22:51 and MT Psalms 18:51 read למשיחוֹ לדוֹד (preposition + his anointed, preposition + proper name), exactly as in Is 45:1. But in these two verses this syntactical construction is translated as τῷ χριστῷ μου τῷ Δαυιδ.¹⁷⁸ In these examples we see that there is a dative article both before the adjective and

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 245.

¹⁷⁵ Goldingay and Payne, however, based on the accentuation of MT, believe that the Masoretes were unhappy with this, and separated “*le* his anointed” and “*le*” Cyrus by disjunctive accents, thus: “to his anointed, of Cyrus.” Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55*, II, 22.

¹⁷⁶ Emanuel Tov, «Personal Names in the Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *Isaiah in Context; Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, (ed. Michael van der Meer et.al., Leiden: Brill, 2010), 414.

¹⁷⁷ The name Κύρω is attested for instance in Herodotus. (LSJ, Κύρω).

¹⁷⁸ OG 2 Kingdoms 22:51 and OG Psalms 17:51.

before the proper name, while in OG Is 45:1 the proper name lacks the article, τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρω, although the Hebrew construction seems to be the same in all three verses.

We can say that in translating this Hebrew phrase the translator of OG Isaiah adheres less strictly to the norm of quantitative fidelity than the translators of OG Psalms and 2 Kingdoms. The absence of the article in OG Is 45:1 is most likely motivated by the desire to adhere to common Greek usage, as it is in keeping with Greek usage that the name is anarthrous, while the common noun has the article.¹⁷⁹

Verse 1b

Whose right hand I have grasped - (NRSV) / (NETS)

אשר	החזקתי	בימינו
ֹו	ἐκράτησα	τῆς δεξιᾶς

Comments on syntax

The undeclinable Hebrew relative particle אשר is translated by a masculine relative pronoun in the genitive case. This relative pronoun does double duty. It translates both the relative particle and the pronominal suffix “his right hand,” and it is because of this latter function that the relative pronoun appears in the genitive case.

The *qtl* form החזקתי is rendered by an aorist indicative. Previous research has shown that *qtl* forms often are rendered as aorist, both in OG Isaiah 1-5¹⁸⁰ and in the Pentateuch, but as Wagner points out, this is hardly surprising regarding the semantic overlap between these forms.¹⁸¹ Wagner’s conclusion after studying verbs in five chapters of OG Isaiah is that the translator renders Hebrew verbforms in a nuanced way by contextually appropriate Greek

¹⁷⁹ See T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 24, (§5cad) and 426, (§33a).

¹⁸⁰ Wager, *Reading*, offers an excursus on the translation of verbs in OG Is 1-5, 205-215.

¹⁸¹ Wagner, *Reading*, 207.

verb forms,¹⁸² which sometimes means that *qtl* forms are translated by present or future tense verbs.¹⁸³ This means that aorist indicative as a translation of *qtl* forms, though common, is therefore not a *default* match for the translator.

The choice of κρατέω to translate הִזִּיק hiphil

The verb הִזִּיק, is here used in hiphil, I will refer to this form as הִזִּיקוּ. The meaning of הִזִּיקוּ is often “to seize, grasp, take hold of.”¹⁸⁴ In our verse it has been translated as κρατέω, which also translates הִזִּיקוּ in two other Isaiah-verses. In all three verses the Lord is the subject of הִזִּיקוּ, and the object is someone’s hand/right hand. MSL marks the meaning “to grasp, lay hold of,” for κρατέω as a meaning that perhaps is not attested before the translation of the Septuagint,¹⁸⁵ so perhaps its usage here, with right hand as its object, would contribute to a somewhat translationese flavor of this verse.

Adjustments towards Greek usage

The prepositional phrase ‘by his right hand’ in Hebrew consists of a preposition, a noun and a third person pronominal suffix. In Greek, the preposition is lacking, and as pointed out already the pronominal suffix is rendered by a relative pronoun in the genitive case at the beginning of the clause (οὗ). This demonstrates thus an instance of a deviation from the norm of quantitative fidelity, since we have one less word in Greek, as well as from serial fidelity since the Greek equivalent of the pronominal suffix is found at the beginning of the clause. This does, however, make the relative sentence conform to Greek usage.

¹⁸² Wagner, *Reading*, 214-15.

¹⁸³ Wagner, *Reading*, 208.

¹⁸⁴ HALOT, הִזִּיק, hiphil, 1,2.

¹⁸⁵ See MSL, κρατέω, 411.

Verse 1α

To subdue nations before him - (NRSV)

So that nations will listen before him - (NETS)

לְרַדְּ	לְפָנָיו	גוֹיִם
ἐπακούσαι	ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ	ἔθνη,

The Hebrew לְ plus infinitive is rendered by only a Greek infinitive. Like the form it translates here, also anarthrous Greek infinitives can express purpose or result.¹⁸⁶ By rendering the infinitive this way, the translator sacrifices quantitative fidelity, rendering two Hebrew words by one Greek. The result is perfectly acceptable Greek. Boyd-Taylor discusses a similar case in Genesis 11:5, and writes that often in such contexts, a genitive article is used to preserve quantitative fidelity,¹⁸⁷ but our translator was apparently not concerned about quantitative fidelity here.

In Hebrew “nations” is the direct object of the infinitive. In Greek however, we have the construction “accusative with infinitive,” and “nations” functions as the subject of the infinitive; thus, we have a transition from “to subdue nations before him” in Hebrew to “in order that nations will obey before him” in Greek.

The Hebrew verb can be interpreted as רָדַד “to drive back, subjugate, conquer”¹⁸⁸ or perhaps רָדָה, “to rule” or “to tread.”¹⁸⁹ The equivalent ἐπακούω is never elsewhere used as a

¹⁸⁶ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 609.

¹⁸⁷ Boyd-Taylor, *Between the Lines*, 296.

¹⁸⁸ HALOT, רָדַד.

¹⁸⁹ HALOT, רָדָה.

translation of any of these (rather rare) words. It means “to give ear to, listen,”¹⁹⁰ sometimes understood as “obey,”¹⁹¹ and in OG Isaiah it usually translates either ענה or שמע, qal.

In Isaiah the verb רדה is found in 14:2 and 6, and it is translated there as κυριεύω and παίω. In 41:2 and in our passage, the form is ambiguous (רדה or רדד), but HALOT interprets the verb in both cases as רדד, qal. Isaiah 41:2b strongly resembles 45:1c, in 45:1 the verb is used about nations: יתן לפניו ומלכים ירד, while in 41:2 it is used about kings: לרד לפניו גוים ומתני מלכים אפתח גוים.¹⁹² The relevant part of 41:2b is rendered as βασιλεῖς ἐκστήσει.¹⁹³ Thus רדד, “to drive back, subjugate, conquer” there is rendered as ἐξίστημι, to “drive someone out of one’s senses.”¹⁹⁴

We thus observe that one instance of רדד “to conquer kings” becomes “to drive kings out of their senses” (41:2), while in 45:1c “to conquer nations” becomes “in order that nations will obey”. This means that in both cases the translator translates רדד “to conquer/to drive back” with verbs that seem to refer to the *effect* of such conquering, (in 41:2 through a causative verb), rather than referring to the conquering itself.

The combination ἐπακούω + ἐμπροσθέν is not attested prior to the LXX/OG.¹⁹⁵ This means that we have another expression that perhaps sounded like *translationese*.

Verse 1cβ

And strip kings of their robes (NRSV)

And I will break through the strength of kings (NETS)

¹⁹⁰ MSL, ἐπακούω, 1.

¹⁹¹ LSJ, ἐπακούω, 4.

¹⁹² “He delivers up nations before him. And *subdues* kings.” [New American Standard Bible: 1995 update](#). (1995). (Is 41:2). La Habra, CA: The Lockman Foundation.

¹⁹³ Ziegler, J. (Ed.). (1983). [Isaias](#) (Vol. XIV, Is 41:2). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

¹⁹⁴ MSL, ἐξίστημι 3.

¹⁹⁵ MSL, ἐπακούω 1. f.

ומתני מלכים	אפתח
καὶ ἰσχύον βασιλέων	διαρρήξω

Translation of a tricky idiom: Opening the hips

I will first comment on the wording of the Hebrew here, before I discuss how to understand the translator’s rendering of this idiom.

The מתנים “hips” (dual) is the place where a girdle is bound, for burdens – for instance a sword – to be fastened to, and it is also the seat of strength.¹⁹⁶ The verb פתח in MT is pointed as piel, and both piel and qal can mean “to open”. Piel, however, also has the sense “to loose,” for instance to loose bonds or a girdle.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps then, the expression מתנים פתח means to ungird or to disarm.

Another suggestion is to understand מתנים פתח as to “open the legs”, which is further suggested to mean “I will make kings run,” this suggestion is based on similar Accadian and Ugaritic idioms.¹⁹⁸ With Koole, I however think it is more likely that “opening the hips” refers to ungirding/disarming.¹⁹⁹ This makes sense also in light of the *girding* of Cyrus, which is expressed through the verb אזור in 45:5.

We will now compare the expression used in Isaiah 45:1(and 5) with a passage with a similar wording, Psalms 30:12b. There we have פתח, pointed as piel, and in a parallel clause the verb אזור, piel, just as we have in Isaiah 45:5. Thus in Psalm 30:12b we have פתחת שקי, “you have taken off my sack-cloth”, followed by ותאזרני שמחה, “and clothed me with joy,” (NRSV). In the Psalm the two verbs (פתח and אזור) seem to denote two opposite actions, and this usage sheds light on our passage too. In light of the parallel in Psalm 30, I therefore think that the

¹⁹⁶ GHCLLOT. מתנים, BDB. מתנים.

¹⁹⁷ GHCLLOT, פתח.

¹⁹⁸ See Jan L.Koole, *Isaiah III, Volume 1*, (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament, Kampen: Kok Pharos), 433.

¹⁹⁹ Koole, Isaiah III, 1, 433.

expression in verse 1 (“opening the hips”) refers to the *disarming* of kings while verse 5b speaks of the *arming* of Cyrus.

The translator’s handling of the elements of the Hebrew idiom

How did the translator interpret this idiom? He mirrors the syntax of the source when he replaces the construct chain with a genitive construction, and he translates מתנים as ἰσχὺς. Ἰσχὺς for מתנים is a *hapax* translation equivalent in the corpus as a whole, but we should keep in mind that מתנים is a metaphor for strength.²⁰⁰ It appears that the choice of ἰσχὺς *singular* probably has to do with producing natural Greek, for the plural of ἰσχὺς, although it is attested in the corpus, is extremely rare.

Ἰσχὺς can among other things mean “power” or physical “strength”, but Thucydides uses it for a “fortified place”, and it can also refer to “the main body of military troops”.²⁰¹

The verb that renders פתח is διαρρήγνυμι, which means “to break through.”²⁰² Elsewhere in OG Isaiah this verb is only used in 33:20, where it translates niphāl קתג, “to be torn in two”²⁰³. In the Septuagint as a whole it usually translates קרע,²⁰⁴ but it is used as a translation of piel פתח in a few other verses, too.²⁰⁵ In OG Isaiah, διαρρήγνυμι certainly is no “default” equivalent for piel פתח, for the five other instances of this Hebrew verb form are rendered by four other Greek verbs.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰John Goldingay and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55 II*, New York: T&T Clark, 21.

²⁰¹LSJ, ἰσχὺς.

²⁰²LSJ, διαρρήγνυμι., LES, διαρρήσσω/διαρρήγνυμι.

²⁰³HALOT; קתג niphāl, 1.

²⁰⁴Sometimes also עקע or a couple of other lexemes.

²⁰⁵In OG Psalms 29:12 /MT Psalms 30:12 the direct object is sackcloth.²⁰⁵ In OG Psalms 115:6/MT Psalms 116:16 the object is ‘bonds’.

²⁰⁶When unpointed, many piel and qal forms look the same, but διαρρήγνυμι does not translate any of the qal forms of this root in OG Isaiah either.

Since we have observed that ἰσχυς may refer to concrete objects like a “fortified place,” or “military troops,” it is worth noticing that the verb under discussion here also can be used in relation to warfare; in 2 Kingdoms 23:16 it is used about warriors who break through (διαρρήγνυμι) the enemy’s camp.²⁰⁷

The handling of the idiom as a whole

It is clear that the translator did not render the idiom “to open the hips of kings” word-for-word. Perhaps it is safest to just assume that the translator, seeing that a word for word rendering would destroy the meaning of the idiom, simply made it non-figurative, knowing that “hips” in Hebrew may denote strength. It is, however, also possible that the words he chose (διαρρήγνυμι + ἰσχυς) could be understood as referring more specifically to the concrete armed forces of a king.

Verse 1δα

To open doors before him (NRSV)

I will open doors before him (NETS)

לפתח	לפניו	דלתים
ἀνοίξω	ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ	θύρας

An infinitive rendered as a finite verb, and the making of a minor chiasm

In Hebrew we now have another purpose/result clause expressed through ל plus infinitive. The verb comes from the same root as the previous word, (פתח), but is pointed as qal. The future διαρρήξω of the previous clause is immediately followed by another future verb, ἀνοίξω. Both verbs translate Hebrew פתח, although not in the same form.

²⁰⁷ MSL uses this passage as attestation for the meaning ‘break through an enemy line’ (MSL, διαρρήγνυμι, 3.)

While the choice of διαρρήγνυμι for פתח in the previous clause was unusual, but in this clause the lexical choice is unsurprising, for in OG Isaiah the most common translation of פתח qal is ἀνοίγω. Here however, the translator deviates from morphosyntactic correspondence and renders the infinitive by a finite verb.

The two verbs stand at the center of a small chiasm in the Greek text. In Hebrew the two verbs אפתח / לפתח are related by coming from the root פתח, while in Greek we have two different lexemes that share the same verbal form, thus the translator reproduces the connection between the two clauses in his own way.

The choice of imperfect for infinitive constructs can be seen in relation to the tendency towards personalization mentioned earlier, a tendency that gives us a higher number of first and second person forms of verbs and pronouns in the Greek than in the Hebrew text. The effect of this is of course not primarily that it changes the statistics concerning grammatical forms in the Greek and Hebrew text, of importance rather is its effect on the semantic side. As noted earlier, David Baer calls this tendency *personalization*, which probably is an appropriate way to refer to the *effect* of these grammatical changes. In the immediate context here, however, the effect of replacing an infinitive with a future verb is, as observed, that it produces a chiastic pattern which was not there in Hebrew. The direct object is “doors” in both Hebrew and Greek, in MT we have the dual form, which is used about two-leaved doors, usually large ones, like city gates.²⁰⁸

Verse 1dβ

And the gates shall not be closed - (NRSV)

and cities shall not be closed - (NETS)

ושערים	לֹא	יסגרו
καὶ πόλεις	οὐ	συγκλεισθήσονται

²⁰⁸ GHCLOT, תִּלְךְ.

Gates that become cities

In this clause the translator follows the source closely; we get a plural noun for a plural noun and both source and translation have plural passive verbs,²⁰⁹ that mean “to be shut/closed”²¹⁰ The choice of συγκλείω is not surprising, for although it is only used here in OG Isaiah, in the rest of the translated corpus it usually translates סגר.

The choice of πόλεις ‘cities’ for שערים ‘gates’ on the other hand, is somewhat surprising, since שער normally is translated by πύλη ‘gate,’ both in OG Isaiah and elsewhere. The word πόλις leads us to expect that the *Vorlage* read ערים instead of שערים. Ottley has however pointed out that in Deuteronomy πόλις is a common equivalent for שער.²¹¹

Goldingay and Payne see שערים (plural) as pointing even more clearly than dual דלתים towards citygates.²¹² In Hebrew it seems *implied* that it is citygates that will not be closed. This in a way explains the choice of πόλις; but in OG it is no longer *implicit* that the doors and gates are citygates, it is stated explicitly that it is cities that will not be closed.

In our verse the specific reference to *gates* in the source text is exchanged for a more “general” reference to *cities*. This is an example of *generalization*, where the translation is made less *specific* than the source,²¹³ or as van der Louw explains, the word chosen in the translation is more general than the translation equivalent that is usually chosen for the same source item.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ The 3. person plural passive future indicative of συγκλείω translates the 3. person plural masculine niphil imperfect of סגר.

²¹⁰ HALOT, סגר, niphil, 1. According to BDB, סגר niphil is specifically about the closing of gates. BDB, I, סגר, niphil 2. LSJ, συγκλείω, II.

²¹¹ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55 II*, 23.

²¹² Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55 II*, 21.

²¹³ Van der Vorms-Crough, *An Analysis*, 64.

²¹⁴ Van der Louw, *Transformations*, 67. See also the explanations under the heading “Structural semantics,” 379.

Summary of the process and product in verse 1

As this has been our first encounter with the translator of OG Isaiah, and we have examined a long range of details, it is time to pause to reflect over what we have observed so far. I will therefore summarize our findings in verse one, before we move on to the next verse.

The process of translation

The translator proceeds word-by-word and thus follows the parent closely. Still he produces grammatically well-formed sentences; for instance, his use of the grammatical cases is correct, and there is concord between nouns and verbs. He also follows the word order of the source closely, thus so far serial fidelity appears to be a primary norm to him.

When it comes to morphosyntactic correspondence, we notice some changes that are not required by Greek grammatical rules: A third person pronominal suffix is changed into first person. Prepositions are rendered by inflected articles + nouns (τῷ χριστῷ) or simply by inflection of the noun involved (κύρῳ). In rendering verbs his choices of forms are usually non-surprising, but he once translates an infinitive as a finite verb (לפתח translated as διαρρήξω). We can say that so far, morphosyntactic correspondence seems to be adhered to most of the time, but it is apparently not a primary norm.

When comparing the number of words in the translation and the source, we notice that the translator omits prepositions that would be redundant in Greek (like in the case of κύρῳ). Both the relative particle אשר and the third person pronominal suffix are rendered by the genitive relative pronoun οὗ; in this way he avoids negative transfer from Hebrew. The way he renders the tetragrammaton, (with an added apposition) likewise shows that he does not seem to be concerned about preserving quantitative fidelity; it is already obvious that quantitative fidelity is not a primary norm for him, he both omits and adds words.

Some of his lexical choices are a little surprising, he often does not choose standard translation equivalents, as when he renders “gates” as “cities”. This already suggest that this translator does not rely on ‘stock pairing’ of Hebrew and Greek words!

The product of translation – so far

As a Greek text verse 1 is acceptable at the grammatical level, but perhaps had a hint of translationese. For readers/listeners already familiar at least with the translation of the Pentateuch, (probably also some other biblical books), the term χρίστος would probably be properly understood; the practice of anointing someone for an office, along with the words χριστός and χρίω used for it, was probably a part of the cultural encyclopedia of the translator and his intended audience. Still it is uncertain what readers outside of the Jewish subculture would make of Cyrus being anointed. Would they understand that it had to do with making him ready for a task or an office? This points towards a readership that was familiar with Jewish practices.

Also, the choice of the verb κρατέω in relation to right hand might have been unfamiliar in Greek, and the use of the verb ἐπακούω with the preposition ἐμπροσθέν would probably also sound a bit odd, being an example of negative transfer.

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:2-3

Verse 2

אני	לפניך	אלך	והדורים	אושר	דלתות	נחושה	אשבר
Ἐγὼ	ἐμπροσθέν σου	πορεύσομαι	καὶ ὄρη	ὀμαλιῶ,	θύρας	χαλκᾶς	συντρίψω

ובריחי ברזל	אגדע
καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς	συγκλάσω

Verse 3

ונתתי	לך	אוצרות השך	ומטמני מסתרים	----	---
καὶ δώσω	σοι	θησαυρούς σκοτεινούς	ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους	ἀνοιξῶ	σοι

למען	תדע	כי	אני	יהוה	הקורא	בשמך	אלהי	ישראל
ἵνα	γνῶς	ὅτι	ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεὸς	ὁ καλῶν	τὸ ὄνομά σου	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ

Introductory remarks on verses 2 and 3

Verse 2 marks a new section of our pericope, for while the first-person singular verbs (*yqtl* and future forms respectively) clearly provide a link to verse one, Cyrus is from this verse directly addressed through second person forms in both source and translation. Verses 2-3 tells as about what the Lord will do for Cyrus, and verse 3 closes with the first explanation of why this will happen, expressed in MT through a למען clause. Two other such clauses will follow – in 4a and 6a. Knowledge of the Lord is now introduced as a theme. This theme is central to our pericope and we will hear of it again in 4b, 5b, and 6a.

Verbal forms in verses 2-3

In line with the translation of the *yqtl* verb of verse 1, the *yqtl* form of הלך is rendered as a future verb: πορεύσομαι. In fact, all the verbs of verse 2 are *yqtl* verbs which are rendered as future indicatives. Also, the *wqtl* verb in verse 3 is rendered as a future indicative. Only the *yqtl* of ידע is not translated as a future indicative, but rather as an aorist subjunctive, because the subjunctive is required by the conjunction ἵνα.

The choice of future for *yqtl* forms is unsurprising. Wagner has observed that this is the way *yqtl* forms most often are translated in OG Is 1-5,²¹⁵ and this holds true for the translation of the Pentateuch as well.²¹⁶ The message of this verse clearly has a future reference; the Lord informs Cyrus about what he is going to do for him.

Verse 2a

I will go before you and level the mountains - (NRSV)

I will go before you and level mountains - (NETS)

אני	לפניך	אלך
Ἐγὼ	ἔμπροσθέν σου	πορεύσομαι

והדורים	אושר
καὶ ὄρη	ὀμαλιῶ,

For the first time in our passage we encounter an independent first-person pronoun (in both source and translation). Since the subject already is implicit in the inflected verb in both languages, the personal pronoun adds emphasis: “I, *myself*, will go before you.”

The next Hebrew verb is ישר. We will have to examine this verb further, since here there is a difference between the *ketiv* and *qere* readings, a difference that affects the consonantal text, since the hiphil form of the consonantal text has a *vav*, while in the piel form the *vav* is replaced by a *yod*. The *ketiv* reads אושר, hiphil, while the *qere* reads אישר, piel. In Isaiah ישר, piel, is also found in 40:3 and 45:13. In these verses the direct objects are “roads” and “path.” The piel sense that is relevant in these verses seems to be “to smooth”, usually of “way”.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Wagner, *Reading*, 210.

²¹⁶ Wagner, *Reading*, 210, note 255.

²¹⁷ HALOT, ישר, piel 1.

Hiphil ישר, “to level,”²¹⁸ is a rare form, occurring only in the *ketiv* of our verses and in two other verses in the Hebrew Bible.

We will now continue by examining the direct object in Hebrew, before we examine how the translator dealt with this clause as a whole.

The direct object of ישר is an obscure word, which in this form, יהדרים, is a *hapax legomenon*. It is perhaps the qal passive participle of the verb יהדר, “to swell (?), honour, adorn”, and the meaning “unevenness” has been suggested.²¹⁹ Since IQIsa^a reads ויהררים, “mountains”,²²⁰ and OG reads ὄρη, also “mountains”, it appears likely that the *Vorlage* here looked like IQIsa^{a221} and because of these renderings, HALOT suggests to emend the word to יהררים, and proposes the sense “mountainous land”.²²²

We do not know whether the verb in the translator’s *Vorlage* was hiphil or piel, but if we look at all the Isaiah passages where this verb is found, we see that when the translator chooses equivalents for ישר, he chooses verbs that suit the context, varying between εὐθύς ποιέω (40:3) and εὐθύς (45:13) when it is used about ways/paths, but in our verse, when the direct object is mountains, he chooses ὁμαλίζω “to make level”.²²³ Elsewhere he also uses ὁμαλίζω as a translation of שוה, “to make even”.²²⁴

²¹⁸ HALOT, ישר, hiphil 1.

²¹⁹ See BDB, יהדר, and the discussion in Koole, *Isaiah III, Volume 1*, 434-435, as well as in Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, II*, 22.

²²⁰ IQIsa^b reads ויהררים, which has been suggested to be a composite between the reading of MT and IQIsa^a. See Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, II*, 22.

²²¹ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 254, argues that this is the original reading. I owe this reference to Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, II*, 22.

²²² HALOT, יהדרים.

²²³ MSL, ὁμαλίζω. The verb is twice used in Deuterocanonical books for which we have no Hebrew *Vorlage* to compare with.

²²⁴ BDB, שוה. See Is 28:25.

Verse 2b

I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut through the bars of iron (NRSV)

I will break in pieces doors of bronze and break off bars of iron (NETS)

דלתות	נחשה	אשבר
θύρας	χαλκᾶς	συντρίψω

ובריחי	ברזל	אגדע
καὶ μοχλοῦς	σιδηροῦς	συγκλάσω

Two parallel expressions

Both in source and translation we have two parallel expressions, the direct objects in both cases precede first-person singular verbs.

In Hebrew there is a construct chain where “doors” is followed by נחשה “copper”/ “bronze”. The mention of bronze doors is thought to hint at the city of Babylon, which was known for its hundred bronze gates.²²⁵ OG does not translate the construct chain by a genitive construction, but by a noun followed by an attributive adjective: θύρας χαλκᾶς.

The direct object of the next clause is בריחי ברזל. This construction is parallel to the previous one, a construct chain with the noun בריח “bar”, plural, which is followed by a noun that describes the material the bars are made from: ברזל “iron”. This is in OG rendered as μοχλοῦς (plural), which in the Septuagint never translates any word other than בריח.²²⁶ Μοχλοῦς is modified by the adjective σιδηρὸς “made of iron”.

²²⁵ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, II*, 22 and Koole, *Isaiah III, Volume 1*, 435, both referring to Herodotus.

²²⁶ And only twice in MT is the Hebrew word translated by another equivalent: In Job 38:10 and Proverbs 18:19.

This means that we have two construct chains, both with plural nouns followed by singular nouns denoting material: “bronze” and “iron”. The construct chains are translated by nouns meaning “doors” and “bars”, and these nouns are qualified by attributive adjectives meaning “made of bronze” and “made of iron”.

This way of replacing the last noun of a construct chain with an adjective has been noticed by J. A. L. Lee in his study of the vocabulary of the translated Pentateuch.²²⁷ The adjectives *χάλκος* and *σιδηρός* were not chosen here because the translators were unable to find adequate nouns to translate *נחשה* and *ברזל*; there are certainly Greek nouns meaning both copper and bronze. Rather, it appears that the choice was motivated by a wish to use a Greek idiom.

The verbs of the two parallel clauses

The verbs of verse 2b are *שבר* and *גדע*, both *yqt/piel*. These verbs are regularly found together in the corpus; only twice do we find *גדע piel* without *שבר piel* in the same verse. When they occur together these two verbs are usually used about making an end to idolatrous practices, while in Isaiah 45:2, as well as in the parallel verse Psalms 107:16, they are used about breaking through *doors* and *bars*. According to HALOT the meaning of *שבר qal* is “to shatter, smash”. *Qal* is used for objects that can be broken in one action (wood, pottery, bones), and *piel* “to smash into fragments”, is used for objects of metal or stone that cannot simply be broken in one action.²²⁸ This explains the *piel* in the MT in our verse. In OG Isaiah, *piel שבר* is always translated as *συστρίβω*.²²⁹

²²⁷ John A.L.Lee, *LXX; A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies 14 (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), Appendix 1, 151. The two adjectives mentioned in 45:2, are listed along with some adjectives with a similar meaning, like *ἀργυροῦς* “made of silver”, *χρυσοῦς* “made of gold”.

²²⁸ HALOT, *שבר*.

²²⁹ Many of the *qal* and *niphal* forms in Isaiah are also translated by this verb.

The second verb, עָדַע piel, means “to cut through, cut off, cut to pieces”.²³⁰ Piel עָדַע is only found here in Isaiah, but it is used eight more times in BHS, usually together with שָׁבַר piel, and translated as either συγκαλάζω’ “to break”/ “break off”²³¹ or ἐκκόπτω/κόπτω. Which verb the translators have chosen to translate עָדַע appears to depend on what the direct object is.²³²

Creating sound-plays

Even if it appears that the translator simply chose the most natural equivalents for the Hebrew verbs here, we should notice that the choice of συντριβῶ and συγκαλάζω in verse 2, - together with the συγκλείω in 45:1b, add to the literary qualities of the text, for with this we have three clause-final verbs starting with the preposition συν. The two verbs of 2b even share the same form (future first person singular) and therefore both start and end in the same way, which adds a new level to the parallelism between the two clauses. This stylistic device – parallel words in successive cola that both assonate and have the same endings – is called *paromeoesis*,²³³ while a similar rhetorical device, the use of the same word or word-group at the end of successive clauses, is called *epiphora*, and can be used for emphasis, both because of the repetition itself and because of the clause-final position.²³⁴

Verse 3 ac

I will give you the treasures of darkness - (NRSV)

And I will give you dark treasures - (NETS)

וַתַּתֵּן	לְךָ	אוצרות חשך
καὶ δώσω	σοι	θησαυροὺς σκοτεινούς

²³⁰ HALOT, עָדַע, piel.

²³¹ MSL, συγκαλάζω and LSJ, συγκαλάζω.

²³² The verb ἐκκόπτω is used when the direct object is “groves”. This verb is the natural Greek choice to use about cutting trees out of a wood. See LSJ, ἐκκόπτω, 2. Κόπτω is used with the direct object τὰ ὑψηλά.

²³³ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 290.

²³⁴ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 231.

MT verse 3 starts with a *wqtl* form, in MT pointed as a perfect consecutive. This is how Goldingay and Payne interpret it; here, they think it indicates purpose or result.²³⁵ Koole reads it as a prophetic perfect.²³⁶ However our translator has understood it, he renders it by a future indicative. In this way there is a closer *formal* connection to verse 2 in OG than in the source, since the series of first-person singular future verbs is continued in Greek.

In Hebrew the verb “I will give” has a prepositional object - לך- which is rendered by the dative object σοι, and the verb also has two direct objects, אצרות השך and ומטמני מסתרים, joined by a *waw*.

The object אצרות השך is another construct chain where a plural noun in the construct is followed by a singular noun. אוצר means “supplies, store-rooms, treasure”.²³⁷ Also the translation equivalent θησαυρός can mean both treasure and a place for storing,²³⁸ and in Isaiah אוצר /θησαυρός are used both for *places* where treasures are stored,²³⁹ and for *treasures*.²⁴⁰ With one exception²⁴¹ אוצר is in OG Isaiah always translated as θησαυρός. θησαυρός in OG Isaiah always translates אוצר, except in 33:6 where it renders חסן, ‘wealth, treasure’.²⁴²

Since אוצר is modified by the noun, השך, Goldingay and Payne find it most likely that אוצר here refers to a storage place rather than a treasure, with the next clause describing the *content* of the treasury.²⁴³

²³⁵ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol 2*, 23.

²³⁶ Koole, *Isaiah III, Volume 1*, 435.

²³⁷ HALOT, אוצר.

²³⁸ MSL defines the sense of θησαυρός as either: 1. space for storing 2. that which is stored as valuable.

²³⁹ 39:2 and 4.

²⁴⁰ For instance, in Is 2:7 (where the word refers to silver and gold) and 33:6 (where the word refers to the fear of the Lord).

²⁴¹ 30:6, where MT speaks of the אוצר of animals, and OG has πλοῦτος ‘material wealth, riches’.

²⁴² BDB, חסן.

²⁴³ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol 2*, 23.

The translator again replaces a construct chain (אצרות השך) with a noun qualified by an attributive adjective: θησαυροῦς σκοτεινοῦς. This is not done because of lack of appropriate Greek nouns to render השך, for the noun σκότος translates השך almost seventy times in the LXX/OG, and in OG Isaiah too, the standard rendering for השך is σκότος. Only here and in verse 19 is השך rendered by σκοτεινός; in both cases the Hebrew noun stands in the post-construct position and functions adjectively.²⁴⁴

Verse 3aβ

And riches hidden in secret places (NRSV)

Hidden, unseen ones I will open for you (NETS)

ומטמני מסתרים	----	---
ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους	ἀνοίξω	σοι

The second direct object is introduced by a conjunction: ומטמני מסתרים. מטמן means “treasure.”²⁴⁵ It is found only five times in MT and is in LXX/OG always translated as θησαυρός, except here, where it is rendered as ἀποκρύφος. Ἀποκρύφος almost exclusively renders words related to the root סתר,²⁴⁶ and is used both about what is deliberately kept out of sight (hidden) and things that are invisible, though not necessarily *intentionally* so.²⁴⁷ It seems likely that the translator uses ἀποκρύφος to render מטמן since the equivalent θησαυρός – which the translators of Genesis, Proverbs, Job and Jeremiah used to render מטמן – has already been used to translate אוצר.

²⁴⁴ In 45:19 it follows ארץ, and the phrase is rendered as γῆ σκοτεινῆ.

²⁴⁵ HALOT, מטמן.

²⁴⁶ The exceptions are our verse here and Job 39:28 where it renders מצניקה. In Isaiah 4:6, the only other Isaiah occurrence, it renders מקתור.

²⁴⁷ MSL ἀποκρύφος, -ον.

מטמן is modified by another noun, מסתר, meaning “secret place”.²⁴⁸ מסתר is also quite rare, in Isaiah it is used only here.²⁴⁹ Isaiah 45:3 is the only verse in LXX/OG where it is translated as ἀοράτος, in fact the most common rendering is ἀποκρύφος.²⁵⁰ Perhaps here too the translator has chosen a second best equivalent because the most common translation equivalent; ἀποκρύφος, had already been used - as a translation of מטמן! Αοράτος is even rarer than the word it translates. In the translated part of the corpus it is found only here and in Gen 1:2, where it renders תהו. Through this rare word we therefore have a (unique) lexical link to the Genesis creation accounts, though not the only one in our passage.

A newly created chiasm and creation of sound-plays

These direct objects – θησαυρούς σκοτεινούς and ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους – are followed by a Greek plus, ἀνοίξω σοι, which Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs regards as a “repetitive rendering”, thus the verb-phrase δώσω σοι (3a) is “repeated” by the “synonym” ἀνοίξω σοι.²⁵¹ She places such renderings under the heading “Double Translation”.²⁵² Although it is possible to label it as such, I would like to draw attention to the lack of this conjunction in Greek. With the removal of the conjunction between the two noun-phrases, and with the addition of the second verb in Greek, the verse is reshaped, and the structure becomes chiasmic:

a verb + indirect object (and I will give you)

b direct object (dark treasures)

b' direct object (hidden, unseen)

a' verb + indirect object (I will open for you)

²⁴⁸ HALOT, מקתר .

²⁴⁹ It is used 10 times in the BHS.

²⁵⁰ With the exception of Hab 3:14 it is always translated by ἀποκρύφος (4 times) or related words; κερυμμένως (1), κρυφαίος (2), κρύπτος (1).

²⁵¹ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 183.

²⁵² Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 141-186.

This chiasm is a poetic device which is not found in MT. It is also worth noticing that with this plus, three words of 3aβ start with an ᾰ, creating assonance. Perhaps both the addition of the verb-phrase ἀνοίξω σοι, and the unusual choices of the equivalents ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους, were influenced by the wish to create assonance? With both this sound-play and the newly created chiasm, the translation of verse 3a has its own literary qualities which are not derived from its source.

Verse 3b

So that you may know that it is I, the LORD, the God of Israel, who call you by your name - (NRSV)

So that you may know that I am the Lord God, the God of Israel, who calls your name - (NETS)

למען	תדע	כִּי	אני	יהוה
ἵνα	γνῶς	ὅτι	ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεὸς

הקורא	בשמך	אלהי	ישראל
ὁ καλῶν	τὸ ὄνομά σου	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ

Verse 3b is introduced by the subordinating conjunction למען, which often indicates purpose or result.²⁵³ Here it introduces a subordinate clause which appears to inform us of the purpose of all of the divine actions that we have heard of in v.1-3a.²⁵⁴

The Greek equivalent chosen for למען is ἵνα, which also usually functions as a purpose conjunction, less frequently as a result conjunction.²⁵⁵ As a matter of fact ἵνα was almost the

²⁵³ Christo van der Merwe et al., *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) § 40.13, 304

²⁵⁴ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol 2*, 23.

only final particle used during the Hellenistic period.²⁵⁶ ἵνα requires subjunctive and is followed by the aorist subjunctive of γινώσκω. With this, the long series of future indicative verbs is broken. The aorist subjunctive and the future indicative forms are, however, related and sometimes act in the same way.²⁵⁷

The Hebrew verb of this subordinate clause is יָדַע, *yqtl*. In OG Isaiah γινώσκω is the preferred choice to render יָדַע, but οἶδα is also quite common.²⁵⁸ While γινώσκω is used in various senses, (MSL distinguish between thirteen different senses), here it seems to mean “to come to know; find out by observation or inquiry,”²⁵⁹ or perhaps “to admit to the veracity of a proposition.”²⁶⁰

This verb is the first in our pericope that is inflected as second person, and this creates a shift in focus from YHWH and his actions, to Cyrus – but only for a brief moment, since *what* Cyrus will know has everything to do with YHWH. What it is that Cyrus will know is expressed in two nominal clauses, introduced by another subordinating conjunction, כִּי, in Greek ὅτι:

לְמַעַן / ἵνα *you may know*

כִּי / ὅτι *a) I (am) YHWH,*

*b) the one who calls you by your name (is) the God of Israel.*²⁶¹

The interpretation “I (am) YHWH” is supported by the *sequence* pronoun + tetragrammaton, although the accentuation in MT supports interpreting the tetragrammaton as an apposition (I,

²⁵⁵ Wallace, *Beyond the Basics*, 676-677.

²⁵⁶ Antonius N. Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar*, 416.

²⁵⁷ See for instance Wallace, *Beyond the Basics*, 462 and 463, note 41.

²⁵⁸ ἐπίσταμαι is also used 5 times for qal.

²⁵⁹ MSL, γινώσκω, 1.

²⁶⁰ MSL, γινώσκω, 12.

²⁶¹ So Koole, *Isaiah III, Vol 1*, 436 and Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol 2*, 23-24.

YHWH ...) ²⁶² This is the first “I (am) ...” declaration in our pericope, but not the first in the book of Isaiah. In MT there is one such statement (אני יהוה) prior to chapter 40; in 27:3, this is however not carried over to the Greek text. But from chapter 40, both in source and translation, there are repeated declarations with the first-person singular pronoun introducing a nominal sentence. In most cases the pronoun is followed by a name or title for God, in Hebrew sometimes only by the third person singular pronoun: אני הוא. ²⁶³ In some cases the predicate of the “I am” sentence is a predicate adjective. ²⁶⁴

Still, chapter 45, and particularly our pericope, is unique in terms of the frequency of usage of such “I am...” statements. ²⁶⁵ Four times in verses 45:3-7 – and ten times in the chapter as a whole ²⁶⁶ does the Lord/God declare who he is. Only one of these nominal sentences does not have the tetragrammaton as its predicate in Hebrew; there, the word אל is used. These four אני יהוה statements in our pericope are always rendered as ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, although from verse 8 the Hebrew phrase is translated in a variety of ways.

The rendering of בשם and קרא

The subject of the second nominal sentence is הקרא בשמך, ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου. The qal active participle of קרא is rendered transparently by the present active participle of καλέω. Hebrew participles force translators to make a choice, since Greek participles are inflected for tense. As will be shown in the analysis of verse 7 our translator seems to be conscious about his choices in this respect. When he chooses the present tense here, it signals that the calling

²⁶² Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol 2*, 23. For instance NRSV interprets it as a name + apposition; “so that you may know that it is *I, the LORD*, the God of Israel, who call you by your name,” (italics mine).

²⁶³ This found in the Hebrew text in 41:4, 43:10, 43:13, 43:25, 46:4, 48:12, 52:6. Only in 52:6 where the personal pronoun both in source and translation appears to be the subject of its own nominal clause, is the 3.sg personal pronoun translated by a personal pronoun in OG. Usually the Hebrew third person pronoun in these cases is translated as ἐγὼ εἰμί, but sometimes the phrase is missing in Greek (43:13, 48:12).

²⁶⁴ 44:6 x 2, 48:12 x 2 in MT.

²⁶⁵ The chapter, however, is long.

²⁶⁶ 45:3,5,6,7,8,18,19,21 and 22.

which the participle refers to is not a past occurrence, in which case we would have expected the aorist here.

The basic sense of קרא is “to draw attention to oneself by loudness of voice.”²⁶⁷ When it is followed by בשם, it can mean “call, commission, appoint – by name, specifically.”²⁶⁸ HALOT reserves a special nuance of meaning for Isaiah 45:3 and 4, and finds that in these two verses (and these two verses only) it means “to name”– while for instance in 40:26 and 43:1 it means “to appoint by name.”²⁶⁹ I do not see any reason to make this distinction between the meaning of קרא בשם in these verses, I think it is better, with BDB, to interpret the expression both in 45:3 and in 43:1 the same way, as “to appoint by name.” Or perhaps it should be interpreted as “summon by name”, in which case the image evoked is that of a sovereign who summons his subjects.²⁷⁰ This was in fact what YHWH did in v.1 where Cyrus’ name was mentioned.²⁷¹

Καλέω often translates קרא, and in OG Isaiah it only rarely serves as a translation for another Hebrew word.²⁷² קרא is, however, found far more frequently than καλέω, probably due to its wide semantic range. Even though the meanings of קרא and καλέω overlap, the semantic fields to which they belong are not identical. So, when קרא seems to have the sense “call aloud,” κράζω²⁷³ or βοάω²⁷⁴ is chosen. And where קרא seems to mean “to read,” it is translated as ἀναγινώσκω.²⁷⁵ For other meanings of קרא sometimes a prefixed form of καλέω is chosen – usually ἐπικαλέω²⁷⁶, once παρακαλέω.²⁷⁷ The purpose of this brief overview of translations of

²⁶⁷ HALOT, קרא.

²⁶⁸ BDB, קרא, 5e. BDB lists 45:3 as well as 43:1 here.

²⁶⁹ HALOT, קרא,

²⁷⁰ So Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II*, 24.

²⁷¹ Koole, *Isaiah III, Vol I*, 436.

²⁷² It sometimes appears as a plus, a few times it translates אמר, once זכר hiphil.

²⁷³ This happen for instance in 6:3, 65:24.

²⁷⁴ For instance, in 12:4; 36:13; 40:3,6,6; 58.9.

²⁷⁵ 29:11,12.

²⁷⁶ 43:7; 55:5,6 and 64:6.

²⁷⁷ 40:2.

קרא, is to show that the translator is not simply relying on a fixed equivalency, but is sensitive to the meaning of the Hebrew verb in context when he chooses his equivalents.

While modern lexicographers do not agree on the meaning of קרא בשם in 45:3, we notice that the translator translates the verb as καλέω and renders the prepositional object בשמך as an accusative object, τὸ ὄνομά σου, leaving the preposition out. The question is whether this sounds equally natural in Greek? This is in fact hard to determine, for in the case of καλέω+ὄνομα there are usually *two* accusatives. It is however difficult to *conclude* whether this sounded odd to the listeners. Here perhaps we see one of the difficulties with DTS; it is not always easy some 2100 years later to determine what was strained usage...

But in light of our translator's general willingness to choose equivalents, also for קרא, with an eye to what fits the context, it is perhaps unlikely that he would choose an unnatural translation of קרא here. And elsewhere too, he uses καλέω + ὄνομα (without a second accusative), and this is done in a passage where he does *not* translate literally, but instead condenses two Hebrew lines into one Greek line by taking קרא from the first line and שמי (without a preposition) from the second line: ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσα τὸ ὄνομά μου.²⁷⁸

Further identification: God of Israel

Whether the translation here is idiomatic Greek or not, it is followed by the nominal phrase ואלהי ישראל, θεός Ισραηλ. Since the predicate in nominal clauses often is anarthrous,²⁷⁹ the absence of the article makes it likely that θεός Ισραηλ here is the predicate of a nominal sentence; “The one who calls your name is (the) God of Israel”, rather than an apposition “the one who calls your name, (the) God of Israel.”

With this the one who is calling Cyrus is identified not just as κύριος ὁ θεός, but also more specifically as the God that has a special relationship with *Israel*. This provides a link to verse 4, where we have a second explanation/motivation for the Lord's calling and helping Cyrus; it

²⁷⁸ 49:1b.

²⁷⁹ See discussion in Muraoka, *Syntax*, 13-14.

is done for Jacob/Israel. With this, two central themes have been introduced in verse 3: The theme of *knowing/acknowledging* YHWH, and the theme of revelation/declaration of who YHWH is/what he is like.

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:4

Verse 4

למען	עבדי יעקב	וישראל	בחירי
ἕνεκεν	Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου	καὶ Ἰσραηλ	τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου

ואקרא	לך	בשמך	אכנך		ולא	ידעתני
ἐγὼ καλέσω	σε	τῷ ὀνόματί μου	καὶ προσδέξομαί σε,	σὺ	δὲ οὐκ	ἔγνων με.

Verse 4a

For the sake of my servant Jacob - (NRSV)

For the sake of my servant Iakob - (NETS)

למען	עבדי יעקב	וישראל	בחירי
ἕνεκεν	Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου	καὶ Ἰσραηλ	τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου

Observations regarding Hebrew and Greek syntax

In Hebrew verse 4a, like verse 3b, starts with למען. Here למען functions as a preposition, and verse 4a should probably be read as an introduction to verse 4b.²⁸⁰ In line with his practice elsewhere, the translator translates למען as ἕνεκεν (or διά) when it is followed by a noun. Since

²⁸⁰ Koole, *Isaiah III, Vol 1*, 437.

ἔνεκεν requires genitive, Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου and Ἰσραηλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου appear in the genitive case.

The Hebrew phrases עבדי יעקב וישראל בחירי form a chiasm with the proper names at the centre: *a* my servant, *b* Jacob, *b'* and Israel, *a'* my chosen. 1QIsa^a too has this chiastic arrangement. In Greek however, there is no chiasm, but two parallel expressions: *a* Jacob, *b* my servant, *a'* and Israel, *b'* my chosen.²⁸¹ This is the only real deviation from serial fidelity in verses 1-7, which may suggest that the translator found this sequence in his Vorlage, even if the comparison with the Qumran scroll did not help us any further. I do however think it is equally probable that this is a deliberate move by the translator, because it is more natural in Greek to let the proper name precede the apposition.

Servant, slave or child?

Our translator usually renders the noun עבד as παῖς, but also quite often as δοῦλος or as the present participle of δουλεύω. According to MSL, δοῦλος means “male slave” or “bondsmen”, as opposed to κύριος or δεσπότης, and can also denote a “submissive and respectful person.”²⁸² Παῖς on the other hand has several meanings; in relation to descent it means “child”, in relation to age it means “child” or “childhood”, while in relation to status it can mean “slave” or “servant.”²⁸³ In this latter sense παῖς functions as a near synonym to δοῦλος. I will try to understand what the translator meant to express by choosing to render עבד as παῖς here, and whether he distinguishes between παῖς and δοῦλος, or if he uses them as synonyms.

The translation of עבד has attracted some scholarly attention. Wright has found that the translators of the Pentateuch used the words δούλος, παῖς, οἰκέτης and perhaps also θεράπων

²⁸¹ For some unknown reason NETS has translated this clause as if the elements in Greek followed the same order as the Hebrew elements. The NETS translation here is therefore somewhat misleading.

²⁸² See MSL, δοῦλος 1 and 2, and LSJ, δοῦλος.

²⁸³ MSL, παῖς, and LSJ, παῖς.

roughly as synonyms, although they preferred παῖς²⁸⁴ and hardly ever used δούλος.²⁸⁵ He further finds that in 1-4 Kingdoms παῖς and δούλος seem to overlap in meaning but with a tendency for δούλος to denote slavery, and for παῖς to denote voluntary service for the king. In his view the two terms are used interchangeably in the minor prophets, Psalms, Ecclesiastes and Isaiah.²⁸⁶

Also van der Kooij has examined the translation of עֶבֶד, but restricted to *non-religious contexts* in the Pentateuch. He says that in Hellenistic times the general word for “slave” was παῖς, and that it was not until later (the Roman period) that δούλος became the general word for “slave”.²⁸⁷ He concludes that in the Pentateuch παῖς is a general term for servant or slave, while δούλος refers to “someone unfree from the political point of view”.²⁸⁸

Wright has, however, observed that later in the Hellenistic period, both Philo of Alexandria and Josephus seem to use παῖς mainly in the sense of “child”.²⁸⁹ He further notices that Philo sometimes changes παῖς to δούλος when retelling passages from the Septuagint,²⁹⁰ and that he sometimes deliberately plays on the ambiguity of the term παῖς (child/slave).²⁹¹ This raises the question of whether the text we discuss here said “Jacob my child”, or “Jacob my servant”.

Can the above discussion shed light on the Isaiah translator’s usage? Our translator’s preference for παῖς may simply be due to this being the most common term for servant/slave in the Hellenistic period (cf. van der Kooij’s observations above). A closer examination shows

²⁸⁴ Benjamin G. Wright III, «Ebed/Doulos: Terms and Social Status in the Meeting of Hebrew Biblical and Hellenistic Culture,» *Semeia* 83/84 (1998):92.

²⁸⁵ Wright, «Ebed/Doulos», 93.

²⁸⁶ Wright, «Ebed/Doulos», 96.

²⁸⁷ Arie van der Kooij, “Servant or Slave? The Various Equivalents of Hebrew ‘Ebed in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch,” in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007*, ed. Melvin K.H. Peeters, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 238.

²⁸⁸ Van der Kooij, «Servant or Slave?», 240.

²⁸⁹ Wright, «Ebed/Doulos», 100 (Josephus) and 102-3 (Philo).

²⁹⁰ Wright, «Ebed/Doulos», 103.

²⁹¹ Wright, «Ebed/Doulos», 104.

that in passages that clearly refer to people who are *captured*, he uses δούλος: δούλος is used in 14:2, followed by the statement “those who captured them will be captured.”²⁹²

45:14 is a somewhat free rendering, and MT doesn't have עבד, but of those who are called δούλος here, it is said that “they shall follow behind you bound in handcuffs...”²⁹³. This may point to a sense like “prisoner of war” for δούλος in these passages, a sense similar to the one van der Kooij found in the Pentateuch.

Still, also Jacob is said to be the Lord's δούλος in 48:20: “The Lord has delivered his slave Iakob,” (from Babylon and the Chaldeans).²⁹⁴ In the verses that immediately follow, both παῖς and δούλος are used. It is possible that when the translator speaks of being the Lord's δούλος here, the focus is on *whose* δούλος this is, which would mean that in these verses the point is that Jacob/Israel is the *Lord's* δούλος, as opposed to a δούλος in Babylon (cf. verse 48:20a).

Still, in light of all the Isaiah evidence it does seem difficult to claim that δούλος in OG Isaiah means “someone unfree from a political point of view”, as van der Kooij found that it means in the Pentateuch. For in 42:19, δούλος and παῖς even occur together, apparently as synonyms.

For now, I will have to be content with saying that firstly, until chapter 48, the translator prefers παῖς to render עבד. Secondly, it appears that when he speaks about prisoners of war, he uses δούλος. But thirdly, since Jacob/Israel is called both his παῖς and his δούλος, δούλος apparently is not only used about prisoners of war or the like.

Leaving this question, we turn to the next clause. In Hebrew עבדי יעקב is “mirrored” by וישראל בְּחִירִי. The word בְּחִיר means “chosen”²⁹⁵ and is always used of YHWH's chosen.²⁹⁶ It often occurs in close connection with עבד, as here. In the LXX/OG it is always translated as ἐκλέκτος, “chosen, selected for a task.”²⁹⁷ While ἐκλέκτος in OG Isaiah translates a handful of

²⁹² from NETS 14:2.

²⁹³ from NETS 45:14.

²⁹⁴ NETS 48:20b.

²⁹⁵ HALOT; בְּחִיר.

²⁹⁶ BDB, בְּחִיר,

²⁹⁷ MSL, ἐκλέκτος 1a.

other words as well, it usually translates בַּחִיר, and we simply observe that the translator used a standard equivalent, but as noticed above, that the Greek elements have been reshuffled, creating two parallel expressions in Greek.

Verse 4ba

I call you by your name, I surname you - (NRSV)

I will call you by my name and receive you - (NETS)

וַאֲקִרָא	לְךָ	בְּשִׁמְךָ	אֶכְנֶךָ
ἐγὼ καλέσω	σε	τῷ ὀνόματί μου	καὶ προσδέξομαι σε,

In 3b קרא was followed by בְּשִׁמְךָ, but the verb had the form of a participle. In 4b, as in 3b, קרא is followed by בְּשִׁמְךָ, but the verb is now inflected as first person singular, וַאֲקִרָא, in MT pointed as qal *wayyiqtol*. The prepositional phrase לְךָ which follows the verb is new compared to verse 3b.

The translator as problem-solver (or: How to interpret the וַאֲקִרָא of 4a)?

Goldingay and Payne read the initial *vav* as a “*waw* of apodosis,”²⁹⁸ or “*waw* of linkage,” which serves to “pick up the train of thought”.²⁹⁹ The *vav* is present both in IQIsa^a and IQIsa^b. In OG וַאֲקִרָא is translated as future indicative, as are all the *yqtl* forms and the one *wqtl* form we have seen so far, but without a conjunction, thus simply as καλέσω σε. This makes one wonder whether the *Vorlage* simply read אֶקֶרָא. Van der Vorms-Crough notes that “especially in the appearance of the copulative conjunctions καὶ and ו a large diversity exists between the

²⁹⁸ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II*, 24, citing Joüon Muraoka §176.

²⁹⁹ Paul Jouon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*; Revised English Edition, (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), §176 b.

two versions” (MT and OG Isaiah).³⁰⁰ She still concludes that although the absence of an equivalent for *vav* often may be a different *Vorlage* or a translational mistake, such an omission often seems to be the result of a deliberate choice.³⁰¹ Since all our principal Hebrew witnesses have a conjunction here, and since it requires less effort to read the text without the conjunction, I think it is likely that the translator read the *vav* as a conjunctive *vav* and then dropped it for stylistic reasons.

Regardless of the process that led up to the translation καλέσω here, the future indicative fits the context well. Where the form אקא generates scholarly discussion (how to understand the function of the *vav* here, do we have a *wayyiqtol* or a *weyiqtol*?), the Greek translation requires less effort from the reader/hearer. *If* there was a *vav* in the *Vorlage*, we can say that in omitting it the translator solved a problem for the readers, instead of passing it on to them.

Addition of pronouns as a way of making the subject explicit

OG 4b does not start with a verb, although MT starts in that way; instead καλέσω is preceded by a personal pronoun, a plus which serves to emphasize the speaker: “I, *myself*, will call you ...” The subject is implicit in the verb, but with this move it is made explicit. Explicitation occurs in many forms in OG Isaiah, explicitation of the subject is just one example of this broader tendency.³⁰² Van der Vorm-Croughs has observed the repeated occurrence of the Hebrew first person pronouns in divine speech in chapters 41-66, and notes that in addition to translating these, the translator also repeatedly adds ἐγώ, as here.³⁰³ The prepositional phrase ל is translated by a personal pronoun in the accusative case. We have already noticed the tendency to omit prepositions that would be redundant in Greek, which shows us that the translator does not seem too concerned with representing each element of the Hebrew text

³⁰⁰ Van der Vorms-Crough, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 83.

³⁰¹ Van der Vorms-Crough, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 83.

³⁰² Van der Vorms-Crough mentions the two added pronouns of 45:4 in her treatment of explicitation, in *An Analysis*, 46. She, however, interprets the verse as emphasizing the difference between the Lord/God (I) and the people of Israel (you), I, however, see the “you” here as clearly referring to Cyrus.

³⁰³ Van der Vorms-Crough, *An Analysis*, 46-47.

with a corresponding Greek element ; in other words, quantitative fidelity does not seem to be a primary norm for him.

Whose name are we talking about?

The second person pronominal suffix in MT, “*your* name”, is exchanged for a first-person genitive pronoun in OG, “*my* name”. With this the translator takes a step away from MT that does not simply add emphasis or smooth out the Greek text; it changes the meaning of the utterance.³⁰⁴ A similar move has already been noticed in relation to “*his/my* anointed” in verse 1. Here it is unlikely that the change was caused by a reading error; a final *kaf* could hardly be mistaken for a *yod*. It is, however, possible that the *Vorlage* lacked the pronominal suffix, as IQIsa^a does: וּבִשְׁמִי, and that the translator added a genitive pronoun he found fitting. While the reading “*your*” is chosen in Ralph’s Septuagint, both external and internal arguments support Ziegler’s choice of “*my*”: The reading “*your*” is based on Hexaplaric witnesses, which would be expected to change a form towards the MT. And while the reading “*my*” is difficult to explain on the basis of the Hebrew witnesses, this translator is known for changing the inflection of verbs and pronouns like this. It is also easier to explain that the reading “*my*” in OG later was changed to “*your*” during the Greek transmission than the other way around.³⁰⁵

In 3b קרא בשמך was translated as καλέω τὸ ὄνομά σου (accusative), while here the dative is used: καλέω τῷ ὄνομά μου. This changes the meaning from “call your name” in verse 3b to “call *by/in* my name” in verse 4b.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Ralph’s Septuagint here has the second person pronoun instead of the first-person pronoun chosen by Ziegler.

³⁰⁵ It is worth mentioning that also Silva accepted Ziegler’s choice here, and in NETS-Isaiah translates “I will call you by *my* name”.

³⁰⁶ In IQIsa^a, which reads וּבִשְׁמִי הַנִּכְנָח, without a pronominal suffix, but with a conjunction preceding “by name,” linking “by name” to the verb that follows. IQIsa^b, like MT, has no conjunction preceding “by name.” A lacuna makes it impossible to see whether the noun has a pronominal suffix attached.

In MT the next verb is כָּנָה, pointed as piel *yqtl* of the very rare verb כָּנָה, “to give someone a name of honour.”³⁰⁷ IQIsa^a has another verb; the *alef* has been replaced by a *he*, which together with a superscript *yod* gives us a hiphil *qtl* of כָּוַן, thus “I established you.”³⁰⁸

In fact, it does not seem apparent that the translator has translated any of these two words transparently. In OG there is an added conjunction καὶ, followed by προσδέχομαι, “to receive approvingly or favourably.”³⁰⁹ The equivalency כָּנָה/προσδέχομαι is unparalleled elsewhere (this is not so strange, given the rarity of the Hebrew verb), and the choice of προσδέχομαι is suggested by Ziegler to be influenced by 42:1, which like 45:4 has both Ἰακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, Ἰσραηλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου³¹⁰ and the verb προσδέχομαι. The link with 42:1 is all the more interesting since in 42:1 the proper names Jacob and Israel are pluses compared to MT, perhaps influenced by our passage.³¹¹

If we examine the equivalent the translator uses here, προσδέχομαι, we see that it is used rather freely by our translator; in 42:10 it translates רָצָה, “to take pleasure in (...)”³¹² which is the Hebrew word that is most often translated by προσδέχομαι.³¹³ Elsewhere in OG Isaiah, however, it never seems to render a Hebrew verb; in 28:10 it appears to be a plus,³¹⁴ while in 55:12 it is part of a free rendering as it is here, where it apparently translates כָּנָה. When we also notice that כָּנָה is left untranslated in 44:5, it seems likely that the translator did not know the meaning of this word. It therefore appears that the translator has in fact not *translated* כָּנָה,³¹⁵ but rather replaced it with another word based on verbal links with verse 42:1; such a move is noted by Ziegler in several other passages as well. According to James Barr, a

³⁰⁷ HALOT, כָּנָה. This verb is used twice in Isaiah and elsewhere only twice in Job.

³⁰⁸ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II, 25*

³⁰⁹ MSL, προσδέχομαι, 1.

³¹⁰ [Septuaginta: With morphology](#). (1979). (electronic ed., Is 42:1). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

³¹¹ Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 157.

³¹² HALOT, רָצָה, qal 1.

³¹³ See Muraoka, *Two-way Index*, προσδέχομαι.

³¹⁴ Contra Muraoka’s labeling it as a translation of קָוָה, piel in Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, προσδέχομαι. Tov, *LXX/MT parallel*, Is 28:10, regards it as a plus.

³¹⁵ HR doesn’t list כָּנָה as a word that Προσδέχομαι translates, neither is this equivalency recognized in Muraoka’s Two-way Index.

translation should not be labeled “a free rendering” if one cannot see any semantic relationship between the two words at all; if there is no such relationship, it either means that the translator translated a different *Vorlage*, or that the Greek rendering is *not* based on the Hebrew word in the source but is taken from some other source, including for instance the translator’s own creativity or another passage,³¹⁶ which is exactly what Ziegler suggests for this passage.

Verse 4bβ

Though you do not know me - (NRSV)

But you did not know me - (NETS)

-----	אלו	ידעתני
σὺ	δὲ οὐκ	ἔγνων με.

Another added pronoun, and the use of the conjunction δέ

Verse 4 ends with a second mention of knowledge, but here the verbs *ידע/γινώσκω* are negated, and it is Cyrus’ *lack* of knowledge that is in focus. Perhaps there is a kind of deliberate ambiguity here, the Greek verb can be interpreted in this context either as “to be acquainted with” or “to recognize as important.”³¹⁷

In MT this clause starts with a conjunction which can be regarded as concessive,³¹⁸ and is translated as such in NRSV. The Greek sentence, however, starts with a plus, the personal pronoun *σὺ*. In this way the second clause of verse 4b balances the first clause since in both clauses a personal pronoun precedes the verb: *ἐγὼ καλέσω σε ... σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνων με*. (Added in both cases.) Quantitative fidelity appears to be of low priority for this translator!

³¹⁶ James Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 287.

³¹⁷ MSL, *γινώσκω*, 3 and 9.

³¹⁸ Koole, *Isaiah III, Vol 1*, 438.

The equivalent chosen for the Hebrew *vav* is δέ, not the usual καὶ, and this influences the word-order, since δέ is a post-positive conjunction. If we look at the verse as a whole, it is possible that the addition of the personal pronoun is related to the choice of δέ, since δέ needs a word to follow!

The use of conjunctions is one of the features that marks the Greek of the Septuagint as translation-Greek, the Hebraistic use of the conjunction καὶ is well-known. One of the several differences between septuagintal Greek and ordinary Greek use of conjunctions, lies in the relationship between καὶ and δέ; δέ is more common in original Greek compositions than in the Septuagint.³¹⁹ Aejmelaeus writes that the septuagintal usage of conjunctions usually is not a matter of incorrect Greek, but of “correct Greek expressions being used with an exceptional frequency or in exceptional contexts ...”³²⁰ – put another way: The frequent use of καὶ in the Septuagint results in positive interference.

The difference between καὶ and δέ has to do with discourse functions; δέ marks development, while καὶ does not. Δέ signals that in the writer’s (here: the translator’s) view, what follows is a new *development*; whether in a narrative or an argument.³²¹ The development here is probably the fact that Cyrus did not know the Lord – which is surprising in light of all that the Lord has just declared that he will do for him, including calling him in his own (the Lord’s) name. The choice of δέ contributes to the *cohesion* of the Greek discourse.

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:5

---	אני	יהוה	ואין עוד זולתי אין אלהים
ὅτι	ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεός	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός

³¹⁹ Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997), 54.

³²⁰ Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 53.

³²¹ Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament; a Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis*, Lexham Bible Reference Series, (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2010), 31.

אאזרך	ולא	ידעתני
-----	καὶ οὐκ	ἴδεις με

Verse 5a

I am the LORD, and there is no other; besides me there is no god - (NRSV).

Because I am the Lord God, and there is no other god besides me - (NETS).

--	אני	יהוה	ואין עוד זולתי אין אלהים
ὅτι	ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεός	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός

The syntactical relation of verse 5a to the preceding verses, in MT and OG

In Hebrew, there is no conjunction that connects verses 4 and 5. A look at a facsimile of IQIsa^a reveals a minor blank space within the line between verses 4 and 5, which probably suggests that the scribe regarded the two verses not as intimately connected (it is however not a major sense-division, as the ones before verse 1 and after verse 7). In the Greek text, however, verses 4 and 5 are connected through an added ὅτι.

An added Greek conjunction that increases cohesion on the textual level

The very first word of OG v.5 is a plus: ὅτι. Like כִּי, ὅτι may introduce a causal clause (“because”),³²² used this way it is called *OTI causale*.³²³ As a translation of כִּי it may also introduce object-clauses and may be translated “that.”³²⁴ Used this way, ὅτι often introduces indirect speech.³²⁵

³²² As it does in Is 45:6.

³²³ Anneli Aejmelaeus has treated this subject in the essay (“OTI causale in Septuagintal Greek”) in *On the Trail*, 17-36.

³²⁴ Aejmelaeus, “OTI causale”, 19.

³²⁵ T. Muraoka, *Syntax* §79a.

Jannaris calls this latter use of ὅτι “declarative”. Declarative conjunctions are used after verbs of saying, thinking and knowing, to connect the leading verb with its subordinate clause.³²⁶ This is how ὅτι functioned in verse 3b, connecting the declaration “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς” to the verb γινώσκω; “ἵνα γινῶς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς.” The addition here can perhaps be seen as harmonizing verse 5a with 3b, since in verse 5 too, ὅτι is added *after* a verb of knowing (γινώσκω), *before* the declaration “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς”. However, seeing that there is also a pronoun *between* the verb and the declaration, it is probably better, with NETS, to interpret the ὅτι of verse 5 as causal: “Because I am...”

In my opinion the main contribution of ὅτι here is to link verse 5 more clearly to what precedes it. It thereby increases the textual cohesion of the pericope; this addition is a move by the translator that works on the *textual* level.

The declaration אֲנִי יְהוָה and its multiple renderings in OG Isaiah

The clause אֲנִי יְהוָה/ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς is like a refrain within this chapter; occurring 6 times in 25 verses. While there are many “I am” statements throughout the book of Isaiah in both source and translation, the clauses אֲנִי יְהוָה and אֲנִכִי יְהוָה are found 24 times,³²⁷ (only once apart from chapters 41-45).³²⁸ The translator happens to use a range of different equivalents for אֲנִי יְהוָה and אֲנִכִי יְהוָה.

The translation in 45:5, ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς is in fact most common,³²⁹ followed by ἐγὼ κύριος.³³⁰ Sometimes the copula is added: ἐγὼ εἰμὶ κύριος,³³¹ even added twice; ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ

³²⁶ Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar*, 412.

³²⁷ It should be noted here that sometimes it is not entirely clear whether the two Hebrew words in question should be interpreted as a nominal sentence or as a pronoun followed by an apposition. I have therefore counted all the instances of the two words in succession as well as their translation.

³²⁸ In 27:30, but here OG goes its own way and does not translate MT.

³²⁹ 41:17, 42:6,8; 43:15, 45:3,5,6,7. Plus the ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς **סוּס** in 43:3, which transparently reflects MT (אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ).

³³⁰ 44:24; 49:23,26; 60:16,22.

³³¹ 45:8, in 61:8 ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ κύριος.

εἰμί κύριος.³³² We also find ἐγώ ὁ θεός,³³³ and once simply ἐγώ εἰμι³³⁴— while in three cases the longer Hebrew noun phrase יהוה אלהיך becomes simply ἐγώ ὁ θεός σου in translation, omitting the tetragrammaton.³³⁵ This brief overview gives us a glimpse of a process of translation that cannot be guided by a wish to use standardized renderings, although I must admit that in these examples I have simply quoted OG, without considering the possibility of a different *Vorlage* behind the renderings.

Intertextual connections: The declaration “I (am) the Lord God” in other passages

The same Hebrew/Greek equivalency as we have in 45:3, 5, 6 and 7; יהוה אלהיך / ἐγώ κύριος ὁ θεός, is also found in two passages apart from Isaiah, Ex 4:10 seems most relevant: Moses has protested against the task assigned to him, and the Lord replies (v.11): “Who gives speech to mortals? Who makes them mute or deaf, seeing or blind? Is it not **I, the LORD?** [הלא אנכי יהוה]”³³⁶ The latter part is translated as “οὐκ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός.”³³⁷ Since we assume that the translator was familiar with the translated Pentateuch, it is most likely that he knew this central passage where the Lord for the first time reveals himself, and his name, to Moses. And when rendered in Greek, he asks; “οὐκ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός.” I think it is likely that when the translator repeatedly translates יהוה אלהיך as ἐγώ κύριος ὁ θεός, it may have brought to mind this Exodus passage, even more than the version in MT did, in light of the divine title ἐγώ κύριος ὁ θεός, which is used in both Greek passages.

³³² 45:19.

³³³ 43:11; 45:21.

³³⁴ 45:18.

³³⁵ In 48:17 and 51:15 - as well as ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου in 41:13 with the copula added.

³³⁶ [*The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version*](#). (1989). (Ex 4:11). Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

³³⁷ Wevers, J. W. (Ed.). (1991). [*Exodus*](#) (Vol. II, 1, Ex 4:11). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

The denial that there are other gods

The non-existence of any other god – in MT

In verse 3b the יהוה אני / ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς sentence was followed by another nominal sentence, expanding the theme of who the speaker is, (the one who calls your name is God of Israel.) In verse 5a, the declaration is reinforced by what follows it, the claim that there is nothing, no other god apart from YHWH. We will first look at the vocabulary, and then examine the syntax.

In the construct state אין means “no, nothing.”³³⁸ Although it can be used to deny existence absolutely, it is more common that it expresses a limited negation of existence: “there is none here/at hand.”³³⁹ The noun עוד denotes duration³⁴⁰ and usually functions as a temporal adverb,³⁴¹ but it can also mean “still more”³⁴² “still,” “moreover,” “besides.”³⁴³ Here it appears to be used in this latter sense, thus the phrase can probably be translated “and there is no other”/“and there is no one else”.

The noun זולה usually functions as a preposition meaning “except, only.”³⁴⁴ Here a pronominal suffix is attached, and it therefore means except *me*/besides *me*.³⁴⁵ Since אלהים in this context does not refer to the God of Israel, we may interpret it as meaning “gods” (plural).

The assertion אין עוד occurs repeatedly in Isaiah 45 and 46, and it is also found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.³⁴⁶ In Isaiah the immediately preceding context is *always* a declaration about who the Lord/God is.³⁴⁷

³³⁸ HALOT, אין B. BDB says that it is frequently used as a *particle of negation*, איןII.

³³⁹ BDB; איןII.

³⁴⁰ HALOT, עוד

³⁴¹ Expressing continuance/persistence; “still”/“yet” or addition/repetition; “still”, “yet”, “more” or “again.” (BDB, עוד).

³⁴² HALOT: עוד 4

³⁴³ BDB, עוד.

³⁴⁴ HALOT, זולה.

³⁴⁵ The *form* here is ambiguous; the *yod* may represent *either* the 1.sg suffix *or* the constructus with the *yod* as an obsolete case-ending. (GHCLLOT, זולה.)

Returning to matters of syntax and structure, we notice that in MT 5a we have a first-person declaration of who the Lord is (I am YHWH), followed by two assertions containing אֵין, these can be seen as framing זולתי:

a אֲנִי יְהוָה / *I (am) YHWH*

b וְאֵין עוֹד / *and there is no one else*

a' זולתי / *except me*

b' אֵין אֱלֹהִים / *there are no gods*

The non-existence of any other god – in translation

We will first examine the translator's lexical choices, then have a look at how he reshapes the verse. Concerning the lexical choices, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι is the standard translation of אֵין עוֹד, used in the vast majority of cases, also apart from OG Isaiah. In fact, the only verses where אֵין עוֹד is translated otherwise are found later in chapter 45.³⁴⁸ From the Greek side of it οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι does not render any other Hebrew expression.³⁴⁹

For זולתי, on the other hand, the translators have used different equivalents, but πλήν is most common, and πάρεξ is also found a few times. Our translator uses three equivalents; πλήν

³⁴⁶ In Is 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; 46:9. It is also found in Dt.4:35 and 39, 1 Kings 8:6, 2 Kings 4:6, Jer 48:2 and Ps 74:9, Joel 2:27 and Eccl 9:5.

³⁴⁷ In 45:14 the preceding statement is the nation's confession that- בך אל - before the claim that there is no other. In the other cases the preceding statement is a first-person declaration of the Lord's identity. This is usually also the case apart from the book of Isaiah. The exceptions are: 2 Kings 4:6; Eccl. 9:5, Jer 48:2 and Psalms 74:9.

³⁴⁸ Isaiah 45:14 has οὐκ ἔστιν (without ἔτι), and 45:22 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος, (thus ἔτι is replaced with ἄλλος), and in 45:21 אֵין עוֹד אֱלֹהִים is translated καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.

³⁴⁹ Jer 10:20 appears not to reflect the Hebrew אֵין עוֹד, but a closer look reveals that the Hebrew vorlage here reads אֵין-נֹטָה עוֹד, the intervening participle preventing it from occurring in the Hebrew phrase search.

(45:5 and 64:3), *πάρεξ* (45:21) and *ἐκτός* (26:13). Since *πλήν* functions as a preposition in our verse, it means “except, save.”³⁵⁰

Although *אלהים* in Is 45:5 seems to refer to a plurality of gods (although non-existing), it is translated as *θεός* singular, and the verb is inflected accordingly (*οὐκ ἔστιν*). The choice of *θεός* singular is not caused by a process where the translator always translates *אלהים* as *θεός* singular, for he sometimes renders *אלהים* as *θεοὶ* (thus plural).

As we have examined the translator’s lexical choices, we can now turn to matters of syntax: In OG the two sentences from MT are condensed to one longer sentence where *וְאֵין* is translated just once. Such *condensation* has been noted by van der Vorm-Crouchs several places in OG Isaiah. But even if the two negative claims of the source are collapsed into one in Greek, the translator has rendered one equivalent for each Hebrew item, omitting only the second *וְאֵין*, and he has even preserved the word order, as can be seen by the coupled pairs:

וְאֵין	עוֹד	וְלֹא	וְאֵין	אלהים
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν	ἔτι	πλήν ἐμοῦ	----	θεός

A stronger connection with Deuteronomy 4?

As mentioned earlier, the assertion *עוֹד וְאֵין / οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι* is found also outside of the book of Isaiah, in some cases in contexts that resemble ours. Two verses from the Pentateuch are particularly interesting both because the claim occurs in a similar context, and because the longer formulation “*οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλήν ...*” is rare, found only here, in Isaiah 45:5, and apart from this only twice. I will focus on the connection with the verses from the Pentateuch; these verses were quite certainly available to, and known by, the translator and his community as part of the earliest translated scripture.

Deuteronomy 4:32-39 concerns the Lord’s mighty deeds for and his relationship with his own people, and especially centers on their deliverance from Egypt. The people of Israel were shown these mighty acts so that they should know/acknowledge who the Lord is (he is God)

³⁵⁰ LSJ, Πλήν.

and that there is no other. Both in Hebrew and Greek Deut 4:35/39 and Isaiah 45:5 share the focus on יָדַע/γινώσκω , (to know/acknowledge), the focus on the Lord's identity, and the claim that there is no other. And the wording of this latter claim “οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ...” in all three verses is identical in Greek, although it is not identical in MT.

In light of this intertextual link, I think it is quite likely that the translator's condensation of the two lines of MT 45:5aβ (וְאֵין עוֹד and $\text{אֵין אֱלֹהִים זֹלָתִי}$) into one line ($\text{καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἑμοῦ θεός}$) was influenced by the wording found in Deuteronomy 4:35 and 39. Perhaps OG Isaiah 45:5 brings to memory this passage from the Pentateuch with its focus on God's violent and wonderful works in Egypt, which demonstrated his identity to his people. The Deuteronomy passage provides a backdrop for the readers of OG Isaiah 45:5. The mighty works the Lord will do before Cyrus (as referred to in verses 1-3), *for the sake of* Jacob/Israel (as referred to in verse 4), can be read in light of both what he did for his people when he delivered them from Egypt, and how he did it. Both in the case of Exodus and in what he will do through Cyrus, his deeds will lead people to know/acknowledge who the Lord is (he is God) and that there is no other. Although the themes knowing/the divine identity/the claim that there is no other could be enough for Isaiah 45 to be read in light of the Deuteronomy passage, the harmonisation of the Greek verse 5aβ to the wording of Deuteronomy 4:35/39 perhaps makes it easier to connect the two passages.

Verse 5b

I arm you, though you do not know me - (NRSV).

And you didn't know me - (NETS).

אֲאַזְרֶךָ	וְלֹא	יָדַעְתִּנִּי
-----	καὶ οὐκ	ἤδεις με

How to understand the phrase אֲאַזְרֶךְ in MT, and how to interpret its absence in OG?

In MT verse 5a starts with another first person singular *yqtl* verb, אֲאַזְרֶךְ. It is pointed as piel, but the consonants may also be read as qal. Qal means to “gird.”³⁵¹ The piel form is sometimes used with two accusatives, both a personal pronoun and the noun הִיל, as in: “The God who *girded me* [אֲאַזְרֶךְ, piel] with strength [הִיל].”³⁵² Although here there is only one accusative, MT seems to say that the Lord girds, or equips, Cyrus for his campaigns.³⁵³

In relation to verse 1, I mentioned a parallel in Psalm 30. The same verb, אֲאַזְרֶךְ, is in Psalms 30 used in contrast with פָּתַח, piel; “you have taken off [פָּתַח, piel] my sackcloth and clothed me [אֲאַזְרֶךְ, piel] with joy.”³⁵⁴ This contrast is interesting since in our pericope too we have פָּתַח, piel (verse 1) which perhaps serves as a contrast to אֲאַזְרֶךְ here. The girding/*arming* of Cyrus stands in contrast with the *disarming* of the kings in verse 1.³⁵⁵ In light of what immediately follows, וְלֹא יִדְעַתְנִי, this is certainly a paradox.

In Is 45:5 in the critically edited texts, both Göttingen and Ralph’s, there is no equivalent for אֲאַזְרֶךְ, although the phrase is translated as ἐνίσχυσά σε in several Greek witnesses, among them in most Hexaplaric witnesses.³⁵⁶ In his *Untersuchungen*, written prior to the publication of the critical edition, Ziegler deals with ἐνίσχυσά σε as if it were original,³⁵⁷ it is however excluded from the text of the critical edition.

³⁵¹ HALOT, אֲאַזְרֶךְ.

³⁵² [The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version](#). (1989). (Ps 18:32). Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

³⁵³ Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah Part 3 Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48. Historical commentary on the Old Testament*. Kok Pharos Publishing House, 439.

³⁵⁴ [The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version](#). (1989). (Ps 30:11). Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

³⁵⁵ So Koole, *Isaiah Part 3 Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48*, 439.

³⁵⁶ Joseph Ziegler ed. *Isaias. Septaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939, 8.

³⁵⁷ Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen* 153.

Why does this clause lack in OG? In Ziegler’s opinion most minuses in OG Isaiah go back to the translator himself (not the *Vorlage*), who omitted words and phrases, either unconsciously or consciously. He says that the translator “...hatte auch keineswegs die Absicht, wörtlich und genau, Wört für Wört zu übersetzen, deshalb hat er schwierige, seltene Wörter ausgelassen, manche Sätze verkürzt und zusammengezogen”.³⁵⁸ The word אָרַח is found in two other verses in Isaiah, and is translated in both cases,³⁵⁹ so if he saw the word in his *Vorlage*, we can assume that he understood it. Concerning the *Vorlage*, we note that the verb is present in IQIsa^a, while the relevant part of IQIsa^b has not been preserved.

Van der Vorms-Crough sees this Greek minus as a possible translation-mistake based on the similarity of the words involved,³⁶⁰ as Ziegler has observed, some minuses were probably caused by the translator’s “carelessness”. Goldingay and Payne suggest that the phrase was omitted to avoid anthropomorphism.³⁶¹ Rather, I think that the translator omitted it for stylistic reasons, as a way of reorganizing the pericope, and in the following I will explain what I have in mind. In verse 3a he *added* a similar phrase, ἀνοίξω σοι, thereby creating a chiasm. The addition fits the context there. Considering the context here, we find that in verses 5-7 in OG, there is no other mention of Cyrus (“you”), neither are there any other verbs inflected as first-person singular verbs in these verses. In light of this, the “I gird you” phrase of MT does not “fit” so well in this part of the pericope.

Considering the passage as a whole, we thus observe that due to one plus (ἀνοίξω σοι) in verse 3a, and one minus (the omission of a verb that refers to what the Lord does for Cyrus) in verse 5b, the focus on the Lord’s actions for Cyrus is strengthened in verses 2-4. But the focus on these divine actions for Cyrus is also *limited* to these verses, for it is now absent from verses 5-7 in OG. The last part of the pericope is now entirely focused on the Lord/God, his identity, his sovereignty, and his world-wide recognition.

³⁵⁸ Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 47.

³⁵⁹ The *hitpael* form is used in 8:9 (twice) and is (twice) translated as ἰσχύω, while in 50:11 the *piel* form is translated as καταίσχύω. And out of the 16 occurrences of the verbal root אָרַח in the BHS this is the only instance that the verb has not been translated.

³⁶⁰ Van der Vorms-Crough, *An Analysis*, 475.

³⁶¹ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II*, 26.

Two Greek verbs as a translation of Hebrew ידע (ידע)

If we compare 4b and 5b we find that the two clauses are identical in Hebrew (וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי), but not in Greek. In OG verse 4b reads σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσάς με, while verse 5b reads καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με.

The lexical equivalents chosen to translate ידע in these two verses are interesting. The same Hebrew verb, ידע, is used in verses 3,4, 5 and 6, but only in 5b is it translated as οἶδα. Is this simply a matter of stylistic variation? If we consult the BDAG, we learn that γινώσκω is “variously nuanced in contexts in relation to *familiarity acquired through experience or association with pers. or thing*”(emphasis mine).³⁶² BDAG further refers to Stanley Porter,³⁶³ who sees the relationship between οἶδα and γινώσκω as a relation of hyponymy: γινώσκω is the *superordinate* of the two words, and is used of knowledge “whether gained by acquisition or not.” This superordinate word has two *hyponyms*: οἶδα and γινώσκω. Where reference to *acquisition of knowledge* is referred to, γινώσκω is used, while where there is no reference to acquisition of knowledge, either οἶδα or γινώσκω is used. Porter also emphasizes that οἶδα must be interpreted as a perfect form.³⁶⁴

Firstly, this means that οἶδα has a narrower usage than γινώσκω. Secondly, the above citations from Porter and BDAG teach us that γινώσκω is used if the aspect of *acquiring* knowledge is emphasized.

We will apply these insights to verses 4b and 5b: The variation between οἶδα and γινώσκω, perhaps add two different shades of meaning to these verses: In verse 4b it is said that Cyrus has not “acquired familiarity through experience with” the Lord/God, expressed through the verb γινώσκω, aorist,³⁶⁵ while what is said in verse 5b is that Cyrus has not come into a state of “knowing him”, expressed through the verb οἶδα, pluperfect.³⁶⁶ And when we move on to

³⁶² BDAG, γινώσκω.

³⁶³ BDAG, οἶδα.

³⁶⁴ Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek, (New York: Peter Lang, 1989) 281-287, esp. 285.

³⁶⁵ Cf. the citation from BDAG, γινώσκω.

³⁶⁶ Thus, in line with Porter we take the pluperfect here as a real pluperfect, not as an actual imperfect.

verse 6, we again find ידע in MT. In OG it is said that the world will “*acquire* knowledge” (γινώσκω) of the Lord/God. And in fact the message of the entire pericope points toward that result. Through all the Lord’s actions for Cyrus, as described especially in verses 1-3, the world will learn to know, or *acquire* knowledge (γινώσκω) that there is no other God.

Hebrew and Greek sound-plays

If we take a look at the stylistic dimension of verse 5, we can make notice of the sound-plays.

Whereas the Hebrew is replete with guttural sounds, especially *alefs*, in Greek there are several sibilants, and as a result of the added ὁ θεός there are several words ending in ὸς. There are also plenty of words beginning with an e-sound; this means that there are sound-plays in both the Hebrew and Greek versions, and that the translator seems to have reproduced the sound-plays of the source in his own way.

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:6

למען	ידעו		ממזרח	שמש	וממערבה
ἵνα	γνῶσιν	οἱ	ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν	ἡλίου	καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν

כי	אפס	בלעדי
ὅτι	οὐκ ἔστιν	πλὴν ἐμοῦ

אני	יהוה	ואין	עוד
ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεός,	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν	ἔτι

Verse 6a

So that they may know, from the rising of the sun and from the west - (NRSV).

So that they who are from the rising of the sun and from its going down may know - (NETS).

למען	ידעו		ממזרח	שמש	וממערבה
ἵνα	γνῶσιν	οἱ	ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν	ἡλίου	καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν

Syntax and semantics of the source-text

This is the third למען-clause in verses 1-7. As in verse 3, למען indicates purpose/result, and it is translated by its standard equivalent in such cases, ἵνα. In Hebrew the purpose-clause seems to refer to אאזרח in verse 5bα, and 5bβ (“though you do not know me”) seems almost like a parenthetical comment, the effect of which is to create a contrast with what follows: although Cyrus has *not* known the Lord (5bβ), the purpose of the Lord’s girding him (6aβ), is universal knowledge of the Lord (6aα).

There is no explicit subject in the Hebrew text, the subject is expressed through the third person plural verb ידעו, but an adverbial phrase describes *where* it is that “they” will know, and I will briefly comment on this adverbial phrase.

מזרח-שמש means “sunrise,”³⁶⁷ but is always used of the east,³⁶⁸ and מערב seems to be the noun “sunset” or “west,”³⁶⁹ with a third-person pronominal suffix that refers to שמש;³⁷⁰ and ממזרח-שמש וממערבה then means “from the rising of the sun and from its setting” or “from the east and from the west” and can be interpreted as a merism, which is two extremes that “cover everything between.”³⁷¹

Syntax and semantics of the Greek text

In OG the purpose-clause in 6a seems to be connected with the “I will call you ...and receive you” of verse 4b (unlike the Hebrew purpose-clause, which seems to be connected to “I will gird you”, since this element is lacking in OG). As noted already, this fourth mention of

³⁶⁷ HALOT, מזרח 1.

³⁶⁸ BDB, מזרח.

³⁶⁹ HALOT, II מערב.

³⁷⁰ Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 440.

³⁷¹ Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II*, 26.

knowledge is translated with γινώσκω, which may refer to the *acquisition* of knowledge (although it doesn't have to do so).

In translating the prepositional-phrases the translator proceeds word by word and provides serial fidelity. His lexical choices are unsurprising. מִזֶּרֶחַ is in OG Isaiah always translated as ἀνατολή, plural.³⁷² While ἀνατολή has a wider semantic range than its Hebrew equivalent, and can refer to sprouting/springing up of plants as well as to the rising of celestial bodies, the plural form (as here) refers to “the quarter of sunrise,” and therefore “east.”³⁷³ This usage is attested in the Hellenistic period also outside the LXX/OG.³⁷⁴ In changing the singular מִזֶּרֶחַ to plural ἀνατολή in conformity with Greek idiom, the translator deviates from morphosyntactic correspondence.³⁷⁵

In OG Isaiah the equivalent for מַעֲרָב is always δυσμή, plural.³⁷⁶ Δυσμή refers to either *going down* (usually of the sun) – thus denoting a point of time “sunset” – or to “west.” Both uses are found outside the translated corpus.³⁷⁷ As with “sunrise,” the plural form is chosen for the sake of idiomatic Greek. The lack of an equivalent for the third person pronominal suffix on מַעֲרָב, may result from a different *Vorlage*, for in IQIsa^a the pronominal suffix is lacking, or it might just as well be that the translator omitted it since it would be redundant in Greek.

We thus see that the translator follows the source quite closely. Still, he changes the syntax, for when he adds articles before the two prepositional phrases “from the rising of the sun” and “from its going down,” the prepositional phrases are substantivized. In this way the adverbial expression of the source (“from the rising of the sun and from its going down”) becomes an explicit subject of the verb in Greek: “*They who are* from the rising of the sun and *they who are* from its going down.” This is another example of the translator’s tendency to explicitation, corresponding to the addition of the pronouns that we observed twice in verse

³⁷² ἀνατολή also translates a couple of other Hebrew words.

³⁷³MSL, ἀνατολή and ἀνατέλλω.

³⁷⁴ LSJ, ἀνατολή 3. It is found with ἀπό as here in Herodotus.

³⁷⁵ The Hebrew phrase מִזֶּרֶחַ-שֶׁמֶשׁ is used in two other verses in Isaiah; in 59:19 as here: οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου, but in 41:25 the sequence of the elements is reversed: ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν.

³⁷⁶ 43:5, 45:6, 59:19. In addition δυσμή translates רִיחַ in Is 9:11.

³⁷⁷MSL, δυσμή.

4b, and it is also related to what he does when he translates the tetragrammaton as κύριος ὁ θεός.

Verse 6b+ c

That there is no one besides me - (NRSV).

That there is no one besides me - (NETS).

כִּי	אֵפֶס	בלעדי
ὅτι	οὐκ ἔστιν	πλὴν ἐμοῦ

I am the LORD and there is no other - (NRSV).

I am the Lord God and there is no other - (NETS).

אֲנִי	יְהוָה	וְאֵין	עוֹד
ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεός,	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν	ἔτι

Notes on the Hebrew vocabulary

In source as well as translation a “declarative conjunction” כִּי/ὅτι introduces what it is that those in east and west will know.

The noun אֵפֶס can be used in various ways, including as part of negation.³⁷⁸ Its most common meanings are “end/extremity,” (as in “ends of the earth”.) and “end/nothing/nothingness.”³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ BDB, אֵפֶס.

³⁷⁹ HALOT, אֵפֶס 1 and 2.

In Isaiah it is often used in close proximity with *תהו* or *אין*.³⁸⁰ *בלעדי* means “apart from, except, without,”³⁸¹ and here it functions as a synonym to *זולה* in verse 5, both words have a pronominal suffix attached and mean “except/apart from me.”

This means that although the wording in Hebrew (*אפס בלעדי*) is new compared to 5a, the content strongly resembles 5a. The last part of the verse (6bα +β) repeats 5a: *אני יהוה ואין עוד*.

Lexical choices in Greek

The translator renders both *אפס* and *אין* as *οὐκ ἔστιν*.³⁸² He also renders both *בלעדי* and *זולתי* as *πλὴν ἐμοῦ*; this means in OG verse 6b closely resembles 5a. The only difference between the two verses is the absence of two words in verse 6b. Even if MT in these verses expresses the same idea in two different ways, the Greek of these verses is almost identical, and this increases the coherence of the text.

Like MT, OG repeats a phrase from 5a at the end of verse 6 (*ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι*). The result is that in verse 6, the declaration *ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός* is framed by two *οὐκ ἔστιν*- clauses: *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν ἐμοῦ / ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός / καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι*.

Summary of what has happened in verses 5 and 6

We have observed that the translator does not reproduce the pattern of synonymous expressions and repetitions of MT verses 5 and 6, but creates his own rhythm, so to speak. Since the translator repeats phrases rather than using synonym expressions, he creates increased coherence, and in the translation the two main ideas of the source stand out even more clearly.

³⁸⁰ When the verses that contain the phrase “ends of the earth” are excluded, in 8 of the 12 remaining verses it is found together with one of these two words.

³⁸¹ HALOT, *בִּלְעָדִי*.

³⁸² He does this in 41:12 (future indicative) and 47:8,10 too.

Firstly, without the mention of girding of Cyrus, there is stronger focus on the claim that the Lord/God is the one and only god. Secondly, Cyrus doesn't know YHWH, but those from the ends of the world *will* know. The contrast between Cyrus lack of knowledge and those who *will* know is emphasized in translation since the latter are mentioned explicitly as “those who are from the...”. The contrast between Cyrus lack of knowledge and these peoples in east and west that will know also stands out more clearly in Greek, because here the two sentences about not knowing/knowing now follow each other without interruption. I would say that OG verses 5 and 6 now have a clearer message than the Hebrew, even if it is not another message.

Analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45: 7

----	יִצַר	אֹר	וּבֹרָא	חֹשֶׁךְ
ἐγὼ	ὁ κατασκευάσας	φῶς	καὶ ποιήσας	σκότος

עָשָׂה	שְׁלוֹם	וּבֹרָא	רָע
ὁ ποιῶν	εἰρήνην	καὶ κτίζων	κακά

אֲנִי	יְהוָה	עָשָׂה	כָּל־אֱלֹהִים
ἐγὼ	κύριος ὁ θεὸς	ὁ ποιῶν	ταῦτα πάντα

The outline of the following analysis

This verse is the climax of our passage, and I will approach it from different angles. I will start by commenting on the rather ambiguous syntax of MT, showing how the translator by minor additions disambiguates the syntax. I will further discuss his choice of tense for the participles, which seems to provide an interpretation of what is said about God's creative acts, translating some of the participles as aorist and others as present.

I will then examine the translator's choice of equivalents for the Hebrew creation vocabulary, before I examine his translation of the objects that are created. I will pay special attention to how the translator deals with the word, and how we should interpret his rendering in light of what he does elsewhere in the book.

Having looked into these different aspects I will turn to the final statement in 7c which seems to provide a summary of verse 7ab. Then, I will summarize what we have observed concerning the translator's moves in this verse, and I will explain what I see as the distinct Greek message of this passage.

Introductory comments on MT verse 7

Verse 7 has four qal active participles of three roots somehow denoting creating or making, (יצר, ברא, עשה, ברא) in an ABCB pattern. All three roots are used in the Genesis creation accounts, as well as repeatedly in the book of Isaiah. While יצר and עשה may be used with both human beings and God as their grammatical subject, ברא is only used with God as grammatical subject.³⁸³

Each participle is followed by a direct object (רע, אור, חשך, שלום). In 7c the Lord's identity is declared again (אני יהוה) followed by a participle (of עשה) and direct object (כל־אלה) that seems to summarize 7ab.

Syntactic ambiguity

Verse 7ab cannot stand on its own, as the participles of 7ab (יוצר אור ובורא חשך, עשה שלם ובורא רע) need to be read in connection with the "I" from the previous verse or from 7c.³⁸⁴ Hebrew participles may function as finite verbs, nouns or adjectives.³⁸⁵ In this case, there is no definite article preceding the nouns that can help us to identify how they are meant to function here.

The syntax of 7c is also ambiguous, and I will explain some of the possible ways to read it. We can read it as an initial nominal sentence: "*I am YHWH, who makes all these,*" or see the tetragrammaton as an apposition to the pronoun, reading the participle as a finite verb, thus "*I,*

³⁸³ Koole *Isaiah 40-48*, 441.

³⁸⁴ So Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55, Vol II*, 27.

³⁸⁵ BHRG, § 20.3.1.

YHWH, make (do) all these things,” or even read the participle as a nominal form: “I, *YHWH* am *the maker* of all these things.”³⁸⁶

Greek additions that serve to disambiguate and elucidate

While it is only implied that the Hebrew participles of 7a and b refer to the Lord, the translator supplies a personal pronoun before the first participle (so also NRSV). This is another example of the translator’s tendency towards explicitation, and here it aids the reader, since the verbs in question are participles and thus not inflected for person.³⁸⁷

The translator translates participles as participles, but provides definite articles for the first participle in each line without warrant from the Hebrew. In this way it becomes impossible to read the participles as finite verbs, since only anarthrous participles may be used in this way.³⁸⁸ This makes the Greek syntax less ambiguous than the Hebrew: with the added articles (one article covers both participles of each line), it becomes natural to read the participles as substantival; with this and with the personal pronoun which is added in verse 7a, 7ab now consist of two nominal sentences: *I (am) the one who has made light and prepared darkness / the one who makes peace and creates evil.*

The addition of the pronoun and the articles in verse 7 again serves to illustrate that the translator is not restricted by a primary norm of *quantitative fidelity*.

³⁸⁶ NRSV supplies the personal pronoun ‘I’ from the context and adds it in 7a and 7b, and further interprets all the participles in verse 7 as finite verbs. In 7c it sees the tetragrammaton as an apposition. “I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe; I the LORD do all these things. ([The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version](#). (1989). (Is 45:7). Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers). NASB on the other hand finds the participles of 7ab to be substantival: “The One forming light and creating darkness, Causing well-being and creating calamity”. The pronoun and tetragrammaton are interpreted as a nominal sentence, and the final participle as an attributive participle thus: “I am the LORD who does all these.” ([New American Standard Bible: 1995 update](#). (1995). (Is 45:7). La Habra, CA: The Lockman Foundation.)

³⁸⁷ We saw this in verse 3 too, but there the addition of pronouns simply added emphasis since the subjects were already implicit in the inflection of the verbs.

³⁸⁸ Wallace, *Beyond the Basic*, 619.

Theological interpretation through the tense of participles?

The Hebrew participles are all qal, active. We notice that the translator has chosen to vary between present and aorist when translating them, and in this way presents an interpretation. In reality he was forced to present an interpretation here, because there at the grammatical level is no direct parallel between qal and Greek participles, he had to choose what tense to use when he translated them.³⁸⁹ Still, the fact that he differentiated between the tenses in verses 7a and 7b shows that there must have been a deliberate choice behind the rendering.

Scholars discuss whether the *Hebrew* participles refer to God's originating creation or to *creatio continua*,³⁹⁰ but the translator does not pass the same problem on to the reader: The first line has aorist participles; ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς και ποιήσας σκότος, while the next line has present participles: ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην και κτίζων κακά.

Greek participles usually denote time relative to that of the main verb; aorist participles denote antecedent time in relation to the main verb, while present participles often denote contemporaneous time.³⁹¹ Since there is no finite verb for the participles to relate to in Is 45:7, we are left to compare the aorist and present participles of 7a and 7b with each other. 45:7 is used in *Syntax* as an example of the time reference of participles; the aorist participles are found to refer to "God's past acts", and the present participles to God's current and future acts.³⁹² If we instead focus on the aspect (not tense) of the participles, the aorist-aspect is said to present an occurrence "in summary, viewed as a whole from the outside, without regard for the internal make-up of the occurrence." The aspect of the present tense on the other hand, is "Internal (or Progressive)" focusing on "*development or progress* and seeing the occurrence "*in regard to its internal make-up, without beginning or end in view.*" (Italics original).³⁹³

³⁸⁹ There is no such thing as a "tense-less" Greek participle.

³⁹⁰ Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 441.

³⁹¹ Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 614. See also Muraoka, *Syntax*, 274.

³⁹² Muraoka, *Syntax*, 274

³⁹³ Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 501.

Reading the participles of verse 7 in this light, it appears that the aorist participles describe the creation of light and darkness as something that can be summarized and seen from an external perspective. Whether the aorist is coupled directly with the idea of antecedent time or not, the rendering of the two first participles as aorist may imply that the translator understood the creation of light and darkness as something completed. These participles, therefore, do not seem to refer to *creatio continua*, in which case we would have expected *present* participles. The creation of peace and misery in verse 7b, on the other hand, is expressed through present participles, and should therefore probably be interpreted as not only belonging to the past.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, the translator, with this rendering of the Hebrew participles, seems to have attempted to aid his readers, giving them an interpretation where the creation of light and darkness belongs to the past, and where the making of peace and evil, is portrayed as an ongoing activity.

Verse 7a

I form light and create darkness - (NRSV).

I am the one who has prepared light and made darkness - (NETS).

----	יוצר	אור	ובורא	חשך
ἐγὼ	ὁ κατασκευάσας	φῶς	καὶ ποιήσας	σκότος

The creation (creator) of light and darkness in Hebrew

Verse 7a concerns the making of light and darkness. Koole writes that since in the immediate context we hear about the rising and setting of the sun, and in view of the theme of YHWH as creator in Second Isaiah, it is probable that light and darkness here refer to natural phenomena, rather than being used figuratively. Light and darkness can perhaps be interpreted as a merism; something that covers everything *between them*.³⁹⁴ Still, whether to see this as a

³⁹⁴ Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 441.

merism, and whether to understand light and darkness as natural phenomena or used figuratively is something that is up to the interpreter, the text simply uses the words light and darkness.

The participles יצר / κατασκευάζω

The first Hebrew verb is יצר, which according to HALOT means “shape” when used of man, and “create” or “form” when used of God.³⁹⁵ The qal active participle can be used in the meaning “potter.” In the Septuagint, יצר is nearly always translated as πλάσσω,³⁹⁶ except in Isaiah. In OG Isaiah, not only the standard equivalent πλάσσω is used, but also quite a few other verbs³⁹⁷ as well as the noun κερამεύς. 45:7 is however the only verse where it is translated as κατασκευάζω.

In Isaiah κατασκευάζω translates ברא or יצר (only in 45:7). Elsewhere in the corpus it usually translates עשה,³⁹⁸ once כון, hitpolel.³⁹⁹ This means that this verb is used as an equivalent for several common creation-verbs in the Hebrew Bible.

The word κατασκευάζω can mean “prepare,” “construct” and “equip,”⁴⁰⁰ and is used in all these senses in the LXX/OG, although MSL simply defines its meaning as “to construct.”⁴⁰¹ In OG Isaiah κατασκευάζω is used with diverse direct objects; idols (Is 40:19), the ends of the earth (Is 40:28), Israel/Jacob (Is 43:7), and light (45:7) as well as something that is compared to potter’s clay (45:9).

Perhaps we can see a link from the verb κατασκευάζω to the related (contrastive) adjective ἀκατασκεύατος⁴⁰² which is used in Gen 1:2 to describe the world in its precreation state (as a

³⁹⁵ HALOT יצר, 1 and 2.

³⁹⁶ Apart from OG Isaiah, only OG Amos 4:13 (στερεόω) diverges from this standard equivalency, according to *Two-way Index*, the noun ἐπιγονή in Amos 7:1 probably translates the noun יצר, not יצר. (*Two-way Index*, יצר p.223).

³⁹⁷ Καταδείκνυμι, κτίζω, περιποιέω, ποιέω, συντάσσω and τετραίνω are all used for qal, יצר.

³⁹⁸ In I Esd 9:42 which translates Neh 8:4, Prov 23:5 and 2 Chr 32:5.

³⁹⁹ Num 21:27.

⁴⁰⁰ BDAG, κατασκευάζω.

⁴⁰¹ MSL, κατασκευάζω.

⁴⁰² This is pointed out under the entry κατασκευάζω in MSL.

translation of בָּהוּ.) Although κατασκευάζω itself is not used in Genesis, it is possible to see a vague lexical echo from the first Genesis creation-account here, whether intended by the translator or not.

The participles בָּרָא/ ποιέω

The second Hebrew participle is בָּרָא, to “create,”⁴⁰³ a verb used repeatedly for God’s creative activity in Gen 1. It is found most often in Isaiah, primarily from chapter 40 onwards, and Genesis 1-6. There are two common equivalents for בָּרָא; ποιέω and κτίζω. In LXX Genesis בָּרָא qal is translated as ποιέω, while in OG psalms, κτίζω is used, whether for qal or niphil. Four out of the five instances of בָּרָא in the prophets apart from Isaiah it is also translated as κτίζω.⁴⁰⁴ In OG Isaiah, too, בָּרָא is usually translated as either ποιέω or κτίζω, but the verbs καταδείκνυμι,⁴⁰⁵ κατασκευάζω,⁴⁰⁶ γίνομαι⁴⁰⁷ and εἰμί, future,⁴⁰⁸ are also used.

The equivalent in verse 7a, is however ποιέω, which has a wide semantic range: MSL lists 19 (+) different nuances. According to the Hatch-Redpath concordance (HP) it translates no less than 118 different Hebrew/Aramaic words (!)⁴⁰⁹ The most common equivalency is nevertheless עָשָׂה/ ποιέω. Ποιέω is also used to translate verbs commonly used to denote creating; בָּרָא,⁴¹⁰ יָצַר, (several times,)⁴¹¹ נָטָה.⁴¹² These examples do not cover all the various Hebrew words and phrases translated by ποιέω in Isaiah.

⁴⁰³ HALOT, בָּרָא, I.

⁴⁰⁴ The verses where neither ποιέω nor κτίζω are used: Gen 2:4 (niphil) γίνομαι Ex 34:10 (niphil) γίνομαι, Num 16:30 (qal) δείκνυμι, Ez 31:35 (niphil) γεννάω?

⁴⁰⁵ 40:26; 41:20; 43:15.

⁴⁰⁶ 40:28; 43:17;

⁴⁰⁷ In a free translation. The source has niphil.

⁴⁰⁸ In a free translation.

⁴⁰⁹ HP This number is, however, greatly reduced in *Two-Way Index*, but the bulk of the Hebrew equivalents he excludes are phrases which he chooses to list not under ποιέω, but instead organize according to the leadwords of the phrases.

⁴¹⁰ IN 29:16 the translator either renders יָצַר as ποιέω, or reshuffles the elements of the sentence so that ποιέω translates עָשָׂה. In 45:11 the translator seems to render a text more like IQIsa^a which has יוֹצֵר הָאוֹתוֹת, while MT here divides the verse after יָצַר. This makes it clearer that in this verse ποιέω is a translation of יָצַר.

Muraoka in *Two-Way-Index*, however, deletes the equivalency ποιέω for יָצַר.

It is perhaps somewhat surprising that the translator chose this very general and extremely common word to translate ברא, since ברא has a rather narrow use in comparison, both when it comes to semantics and statistics. But as we have noticed already, ברא is translated as ποιέω in Genesis, and in translating ברא as ποιέω here, it seems that the translator is following the example from Genesis.

The direct objects light and darkness

When the translator renders אור as φῶς, he chooses the standard equivalent for this Hebrew word. The word חשך is usually translated as σκότος, both in OG Isaiah⁴¹³ and elsewhere,⁴¹⁴ but as noticed in the analysis of verse 3, sometimes the adjective σκοτεινός is used instead.⁴¹⁵ Σκότος renders several words in Isaiah: חשכה,⁴¹⁶ “darkness,” אפלה,⁴¹⁷ “darkness,” מחשך,⁴¹⁸ “dark place,” and the hapax legomenon קדרות,⁴¹⁹ “darkness?” So, while the Hebrew text contains a varied vocabulary for darkness and dark places, the number of synonyms is reduced in the process of translation. What is left in OG Isaiah is the variation between the noun σκότος and the adjective σκοτεινός, ἄ, ὄν. This can be called *semantic leveling*.⁴²⁰

⁴¹¹ 42:5, 43:1, 45:18 twice, 65:18.

⁴¹² 51:13,

⁴¹³ OG Isaiah 29:18 is translated as ὁμιγλή, ‘mist, fog’, but here two Hebrew words for darkness occur together, and apparently the first word is translated as σκότος and the second - חשך – as ὁμιγλή.

⁴¹⁴ In Genesis, OG Psalms and the minor prophets the equivalent is always σκότος. In Job there are a few exceptions. There are a handful of verses where it is not translated, or where it is translated with another equivalent.

⁴¹⁵ In addition to Isaiah 45:3 and 19, this also happens in OG Job 10:21 and 15:23.

⁴¹⁶ 8:22; 50:10.

⁴¹⁷ 8:22.

⁴¹⁸ 29:15; 42:16.

⁴¹⁹ 50:3.

⁴²⁰ See Robert J.V. Hiebert, “Genesis; To the Reader”, in *NETS*, 1.

Verse 7b

I make weal and create woe - (NRSV).

Who makes peace and creates evil - (NETS).

עשה	שלום	ובורא	רע
ὁ ποιῶν	εἰρήνην	καὶ κτίζων	κακά

The participles עשה/ ποιέω

The first Hebrew participle in 7b is from the root עשה. Unlike ברא, which is only used with God as its subject, this verb is a general verb for making/doing, and the sense “to create,” which is reserved for God, is only one of sixteen different meanings listed for the *qal* form in HALOT. Like ברא, עשה is frequently used in the Genesis creation accounts, as a creation-verb as well as in other senses (for instance of the trees that עשה fruit). In the initial chapters of Genesis עשה is always translated as ποιέω, regardless of the immediate context.

Regarding the semantic overlap between עשה and ποιέω, this is not surprising. While עשה in OG Isaiah is sometimes rendered by another verb or omitted, ποιέω remains the standard equivalent here too, used in more than 80% of the cases where MT has עשה. In light of this ποιέω is simply what one would expect as a translation here. But as we saw in verse 7a, ποιέω in OG Isaiah also translates ברא, as well as several other verbs.

By choosing ποιέω again, this time to translate עשה, the translator once more follows in the steps of the Genesis translator, who uses ποιέω for both ברא and עשה. Altogether ποιέω occurs no less than 17 times in Gen 1 and 2. This verb was certainly established as a (or rather THE) verb to use about creating long before the translation of OG Isaiah!

This second participle of ποιέω is a *present* participle. Since this is the verb that was used in the latter part of 7a too, the reader’s attention is here focused on the only difference between these two participles: the aorist of 7a versus present in 7b. As explained above, the present

aspect signals *development and progress*, without beginning or end in view, and it thus makes it natural to see this participle as a description of the one who *is making* εἰρήνη.

The participles ברא /κτίζω

The fourth Hebrew participle is another participle of ברא, this time translated by the present participle of κτίζω. As pointed out above, κτίζω is the translation equivalent used for ברא in OG psalms and in the prophets. In OG Isaiah κτίζω translates either ברא (four times)⁴²¹ or יצר (twice). While ברא is only used with God as subject, this is not the case for κτίζω. Κτίζω is defined in MSL as “to bring into being,” and it is used with both human and divine subjects.⁴²² Both in classical and post-classical Greek κτίζω is used about the foundation of cities and objects relating to cities (streets, canals, temples etc.)⁴²³ In a papyrus-fragment from the Ptolemaic period, it is used with friendship as its object,⁴²⁴ thus a metaphorical usage.

Although κτίζω is absent from the Genesis creation-accounts, it is found a handful of times elsewhere in the translated Pentateuch. In OG Isaiah it is mainly used with the Lord/God as its subject, but apparently not in 22:11, where it seems to be used about the making of a pool/water reservoir.⁴²⁵ Clearly with God as the subject of the verb, it is used about the making of Cyrus⁴²⁶ and Zion,⁴²⁷ as well as of the making of κακά in our verse. The usage in 45:7, with κακά as its direct object, can be compared to the metaphorical usage with “friendship” as its direct object (cf. above).

⁴²¹ In addition to 45:7, also in 45:8 and twice in 54:16.

⁴²² MSL, κτίζω (p.417).

⁴²³ Eberhard Bons and Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua, “A Sample Article: ΚΤΙΖΩ -ΚΤΙΣΙΣ -ΚΤΙΣΜΑ – ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ,” *Septuagint Vocabulary, Pre-history, Usage, Reception*. LXX Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 58, SBL. Ed. Eberhard Bonds and Jan Joosten (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 173.

⁴²⁴ Bons and Passoni Dell’Acqua, “A Sample Article,” 174.

⁴²⁵ 11:22.

⁴²⁶ 45:8.

⁴²⁷ 54:16 x 2.

The creation of peace and evil?

In this clause MT writes about the creation of שלום, and it is translated as εἰρήνη, which is the standard equivalent in OG Isaiah and elsewhere.⁴²⁸ While we notice that instead of שלום, 1QIsa^a has טוב, the εἰρήνη in OG seems to confirm that the *Vorlage* read שלום.

But what did εἰρήνη mean when the translator chose it? MSL describes different meanings for εἰρήνη, “lack of physical strife” as opposed to πόλεμος,⁴²⁹ “lack of mental, inner turmoil, peace of mind” as opposed to φόβος,⁴³⁰ while Isaiah 45:7c is used as an example of the sense “general, material or physical well-being” sometimes opposed to κακά.⁴³¹ Some of these meanings seem to be based on their usage in the Septuagint, and therefore influenced by the different meanings of שלם. According to LEH, εἰρήνη simply means “peace”, while the meanings “prosperity, welfare, eternal rest” etc. are called “stereotypical rendition(s) of שלום.”⁴³² Since we are primarily interested in how the translator chose his words, and what they could have meant (in Greek non-translated literature) at the time he translated it, it seems that in this context too, it meant “peace,” rather than for instance welfare.

How to understand רע?

In verse 7b, רע functions as a substantive, and used as such it can have various shades of meaning; “evil/wickedness,”⁴³³ “evil, malice, treachery, harm”⁴³⁴ and “misfortune, evil

⁴²⁸ Even if the Isaiah translator sometimes uses χαίρω “to rejoice” (48:22; 57:21), or χαρά “happiness” (55:12).

In OG Isaiah εἰρήνη also translates בטח “security”. (This is also done in OG Ezekiel. It also seems to be used for the very rare word צהות. In 32:4 “plain, clear” (HALOT, תִּחַץ 3). 1QIsa^a however has תווחו).

⁴²⁹ MSL, εἰρήνη 1 (p.195).

⁴³⁰ Ibid, section 2.

⁴³¹ Ibid, section 3.

⁴³² LEH, εἰρήνη. LSJ also gives ‘peace’ as the basic sense of εἰρήνη.

⁴³³ HALOT, I רע B.1.

⁴³⁴ HALOT, I רע B.3.

circumstances, harm.”⁴³⁵ Since it stands in contrast with שלום, at first glance it seems more natural to interpret it as “misfortune” than as “wickedness”.

The translation of רע in OG Isaiah

In OG Isaiah, there is a range of different equivalents for רע. In OG Isaiah רע often occurs together with טוב. Based on his translation of this word-pair (רע / טוב),⁴³⁶ he seems to treat the three words πονηρὸν, πονηρία and κακὸν as roughly synonymous.

When רע does not occur in contrast with טוב, it is translated as either ἀδίκημα,⁴³⁷ ἀδικία,⁴³⁸ πονηρία,⁴³⁹ πονηρόν⁴⁴⁰ or κακὰ.⁴⁴¹ This means that the most common rendering of רע is in fact πονηρός/-ά/-όν, (six times), while the equivalent we have in verse 7b, κακός/-ή/-όν, translates רע only three times.⁴⁴² This makes me wonder whether these two most common renderings are synonyms, or whether the choice to render רע as κακὰ instead of πονηρός, which is the most common equivalent in Isaiah has semantic implications?

The terms πονηρός and κακός

In OG Isaiah πονηρός -ά -όν often functions as an attributive adjective that describes men, messengers, plans, animals, hope and seed.⁴⁴³ It is, however, also used substantively. We will

⁴³⁵ HALOT, I רע B.4.

⁴³⁶ In 5:20 both רע / טוב and πονηρὸν /καλόν occur twice. In 7:15-16 רע / טוב is found twice in 7:15-16, but rendered three times in OG, טוב is rendered as ἀγαθόν all three times, but he varies the rendering of רע, using both πονηρὸν, κακὸν and πονηρία.

⁴³⁷ (56:2). “Injustice, trespass, intentional wrong,” LEH, ἀδίκημα.

⁴³⁸ (33:15). “Wrongdoing, injustice, unrighteousness,” LEH, ἀδικία.

⁴³⁹ (59:17). “Wickedness, vice, evil,” LEH, πονηρία.

⁴⁴⁰ 65:12 and 66:4 in neuter singular, and 32:7, plural.

⁴⁴¹ 31:2 and 45:7.

⁴⁴² πονηρία is used twice, ἀδίκημα and ἀδικία once each.

⁴⁴³ As such it is used as an attribute of ἄνθρωπος ‘man’ (twice), ἄγγελος ‘messenger’, βουλή ‘plan, purpose’ (twice), θηρίον ‘animal, beast’, ἐλπίς ‘hope’, σπέρμα ‘seed’ (twice), sometimes also as a predicate adjective.

now examine what this word means. MSL defines πονηρός -ά -όν as “morally or ethically wrong, evil,” “harmful and injurious,” “out of favour” or “deficient.”⁴⁴⁴ According to TDNT, πονηρός is used in a moral sense in the majority of cases in the Septuagint.⁴⁴⁵

Κακός, ή, όν on the other hand is defined as “bad in effect” or “morally bad,”⁴⁴⁶ and when used substantively (in neuter plural) it can mean both “misfortune, misery” and “evil deeds.”⁴⁴⁷ In Hellenistic usage apart from the Septuagint the substantivized τὸ κακόν /τὰ κακά means “evil, ill, harm.”⁴⁴⁸ Unlike πονηρός, κακός in OG Isaiah *never* functions as an attributive or predicate adjective, but is always used substantively.⁴⁴⁹

Does κακά have a specific meaning in OG Isaiah?

In some contexts, κακός is used in relation to destruction, death or military attack as part of divine judgement. In 13:11,⁴⁵⁰ 26:15,⁴⁵¹ and 31:2⁴⁵² κακά appears to be related to situations caused by God, situations of military attack, destruction and desolation.

In 28:9⁴⁵³ and 46:7 κακά however refers to misery or hardship, regardless of who causes it.

⁴⁴⁴ MSL, πονηρός -ά -όν,

⁴⁴⁵ (The number given in the TDNT paper is 220 out of 360). TDNT, πονηρός, πονηρία, entry B.I.g.

⁴⁴⁶ MSL, κακός, κακή, κακόν.

⁴⁴⁷ MSL, κακός, κακή, κακόν.

⁴⁴⁸ LSJ,

⁴⁴⁹ κακός in OG Isaiah also translates רעה: In 13:11, while in 28:9 it seems that the translator read רעה instead of the רעה in MT. It also translates צרה, (46:7), מעשה (57:12), and twice appears to be a plus (26:15x2).

⁴⁵⁰ In 13:11 κακά (translating רעה) is used in an oracle of doom against Babylon, in a description of the day of the Lord, “a day of wrath and anger, to make the whole world desolate...” (NETS; Esaias 13:9) and κακά seems to refer to this horrifying situation.

⁴⁵¹ Verse 26:15 is part of a prayer, and the Lord is asked to cause κακά. In verse 12 the prayer is about peace for the supplicant, while in verse 15 he prays for evils [κακά] for “the glorious ones of the earth.” Excerpted from NETS, Esaias 26:15.

⁴⁵² In 31:2 (as in 45:7), κακά is caused by God: “And he (...) brought evils [κακά] upon them. And he will rise against the houses of evil men and against their vain hope – an Egyptian, a man and not God, the flesh of horses, and there is no help. But the Lord will turn his hand against them...” (NETS, Esaias 32:2-3.a) It appears that the κακά here might refer to the military attack mentioned in 31:2b-3, although in 2a there is a change from aorist in 2a to future in 2b-3.

Yet, there are also passages where κακά is perhaps used in a moral sense. In 7:15-6 it is used in contrast with ἀγαθόν *and* as parallel to πονηρία, while in 57:12 there is a contrast between the Lord’s (my) righteousness and your [κακά], κακά here seems to refer to the idolatry and moral evil that is described in the preceding verses.⁴⁵⁴

To summarize what we have learnt so far, we see that while κακά sometimes is used in contexts that concern divine punishment (13:11; 26:15; 31:2), or hardship and misery in general (28:9, 46:11), it is also used in contrast with ἀγαθόν (7:15-6) and δικαιοσύνη (57:12). We cannot say that κακά in OG Isaiah only means “misery,” since in some verses it rather seems to refer to what is morally or religiously evil.

For us this means that like the word it translates, the meaning of κακά needs to be gleaned from the context. And in our verse (45:7) the context provides a contrast with *peace* which points towards understanding κακά as denoting misery or harmful circumstances, as for instance in a situation of warfare, but it does not point towards the sense “moral evil”. It is, however, not the word κακά itself that points towards this meaning.

⁴⁵³ In 46:7 we hear of the idols’ lacking ability to save people from κακά (translating צרה).

And in 28:9 we have a contrast between κακά and ἀγγελία “message,” where κακά seems to correspond to θλίψιν ἐπὶ θλίψιν, “affliction upon affliction,” and ἀγγελία to ἐλπίδα ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι, “hope upon hope” in the following verse. Here MT has דעה, but it appears that the translator read it as רעה, (the interchange may also have happened in the transmission of the Hebrew text so that he read רעה in his *Vorlage*. The IQIsa^a, however, supports MT.) (English translation excerpted from NETS Esaias 28:10).

⁴⁵⁴ Isaiah 57:12 is interesting because here the translator seems to represent more than just a linguistic interpretation. He changes “your righteousness and your works,” (NRSV,) into “my righteousness and your evils” (NETS). In MT verse 57:12 follows a passage that describes the people’s idolatry, and the translator seems to have found it unfitting to speak of the people’s righteousness in this context; for he changes the genitive pronoun so that in OG we hear of “my righteousness” and the neutral מעשה is changed to κακά. In MT there is no contrast within this verse, and the collocation of *your* מעשה with *your* צדק helps us interpret מעשה here as something positive. The verse however stands in contrast with the context which describes idolatry. In OG on the other hand the contrast is brought *into* the verse, the contrast between *my* righteousness and *your* κακά. Here κακά is the translator’s free choice, (it is an unusual equivalency), and κακά seems to approximate the meaning “evil deeds.”

Verse 7c

I, the LORD, do all these things - (NRSV).

I am the Lord, who does all these things - (NETS).

אני	יהוה	עשה	כל־אלה
ἐγώ	κύριος ὁ θεός	ὁ ποιῶν	ταῦτα πάντα

Bringing it all together

Leaving detailed studies of individual words behind, we will again focus on syntax. The אני יהוה is repeated from the previous verses. In light of the previous sentences that also started with the declaration אני יהוה (v5a and 6b), it seems sensible to interpret 7c too as an initial nominal sentence: “I (am) YHWH”, followed by an apposition; “maker of all these”. The demonstrative pronoun אלה at least refers to the objects previously mentioned in verse 7a and b; light and darkness, peace and misery.⁴⁵⁵ Perhaps it also refers to all the other divine actions that have been announced in this pericope.

This is the fourth mention of the declaration “I (am) YHWH”. In 3b it was followed by further identification: “the one who calls your name (is) God of Israel.” In both 5a and 6b it was followed by the declaration “there is no other”. So when “I (am) YHWH” now is followed by “who makes all these things,” it functions as a conclusion not only to v 7, but to verses 1-7 as a whole; there is no other (verses 5a, 6b), so naturally it is YHWH, who is God of Israel (3b), who also is the maker of both light and darkness and peace and misery (7ab). No other god is involved in these divine actions, for as has been stated clearly: There is no other god (5a).

⁴⁵⁵The phrase כל־אלה is also used twice in 66:2; there it refers to heaven (my throne), and the earth (my footstool.)

The Greek of 7c

As always in this passage the tetragrammon is translated as κύριος ὁ θεός, as if to delineate the claim that there are no other gods; the Lord is THE God. The translator supplies the article for the participle, as he did in verse 7a and b, and translates the qal participle with the present tense. As the present tense carries the imperfect, linear aspect which can refer to continuous action, the use of present tense here can sum up the Lord's identity as being both the one who created in the originating sense, which was expressed through the aorist participles in 7a, and the one who is responsible for peace as well as misery, as expressed in 7b.

The phrase ταῦτα πάντα or πάντα ταῦτα – sometimes also with an intruding particle – appears eight times in OG Isaiah, and when used from chapter 40 onwards it always seems to refer to something the Lord has created/creates.⁴⁵⁶

The usage of πάντα ταῦτα in these passages that concern creation may support reading “all these things” of 45:7 as primarily referring to the creative acts of 45:7ab. Still, this is a very general phrase, with little semantic content in itself, so we should be careful not to read too much into it. Like the phrase it translates, it leaves it up to the reader/listener to discern what specifically it refers to.

⁴⁵⁶ πάντα ταῦτα refers to what can be seen when one lifts one's eyes: “Look up on high with your eyes, and see: Who has exhibited all these?” (NETS, Esaias 40:26a) “τίς κατέδειξε πάντα ταῦτα;” Here πάντα is a plus. It is also a plus in 41:20, where ταῦτα πάντα translates נְטִי. Here “ὅτι χεὶρ κυρίου ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα,” refers to the Lord's making the mountains and wilderness fertile and with plenty of water (41:18-19) (I have used the printed edition of Göttingen Esaias, as there appears to be a misprint in the electronic edition; there the word πάντα is lacking: ὅτι χεὶρ κυρίου ἐποίησε **ταῦτα** καὶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατέδειξεν.) In 66:2 on the other hand, πάντα ταῦτα renders MT transparently and seems to refer to heaven and earth: “Οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἢ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου: (...) ² πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου”

Excursus: The rendering of the tetragrammaton as κύριος ὁ θεός

Introductory remarks, the tetragrammaton and κύριος

The tetragrammaton, which is found ca 450 times in MT Isaiah, is usually rendered as κύριος. In our passage, the tetragrammaton is, however, translated as κύριος ὁ θεός five times in seven verses. This matter, therefore, deserves some attention in this thesis. But before I study this particular equivalency, and the effects it has on the message of the Greek text, I will show how the translator has translated the tetragrammaton in OG, as well as how the term κύριος is used in OG Isaiah.⁴⁵⁷ This will serve as a backdrop when we interpret the particular rendering κύριος ὁ θεός which is our primary focus.

Atypical renderings of the tetragrammaton in OG Isaiah

Although the tetragrammaton most commonly is rendered as κύριος, there are several exceptions. In circa 30 cases it is *not* translated by any term for God.⁴⁵⁸ It is also translated as θεός more than fifty times.

Sometimes יהוה is translated as κύριος σαβαωθ.⁴⁵⁹ This rendering appears to be influenced by other references to the Lord as יהוה צבאות, translated as κύριος σαβαωθ, in the immediate context. Also, the rendering κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, found in 26:12, appears to be influenced by its immediate context, for in 26:13 the same Greek phrase transparently translates יהוה

⁴⁵⁷ This is not to say that I expect these renderings to always go back to the translator. Probably some of them are caused by for instance another *Vorlage*. I will nevertheless continue to discuss how the translator translated, always keeping in mind that there may also be other explanations for non-transparent renderings.

⁴⁵⁸ In these cases it is instead omitted, or included indirectly through a finite verb or a personal pronoun referring to the Lord.

⁴⁵⁹ 5:25 and 22:17, 23:11 and 45:14.

אלהינו.⁴⁶⁰ In 42:13 κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν δυνάμεων appears to be a condensed rendering of the tetragrammaton plus a Hebrew nominal clause.

Then in seventeen verses, יהוה is translated as simply κύριος ὁ θεός. This equivalent is found primarily in chapters 41-45 (more on this below), and it is this rendering that we want to investigate in detail. But first we will examine the use of κύριος in OG Isaiah.

Κύριος in OG Isaiah

Although κύριος most commonly renders the divine name, it also occasionally translates another word that refers to the Lord: צור,⁴⁶¹ אדון (in the form אדני)⁴⁶² as well as בעל,⁴⁶³ אל⁴⁶⁴ and אלהי.⁴⁶⁵

But κύριος does not always refer to YHWH, as a common noun, it sometimes also refers to worldly masters; translating בעל it refers to the master of an *ass*⁴⁶⁶ and translating אדון it refers to the master of *human messengers*.⁴⁶⁷ The term κύριος, therefore, does *not* unambiguously refer to the Lord who is the one, living God. There are also cases where κύριος appears to be a plus.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁰ In 30:18 the same Greek phrase is perhaps a plus, or perhaps best regarded as a free translation with only the “us” part of it being a plus.

⁴⁶¹ In 17:10.

⁴⁶² 3:18 and 4:4.

⁴⁶³ In 54:5.

⁴⁶⁴ 40:18.

⁴⁶⁵ 7:13, 61:10.

⁴⁶⁶ Is 1:3.

⁴⁶⁷ In the form אדני (36:8 and 12) and אדניך (36:12), referring to the Assyrian king and King Hezekia respectively.

⁴⁶⁸ For instance in 2:1, 11, 5:13.

Quite often κύριος alone renders *both* the tetragrammaton and one or two additional Hebrew words: When MT has יהוה האדון or אדני יהוה, the two words are usually simply translated as κύριος.⁴⁶⁹ Sometimes יהוה צבאות too, is translated as κύριος.⁴⁷⁰

What norms seem to guide the translator's rendering of divine names?

We have seen that the translator is flexible when it comes to rendering the tetragrammaton, and in what Hebrew words he translates as κύριος. In short, he does not rely on lexical stock pairing. Neither does he seem to be guided by the norm of quantitative fidelity, as he allows himself to add elements, (for instance when אל is rendered as κύριος ὁ θεός in 8:10), and to omit elements, (as when he translates יהוה אדני as κύριος). Sometimes he adds a divine name where there is none in MT, like κύριος ὁ θεός in 27:4, or he omits a divine name, like in 45:18, where אדני יהוה is rendered as ἐγὼ ἐμί.⁴⁷¹ Some of his “expanded” translation equivalents, however, appear to be influenced by the immediate context.

With these observations in mind, I will examine the use of the phrase κύριος ὁ θεός, which is found forty-two times in OG Isaiah, and particularly often in our passage. I will present the material according to two subtypes of κύριος ὁ θεός phrases: Κύριος ὁ θεός *not followed* by a genitive attribute, and Κύριος ὁ θεός *followed* by a genitive attribute.

⁴⁶⁹ For instance 28:16 (1QIsa^a has אדוני superscripted above the tetragrammaton), 30:15 (1QIsa^a has only the tetragrammaton), 40:10, 48:16, 49:22, (1QIsa^a has only the tetragrammaton,) 50:4, 5, (1QIsa^a has אדוני אלוהים 7, 9, 52:4 (1QIsa^a has only the tetragrammaton), 56:8, 61:1 (1QIsa^a has only the tetragrammaton), 61:11 (1QIsa^a has אדוני אלוהים), 65:13 (1QIsa^a has אדוני superscripted above the tetragrammaton). For האדון preceding the tetragrammaton and translated only by κύριος: 10:16, 19:4. In these two examples the additional word “Sebaot” is part of the Hebrew /Greek phrase, and 1QIsa^a supports MT. Since האדון elsewhere in Isaiah is translated as ὁ δεσπότης, according to Johan Lust האדון was probably not in the Vorlage here. Johan Lust, “The Divine Titles האדון and אדני in Proto-Isaiah and Ezekiel” in *Isaiah in Context; Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum Volume 138*, (Ed. Michaël N. van der Meer et.al, Leiden: Brill, 2010), 144.

⁴⁷⁰ 8:13, 9:(12)/13, (18)/19, 19:1. 1QIsa^a supports MT and preserves the double designation in all these verses.

⁴⁷¹ Here 1QIsa^a supports MT.

Κύριος ὁ θεός without a genitive attribute

Twenty-four times κύριος ὁ θεός is *not* followed by a genitive attribute. The first time that we encounter the phrase (simply) κύριος ὁ θεός, is in 8:10, where it translates לַא, then in 27:4, where it is a plus. In seventeen cases, κύριος ὁ θεός renders (simply) the tetragrammaton; all but one of these instances are found in chapters 41-45.⁴⁷²

When κύριος ὁ θεός translates יהוה האל in 42:5, it is the only time the phrase translates both the tetragrammaton and a word meaning “god”. The word-order is, however, reversed in translation.⁴⁷³ Twice κύριος ὁ θεός appears to be a “condensed” translation of two Hebrew phrases (in 43:12 and 51:22), and twice it renders אלהי / אלהיך.⁴⁷⁴

Κύριος ὁ θεός followed by a genitive attribute: The Lord as someone’s God

In eighteen cases κύριος ὁ θεός is followed by a genitive attribute. Twelve of these are transparent renderings of Hebrew expressions, which include the tetragrammaton, the word אלהים in the construct state, and a pronoun /proper name.⁴⁷⁵ The genitive attribute is usually a personal pronoun: Κύριος ὁ θεός σου⁴⁷⁶ and ἡμῶν⁴⁷⁷ and κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραελ,⁴⁷⁸ are most

⁴⁷² 28:13; 41:17, 21; 42:6 (in IQIsa^a there is no divine name here), 8, 21; 43:1, 10, 14, 15; 44:2; 45:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11. Except for the lack of the tetragrammaton in 42:6, IQIsa^a supports MT’s designation for the Lord (as simply יהוה in all these verses).

⁴⁷³ The equivalent האל האלוהים in IQIsa^a leads to further questions about what the *Vorlage* may have looked like in this passage.

⁴⁷⁴ In 51:20 and 57:21 translating אלהיך and אלהי respectively. (Here IQIsa^a supports MT.)

⁴⁷⁵ These are the non-transparent renderings: In 37:4 the entire phrase is a plus. In 26:12 ὁ θεός ἡμῶν is a plus, in 52:12 κύριος is a plus, in 30:18 and 48:1 it appears that the translator has condensed two Hebrew phrases to one Greek phrase. Finally, κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν δυνάμεων in 42:13 is a “free” translation, or perhaps a condensation of two Hebrew phrases. None of these equivalents can be explained by IQIsa^a.

⁴⁷⁶ In 7:11; 37:4 x three times; 43:3.

⁴⁷⁷ 26:12, 13; 30:18; 36:7; 37:20.

⁴⁷⁸ 17:6; 24:15/16; 37:21; 48:1, 52:12.

common, κύριος ὁ θεὸς μου⁴⁷⁹ and κύριος ὁ θεὸς Δαυὶδ are each found once.⁴⁸⁰ Once the phrase is followed by a common noun in genitive: κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων.⁴⁸¹

Evaluation of the findings regarding κύριος ὁ θεός

In light of what we have observed concerning the translator’s handling of divine names, the “expanded” translation of the tetragrammaton as κύριος ὁ θεός, is not extraordinary. But still it stands out, because of its frequency, the concentration in one specific part of the book, and because it never really seems to be a transparent rendering of a Hebrew expression; the closest we get to a real Hebrew counterpart, is as mentioned already יהוה אל יהוה. The use of κύριος ὁ θεός cannot be explained by comparison with IQIsa^a, nor be explained as influenced by similar renderings in the preceding verses.

In light of the above-mentioned evidence, the use of κύριος ὁ θεός seems, in my opinion, to result from a deliberate choice. The alternative is to suppose a yet unknown *Vorlage* with the designation יהוה אלהים יהוה. In this regard Peter Nagel’s observations regarding the rendering of divine names in Hebrew and Greek witnesses to Isaiah is interesting. He shows that sometimes IQIsa^a reads אדוני אלהים when MT reads יהוה אדני.⁴⁸² This would of course also be a possible wording behind the rendering κύριος ὁ θεός, and if this was what the *Vorlage* looked like, our translator simply translated literally. His observations therefore remind us that we should not be too confident when presenting conclusions regarding the translator’s artistry or theology.

But if we do not suppose the renderings to be caused by a different *Vorlage*, it is possible that the many κύριος ὁ θεός-phrases are “inspired” by 42:5, where it is a somewhat transparent

⁴⁷⁹ 25:1

⁴⁸⁰ In 38:5.

⁴⁸¹ In 42:13.

⁴⁸² 61:1 and 61:11, See Peter Nagel, “The θεός and κύριος Terms in the Isaiah Text and Their Impact on the New Testament: Some Observations,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, VTS 157 (ed. Johan Cook and Hermann-Joseph Stipp, Leiden: Brill, 2012), 178 and 182.

rendering. Such influence from other passages is certainly not unheard of, as I have mentioned already; Ziegler devoted an entire chapter in *Untersuchungen* to renderings that can be explained by influence from other passages in OG Isaiah. Perhaps the influence from 42:5 was part of the process of translation that led to the use of κύριος ὁ θεός in several instances.

The Lord God

If these renderings, with the added ὁ θεός, are the translator's own work, this addition has had an effect on the message of OG Isaiah. And assuming that the rendering is "his own", I will now present what I see as the effect of the rendering. First, we need to look to the Hebrew text.

In the *Hebrew text* of Isaiah, יהוה followed by אלהים, is always *somebody's* God, and the word אלהים is always in the construct state. There are several references to YHWH, *my* God, YHWH, *your* God, YHWH, *our* God, YHWH, the God of *David*, *our father*, YHWH, the God of *Israel*. We never find יהוה אלהים with אלהים in the absolute state in MT Isaiah, although האל יהוה is found once, in 42:5.

In the paragraph "Κύριος ὁ θεός followed by a genitive attribute" I listed several examples that illustrate that the Lord certainly is called somebody's God in OG Isaiah, too. But in OG these cases are outnumbered by references to the Lord as simply κύριος ὁ θεός, period! This to me, has the ring of monotheism, and this is all the more interesting since κύριος ὁ θεός, (period!) only once renders its source rather transparently. This designation of the Lord as *the Lord, God*, belongs only to the translation, not to the source. And it is not insignificant that the part of the book in which this divine title repeatedly occurs, deals with the futility of idols and the sovereignty of the Lord as creator! Through the usage of the divine title κύριος ὁ θεός in OG Isaiah, there appears to be a somewhat stronger emphasis on the Lord as the universal God (which certainly coheres well with the message of our passage).

A connection with Genesis 2-3

As part of my examination of the literary qualities of OG Isaiah, I have looked not only for stylistic devices, but also for intertextual references or anaphoric translation. I have, therefore,

also tried to examine whether the phrase κύριος ὁ θεὸς provides a link to other parts of the corpus.

It appears that the use of κύριος ὁ θεὸς in OG Isaiah connects it with the primeval history in Greek. The use of the double name/title יהוה אלהים in MT Genesis chapters 2 and 3 is not paralleled in MT Isaiah, for as noticed above, in MT Isaiah we never find יהוה אלהים, except when אלהים is in the absolute state. But in LXX Genesis 2 -3, יהוה אלהים is translated as κύριος ὁ θεὸς, (or ὁ θεὸς), and in the chapters that follow, κύριος ὁ θεὸς continues to be used, but now as a translation of יהוה or אלהים. In these chapters, the tetragrammaton is variously rendered as κύριος, ὁ θεὸς or κύριος ὁ θεὸς.

According to John William Wevers, editor of the Göttingen Genesis edition, κύριος ὁ θεὸς renders the tetragrammaton 13 times in Genesis, and he observes that the translator apparently felt quite free in rendering divine names,⁴⁸³ and Martin Rösel has argued that there were theological reasons behind the Genesis translator's rendering of divine names.⁴⁸⁴ For our purposes, however, the motivation behind the Genesis translator's rendering is not of vital importance. What is relevant is rather that the title κύριος ὁ θεὸς repeatedly occurs in Genesis, and that the usage of this title in OG Isaiah therefore can be seen as providing a link to the first chapters of Genesis, especially chapters two and three, chapters that already are relevant as a backdrop for our passage, since our passage too talks about God as creator!

⁴⁸³ John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Genesis*, SBL SCS 35, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 60. He neither finds any theological motivation behind this rendering, nor does he think that it should be explained by a different *Vorlage*.

⁴⁸⁴ See for instance Martin Rösel, «The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch,» JSOT 31.4 (2007); 419-422.

6 What the analysis of OG Isaiah 45:1-7 has taught us

The vertical dimension of OG Isaiah 45:1-7 – OG Isaiah as a translation of its Hebrew source

The norms underlying OG Isaiah 45:1-7

Like Wagner, I have made an attempt at a thick description of a part of OG Isaiah, and I will now summarize what I have observed concerning the norms that seem to have guided the translator in his translation.⁴⁸⁵ My description of norms is thus done primarily on the basis of the short passage 45:1-7, a passage that is obviously too short to allow me to draw definite conclusions regarding the book as a whole, and as others have stated before me: The translator does not seem to have been consistent in his methods, while staying quite close to his source in this passage, he does not always do so.⁴⁸⁶ But from the analysis of these seven verses, I have gained a glimpse into how he worked, and the following is what I have discovered.

Segmentation

The translator usually renders his source word for word,⁴⁸⁷ as can be seen in the coupled pairs as I have presented them. This does not mean that he *interpreted* the text in this manner. Barr has explained that to be able to interpret and render a word, one has to consider the context, and this means that even the most literal translators had to “work by the context”,⁴⁸⁸ although they often chose to render the text word for word.

⁴⁸⁵ See Wagner, *Reading*, 227-237, for how *he* summarizes his findings regarding the norms behind OG Isaiah 1 and his conclusions regarding OG Isaiah 1 as a Greek text. See also van der Louw’s conclusions after his analysis of OG Isaiah 1, *Transformations*, 243-247.

⁴⁸⁶ If my analysis had included the next paragraph, we would have found that his text behaved somewhat differently in relation to its source.

⁴⁸⁷ This is also Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs’ conclusion after her study of the pluses and minuses of the entire OG Isaiah, see *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 17.

⁴⁸⁸ Barr, *Typology*, 296-7.

Our translator too, despite his often word-for-word translation, certainly seems to have had an eye for the context, as we can see for instance in his variation in lexical choice, and from his creation of sound-plays. Still, it is easy to map his translation of Isaiah 45:1-7 on to its source, usually on a word-for-word basis.

Serial fidelity

Already when I established the coupled pairs, it became clear that the translator follows the word order of the source closely. Although there are numerous instances of omission of prepositions or addition of articles or pronouns, the source and translation proceed forward in the same direction, so to speak. The only place in verses 1-7 where the translator clearly diverges from the word order of the source is in 4a, where MT has אַבְדֵי יַעֲקֹב,⁴⁸⁹ “my servant, Jacob”, while OG has Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου, «Jacob, my servant”.⁴⁹⁰ This results in a chiasmic structure in OG verse 4a instead of the two parallel phrases of MT. Based on my rather limited material, I have reached the conclusion that serial fidelity is a secondary norm for this translator.

Morpho-syntactical correspondence

The translation usually displays morpho-syntactic correspondence. Verbs are translated as verbs, and they are usually rendered with the same inflection for person as in the source. The only deviation from morpho-syntactic correspondence when it comes to verbs, is the rendering of an infinitive by a finite verb in verse 1, where לַפְתָּה is translated as ἀνοίξω.

Usually the construct chains of the source become Greek genitive constructions, but this is not done slavishly, for some of the construct chains are instead rendered by Greek nouns modified by attributive adjectives, as when אוֹצְרוֹת הַשֶּׁךְ is translated as θησαυρούς σκακτεινούς in verse

⁴⁸⁹ IQIsa^a follows the word-order of MT.

⁴⁹⁰ This is however not reflected in NETS.

3. This change is clearly motivated by a wish to write acceptable Greek. We have also noticed already that the translator employs the Greek case system to convey the meaning of the Hebrew prepositions, as when לכורש is rendered as Κύρω in verse 1. This too illustrates a concern for writing acceptable Greek.

His handling of pronominal suffixes, however seems to illustrate another kind of “freedom”, when both a third person pronominal suffix (in verse 1), and second person pronominal suffix (in verse 4) are transformed into first person genitive pronouns!

In light of these observations it appears that morpho-syntactic correspondence is not a primary norm for him, although it is usually adhered to. Based on my material, it can probably be classified as a secondary norm for the translator.

Lexical stock-pairing?

I have also tried to understand how this translator chose Greek counterparts for the words of his source. In a rather small pericope like ours, it is difficult to speak conclusively about how the translator choose his equivalents. I have, however, used his word-choices in verses 1-7 as a starting point, investigating how he has dealt with these Hebrew (and Greek) words in the rest of OG Isaiah. My analysis shows that our translator often does not rely on lexical stock-pairing. There are words which he always renders the same way, but this does not necessarily mean that he relies on fixed equivalencies, but often simply that the Greek word he chose happened to be the most natural choice.⁴⁹¹ This seems to be the case when for instance אור is translated as φῶς.

Yet, there are some words in the LXX/OG corpus which are almost always rendered identically, שלם translated as εἰρήνη is one such word. Here, we see that the translators have stereotyped the rendering; sometimes שלם rather means health, welfare, still the translators almost uniformly chose εἰρήνη. Should we, therefore, say that when OG Isaiah 45:7 says that the Lord is the one who makes εἰρήνη, that it is just a default rendering? I do not think so, for a closer investigation show that our translator sometimes also renders שלם as χάρα or χάρειν.

⁴⁹¹ See Barr, *Typology*, 306.

For some words we have however observed a semantic leveling, like when several words for darkness in MT Isaiah are rendered by fewer Greek words (σκότος or σκοτεινός). At other times he does the opposite: He uses two or more equivalents to render the same Hebrew term: While he usually translates ידע as γινώσκω (in our passage three times), he also sometimes chooses οἶδα, in this way exploiting the different nuances between the two Greek words.

Also, for instance פתח and ברא are translated with two different Greek words in our passage, even within the same verse. For the creation verbs our investigation has shown that he does *not* choose his equivalents based on stock-pairing; it rather seems that he knows some words suitable to use for creating and making (κατασκευάζω, κτίζω, ποιέω), and picks from them the word that he finds most suitable in each instance. In the case of verse 7 it appears that stylistic considerations may have been most important for his choice of verbs.

Our investigation of how he deals with Hebrew רע further illustrates his lack of consistency in his renderings. There may have been nuances of meanings between the Greek equivalents in question that led him to vary his equivalents according to the immediate context, although it is hard to establish his motivations in each case, (see for instance the discussion of רע in the analysis of verse 7b, or the discussion of παῖς and δούλος as renderings of עבד).

What is apparent in our pericope as a whole is that he feels rather free when it comes to picking his equivalents. To give consistent renderings of words appears to be a tertiary norm. And as such one can say that all his renderings are interesting; there are not so many standard or default renderings, thus possibly all his renderings can display his interpretation. Still, in our eagerness to detect the translator's interpretation and intentions we should keep in mind that one cannot assume that the translators always *intended* what they did; van der Louw has reminded us of how even biological factors like exhaustion or external factors like the working conditions can influence the translated product.⁴⁹² And Barr has pointed out that in the examination of the Septuagint translators' variation of lexical choice, we should not assume that deviation from use of standard terms necessarily was motivated by the context either, sometimes its variation was probably caused by "plain inconsequence or

⁴⁹² Theo Van der Louw, "Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as it is?" in *Die Septuaginta; Orte und Intentionen*. 449-466.

carelessness”.⁴⁹³ I would suspect that in the case of OG Isaiah we see both; both some carelessness regarding which words to use, at other times (like in verse 7) an obvious concern for the stylistics of the product.

Quantitative fidelity

Already the first verse of the pericope illustrates that quantitative fidelity is no primary norm behind this translation. The translation has an added apposition after the translation of the tetragrammaton. Since the genitive relative pronoun, οὗ, does double duty, translating both the relative particle אשר and the pronominal suffix “his” of the source, we get one less item in Greek. (Not all septuagint translators would have opted for this solution!) Twice in verse 1 a preposition preceding a Hebrew infinitive is translated without a distinct equivalent for the preposition, since the first infinitive is rendered as an anarthrous infinitive, while the second infinitive is rendered by a finite verb, and therefore naturally without a preposition.

This pattern continues throughout our pericope. OG frequently contains minor pluses and minuses compared to MT: The translator adds ὁ θεὸς whenever MT has the tetragrammaton. He also adds three personal pronouns, ἐγώ and συ of verse 4b, and ἐγώ of verse 7a), and he adds articles that substantivize the adverbial phrase in 6a (οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν) as well as the participles of 7a,b,c.(ὁ κατασκευάσας, ὁ ποιῶν, ὁ ποιῶν).

Conjunctions are both added and omitted in verses 3 and 4. In 3a this is part of a reshaping of the line, for while the conjunction is omitted, an entire verb-phrase is added: ἀνοίξω σοι. On the other hand, in verse 5b there is a minus consisting of a similar verb-phrase, for the אָזַרְךָ of 5a is not carried over to OG. In 5a he collapses two negations into one, when זולתי אֵין /אלהים is translated as καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός.

Despite our rather limited material it seems clear that quantitative fidelity cannot be a primary norm for this translator.

⁴⁹³ Barr, *Typology*, 307.

Concerning the additions and omissions, or “deviations from quantitative fidelity,” we notice that some of them function primarily on the grammatical/linguistic level, to produce natural Greek, as when for instance לְ is rendered without a preposition, as σοι. Other pluses bring out implicit information or serve to emphasize (the added pronouns and articles). The addition of ἀνοίξω σοι and the non-rendering of אָזְרָא, on the other hand, can be seen as providing a clearer thematical division between the first and last part of our pericope.

Weighting of the translational norms

I will now summarize what has been said so far. The translator usually follows the word order of his source (serial fidelity), and usually renders his source word for word, or phrase for phrase. He usually replaces Hebrew words with Greek words of the same word class, although this is also only a secondary norm for him. He is less concerned with the quantitative representation of his source, both adding and omitting particles and larger words as well as phrases, so quantitative fidelity is only a secondary or tertiary norm for him. He chooses his lexical equivalents rather freely; in not a few cases he uses several different equivalents for the same Hebrew word, or renders more than one Hebrew word with the same Greek word.

Together this points to a translator that although following the source text quite closely, does not feel bound to it; his concern for idiomatic Greek usage sometimes leads him to deviate from the norms of quantitative fidelity, serial fidelity and morphosyntactic correspondence. This is, however, not to say that there are only linguistic/grammatical reasons for his choices, for sometimes he seems to change the content deliberately, as can be seen in his changing of third and second person forms into first person forms.

We will now see what effects his methods have had on the product of translation, on OG Isaiah 45:1-7 as a Greek text. Have his efforts produced an acceptable text? And is it possible to hear his own interpretive voice in it?

The horizontal dimension OG Isaiah 45:1-7 – OG Isaiah 45:1-7 as a Greek text

When we describe the translated text as product, we are interested in the horizontal dimension, which means to examine the text as a coherent text, seen in light of the Greek language and Greek literature. But before I present my findings here, I will mention what van der Louw has seen as the main drawback about DTS for Septuagint studies; namely “that it presupposes an intricate knowledge of both source and target language (...)”⁴⁹⁴ Here van der Louw touches on exactly what I have experienced through my work with OG Isaiah 45. For a modern reader it *is* difficult to assess the acceptability of OG Isaiah 45 as a Greek text. I will give an example. Imagine we encounter a word that appears to be a neologism in our text. Should this be interpreted as a sign of the translator’s intricate knowledge of the Greek language and his ability to employ the resources of this language in new and creative ways?⁴⁹⁵ Or is it a sign of his *lack of knowledge* of the correct usage of the Greek language, which made him use Greek in a peculiar, idiosyncratic way? It follows that for my analysis the evaluation of the “acceptability” of the Greek text is presented with hesitation and humility. Having said this, I will however present what I have found, regarding how the text appears on the grammatical/linguistic level as well as the textual and literary levels.

The grammatical/linguistic level

My detailed analysis of the process and product of translation of these verses has shown that the translator writes grammatically correct sentences. He knows how to write Greek! Yet some phrases may have sounded a bit odd. One such instance is the use of the preposition ἐμπροσθέν after the verb ἐπακούω, perhaps also the verb κρατέω used with the direct object right hand. Still it is hard to *prove* that this was strained usage, I will have to be content with noticing that it is *possible* that these were expressions that added a foreign flavor to the pericope.

⁴⁹⁴ Van der Louw, *Transformations*, 21.

⁴⁹⁵ See for instance Lee, «Literary Greek,” 141, concerning compound-words used by the translator, that are *hapax legomena* in Greek literature as far as we know.

The textual level

Coherence has to do with how a text “hangs together” thematically. I have observed some changes the translator has made to his text, that seem to contribute to more coherence in OG than in MT. In verse 3a the translator has omitted a conjunction and added the phrase ἀνοίξω σοι (v.3a), as a result reshaping the verse. The plus ἀνοίξω σοι does not really add much to the semantics of the text, but it strengthens the focus on the Lord’s actions for Cyrus in this section of the text, this is already the main theme in these verses.

Similarly the omission of the verb-phrase אֲזַכֶּרְךָ in v.5b strengthens the focus on the Lord’s identity and the universal knowledge of him in the last part of the text, since nothing else in verses 5-7 deals with what the Lord will do for Cyrus. We can thus say that these omission/additions serve to tighten the thematic unity of verses 1-4 and 5-7, an effect that concerns the textual level.

The omission of the initial conjunction in 4a, as part of the verb וְאֶקְרָא, solves problems for the readers (see the analysis of this verse) and thus makes interpretation of the Greek text easier. On the other hand, this omission is “balanced” by an added conjunction before the second verb of this line which strengthens the connection between the two first verb-phrases of verse 4b (I call you in my name *and* receive you).

Perhaps also explicitation and disambiguation of the source can be said to work at the textual level: The substantivizing of the adverbial phrases in verse 6; “*those who are* from the rising of the sun and from its going down” and of the participles in verse 7 “*the one* who has made ...” serving to express the message of the source slightly clearer. This is especially the case in verse 7, since the Hebrew there is syntactically ambiguous, an ambiguity that is reduced thanks to the addition of the articles in Greek, and also thanks to the addition of a personal pronoun in 7a.

Despite what I said above about the stronger thematic division between verses 1-4 and 5-7, the addition of the initial ὅτι in verse 5 increases the *cohesion* of the text; this addition connects verses 5-7 syntactically to the verses that precede them.

Perhaps we can also say that the name/title used for the Lord in this pericope, κύριος ὁ θεός , works at the textual level; this title is not only a name/title, but can be seen as a statement, and this statement coheres with the central message of the passage: That there are no other gods; the only god there is is κύριος ὁ θεός. Seen this way the title itself contributes to the coherence of the text.

Literary level

When Ross Wagner analyzed OG Isaiah 1, he noticed intertextual links and sound plays that enhanced the literary qualities the text. I can only say that my analysis has confirmed his findings.

Stylistic devices /sound-plays

Throughout this pericope we see various patterns of repetitions, parallelisms and sound-plays.

If we focus on the first-person *nominative* pronoun, we find that in our passage ἐγώ is a *plus* in 4b and 7a, while in 2a, 3b, 5a, 6b and 7c it reflects a Hebrew personal pronoun. This is an example of “anaphora”⁴⁹⁶, “the repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive verses, clauses or commata,”⁴⁹⁷ a stylistic device that may be used to make an emotional impact.⁴⁹⁸

Our text also contains examples of repetition of the end of clauses. This is called “epiphora”, and it serves to emphasize, both because of the repetition itself and because of the clause-final position.⁴⁹⁹ The verbs συγκλείω (v.1), συντριβώ and συγκλάζω (v.2) all appear at the end of clauses, and are thus examples of epiphora. Since συντριβώ and συγκλάζω (v.2) also are inflected identically, we even have an example of what in Greek rhetoric is called

⁴⁹⁶ She has noticed this tendency in 45:1-8 and 12-13. Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 229.

⁴⁹⁷ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis* , 225.

⁴⁹⁸ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 225.

⁴⁹⁹ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 231.

“paromeoosis,” parallel words in successive cola that both assonate and have the same endings.⁵⁰⁰

In verse 7, stylistic considerations seem to have played an important role: The verbs in verse 7 are all suitable as “creation-verbs” in Greek, yet there seems to be little system in how the translator chooses which equivalent to use for which Hebrew verb. To me, it seems that he picks which “creation verb” to use in each clause here primarily based on stylistic concerns, and more precisely with an eye to sound-patterning (assonance):

The four verbs of 7a+b form a chiasm; verbs starting with kappa (and with t-sounds) as a and a’, and then the verb ποιέω in the centre of the chiasm (b and b’):

A κατασκευάσας , B ποιήσας , B’ποιών , A’κτίζων.

When we include the direct objects of the verbs, we also notice how there is a resemblance of the sounds in each line: The sibilants (s-sounds) of φῶς and σκότος “match” the sibilants that are caused by the aorist forms of 7a: (A κατασκευάσας φῶς, B ποιήσας σκότος), while the direct objects of 7b mirror the sounds of the verbs; (B’ ποιών εἰρήνην and A’κτίζων κακά).

Thus, giving us this chiasm:

A κατασκευάσας φῶς, B ποιήσας σκότος, B’ποιών εἰρήνην, A’κτίζων κακά

It seems to me that stylistic concerns have played a major part in the rendering of these participles.

Intertextual connections

As stated at the outset, I have been interested in detecting influences from other parts of scripture on the translation of this passage, and I have given more emphasis to wording that seems to betray a connection with the Pentateuch, than with other Greek scripture. This is a deliberate choice, motivated by a wish to reduce speculation about possible influences from

⁵⁰⁰ Van der Vorm-Croughs, *An Analysis*, 290.

books that might not have been translated before OG Isaiah. Since my interest in OG Isaiah 45 comes from a wish to investigate a text that talks about creation,⁵⁰¹ it is natural that I take special interest in how this text relates to the Genesis creation accounts. I will therefore present probable links with the Septuagint outside the book of Isaiah, but with a primary focus on the Pentateuch, and with a view to the opening chapters of Genesis in particular.

Connection to Genesis

In the course of my analysis I have observed a few lexical choices that may seem to reflect a connection with Genesis 1.

The first verb of verse 7, κατασκευάζω, is not a common translation of the Hebrew counterpart יצר, which it translates here. It is, in fact, not used in Genesis at all, but still it provides a vague echo of Gen 1:2, where it is said that the earth was «ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.»⁵⁰² The adjective ἀκατασκεύαστος is not used elsewhere in the corpus, and I think it is probable that the verb κατασκευάζω deliberately plays on this rare word.

The next verb is ποιέω, first as a translation of the Hebrew creation verb above all others, ברא, and next as a translation of another common creation verb עשה. Both of the Hebrew verbs are used repeatedly in Genesis 1 and 2, and both are translated as ποιέω in these chapters. We can conclude that by using ποιέω here, the translator mirrors the choices of the Genesis translator. Still, ποιέω is a very general and common verb, so we should probably not over-emphasize the kind of impact ποιέω would have; it perhaps carried little semantic weight in itself.

The final verb, κτίζω, is not found in the Genesis accounts, although it is, for instance, used about the creation of heaven and earth later in Genesis (14:19, 22).

In addition to the links provided by the verbs, there is also his use of the adjective ἀόρατος in verse 3, a very rare word, which is found only in Gen 1:2, Is 45:3 and once in 2 Macabees, so this word too seems to connect our text with Gen 1.

⁵⁰¹ Although creation is certainly not the main theme in the passage, occurring only in the last verse.

⁵⁰² Wevers, J. W. (Ed.). (1974). [Genesis](#) (Vol. I, Ge 1:2). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Considering these renderings as a whole, we find that in this passage, the translator uses renderings that in different ways connect his text with Genesis 1 and 2. Still, in my analysis I have demonstrated that in other passages he translates for instance ברא in a variety of different ways, so by no means does he restrict himself to following the example of the Genesis translator.

As observed above, it appears that the overriding concern in this verse has been to create a text with literary beauty, resulting in a chiasm and sound-plays, while he also offered an interpretation of the text by his choice to vary the tenses of the participles.

I think it is probable that the Isaiah translator, perhaps both consciously and unconsciously, drew on the vocabulary from the creation accounts. This is hardly a surprising conclusion, it is almost common-place within Septuagint studies to consider the Pentateuch as providing the later translators with a kind of dictionary or lexicon,⁵⁰³ and despite Barr's objections to the idea that it served as a lexicon,⁵⁰⁴ it is obvious that the language of the Pentateuch must have influenced the later translators. As pointed out in the chapter on methodology, we assume that the language of the Pentateuch provided both the translator and his readers with some kind of idea of what Jewish scripture in Greek should sound like. With the echoes from Genesis 1 and 2 as observed here, OG Isaiah 45 was more intimately related to the works of the translator's predecessors.

Having considered the influence from the Genesis creation vocabulary on our passage, we will turn to the translation of the divine name, as was also discussed in verse 3.

⁵⁰³ See for instance Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint, VT Supp LXXII*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183-194.

⁵⁰⁴ Barr, «Did the Greek Pentateuch really serve as a Dictionary».

The phrase κύριος ὁ θεὸς in connection to other parts of scripture

The subject of most of the verbs in our passage is the Lord, and he is referred to by the title κύριος ὁ θεὸς. As explained in the excursus on the translation of the divine name, this is the title that is used for God especially in Genesis 2-3, and also sometimes in the chapters that follow. As in our passage, κύριος ὁ θεὸς in these chapters is not qualified by a genitive attribute, but stands by itself, absolutely. The God who is described and named in these Genesis chapters has not yet revealed himself to have a special relationship with a chosen people, he is not yet somebody's God, but simply κύριος ὁ θεὸς, period! When this same title is used in OG Isaiah, it brings up this aspect of the Lord's identity. In my analysis, I demonstrated that Lord is referred to as somebody's God in OG Isaiah, and in these cases the Greek translation usually reflects the Hebrew of MT transparently; both MT and OG Isaiah speak for instance of "the Lord, your God" and "the Lord, the God of Israel". But in the many instances where OG Isaiah speaks of simply "the Lord, God", it does not seem to reflect such a Hebrew title, for in nearly all these cases MT has simply the tetragrammaton, and never has יהוה אלהים. In light of the lack of Hebrew witnesses that attest such a *Vorlage*, it seems that the emphasis on "the Lord God" (period) is unique to the translation, and not carried over from the source.

I have already commented on this, and have suggested that it coheres well with the message of our passage and the wider context of OG Isaiah from chapters 40 onwards. The central claim in our passage is that the Lord is the only god, there is no other god besides him, and he is the creator both in the originating sense (creator of light and darkness), as well as the one who creates peace or misery in the course of history and in the moment. As such, he is precisely emphasized to be *the Lord, the only God*. I therefore think that the usage of the title κύριος ὁ θεὸς, does contribute to the message of this pericope as well as to the message of the wider context in Isaiah, chapters that deal with God as the creator and the futility of idols, and the parallel usage of the term in Genesis strengthens the idea that we are talking about God, the creator.

Connections to passages apart from the creation accounts

As observed in the analysis of verse 5, the declaration “ἐγώ κύριος ὁ θεός» in this exact wording is also found in Exodus 4:10, a central passage concerning the Lord’s commissioning Moses to go to Pharaoh. We have also found that the wording in OG Isaiah 45:5 mirrors the wording of Deut 4:35 and 39, and that the claim “οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλῆν...” found in these three verses is framed in exactly the same way in LXX/OG, but not in MT; as such the Isaiah translator here may have harmonized his rendering so that it should mirror the wording of the Greek Deuteronomy text. Like our passage, Deut 4:35-39 concerns mighty deeds that the Lord has done. In the Deuteronomy text there is a special focus on the deliverance from Egypt, and there is the concern that these deeds were carried out in order that the people should know (γινώσκω) that the Lord (your god) is God.

As observed in verse 5a, this connection to Deuteronomy may have helped the readers to connect the two passages, and to read about what the Lord will do for Cyrus, but for the sake of Jacob, in light of what he did for his people when he delivered them from Egypt. The connection between the two passages is already there in Hebrew, but perhaps the identical wording in parts of verse 5 make it easier to connect the passages.

Conclusion regarding OG Isaiah as a Greek text

It appears that the translator’s many minor departures from his source have contributed to his text becoming a proper Greek text. Although it betrays traces of being a translation, he has embellished his product with sound plays, chiasms and patterns of repetitions that do not simply mirror his source. The connections with regard to other literature have also been interpreted as contributing to its acceptability as a Greek text.

We may conclude that this is a version of Isaiah 45:1-7 that is somewhat easier to read than its source, since many of the translator’s moves have served to disambiguate the syntax and explicitate details.⁵⁰⁵ But I also think we can conclude that there are some differences in content /message between source and translation.

⁵⁰⁵ In observing this, I see what others have seen before me.

As described in some detail in the previous paragraph, the use of the divine title κύριος ὁ θεός can be interpreted as in itself conveying a message. In relation to verse 7, we have seen that the translator employs variation between the aorist and the present tenses to present his own interpretation concerning the Lord's identity as creator: The Lord is the one who *has* created darkness and light, but that *does* create misery and peace.

A theology of OG Isaiah 45:1-7? What about the theme of creation?

I will finally return to my initial question, which was concerned with how this passage deals with the theme of creation, and whether the translator has given us his own theological interpretation of this theme.

In this pericope creation is not a topic until the last verse. I view it nevertheless as the climax, whether we are looking at the Greek or Hebrew text. Through the clarification of the syntax in this verse (by way of addition of the pronoun ἐγώ and substantivation of the participles), the message of OG verse 7 states even more clearly than MT that the Lord is *the* creator, not simply one who creates. This slight change of emphasis coheres well with the repeated declarations throughout the text that “I am the Lord God” and that “there is no other”. These claims are not new to the translation, they are carried over from the Hebrew; but in Greek the focus on the Lord, referred to as “I”, and “my”, is stronger than in MT.⁵⁰⁶ This added emphasis on the Lord (“I”), together with the title referring to him, κύριος ὁ θεός, used five times in seven verses speaks to me even louder and clearer about the Lord, who is the one and only living God and the only creator there is. This text speaks loud and clear about the Lord, the creator, and it does so in an appropriately creative language; thus, both the content and the literary form it took probably together contributed to the impact this text would have on its readers/listeners. It is the Lord's identity that is the central topic in this passage, and the theme of creation serves to show his unique identity. In this way the translation of OG Isaiah 45:1-7 can rather be said to give us a creator-theology, than a creation-theology.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. the changing of third/second person pronominal suffixes into first person, the rendering of a Hebrew infinitive as a first person singular verb, as well as two added “ἐγώ”.

7 Concluding remarks

Two texts in the wider context of scripture

In the introduction to this thesis, I asked questions about translation and theology, and about the proper methods for approaching translated texts. Regarding the question of methodology, my choice has been to work using DTS, allowing however the question of function to fade into the background. Having chosen DTS, my analysis of OG Isaiah 45:1-7 has been achieved through a continuous study of two texts – a Hebrew and a Greek version of this passage – paying specific attention to possible connections with other parts of the Jewish scripture in Greek, searching for intertextual connections.⁵⁰⁷ Since my choice of OG Isaiah 45 was motivated by a wish to examine a passage that concerns creation, I was especially attentive to echoes from the Genesis creation accounts, to see if the translator somehow connected his work in this passage to these accounts.

This search for the influence of other texts was part of the DTS approach, since such influence can be seen as a literary device. As demonstrated in my analysis, it does appear that our passage is connected with the initial chapters of the Bible, and as explained in my previous chapter, I also think that this connection adds depth to the message of OG Isaiah 45.

Regarding the question of translation and theology, I have demonstrated in my analysis that as we have gotten to know this translator and his methods and closely investigated the effects of his choices (in other words, through an analysis of the process and product of OG Isaiah 45:1-7), it has also been possible to reveal a certain emphasis, a clearer message, which perhaps can be called a glimpse of theology.

⁵⁰⁷ As I learned it from Ross Wagner especially, and I believe also in the spirit of Troxel, Ziegler and others.

Creation in translation

I will finally return to my initial wish, which was to write about translation and creation, and after this in-depth-study of OG Isaiah 45:1-7, it strikes me that the choice to write about both *translation* and *creation* was more fitting than I realized at the outset.

It is not just writing an original work that requires creativity: giving a message new clothing in another language, requires more than familiarity with the languages involved and adherence to a specific technique; even literal translators do not simply “do math”! Or to use the terminology from my previous chapters, there is more to translation than simply adhering to translational norms and aiming for a specific level of acceptability. This translator, being guided by norms that I have tried to describe, producing what probably was a text in “stylish” Greek,⁵⁰⁸ while working from a source text that to a large degree constrained him, played with sounds and words, perhaps deliberately weaving his text with pieces of threads from already translated scripture, thus creating something that was not there already in the source, and I should say, creating, although not *composing*, a new text in Greek. What we have studied then, certainly turns out to be creation in translation.

⁵⁰⁸ Lee, «Literary Greek,» 145.

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