THE TREATMENT OF ANTHROPOMORPHISMS, ANTHROPOPATHISMS AND VERBS
DESCRIBING GOD IN THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES

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Dedications

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יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן פְּרַחְיָה אוֹמֵר,
עֲשֵׂה לְךָ רַב...

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THIS THESIS WAS INSPIRED BY THE NEVER-TIRING INTELLECTUAL PASSION AND UPLIFTING ENCOURAGEMENT OF RABBI BERNARD M. ZLOTOWITZ.

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...וּקְנֵה לְךָ חָבֵר...

</div>

WITHOUT A TRUE LIFE-PARTNER AND FRIEND, THE FRUITS OF ONE'S LABORS CANNOT BE FULLY SAVORED. SO IT IS TO MY LOVING, LOYAL, AND ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTIVE HUSBAND AARON THAT THIS WORK IS DEDICATED.

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...וֶהֱוֵי דָן אֶת כָּל הָאָדָם לְכַף זְכוּת...

</div>

thanks to all my friends who resisted the temptation to say, "It's Greek to me!"

And to my teachers of Classics

ΣΜΙΚΡΟΙΣ ΠΟΝΟΙΣ ΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΠΩΣ ΕΛΟΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΝ
BY MEAGRE EFFORTS HOW COULD ONE ACHIEVE GREAT THINGS?

THE TREATMENT OF ANTHROPOMORPHISMS, ANTHROPOPATHISMS AND VERBS DESCRIBING
GOD IN THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES

PREFACE: TERMS, MOTIVATION, METHOD

Before the presentation of the findings concerning the Septuagint[1] treatment of anthropomorphisms, anthropopathisms and verbs describing God in the Book of Judges, an explanation both of these terms and the motivation for the investigation is necessary. The easier explanation is of the terms themselves.

The term *anthropomorphism* as used in this thesis refers to a word or phrase describing God as having features similar to those of a human being; e.g., in Exodus 6:6 we read of God's "arm". The Hebrew בִּזְרוֹעַ *by an arm* is translated literally by the Greek ἐν βραχίονι *by an arm*.

The term *anthropopathism* refers to a word or phrase describing God as having feelings similar to human emotions; e.g., in Hosea 2:25, God promises to show mercy. The Hebrew וְרִחַמְתִּי *I will have mercy* is translated literally by the Greek καὶ ἐλεήσω *and I will have mercy*[2].

The term *verb* refers to any verb form that implies anthropomorphic or anthropopathic characteristics and that has God as the actual or implied subject; e.g., in Judges 1:2, the Lord "said" something regarding Judah. The Hebrew וַיֹּאמֶר *He said* is translated literally by the Greek καὶ εἶπεν *and He said*.

An explanation of the motivation for this investigation is somewhat more complicated. In a way, this research is a continuation of that undertaken by Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky and his graduate students in the wake of the publication in 1943

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1. For this thesis the text used was the machine readable format of the LXX Septuaginta (Old Greek Jewish Scriptures) edited by Alfred Rahlfs, Copyright © 1935 by the Württembergische Bibelanstalt / Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (German Bible Society), Stuttgart. The machine readable text was prepared by the TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae) Project directed by Theodore F. Brünner at University of California, Irvine, California.
2. The Greek consistently renders וָו הַהִיפּוּךְ with καὶ, as does the King James translation.

of the Princeton dissertation of Charles T. Fritsch[3]. The latter work purported to bear out in a systematic way what Christian scholars had been claiming for several hundred years: the Septuagint had fewer anthropomorphic terms to describe God than the Hebrew original and that this difference was due to deliberate, theologically-based translation choices reflecting a more sophisticated level of religious sensibility than ever attained by the 'primitive' Hebrew version. According to Fritsch himself, the Greek translation removed "any attribute, thought, or action connected with God which might lower his dignity, or degrade his honor or character."[4]

Setting aside the question of the scholar's possible anti-Jewish attitudes, in the 1950's, Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky and two of his graduate students at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, Marshall Hurwitz and Arthur Soffer, showed Fritsch's work to be careless, incomplete, for the most part unsubstantiated, and inaccurate. In their own methodical way they, and Bernard M. Zlotowitz after them, showed that there is no principled anti-anthropomorphic or anti-anthropopathic tendency in the Septuagint translation of the books of Job[5], Psalms[6], Isaiah[7] or Jeremiah[8].

It is the primary goal of this thesis to examine the language used to describe

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3. Charles T. Fritsch, *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch*. Princeton Oriental Texts, 10 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943)
4. *Ibid.,* p. 3. From very early times some Jewish philosophers and sages have expressed discomfort with biblical anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms. They took pains to explain how to interpret the meanings of these expressions. But even when speaking of the LXX, they did not make the claim that its translators were avoiding these terms. See discussion of Aristobulus below, p. 14 ff.
5. Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 28 (Cincinnati, 1957), pp. 53-74; vol. 29 (Cincinnati, 1958), pp. 229-71; vol. 30 (Cincinnati, 1959), pp. 153-67
6. Arthur Soffer, "The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Psalms," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 28 (Cincinnati, 1957), pp. 85-107
7. Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Isaiah," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 27 (Cincinnati, 1956), pp. 193-200 and Marshall S. Hurwitz, "The Septuagint of Isaiah 36-39 in Relation to that of 1-35, 40-66 : [Appendix: Comparison With 2 Kgs 18-20]," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* vol. 28 (Cincinnati, 1957), pp. 75-83
8. Bernard M. Zlotowitz, *The Septuagint Translation of the Hebrew Terms in Relation to God in the Book of Jeremiah* (New York, Ktav, 1981)

God in the Septuagint translation of the Book of Judges and to compare it with the Hebrew text to see if there is any trace of an anti-anthropomorphic or anti-anthropopathic tendency in this book. The method used here is that of Dr. Orlinsky and Rabbi Dr. Zlotowitz. The Hebrew text[9] was searched for words and phrases describing human form and feelings. The contexts were checked to determine which of these instances referred to God. Then the root words were sorted alphabetically and all verses containing any of the forms were grouped together. Each Hebrew verse was compared with the Greek translation. The range of meanings of the original Hebrew words was checked in Brown, Driver, Briggs[10]. Liddell, Scott, Jones[11] provided the corresponding information for the Greek translations. In a few instances, the excellent Latin work by Schleusner[12] was consulted for its nuanced insight into possible meanings of the Greek. When the Greek translation proved to be literal, no further comment was necessary. In the few instances where the translation was not literal, an explanation was given to account for the difference. For each entry, a complete list of the verses containing forms of the headword was included. In the instances where the headword was represented by only a few verses, all verses were given in Hebrew and in Greek to show the use of the word in context. For those headwords more widely attested, two examples were given in full and the others listed by chapter and verse.

In addition to exploring standard anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms, I included an examination of the verbs used to describe God's actions in the

9. Research was predominantly done using BibleWorks™ Copyright © 1992-2002 BibleWorks, L.L.C. Hebrew follows Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia BHS, edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudoph of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, Fourth Corrected Edition, Copyright © 1966, 1977, 1983, 1990 by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (German Bible Society), Stuttgart.
10. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, editors, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1968)
11. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, compilers, *A Greek-English Lexicon.* Revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, *et al*., with a supplement. (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1978, reprint)
12. Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Novum Lexicon Graeco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum*, (Lipsiae, in Officina Weidmanniana, 1792)

Book of Judges. I limited the verbs to those that implied that the Divinity partakes in some anthropomorphic features or anthropopathic characteristics, such as the verbs "to see" and "to burn with anger". I included causative (*hiphil*) forms because they imply an interaction between the Divinity and humans.

The results of the research into the handling of anthropomorphisms, anthropopathisms and verbs describing God in the Book of Judges are clear. Although there are some slight differences in the understanding of e.g., a prepositional phrase such as בְּעֵינֵי, which may have lost some of the underlying anthropomorphic sense of its literal meaning *in the eyes of* [13], there appears to be no principled avoidance of anthropomorphism or anthropopathism in the translations of the descriptions of the Divinity in the Book of Judges. To his credit, Fritsch reaches a similar conclusion. To his detriment, he expresses disappointment that the facts do not bear out his prejudices:

> In the technical sense of the term, the anti-anthropomorphisms in the Pentateuch of the LXX are disappointingly few. In most cases the translators literally rendered the anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew text.[14]

There is some evidence in the Talmud itself, in Megillah 9a[15], that the translation of the Septuagint was not entirely literal but was considered to have contained some divinely inspired changes.

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א"ר יהודה אף כשהתירו רבותינו יונית לא התירו
אלא בספר תורה ומשום מעשה דתלמי המלך דתניא

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13. See discussion on עין below, p. 29 ff.
14. Fritsch, *op. cit.,* p. 15
15. All Talmud citations are from the Babylonian Talmud, Vilna Shas edition. All translations are mine except where otherwise noted.

מעשה בתלמי המלך שכינס שבעים ושנים זקנים
והכניסן בשבעים ושנים בתים ולא גילה להם על מה
כינסן ונכנס אצל כל אחד ואחד ואמר להם כתבו לי
תורת משה רבכם נתן הקדוש ברוך הוא בלב כל אחד
ואחד עצה והסכימו כולן לדעת אחת וכתבו לו...

*R. Yehudah said: Even when our teachers allowed Greek,
they did not allow it except for a Torah scroll and that was
because of the legend about King Ptolemy. It has been taught
in a Baraita: There's a legend about King Ptolemy who
gathered together seventy-two elders and placed them in
seventy-two houses and did not reveal to them why he had
gathered them. Then he went to each one and said to them:
"Write for me the Torah of your master Moses." The Holy
Blessed One, placed counsel into the heart of each one and
they all agreed on one opinion and wrote for him...*

There follows a list of several verses allegedly changed from the original Hebrew
in the rendering of the Greek translation of the Torah. Only two of these appear in
the current version of the Septuagint. The list given in the Talmud suggests that
what we have today is not the same as the original Greek translation of the Torah.
This prompts the questions: What is the Septuagint and for whom was it
produced?

WHAT IS THE SEPTUAGINT?

The Septuagint, strictly speaking, is the Greek translation of the Hebrew
Pentateuch produced in the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247
BCE). In common parlance, however, Septuagint (or: LXX) refers to the Greek
translation of the entire corpus of the Hebrew Bible plus several extra-biblical
books. The translation of the complete Hebrew Bible took place over time,
progressing as the books entered the canon or as scrolls from Palestine arrived in

Egypt[16]. By 132 BCE, according to the testimony of the author of the prologue to Sirach, an extra-canonical book, there were Greek translations of the Law, the Prophets and "the rest of the books"[17]. However, not all the books of the Hebrew Bible seem to have been translated even by the 1st century CE. While the authors of the Gospels and other books of the Christian Bible generally cite the Greek version of *Tanakh*, they omit reference to several books[18].

OVERVIEW OF FORCES AT WORK THAT LED TO THE CREATION OF THE SEPTUAGINT IN ALEXANDRIA.

That a Greek translation of the Torah was produced at all, reveals important information about the culture of Alexandrian Jewish society in the time of the Egyptian ruler Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The Jewish inhabitants in the eponymous city of Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) had assimilated to such an extent that they no longer understood the Hebrew of the sacred texts. Unlike their fellow Jews in Palestine, or Babylonia[19], they were not even comfortable with the Aramaic of the *meturgemanin*, the translator-commentators who conveyed the meaning of the Torah as it was read to the assembled Jews in the different Jewish communities. The native language of the Alexandrian Jewish community was the special blend[20] of Greek, Egyptian, Aramaic and Hebrew found in the earlier books of the ἑβδομήκοντα, as the Septuagint was known to them.

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16. Henry Barclay Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1st ed. 1900; rev. ed. 1902), p. 24

17. *Sirach* (also called Ben Sira) Prolog 1:25 τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων *the rest of the books*.

18. Swete, *op. cit.* pp. 25-26. He mentions Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and some minor prophets as missing from Greek works cited in the Christian Bible. He reports that Philo's works omit references to Ruth (possibly attached to Judges), Lamentations (possibly attached to Jeremiah), Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Ezekiel and Daniel. Swete is baffled by missing citations from Ezekiel, as he cannot imagine that the work of a major prophet should have been missing.

19. *Ibid.,* p. 3. But see Jewish Encyclopedia, *sub* "Meturgeman" where Schechter and Levias make no claims for Babylonian practice.

20. According to Swete, *op. cit.,* p. 22, the non-literary register of this language is used as evidence against the tradition of Aristeas that the document was produced by *Palestinian* scholars for the king's library.

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The Alexandrian Jewish community had enjoyed civic rights and even full citizenship from the start of their residency in the days of Alexander himself[21]. Jews were held in high esteem for having served loyally as mercenaries in Alexander's armies and they continued to be an important part of the city after his death. According to Philo (20 BCE-50 CE), two of the five districts of the city were known as Jewish districts because of the high concentration of Jews[22]. While loyal to Jerusalem, the Jews of Alexandria were loyal to the government of the Ptolemies as well and were permitted to live under the direct rule of their own Ethnarch. Even though Ptolemy I (called Lagi or Soter; 322-285 BCE) attacked Judea and carried off Jewish and Samaritan captives from Jerusalem and its environs, he settled them and granted them civic rights in Alexandria[23]. Such was the treatment of Jews under the Ptolemies that many more came to settle throughout the period of their control of the area (322 BCE to 30 CE). Later, during the time of oppression under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (215-164 BCE) in Judea, more Jews took up residence in Egypt.

Alexandria was not the first location in Egypt where Jews had been allowed to settle. About 528 miles to the south of Alexandria there had been a flourishing Jewish community on the island of Elephantine[24] in the Nile, for several centuries. Some believe that the settlement can be dated to the time of Shishaq (or

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21. Alexandria was founded in 331 BCE. There is a legend describing Alexander's good treatment of the Jews as stemming from a dream he had concerning a man whom he subsequently recognized as the priest of the Temple in Jerusalem. In the dream, the priest had encouraged him concerning his conquest of Asia. (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.317-345.) Stylistically, the legend has many earmarks of Alexandrian fantasy. See discussion of Alexandrian literary style below, p. 11.
22. Charles Duke Yonge, *The Works of Philo Judaeus The contemporary of Josephus*, *translated from the Greek* (London, H. G. Bohn, 1854-1890), on-line, *http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/yonge/index.html*, cited by *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Jews_in_Egypt#Ptolemaic_and_Roman_.28400_BC_to_641_AD.29*
23. It is interesting to note that the *Letter of Aristeas* mentions the ransoming of Jewish slaves by Ptolemy as one of the author's first orders of business, before he relates how he delivered the royal invitation to sages from Jerusalem to translate Jewish texts. (See *Letter,* sections 12-27.)
24. "The origin of this Jewish colony is problematic, though it is now generally accepted that it was part of the large-scale immigration into Egypt that began under Necho I in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (ca. 672–664 BCE.)", *http://www.iranica.com/articles/v8f4/v8f408.html.* See also *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elephantine_papyri.* Elephantine is on an island near modern Aswan.

Shashanq[25]), the tenth-century Pharaoh who had protected Jereboam during the reign of King Solomon. When, after the death of Solomon, in the fifth year of Reheboam's reign[26] (926-917 BCE), Shishaq invaded Jerusalem and plundered the Temple, he is thought to have carried off captives and settled them in Elephantine[27]. A few centuries later, under the reign of King Manasseh (around 650 BCE), Jews fought as mercenaries for Psammetichus I (664-610 BCE) against Ethiopia. Elephantine may have been made a military installation at that time[28]. In the next century, according to evidence in the Book of Jeremiah (44:1), Jews fled to Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph and Pathros after the death of Gedaliah (586 BCE). At that time, when most Jews were sent into exile in Babylonia, some, dragging the prophet Jeremiah with them, fled to Egypt (Jer. 43:6) [29]. Thus, there was an established community in Upper Egypt that attracted some Jews even during the Persian period, although Cyrus the Great declared that Jews might return to their homeland[30].

One of the most surprising features of the Jewish settlement in Elephantine was its Temple. This was a fully functioning institution complete with priesthood, sacrifices, and a system of mandatory tithing. The construction of the Elephantine temple took place either in the mid-seventh century, contemporary with the reign of King Manasseh of Judah or during the late seventh, early sixth centuries, during the reign of King Jehoiakim. Thus, it predated the Josianic reforms (621 BCE) which would have condemned it out of hand as a "high place" in competition with the Temple in Jerusalem. The Elephantine Temple continued to function after the

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25. *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shishaq; http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tipd/hd_tipd.htm*
26. See 1 Kings 14:25ff and 2 Chronicles 12:2ff.
27. This is not the only parallel to the history of the Jewish community at Alexandria. The tragic ends of the communities are also reminiscent of one another. This will be discussed below.
28. *http://www.bh.org.il/Communities/Archive/egypt.asp*
29. *http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Jewish+History/3 760+BCE+79+CE/Suppression+of+Judah+to+Syrus+defeat.htm.* According to the timeline on this website, that Jewish settlement took root between 585 and 582 BCE.
30. *cf.* Ezra 1:1

destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 586 BCE and even after the building of the second Temple in about 515 BCE. As Joseph Modrzejewski points out, during that time, it was "the only place in the world where Jewish sacrificial worship was practiced. In a manner of speaking, Elephantine had temporarily replaced Jerusalem."[31]

In the fifth century BCE, there was a sudden surge of Egyptian "nationalism" as the native population sought to throw off the yoke of Persian rule. In the midst of the turmoil, the Egyptian community nearest the Jewish enclave at Elephantine lashed out at Jewish practice and sacked the temple. Ostensibly, the animal sacrifice practiced there was abhorrent to the Egyptians whose Temple to Khnum, a divinity represented by a ram, was in the same environs as the Jewish temple. The Jews protested to the local satrap and, while he did not give permission to rebuild the temple, he was able to quell the rebellion. In a politically savvy move, the Jewish community at Elephantine then sent a petition to the satrap of Judah and to the civic governor of Samaria, appealing to them to grant permission for this most ancient institution to be rebuilt. The appeal worked. However, either as a matter of respect for the Jerusalem priesthood or out of concern lest there be a resurgence of violence instigated by the worshipers of Khnum, the authorities did not grant permission for the sacrifice of animals. In about 406 BCE the Temple at Elephantine was reconsecrated. However, the Egyptian rebellion reignited shortly after this and slightly after 401 BCE, the entire Jewish population of Elephantine was destroyed[32].

Although the settlement at Elephantine was older, the Alexandrian community was more cosmopolitan. Located near the seat of government, and near

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31. Joseph Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, Robert Cornman, tr. (Philadelphia and Jerusalem, JPS, 1995), p. 36
32. *Ibid.,* pp. 39-43. The pattern of civic service, settlement, accommodation or assimilation, flourishing, and sudden destruction prefigures not only the history of the Jews in Alexandria but elsewhere.

the remarkable Library[33], the Jewish citizens of Alexandria were familiar with the culture and shared the pride of the sophisticated majority. There is a tradition attributed to Aristobulus (second century BCE) and preserved in Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius (later Christian sources), that Alexandrian Jews believed that a very old Greek translation of parts of the Torah had existed and had exerted influence on the philosophical thought of Plato (428/7-348/7 BCE)[34]. It is possible that this sense of pride colored the legends of the composition of the Septuagint.

SEPTUAGINT: THE LEGEND

There are three primary Greek sources that describe the creation of this, the earliest known Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, produced after the conquests of Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE): the *Letter of Aristeas* (purportedly second half of third century BCE but "presumably written in the middle or near the end of the second century"[35]), a reference in Aristobulus, and some citations in Philo.

By far the most important source concerning the origin of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch is the *Letter of Aristeas*[36]. The *Letter* has been considered of spurious authenticity and even a literary forgery for over four and a half centuries. According to Swete, Ludovicus de Vives (1522) first cast doubt on its genuineness. It was Humphry Hody (1684) who was able to show convincingly that the letter was not by a contemporary of Philadelphus[37]. However, there are

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33. Established during the reign of Ptolemy I but expanded by his successor who was said to be an intellectual giant and connoisseur of all fields of knowledge. He was not above forcefully appropriating manuscripts from travelers and having them hastily copied for his collection. He is said to have returned the copies and kept the originals!
34. See discussion on Aristobulus below, p. 14 ff.
35. Modrzejewski, *op. cit.,* p. 121
36. The complete Greek text is reprinted in Swete, op. cit. The English translation is that of R.H. Charles, editor and translator, *The Letter Of Aristeas* (Oxford at The Clarendon Press, 1913). Hereafter, references will be to the *Letter*.
37. Swete, *op. cit.,* p. 15. But it is the sense of scholars today that the harsh language used to describe "Aristeas" and his letter reveals a misunderstanding of Alexandrian literature. See, e.g., Sylvie Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (Oxford, Routledge, 2003), p. 68 *et passim*. The *Letter* was never intended as an historical document in the modern sense, but Swete does find some historicity in it.

some elements in the work that can add to our understanding of the translation and its significance to the Alexandrian community.

The *Letter* is purportedly written by a philo-Jewish Alexandrian official at the court of Ptolemy II to the author's brother, Philocrates, in which he describes his role in the arrangements made for a delegation of Jewish notables from Jerusalem to visit Alexandria in order to create and present a Greek translation of the Torah to Ptolemy's famous Library and to the people of the Alexandrian Jewish community.

The *Letter* is a wonderful example of Alexandrian Greek literary style[38]. Indeed, the use of first person narrative is a standard technique of Greek historiography and, embraced by Alexandrian authors, is used to convey not the historicity of the material but its truth value[39]. The *Letter*, as Orlinsky shows, was meant to gain for the Septuagint "the same sanctity and authority long held by the Hebrew original; in a word, to certify the divine origin of the Septuagint, to declare it canonical."[40] Although there are anachronisms, these should not be read as carelessly included by a misinformed fraud, but rather as a trademark of Alexandrian literature, used to mark a work as fiction to the knowledgeable elite while not detracting from the edification and enjoyment of *hoi polloi,* the common people[41].

Two conspicuous anachronisms are (1) the inclusion of Demetrius as the influential librarian at the time of Ptolemy II and (2) the prominence afforded the 72-man delegation as representatives of the 12 Tribes, six from each tribe.

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38. All its Alexandrian elements from its use of documents to its *ekphrasis* on the gifts, to its symposium are described by George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times," in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (Assen, Philadelphia, van Gorcum, Fortress Press), chapter 2, pp. 33-87
39. Honigman, *op. cit.,* p. 68
40. Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint and its Hebrew Text," *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, Davies, W.D. and Finkelstein, L., edds.(Cambridge at the University Press), ch. 15, p. 540. Hereafter: *Cambridge.*
41. This is an idea presented by Rabbi Robert Fine in his Antiquities class, AJR Spring 2004.

Demetrius had been the Chief Librarian at Alexandria during the reign of the *first* Ptolemy, but had fallen from favor and been retired--if not murdered--by Ptolemy II. It is likely that Demetrius' well-known name would have afforded a flavor of authenticity to the story. The more significant anachronism was the suggestion that the High Priest Eleazar chose six sages from each of the twelve tribes for the delegation. As Orlinsky points out, the tribes no longer existed as such at that time[42]. Aristeas uses both the contemporary authority of the high priesthood and the ancient authority of the tribes and their elders to confer legitimacy on the Greek translation of the Torah.

An added measure of acceptability comes from the name of the work: The *Translation of the 70 Men/Elders*[43]. For years scholars and commentators ignored or misunderstood the significance of this title, considering it some sort of rounding out of the number of translators from 72 down to 70. But, as Orlinsky points out, 72 is never otherwise treated[44]. Both 72 and 70 are significant numbers. Of this, the author of the *Letter* was aware. There were seventy elders who, in Exodus 24:1, were to accompany Moses and Aaron, Nadav and Abihu when Moses was to receive the tablets of the Law. There were seventy other elders who, in Numbers 11:16-17, were chosen to receive some of Moses' prophetic powers and to help him minister to the people (a different system from the one proposed by Yitro in Exodus 18:21-26)[45]. Thus the number 70 had a special association for Jews. Calling the Greek translation of the Torah "The Translation of the Seventy Elders" improved its pedigree.

Orlinsky points out several other ways in which the author of the *Letter*

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42. *Cambridge, op. cit.*, p. 540
43. In Latin: *Interpretatio septuaginta virorum* (or: *seniorum*)
44. *Cambridge, op. cit.*, p. 539
45. Rashi (on Num. 11:26) suggests that Moses would have wanted six from each tribe, (much like Aristeas!) but understood that there could be only 70 *in toto*. He asked the tribes to draw lots to ascertain which two men were not designated to receive the prophetic powers. Eldad and Medad modestly bowed out.

builds a case for the sanctity of the translation. The author uses language reminiscent of that in Exodus 24:3 and Nehemiah 8:1-6 to describe the acclamation accompanying the acceptance of the Law as official and binding. He has the Alexandrian Jewish community reflect the sentiment of Deuteronomy 4:1-2 that the sacred words are not to be added to or taken away from[46]. Thus, that community resembles the original people at Sinai, and the 72 elders carry with them a gift of inspiration akin to that infused into the 70 at Sinai. In this instance, however, the elders are more important. They stand in the place once held by Moses in relationship with God insofar as they, as translators, were the ones who brought the words to the people[47]. Numerically and by careful designation, they represent all the tribes, all the people of Israel. In esteem, they are the equivalent of those chosen to share Moses' spirit. Their symbolic power is enormous. In an age when prophecy had been declared to be at an end, in a city far from Jerusalem[48], the words of Torah took on new life.

Most scholars accept Hody's appraisal that the author of the *Letter* was not a contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelpus. Indeed, it seems most likely that the author of the *Letter* (who, it is widely agreed, was a Jew and not an Egyptian courtier) was roughly contemporary with Aristobulus, a prominent Alexandrian Jewish scholar[49] who wrote about a century after the alleged date of the *Letter*.

Aristobulus' work, a commentary on the Pentateuch, was the first real

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46. *Letter,* section 310.

47. Here one should also consider the words of Megillah 9a cited above: *HaKadosh Baruch Hu placed counsel into the heart of each one* נתן הקדוש ברוך הוא בלב כל אחד ואחד עצה

48. Modrzejewski, *op. cit., p. 121* suggests that the prominence of the elders serves to strengthen the ties between Alexandria and Jerusalem at a time when the Ptolemies had lost their control of the latter.

49. Tcherikover suggests that he was Ptolemy Philometor's "counselor for Jewish affairs," (in Modrzejewski, *op. cit., p. 121*). Arnaldo Momigliano insists that Aristobulus preceded Aristeas. "Aristobulus was...the first to give authority to the tradition that the LXX translation was due to the initiative of Ptolemy Philadelphus and his adviser Demetrius Phalereus. He almost certainly wrote his book, which was dedicated to Ptolemy Philometor, before the publication of the *Letter of Aristeas* and may indeed have inspired it." Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 116. The possibility of the two working in concourse for a greater purpose is also intriguing, but beyond the scope of this work.

evidence of the intellectual impact of Greek philosophy on Alexandrian Jewry. According to the Oxford Classical Dictionary, Aristobulus interpreted the Pentateuch "in an allegorical fashion...to show that Homer and Hesiod, the Orphic writings, Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle had borrowed freely from a supposed early translation of the OT into Greek."[50] If there was a translation available, as Modrzejewski suggests[51], themes and ideas could certainly have been shared. But according to Victor Tcherikover[52], there was a lack of interest in Judaeo-Alexandrian writings on the part of Greek and pagan intellectuals. The author of the *Letter* and Aristobulus may have been writing to their own community to enhance the prestige of their own, now somewhat Hellenized heritage.

Although the works of Aristobulus are only extant in fragments, pertinent citations are preserved in the respectful work of Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica*[53]. Aristobulus is known to have explained some of the anthropomorphisms in the Pentateuch metaphorically in order to decrease the distance between the Jewish material and Greek philosophy[54]. Eusebius[55] presents Aristobolus' explanation of anthropomorphic language in the following letter by

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50. M. Cary, J. D. Denniston, J. Wight Duff, et al., edd., *sv.* "Aristobulus (2)," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 91.
51. Modrzejewski, *op. cit.,* p. 121. To show that Aristobulus' claim is not mere boasting, Modrzejewski adduces Oxyrhynchos papyrus XLI 2944 which contains a Greek version of the *Judgment of Solomon* similar to that in I Kings 3:16-28, dating from "prior to the death of Plato". While it is not a full biblical translation, it would have been available to the Greek authors.
52. As cited in Modrzejewski, *op. cit.,* p. 67; and *cf.* Momigliano, *op. cit.,* p. 76.
53. E. H. Gifford, *EusebiiI Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis , Libri XV* (Oxford at the University Press, 1903), vol. 3, part 1, published on the web by Roger Pearse, (*http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_pe_00_eintro.htm).* The Greek text for Aristobulus is *The Online Critical Pseudepigrapha (http://www.purl.org/net/ocp).* In this collection, it is possible to read Aristobulus' preserved citations of some of the Classical authors whose works he believes were influenced by pre-Septuagint Greek translations of Hebrew originals.
54. For the purposes of this thesis, this fact is quite suggestive. For, if Aristobulus found it necessary to explain anthropomorphisms, it stands to reason that his text, which would have been available for anyone in Alexandria, *did not lack those anthropomorphisms.* The claim of Charles T. Fritsch that the translators of the LXX sought to avoid anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms is thus weakened.
55. Eusebius *Evangelicae Praeparationis,* 8:10.1-3; 7-9. The wording of the Biblical citations differs slightly from Rahlfs' Septuagint text, as is to be expected. All translations of Eusebius are by E. H. Gifford, *op. cit.*

Aristobulus to Ptolemy Philometor who had been questioning him (emphasis added):

> 'WHEN, however, we had said enough in answer to the questions put before us, you also, O king, did further demand, **why by our law there are intimations given of hands, and arm, and face, and feet, and walking, in the case of the Divine Power:** which things shall receive a becoming explanation, and will not at all contradict the opinions which we have previously expressed.
>
> 'But I would entreat you to **take the interpretations in a natural way**, and to **hold fast the fitting conception of God,** and **not to fall off into the idea of a fabulous anthropomorphic constitution.**
>
> 'For our lawgiver Moses, when he wishes to **express his meaning in various ways**, announces certain arrangements of nature and preparations for mighty deeds, by **adopting phrases applicable to other things**, I mean to things outward and visible...
> ..'First then the word **"hands"** evidently has, even in our own case, a more **general meaning.** For when you as a king send out forces, wishing to accomplish some purpose, we say, The king has a mighty hand, and the hearers' thoughts are carried to the power which you possess.
> 'Now this is what Moses also signifies in our Law, when he speaks thus : "God brought thee forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand"; and again: "I will put forth My hand," saith God, "and will smite the Egyptians."

Whether or not he wrote primarily for Jews[56], Aristobulus either referred to *The Letter of Aristeas* in a letter of his own to Ptolemy VII Philometor (182-146 BCE), a descendant of Aristeas' Ptolemy Philadelphus[57], or he knew the story

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56. Aristobulus' discomfort with the anthropomorphisms of the text is a feeling expressed over the centuries when Jews live in areas pervaded by Greek culture. There is a desire to show that our sacred scriptures partake of that admirable rationalism demonstrated by Greek philosophers and are, therefore, worthy of their attention. There is not much evidence that the Greeks did pay attention. But the insecurity may have given "permission" to other groups to challenge the Hebrew texts with lack of sophistication. This attitude may be at the root of Fritsch's research!

57. The citation is preserved by Eusebius *Evangelicae Praeparationis,* 9.6 where Aristobulus' words are given as preserved in Clement's otherwise lost *Stromata*.

independently. The following is preserved in Eusebius[58] (emphasis added):

> "For others before Demetrius Phalereus, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the exodus of the Hebrews our fellow countrymen from Egypt, and the fame of all that had happened to them, and the conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law; so that it is manifest that many things have been borrowed by the aforesaid philosopher, for he is very learned: as also Pythagoras transferred many of our precepts and inserted them in his own system of doctrines.
>
> '**But the entire translation of all the contents of our law was made in the time of the king surnamed Philadelphus, thy ancestor, who brought greater zeal to the work, which was managed by Demetrius Phalereus**.'

Such a reference would have made sense only if Ptolemy was aware of the LXX and its royal sponsorship. There is some evidence that Ptolemy would have been aware of the LXX. This evidence accords well with the history of the Jews in Egypt.

After the destruction of the colony at Elephantine, Jews did not have a good reason to remain in upper Egypt. However, the advantages of life in Alexandria under Ptolemy I attracted Jewish settlers[59]. According to a tradition stemming from Hecataeus (4th century BCE) and repeated in Josephus' *Contra Apionem* (I, 183-189), after the Ptolemaic victory in the third war of the Diadochi[60](312 BCE), there arrived in Alexandria "a Jewish high priest" accompanied by a number of followers and, more significantly, carrying with them a Torah scroll[61]. The priest, Ezekias, read from the scroll, like Ezra at the Watergate (Neh. 8:1ff.) or like Josiah

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58. Eusebius *Evangelicae Praeparationis,* 13.12
59. See discussion of status of Alexandrian Jews, above p. 7.
60. After the death of Alexander the Great, his successors struggled for power over the segments of his empire. These were the Wars of the Diadochi. As a result of this war, Ptolemy became master of Syria.
61. As Modrzejewski points out (*op. cit.,* p. 99), this was "the Law, the Torah of Moses in the form that Ezra had established a century earlier."

upon the discovery of the Book of Deuteronomy (II Chron. 34:29ff.). But the people of Alexandria, even if moved, did not thoroughly understand the Hebrew even then. Certainly, an independent motive existed for the creation of the Greek translation of the Torah. The ruler of the region, having been involved in a decades-long struggle for control of the area would have seen the advantage of obtaining a translation of the law code governing the people who made up a large and somewhat *sui generis* segment of his population.

It appears that under Ptolemy II , a Greek translation of an *Egyptian* legal compendium was undertaken for a similar purpose. Modrzejewski suggests that there was a like interest in and need for a translation of the law of the Jews[62]. (There is even a hint of this need in the *Letter*. In that text, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his capacity of Chief Librarian, but evidently drawing on his expertise as former Athenian statesman and legal reformer, pointed out to Ptolemy that the Jewish law code would have to be translated into Greek to be understandable.) Although it was often the practice of the heirs of Alexander to encourage officials to subsume local laws under a growing Greek "common law", Modrzejewski suggests that "the Ptolemies did not strive to unify the legal rules throughout the kingdom."[63] Ptolemy II was himself the originator of a method of administering justice throughout his realm that depended on royal judges assigned to each nome as the permanent authority in legal matters for the nationality of their populace. This respect for ancestral law had been afforded to Jews under rulers as different as Artaxerxes, Alexander and Antiochus III. But, there needed to be texts available in the native language of the governed and the official Greek of the empire to assure that a litigant might expect the application of rule of law in his case. Clearly, Ptolemy Philometor would have been aware of the law code of the Jews, the

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62. *Ibid.,* p. 99 ff., especially ch. 5, "A Law for the Jews of Egypt"
63. *Ibid.,* p. 107

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Septuagint, referred to by Aristobulus. Just as clearly, this Ptolemy, living in close proximity to the multiple Jewish sections of Alexandria, would have noticed the esteem in which the text was held by the citizenry.

The third principle source, Philo of Alexandria, who quotes extensively from many of the books of the Greek Bible, brings information of a yearly celebration of the completion of the translation. Although the *Letter* mentions that when the work was read to them, the people acclaimed both the translators and the translation[64], there is no mention of any festivities to mark the occasion. But Philo describes a festival attended by Jews and all other people of the community, held yearly even in his day, on the island of Pharos, connected to the city by a magnificent causeway, the Heptastadion. Thus, Philo's report is independent evidence of the importance of the Septuagint in the life of the Alexandrian Jewish community[65]. Philo also contributes a detail about the 72 scholars that differs slightly from the *Letter* but bears out what we have seen in the Talmudic account of Megillah 9a: his scholars are sequestered apart from one another and produce identical results[66].

It is this combination of documented fact and impossible fantasy that has been misunderstood by centuries of scholars, even as early as St. Jerome (342-419 CE). What they failed to understand was that these earlier Alexandrian authors were using literary conventions to establish the primacy of the Septuagint translation. According to Honigman,

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64. *Letter*, sections 308-310
65. It is unfortunate that we do not know when the celebration began. Since neither the *Letter* nor Aristobulus mentions it, it is possible that it began not after the initial translation was completed but after the importance of the translation became clear. Recognition of the importance was fostered by the works of the author of the *Letter* and by Aristobulus.
66. His version of the legend is most similar to that preserved in the Church Fathers (2nd century CE). According to Swete, (*op. cit.* p. 14) the rather unlikely occurrence of 72 identical translations emerging without communication made St. Jerome reject the usefulness of the Septuagint text as being not a translation but a result of prophecy! Honigman, *op. cit.,* p. 119, suggests that the collaboration pointed out in the *Letter* gives the document the type of authority that would be given a contemporary edition produced by the scholars at the Library of Alexandria.

> "the narrative paradigms in which the author cast his account are crucial in conveying meaning to the story told in B[ook of] Ar[isteas]. Such a resort to a literary pattern rather than to explicit exposition in order to convey meaning is somewhat reminiscent of the characteristics of traditional mythtelling. The use of this methodology by the author of B. Ar. strongly suggests that in informing his account with narrative paradigms, his purpose in writing B. Ar. was more than the immortalization of a past event by relating its story. The intent was to *transfigure* it."[67]

The conclusion that one must draw is that the Septuagint was not considered sacred at the actual time of its creation or it would not have needed the very strong push from the later *Letter* or from Aristobulus. It is not unusual for a contemporary work to be held in lower esteem than something of more remote vintage. It is likely that the translation became more and more familiar to the Jews of Alexandria over time[68] and that it thus gradually picked up the luster that is the reward of long acquaintance.

The Talmud, on the other hand, expresses what can only be termed ambivalence about the Septuagint. The passage from Megillah 9a mentioned above is closest to neutral. It shows familiarity with a version of the legend of the quasi-miraculous translation (or possibly with the *Letter* itself). But two other sources are not neutral. The notice in Megillat Ta'anit, an ancient pre-Mishnaic scroll of the holidays, declares a fast[69] because

בשמונה בטבת נכתבה התורה יונית בימי תלמי המלך

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67. *Ibid.,* p. 37. Notice the similarity between this author's premise and that of Orlinsky in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. The latter points out the Jewish themes that elevate the work; the former highlights the scholarly methods employed by the Alexandrians of the Library. Both methods were necessary to transfigure the work in the eyes of the sophisticated Alexandrian Jewish community.
68. It was cited by Demetrius the Chronographer (not the same as the Demetrius in the *Letter*), active during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-04) although it is not clear who his audience might have been.
69. This fast is still observed by some Orthodox Jews on the tenth of Tevet, the culmination of three days of terrible events beginning with the completion of the Septuagint on the eighth of the month.

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והחושך בא לעולם שלשת ימים

</div>

on the eighth of Tevet, during the rule of King Ptolemy, the Torah
was written in Greek, and darkness fell on the world for three
days.

Masekhet Soferim 1:7-8 presents a similar opinion but gives an explanation.
It also repeats the material from Megillah 9a and from Masekhet Sefer Torah:

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מעשה בה' זקנים שכתבו לתלמי המלך את התורה יונית והיה
היום קשה לישראל כיום שנעשה העגל שלא היתה התורה יכולה
להתרגם כל צרכה   שוב מעשה בתלמי המלך שכנס ע"ב זקנים
והושיבם בשבעים ושנים בתים ולא גלה להם על מה כנסם נכנס
לכל אחד ואחד מהם אמר להם כתבו לי תורת משה רבכם נתן
המקום עצה בלב כל אחד ואחד והסכימה דעתן לדעת אחת
וכתבו לו תורה בפני עצמה וי"ג דבר שינו בה

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Once there were five elders who wrote the Torah in Greek for King
Ptolemy, and that day was as hard for Israel as the day the golden calf
was made, for the Torah could in no way be translated adequately.
According to another story, King Ptolemy gathered together seventy-two
elders and placed them into seventy-two houses, without revealing to
them why he had summoned them. Then he went to each and every one
of them and told them to write for him the Torah of Moses your
Teacher; the Omnipresent put wisdom into the heart of each one of
them, so that they became all of one mind and wrote him the Torah
itself, making thirteen changes[70].

Masekhet Soferim was edited rather late; according to Strack and
Stemberger, it cannot be dated earlier than the mid-eighth century[71]. However,
they point out that parts of the material may be from earlier traditions[72]. The
reading "five elders", as Orlinsky points out, "derives from nothing more than a

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70. Translated by Aryeh Reich, *The Greek Bible – Light or Darkness?*, (Bar Ilan University's Parashat Hashavua
Study Center, http://www.biu.ac.il/JH/Parasha/eng/vayigash/rei.html)

71. H. L. Strack and Gunter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash,* translated and edited by Markus
Bockmuehl, (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1996,. 2nd printing), p. 228

72. *Ibid*., pp. 54-55. Unattributed statements may be calculated as either very early opinions that are undisputed or
very late statements by modest scholars chary of setting their names alongside the former greats.

scribal corruption; a scribe misread a reading b^e-ha-z^eqenim ('the elders') as b^ehe z^eqenim ('the five elders'; the letter *he* being construed as representing the number 'five')."[73] The reference to the 72 scholars placed in 72 houses clearly reflects material in Megillah 9a[74].

There is, however, a strong philhellenic tradition to be found farther along in Megillah 9b:

רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר אף בספרים לא התירו
שיכתבו אלא יונית אמר רבי אבהו אמר רבי יוחנן הלכה
כרבן שמעון בן גמליאל ואמר רבי יוחנן מאי טעמא
דרבן שמעון בן גמליאל אמר קרא יפת אלהים ליפת
וישכן באהלי שם דבריו של יפת יהיו באהלי שם ואימא
גומר ומגוג אמר רבי חייא בר אבא היינו טעמא דכתיב
יפת אלהים ליפת יפיותו של יפת יהא באהלי שם

> R. Simeon ben Gamaliel says, "In addition, regarding [the other] books [of Tanakh], they allow that they be translated only into Greek." Rabbi Abahu said that Rabbi Yochanan said, "The halachah is like R. Simeon b. Gamaliel." And Rabbi Yochanan said, "What is R. Simeon b. Gamaliel's reason? The Bible said 'May God broaden Yaphat that he might dwell in the tents of Shem.' May Yaphet's words be in the tents of Shem." Why not say, rather 'Gomer['s words] and Magog['s tents]'? Rabbi Chiyya bar Abba: "This is the reason: because it is written 'May God broaden Yaphet'--may Yaphet's beauty (*y'phiuto*) be in the tents of Shem."

Simeon b. Gamaliel, father of Yehudah haNasi, was, according to Alfred Kolatch[75], learned in Greek philosophy and passed the training to some of his children. This characteristic was shared by Abahu[76], whose relationship with the

73. Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint and its Hebrew Text," *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, Davies, W.D. and Finkelstein, L., edd.(Cambridge at the University Press), ch. 15, p. 539, n. 2.
74. The wording differs only minimally. For convenience, see above, p. 5
75. Alfred J. Kolatch, *Masters of the Talmud, Their Lives and Views* (Middle Village, New York, Jonathan David Publishers, Inc. 2003), pp. 353-4
76. *Ibid.,* p. 94

authorities was such that he was able to effect the annulling of some harsh anti-Jewish legislation. They saw the use of Greek to translate *Tanakh* as in keeping with the biblical verse from Genesis 9:27 that hinted at the peaceable relationship that might grow between the progenitors of the Greek and Jewish peoples[77]. But these sages may have been reacting to the translation of sacred texts by Jewish scholars such as Aquila, student of Rabbi Akiva. After all, Simeon b. Gamaliel was a second century Palestinian Tanna who survived persecution by going into hiding during the times of terror that cost Akiva his life. His approval for the Greek translation, marked by its being linked to a prooftext, may have served the same purpose for Aquila's work as the *Letter* served for the translation of the Torah.

Was there a political motive prompting the author of the *Letter* to seek to transfigure the Greek translation into something more than an aid to understanding? What might have prompted Aristobulus to allude to what was familiar as a legal text in terms suggesting it as sacred literature and as a literature replete with links to Greek philosophy?

It is possible that the author of the *Letter* and Aristobulus were both active at about the time when Antiochus IV Epiphanes (215-164 BCE) fought Egypt and then turned his attention to Judaea. Is there an implied criticism of the actions of the Seleucid oppressor in the high praise bestowed on Ptolemy Philadelphus for liberating "no less than 100,000 [Jewish slaves]" [78]? Does the elevation of the importance and legitimacy of the Septuagint have a connection with the building of the Temple in Leontopolis by Onias IV, priest-in-exile from Jerusalem? Are these actions, taken together, a statement of the Alexandrian Diaspora's independence from the tainted authority of the

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77. יַפְתְּ אֱלֹהִים לְיֶפֶת וְיִשְׁכֹּן בְּאָהֳלֵי־שֵׁם May God broaden Yaphet, And let him dwell in the tents of Shem.
78. *Letter,* section 19

Hasmoneans? Full discussion of these questions is beyond the scope of this paper.

THE FATE OF ALEXANDRIAN JEWRY

The focus of this paper turns to the end of the splendid community of proud Diaspora Jews in Alexandria and to the fate of the Septuagint. It is because of the nature of the rescue of the text, considered sacred at least since Maccabean times, that there could have ever been controversies about anthropomorphism or word use or authenticity of the text. The holy Jewish-Greek scrolls were just about the only things saved from the terrible slaughter of the Alexandrian community. They were smuggled out of the conflagration by early Christians who were able to escape the murderous frenzy attendant upon the revolt of 115-117 CE.

That revolt had been brewing at least since the decree of Augustus Casear in 30 BCE that revoked the privileged status of Jews in Egypt that had been granted by Alexander the Great and all rulers subsequent to him. The Jews outside of Alexandria found themselves subject to a *capitatio*, a head tax, which had been created to draw a distinction between true Greek citizens and mere Egyptians. Jews, accustomed to identifying themselves as Hellenes and disassociating themselves from the Egyptian natives, suffered a painful loss of personal status and sense of security[79]. The resentment constantly clawing at the Egyptians and the Greek citizens vis-a-vis Jews began to manifest itself. According to Josephus, "the numerous punishments inflicted daily on the rioters

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79. The loss of status was thrown into the face of the community not only by local adversaries but by the Emperor Claudius in a decree dated 41 CE, warning that hostilities must stop. In that decree was a dark warning that Jews were under suspicion of planned sedition through welcoming in 'fellow travelers' from Syria and the Egyptian countryside. Although the unwanted characters alluded to by Claudius were probably early Christians, when trouble did come, it came from some of those locales.

of both parties by the authorities only served to embitter the quarrel."[80]

With hostilities building under each successive emperor and governor, it was a relatively light thing for Flaccus, the Roman governor in the late 30's CE to set the Greeks and Egyptian citizenry of Alexandria against the Jews in the city. When the latter refused to place statues of Caligula in their synagogues, Flaccus, trying to show himself valuable to the mad ruler, proclaimed them "foreigners" at the mercy of all. The mob rose to the occasion, as Philo describes in his bitter invective *Against Flaccus*[81].

After the fall of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 and the defeat of the fighters on Masada in 73, it is believed that some insurgents escaped to Egypt where they began to stir up a passion for revenge. To quell the rebellion before it could ignite, Vespasian ordered the Egyptian prefect, Tiberius Julius Lupus, to tear down the Temple of Onias in Leontopolis. Although recognizing that this Temple was a reminder of days of glory and independence for the Jews, Lupus at first merely shut the Temple's doors lest it become a rallying point for further unrest[82]. Within a year, his replacement closed the site permanently.

Anger, shame and frustration were not so easily banished. Great resentment was resident among the Jews of Egypt not only because of the loss of two Temples but because of the earlier loss of status and security mentioned above. Thus, the uprising that began in 115 CE among Jews in Cyrenaica on the

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80. Josephus, *Jewish War* 2, 451-89. Cited in Modrzejewski, *op. cit.,* p. 165.

81. One may find echoes of his description of the ensuing carnage and horrors in the savagery depicted in אלה אזכרה of the High Holy Days liturgy. Even if one removes the impassioned and inciting language, the bottom line is the same: אלה אזכרה ונפשי עלי אשפכה, כי בלעונו זדים "These things I remember as I pour out my heart: How the wicked have devoured us." (translation from *Gates of Repentance: The New Union Prayerbook for the Days of Awe,* (New York, CCAR Press, 1978.)

82. Bernard M. Zlotowitz (personal communication) is struck by the similarity between the Roman official's action in this incident and that of the German police chief of Berlin, Wilhelm Krutzfeld, who, in the face of Nazi rioting on Krystallnacht, forbade the torching of the historic synagogue in the city. A number of years ago, a plaque in memory of this brave man was placed at the site of the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue by a delegation from the New York City Police Department.

eastern coast of Libya spread with great rapidity to Egypt and Cyprus. Some say the desperate Jews of Cyrene planned to interfere with the Roman corn supply grown and exported from Egypt. Others suggest that the revolt was due to messianic or apocalyptic fervor spread by Zealots fleeing from Judaea. But others see the hostilities as a continuation of the deteriorating relations between Jews, Greeks and Egyptians. The Emperor Trajan, suspecting that Mesopotamian Jews would rise, too, directed that they be "cleaned out of the province[83]." Jews faced not only heavily armed Roman soldiers, but infuriated mobs of Greek and Egyptians and their slaves, hungry for plunder and out for blood. When the dust and ashes settled, when the tens of thousands had fallen after two full years of war, there were no Jews left in Alexandria.

The words of the ancient Stele of Merneptah rise up from the sands,

"Israel lies waste, his seed is no more."

THE FATAL OR FATEFUL RESCUE OF THE SEPTUAGINT

But our seed had been planted deep and an offshoot emerged, clinging to the Septuagint as the ancient stock had clung to the Torah. The Alexandrian Christians fled and did not return until several decades had passed. By that time, Christianity had taken hold in most of the Mediterranean, in the East and in parts of Europe and Africa. Copy upon copy of the sacred text had to be made and changes began to creep in. At the same time, despite upheavals in Judaea that left Jerusalem in ruins, a new Greek translation was made by Aquila from the now-fixed Hebrew text possibly[84] using exegetical translation methods approved by Rabbi Akiva. Just a few years later, between 170 and 200 CE, another Jewish translation was

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83. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4, 2, 1-2 ed. K Lake, cited in Modrzejewski, *op. cit.,* p. 198.
84. See, e.g., Strack and Stemberger, *op. cit*., p. 73. They reference D. Barthelemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila,* (Leiden, 1963), who shows the similarity of method. They also reference the opposing view of L. L. Grabbe, "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis", *JJS* vol. 33 (1982) pp. 527-36

undertaken. This one, by Symmachus for the Caesarean community, is described as combining "the best Biblical Greek style, remarkable clarity, a high degree of accuracy regarding the Hebrew, and the rabbinic exegesis of his day: it might be described as a Greek Targum, or Tannaitic Septuagint."[85] Slightly later than these was the translation of Theodotion who is believed to have been a convert to Judaism from Ephesus, a city in Anatolia. He, too, probably based his work on a Hebrew exemplar, bringing the existing Greek translation into line with the new fixed text. The Three, as these scholars were known, produced translations that differed in substance and in method from the text of the Septuagint.

Revisions and copies proliferated very rapidly. Some time in the third century, Origen set out to categorize and display the differences to be found among the main translations of the times. His Hexapla was a six-columned comparison of the text of the Hebrew Bible as it existed in his day (a version that differed from the one that would have been used for the original Septuagint Pentateuch), those of the Three, and that of the Septuagint. Scholars do not agree as to whether that column contained the standard Septuagint text as it existed in Origen's day or whether he used that column to correct the Septuagint in order to bring it into line with the "new" Hebrew text. The remaining column contained a transliterated Hebrew text which may have been a pronunciation guide for those not fluent in Hebrew. Had that work been widely available, perhaps the devastating disputations that took place over the centuries would have been forestalled. For, in some cases, a glance would have shown that the argument rested on a reading present in one version but not in another. However, the work, when it was finished, stretched some 6,000 pages bound into about 15 volumes. It was probably never copied in

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85. Alison Salvesen, "Symmachus in the Pentateuch," *Journal of Semitic Studies,* Monograph 15 (Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 1991), pp. 296-7, as cited in Karen Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic 2000), p. 40

full. It was consulted, however, as references to its contents exist in the works of other scholars.

Jobes and Silva point out the complexity of tracing the history of the Greek Bible. What emerges from their clearly written book is that we do not have the text of the Septuagint that was hailed by the Alexandrians so long ago and we do not have the Hebrew *Vorlage* of that translation. We have a composite text that has gone through many recensions and accidental changes. Those whose research includes searching for manifestations of the translators' ideological or cultural outlook have an excruciatingly difficult task. The conclusion that the authors reach is

> Although it may seem natural to expect the LXX to reflect theological perspectives, one must always remember that the people who produced the Greek texts were translators. They had the well-defined task of producing a translation of an existing text, the Hebrew Scripture, not of writing a treatise on the eschatology of their day.
> While each translator probably did have a certain messianic concept and view of the afterlife--views undoubtedly shaped by the times in which they lived---it is not obvious that, given the nature of their task, the text they produced would strongly reflect those views. In contrast, books that were composed during the same period might be expected to reflect more directly the perspectives of their authors, who were not constrained by an existing text. Commentaries and midrashim on the Greek Scriptures produced in the Hellenistic period would provide a better window into the development of theological ideas during that time. Unfortunately, such material is rare."[86]

This warning comes too late for Charles T. Fritsch. He went into the text of the Septuagint with his mind made up and was "disappointed" at what the text contained. Had he wanted validation of his idea that some Alexandrian Jews were uncomfortable with anthropomorphic or anthropopathic language describing God,

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86.   Jobes and Silva, *op. cit.,* p. 302

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he should have focused on the fragments of Aristobulus. Since he did not, I shall proceed with showing that in the Book of Judges, as in the Books of Job, Isaiah, and part of the Book of Psalms covered by Orlinsky, Hurwitz, and Soffer, and in the Book of Jeremiah examined by Zlotowitz, the translators did not seek to avoid such language.

A<small>NTHROPOMORPHISMS</small>

יָד

יַד־יְהוָה , *hand of the LORD*, occurs once and is translated literally χεὶρ κυρίου.
2:15

בְּכֹל | אֲשֶׁר יָצְאוּ **יַד־יְהוָה** הָיְתָה־בָּם לְרָעָה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה וְכַאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לָהֶם וַיֵּצֶר לָהֶם מְאֹד:

ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐξεπορεύοντο καὶ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς κακά καθὼς ἐλάλησεν κύριος καὶ καθὼς ὤμοσεν κύριος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέθλιψεν αὐτοὺς σφόδρα

נֶפֶשׁ

נֶפֶשׁ occurs once and is translated literally ψυχή.[87]
10:16

וַיָּסִירוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַנֵּכָר מִקִּרְבָּם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וַתִּקְצַר **נַפְשׁוֹ** בַּעֲמַל יִשְׂרָאֵל:

καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδούλευσαν τῷ κυρίῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὠλιγώθη ἡ ψυχή αὐτοῦ ἐν κόπῳ Ισραηλ

עַיִן

עַיִן occurs 10 times. Twice it appears as בְּעֵינֶיךָ and is translated literally ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου:
6:17

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן **בְּעֵינֶיךָ** וְעָשִׂיתָ לִּי אוֹת שָׁאַתָּה מְדַבֵּר עִמִּי: יַח אַל־נָא תָמֻשׁ מִזֶּה עַד־בֹּאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהֹצֵאתִי אֶת־מִנְחָתִי וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֹּאמַר אָנֹכִי אֵשֵׁב עַד שׁוּבֶךָ:

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεων εἰ δὲ εὗρον ἔλεος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ποιήσεις μοι σήμερον πᾶν ὅ τι ἐλάλησας μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ
10:15

וַיֹּאמְרוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה חָטָאנוּ עֲשֵׂה־אַתָּה לָנוּ כְּכָל־הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ אַךְ הַצִּילֵנוּ נָא הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

καὶ εἶπαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ πρὸς κύριον ἡμάρτομεν ποίησον σὺ ἡμῖν κατὰ πᾶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου πλὴν ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ

6 times it occurs as בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה and is translated by the phrase ἐνώπιον κυρίου:
2:11

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הָרַע **בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה** וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־הַבְּעָלִים:
καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς Βααλιμ[88]
(see also 3:12[89]; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1)

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87. See also קצר under anthropopathism.

88. In the next verse Hebrew tells the result of their wicked behavior: They anger the Lord וַיַּכְעִסוּ אֶת־יְהוָה παρώργισαν τὸν κύριον . Divine anger is an anthropopathism. The translator does not shrink from translating this verb according to its literal sense, so he is probably not avoiding an anthropomorphism when he uses ἐνώπιον κυρίου to translate בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה

89. Two different expressions used in this verse. See discussion below.

Although one might expect some form of ὀφθαλμός as in the two literal translations above (6:17 and 10:15), it would appear that the Greek idiom ἐνώπιον κυρίου is the preferred way of conveying the Hebrew בְּעֵינֵי יְהֹוָה when something is not favorably received by God. This is not an avoidance of anthropomorphism altogether, but rather a substitution of a different anthropomorphism. Definitions given in Liddell, Scott, Jones[90] show that the preposition ἐνώπιον, *to the front of,* preserves its anthropomorphic sense "face". In Deut. 31:11, e.g., the phrase ἐνώπιον κυρίου is used to translate פְּנֵי יהוה, literally, the *face of* the Lord[91]. J. F. Schleussner[92], showing the derivation of ἐνώπιον from ἐν +ὤψ=> ἐν +ὠπί suggests that what is now a preposition governing a genitive retains the meaning of the original noun, *face*, much as the Hebrew בְּעֵינֵי retains the meaning *eyes.*

Once it is translated ἐναντίον κυρίου:
(3:7)

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הָרַע **בְּעֵינֵי יְהֹוָה** וַיִּשְׁכְּחוּ אֶת־יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־הַבְּעָלִים וְאֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרוֹת:

καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ τὸ πονηρὸν <u>ἐναντίον κυρίου</u> καὶ ἐπελάθοντο κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς Βααλιμ καὶ τοῖς ἄλσεσιν

The literal meaning of ἐναντίον conveys opposition. Strictly speaking, it is not an anthropomorphism. Indeed, here the word is an adverbial preposition governing the genitive[93] As such, ἐναντίον carries either the notion of location (opposite, i.e., before, the Lord) or a notion of hostility of manner (opposite, i.e., against, the Lord). If the translator was trying to convey the notion of location, it is possible that he was maintaining a tension between the literal, anthropomorphic meaning of בְּעֵינֵי יְהֹוָה (in the eyes of the Lord) and its non-anthropomorphic meaning (before the Lord). The Lord's reaction to the betrayal, recorded in the next verse, shows that ἐναντίον is to be read as anthropomorphically as possible. For in the next verse, 3:8, the translator renders the anthropopathic Hebrew וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהֹוָה with the equally anthropopathic καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος (the Lord was enraged in His 'heart'[94]).

Once it is translated ἔναντι κυρίου
(3:12)

וַיֹּסִפוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהֹוָה וַיְחַזֵּק יְהֹוָה אֶת־עֶגְלוֹן מֶלֶךְ־מוֹאָב עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל

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90. LSJ *sv* ἔναντι and ἐναντίος p.554 and ἐνώπιος p. 579.

91. See also Jdg. 11:11 לפני יהוה and contrast Jdg. 18:6 נבח יהוה where the Greek has the residual anthropomorphic undertone in addition to the meaning "in front of, before the Lord".

92. Schleusner, *op. cit.,* p. 730. He suggests that an additional prepostion, κατά, is understood to be governing ἐνώπιον

93. It cannot be an adjective in apposition to τὸ πονηρὸν (The Children of Israel did <u>what was evil, a thing in opposition</u> to the Lord) because that would call for the dative of κύριος

94. Greek and Hebrew locate the seat of anger in different parts of the body.

כִּי־עָשׂוּ אֶת־הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה:

καὶ προσέθεντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν <u>ἐνώπιον κυρίου</u> καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν κύριος τὸν Εγλωμ βασιλέα Μωαβ ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ διὰ τὸ πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ πονηρὸν <u>ἔναντι κυρίου</u>

The fact that the translator chose two different Greek phrases to translate the same Hebrew phrase suggests that the translator considered these phrases equivalent. As shown above (2:11), the first of these Greek phrases, ἐνώπιον κυρίου is an anthropomorphism equivalent to the Hebrew בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה . The second phrase is related etymologically[95] to ἐναντίον κυρίου, differing only in syntax, not meaning. Thus, the use of ἔναντι here as equivalent to ἐνώπιον is another reason to consider ἐναντίον , (above, 3:7), as expressing an underlying idea of an anthropomorphic Deity.

It is interesting to note that the two phrases translated literally (6:17; 10:15) involve *finding favor* in the eyes of the Lord, while the remaining eight, which are translated using equivalent anthropomorphic terms, involve *doing what is offensive* to the Deity. In addition, the formulae involving wrong-doing are used in the narrative, i.e., not by speakers. However, in the two instances when a speaker calls upon God and makes reference to having done what was pleasing or having God do what seems pleasing, they refer directly to God, using the words בְּעֵינֶיךָ *in <u>Your</u> eyes*, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου. The Greek preserves the literal, anthropomorphic sense of the Hebrew "eyes" in these positive references.

פָּנִים

פָּנִים occurs 6 times in reference to God, five times in the form לִפְנֵי[96] and once with an appended suffix pronoun, לְפָנֶיךָ (6:18). It is translated literally ἐνώπιον:
21:2

וַיָּבֹא הָעָם בֵּית־אֵל וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם עַד־הָעֶרֶב **לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים** וַיִּשְׂאוּ קוֹלָם וַיִּבְכּוּ בְּכִי גָדוֹל:

καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς Βαιθηλ καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐκεῖ ἕως ἑσπέρας <u>ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ</u> καὶ ἦραν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν κλαυθμὸν μέγαν

6:18

אַל־נָא תָמֻשׁ מִזֶּה עַד־בֹּאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהֹצֵאתִי אֶת־מִנְחָתִי וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֹּאמַר אָנֹכִי אֵשֵׁב עַד שׁוּבֶךָ:

μὴ χωρισθῇς ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν με πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐξοίσω τὴν θυσίαν καὶ θήσω <u>ἐνώπιόν</u> σου καὶ εἶπεν ἐγώ εἰμι καθίομαι ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι σε

(see also 11:11; 20:23, 20:26 (bis))

Twice it occurs in the phrase מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה and is translated literally ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου.

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95. See Schleusner, *op. cit.,* pp. 704-5 *sub* ἔναντι, ἐναντίον, and ἐναντίος
96. There is no difference in the treatment of לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים (only 21:2) and לִפְנֵי יְהוָה (6:18, 11:11, 20:23, 20:26).

5:5 (bis)

הָרִים נָזְלוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה זֶה סִינַי זֶה **מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה** אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

ὄρη ἐσαλεύθησαν <u>ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου</u> Ελωι τοῦτο Σινα <u>ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου</u> θεοῦ Ισραηλ

The last occurrence, לְפָנָיו , is somewhat ambiguous because the suffix וֹ appended to the preposition לְפְנֵי may or may not refer to God .

20:28

וּפִינְחָס בֶּן־אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן־אַהֲרֹן עֹמֵד | **לְפָנָיו** בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם לֵאמֹר הַאוֹסִף עוֹד לָצֵאת לַמִּלְחָמָה עִם־בְּנֵי־בִנְיָמִן אָחִי אִם־אֶחְדָּל וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה עֲלוּ כִּי מָחָר אֶתְּנֶנּוּ בְיָדֶךָ:

καὶ Φινεες υἱὸς Ελεαζαρ υἱοῦ Ααρων παρεστηκὼς **ἐνώπιον** <u>αὐτῆς</u> ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις *καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ἐν κυρίῳ*[97] λέγοντες εἰ προσθῶμεν ἔτι ἐξελθεῖν εἰς παράταξιν πρὸς υἱοὺς Βενιαμιν ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν ἢ ἐπίσχωμεν καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἀνάβητε ὅτι αὔριον δώσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν

The Greek ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς "before it", shows that the translator understood the referent of the pronoun to be the ark of the covenant κιβωτὸς διαθήκης κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ mentioned in the previous verse (20:27). κιβωτὸς is a feminine noun in Greek but אֲרוֹן , the Hebrew original, is masculine. Thus the Greek translator was not avoiding an anthropomorphism, but was taking the masculine singular suffix of לְפָנָיו to be a reference to the ark rather than to the Deity. For this reason he used the feminine pronoun αὐτῆς .

<div align="center">קוֹל</div>

קוֹל occurs 3 times in reference to God and is translated literally τῆς φωνῆς:

2:2

וְאַתֶּם לֹא־תִכְרְתוּ בְרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת מִזְבְּחוֹתֵיהֶם תִּתֹּצוּן וְלֹא־שְׁמַעְתֶּם **בְּקֹלִי** מַה־זֹּאת עֲשִׂיתֶם:

καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ διαθήσεσθε διαθήκην τοῖς ἐγκαθημένοις εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην οὐδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν προσκυνήσετε ἀλλὰ τὰ γλυπτὰ αὐτῶν συντρίψετε καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια αὐτῶν καθελεῖτε καὶ οὐκ εἰσηκούσατε **τῆς φωνῆς** μου ὅτι ταῦτα ἐποιήσατε

2:20

וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ לְקוֹלִי:

καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ εἶπεν ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐγκατέλιπον τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὴν διαθήκην μου ἣν ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν <u>τῆς φωνῆς</u> μου

6:10

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97. *...* Not in Hebrew

וָאֹמְרָה לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא תִירְאוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יוֹשְׁבִים בְּאַרְצָם וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקוֹלִי:

καὶ εἶπα ὑμῖν ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν οὐ φοβηθήσεσθε τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦ Αμορραίου ἐν οἷς ὑμεῖς καθήσεσθε ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ εἰσηκούσατε <u>τῆς φωνῆς</u> μου

ANTHROPOPATHISMS

חָפֵץ

חָפֵץ occurs once and is translated literally by the Greek verb θέλω, wish, desire**:**
13:23
וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִשְׁתּוֹ לוּ **חָפֵץ** יְהוָה לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא־לָקַח מִיָּדֵנוּ עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הֶרְאָנוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה כָּעֵת לֹא הִשְׁמִיעָנוּ כָּזֹאת:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰ <u>ἤθελεν</u> ὁ κύριος θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡμῶν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα καὶ καθὼς καιρὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠκούτισεν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα

חָרָה אַף

וַיִּחַר־אַף literally, *grow hot in the nose*, occurs 5 times and is translated each time by a form of ὀργίζομαι, *be furious* and ὁ θυμός *breast, seat of anger*.
2:14
וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּיַד־שֹׁסִים וַיָּשֹׁסּוּ אוֹתָם וַיִּמְכְּרֵם בְּיַד אוֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ עוֹד לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי אוֹיְבֵיהֶם:

καὶ <u>ὠργίσθη θυμῷ</u> κύριος ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας προνομευόντων καὶ κατεπρονόμευσαν αὐτούς καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν κυκλόθεν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἔτι ἀντιστῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν
2:20
וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ לְקוֹלִי:

καὶ <u>ὠργίσθη θυμῷ</u> κύριος ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ εἶπεν ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐγκατέλιπον τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὴν διαθήκην μου ἣν ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν <u>τῆς φωνῆς</u> μου
(see also 3:8; 6:39;10:7),

While neither the heat metaphor of חרה nor the specific body part אף appears in the Greek, according to LSJ[98], ὁ θυμός is the seat of emotions, especially anger. Thus, the Greek phrase conveys the emotion in anthropopathic terms. In addition, the idiom occurs twice more, both times in reference to human beings, Zebul the governor in 9:30

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98. Schleusner, *op. cit.*, p. 810

and Samson in 14:19. If the Greek describes the anger of humans in the same terms as it employs to describe the anger of God, it can hardly be said to be avoiding anthropopathisms.

נָחַם

יִנָּחֵם יְהוָֹה occurs once and is translated by the Greek παρεκλήθη κύριος *the Lord gave comfort, was entreated.*
2:18
וְכִי־הֵקִים יְהוָה | לָהֶם שֹׁפְטִים וְהָיָה יְהוָה עִם־הַשֹּׁפֵט וְהוֹשִׁיעָם מִיַּד אֹיְבֵיהֶם כֹּל יְמֵי הַשּׁוֹפֵט כִּי־**יִנָּחֵם**
יְהוָה מִנַּאֲקָתָם מִפְּנֵי לֹחֲצֵיהֶם וְדֹחֲקֵיהֶם:
καὶ ὅτι ἤγειρεν κύριος κριτὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἦν κύριος μετὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ κριτοῦ ὅτι παρεκλήθη κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκθλιβόντων αὐτούς

נָחַם in the niphal has a range of meanings including *to be sorry, to be moved to pity, to change one's mind* (BDB 636). The range of meanings for παρακαλέω in the passive includes *to be summoned, to be entreated, to give comfort.* The elements of the verb suggest the literal meaning "called aside, to the side of."

קָצַר נֶפֶשׁ

וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשׁוֹ occurs once and is translated by ὠλιγώθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, *his soul was diminished.*
10:16
וַיָּסִירוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַנֵּכָר מִקִּרְבָּם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה **וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשׁוֹ** בַּעֲמַל יִשְׂרָאֵל:
καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδούλευσαν τῷ κυρίῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὠλιγώθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν κόπῳ Ισραηλ

שָׂמַח

הַמְשַׂמֵּחַ אֱלֹהִים occurs once and is translated by the Greek verb εὐφραίνω, *gladden.*
9:13
וַתֹּאמֶר לָהֶם הַגֶּפֶן הֶחֳדַלְתִּי אֶת־תִּירוֹשִׁי **הַמְשַׂמֵּחַ אֱלֹהִים** וַאֲנָשִׁים וְהָלַכְתִּי לָנוּעַ עַל־הָעֵצִים: καὶ
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἄμπελος μὴ ἀπολείψασα τὸν οἶνόν μου τὸν εὐφραίνοντα θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπους πορεύσομαι κινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων

This is a verse in which both God and humans experience the same emotion. The words are ostensibly spoken by a grapevine in a parable, a genre rare in the book of Judges.

<u>PSYCHOLOGICAL</u>[99]

<div dir="rtl">

רוּחַ
</div>

<div dir="rtl">רוּחַ־יְהוָה</div> occurs seven times and is translated literally by πνεῦμα κυρίου:

3:10

<div dir="rtl">
וַתְּהִי עָלָיו רוּחַ־יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁפֹּט אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּצֵא לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה בְּיָדוֹ אֶת־כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם וַתָּעָז יָדוֹ עַל כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתָיִם:
</div>

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν <u>πνεῦμα κυρίου</u> καὶ ἔκρινεν τὸν Ισραηλ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πόλεμον πρὸς Χουσαρσαθαιμ καὶ παρέδωκεν κύριος ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Χουσαρσαθαιμ βασιλέα Συρίας ποταμῶν καὶ ἐκραταιώθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Χουσαρσαθαιμ

6:34

<div dir="rtl">
וְרוּחַ יְהוָה לָבְשָׁה אֶת־גִּדְעוֹן וַיִּתְקַע בַּשּׁוֹפָר וַיִּזָּעֵק אֲבִיעֶזֶר אַחֲרָיו:
</div>

 καὶ <u>πνεῦμα κυρίου</u> ἐνεδυνάμωσεν τὸν Γεδεων καὶ ἐσάλπισεν ἐν κερατίνῃ καὶ ἐφοβήθη Αβιεζερ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ

(see also 11:29; 13:25; 14:6; 14:19; 15:14).

<u>VERBS</u>

<div dir="rtl">
אָמַר
</div>

The verb אָמַר, *say,* occurs 19 times in 17 verses and is always translated literally by forms of the verb λέγω, *say.*

1:2

<div dir="rtl">
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יְהוּדָה יַעֲלֶה הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּיָדוֹ:
</div>

καὶ <u>εἶπεν</u> κύριος Ιουδας ἀναβήσεται ἰδοὺ δέδωκα τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ

2:3

<div dir="rtl">
וְגַם אָמַרְתִּי לֹא־אֲגָרֵשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְצִדִּים וֵאלֹהֵיהֶם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם לְמוֹקֵשׁ
</div>

κἀγὼ <u>εἶπον</u> οὐ μὴ ἐξαρῶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν εἰς συνοχάς καὶ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ὑμῖν εἰς σκάνδαλον.
(See also: 2:20; 6:8, 10, 16, 18, 25; 7:2, 4 (3x), 5, 7, 9; 10:11; 20:18, 23, 28)

<div dir="rtl">
בָּקַע
</div>

The verb בָּקַע, *break,* occurs once and is translated literally by the verb ῥήγνυμι, *break.*

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99. This category was described by Soffer, *op. cit.,* p. 85, as "the borderline cases lying between anthropomorphism and anthropopathism." According to Soffer, the original idea appeared in Edwin Hatch, in his *Essays in Biblical Greek.*

15:19

וַיִּבְקַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בַּלֶּחִי וַיֵּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מַיִם וַיֵּשְׁתְּ וַתָּשָׁב רוּחוֹ
וַיֶּחִי עַל־כֵּן | קָרָא שְׁמָהּ עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא אֲשֶׁר בַּלֶּחִי עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

καὶ ἔρρηξεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λάκκον τὸν ἐν τῇ σιαγόνι καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔζησεν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πηγὴ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου ἥ ἐστιν ἐν σιαγόνι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης

גָּרַשׁ

The verb גָּרַשׁ, *drive out, remove,* occurs twice, translated literally by two virtually synonymous verbs ἐξαίρω, *drive out,* and ἐκβάλλω, *remove.*

2:3

וְגַם אָמַרְתִּי לֹא־אֲגָרֵשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְצִדִּים וֵאלֹהֵיהֶם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם
לְמוֹקֵשׁ:

κἀγὼ εἶπον οὐ μὴ ἐξαρῶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν εἰς συνοχὰς καὶ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ὑμῖν εἰς σκάνδαλον

6:9

וָאַצִּל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּמִיַּד כָּל־לֹחֲצֵיכֶם וָאֲגָרֵשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם וָאֶתְּנָה
לָכֶם אֶת־אַרְצָם:

καὶ ἐρρυσάμην ὑμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν θλιβόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν

דִּבֶּר

The verb דִּבֶּר, *speak,* occurs five times, translated literally by forms of λαλέω, speak.

2:15

בְּכֹל | אֲשֶׁר יָצְאוּ יַד־יְהוָה הָיְתָה־בָּם לְרָעָה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה וְכַאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע
יְהוָה לָהֶם וַיֵּצֶר לָהֶם מְאֹד:

ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐξεπορεύοντο καὶ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς κακά καθὼς ἐλάλησεν κύριος καὶ καθὼς ὤμοσεν κύριος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέθλιψεν αὐτοὺς σφόδρα

6:17

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְעָשִׂיתָ לִּי אוֹת שָׁאַתָּה מְדַבֵּר עִמִּי:

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεων εἰ δὲ εὗρον ἔλεος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ποιήσεις μοι σήμερον πᾶν ὅ τι ἐλάλησας μετ' ἐμοῦ

(See also 6:27, 36, 37.)

הוֹשִׁיעַ

The verb הוֹשִׁיעַ, *save,* occurs seven times. Five times it is translated literally by forms of σῴζω, *save.*

2:18

וְכִי־הֵקִים יְהֹוָה | לָהֶם שֹׁפְטִים וְהָיָה יְהֹוָה עִם־הַשֹּׁפֵט וְהוֹשִׁיעָם מִיַּד אֹיְבֵיהֶם
כֹּל יְמֵי הַשֹּׁופֵט כִּי־יִנָּחֵם יְהֹוָה מִנַּאֲקָתָם מִפְּנֵי לֹחֲצֵיהֶם וְדֹחֲקֵיהֶם:

καὶ ὅτι ἤγειρεν κύριος κριτὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἦν κύριος μετὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ <u>ἔσωσεν</u> αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ κριτοῦ ὅτι παρεκλήθη κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκθλιβόντων αὐτούς

6:37

הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מַצִּיג אֶת־גִּזַּת הַצֶּמֶר בַּגֹּרֶן אִם טַל יִהְיֶה עַל־הַגִּזָּה לְבַדָּהּ
וְעַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ חֹרֶב וְיָדַעְתִּי כִּי־תוֹשִׁיעַ בְּיָדִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ:

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ τίθημι τὸν πόκον τοῦ ἐρίου ἐν τῇ ἅλωνι ἐὰν δρόσος γένηται ἐπὶ τὸν πόκον μόνον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ξηρασία γνώσομαι ὅτι <u>σώσεις</u> ἐν χειρί μου τὸν Ισραηλ καθὼς ἐλάλησας

(See also 7:7; 10:12, 13)

In one instance (3:9), it is not clear whether the subject of the verb is God or the savior that God has raised up. The Greek verb σῴζω is used here, too.

3:9

וַיִּזְעֲקוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהֹוָה וַיָּקֶם יְהֹוָה מוֹשִׁיעַ לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיּוֹשִׁיעֵם אֵת
עָתְנִיאֵל בֶּן־קְנַז אֲחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטֹן מִמֶּנּוּ:

καὶ ἐκέκραξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ πρὸς κύριον καὶ ἤγειρεν κύριος σωτῆρα τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ <u>ἔσωσεν</u> αὐτούς τὸν Γοθονιηλ υἱὸν Κενεζ ἀδελφοῦ Χαλεβ τὸν νεώτερον ὑπὲρ αὐτόν

In another instance (6:36), Greek uses an active verb where the Hebrew uses a participle. The Greek verb σῴζω is used here, too.

6:36

וַיֹּאמֶר גִּדְעוֹן אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ בְּיָדִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ:

καὶ εἶπεν Γεδεων πρὸς τὸν θεόν εἰ σὺ σῴζεις ἐν χειρί μου τὸν Ισραηλ καθὼς ἐλάλησας

הָמַם

The verb הָמַם, *confuse*, occurs once, translated literally by ἐξίστημι, *amaze, surprise.*

4:15

וַיָּהָם יְהוָה אֶת־סִיסְרָא וְאֶת־כָּל־הָרֶכֶב וְאֶת־כָּל־הַמַּחֲנֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב לִפְנֵי בָרָק וַיֵּרֶד סִיסְרָא מֵעַל הַמֶּרְכָּבָה וַיָּנָס בְּרַגְלָיו:

καὶ <u>ἐξέστησεν</u> κύριος τὸν Σισαρα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας ἐνώπιον Βαρακ καὶ κατέβη Σισαρα ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ ἅρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγεν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ

זָכַר

The verb זָכַר, *remember*, occurs once translated literally by μιμνήσκομαι, *remember*.

16:28

וַיִּקְרָא שִׁמְשׁוֹן אֶל־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמַר אֲדֹנָי יֱהֹוִה זָכְרֵנִי נָא וְחַזְּקֵנִי נָא אַךְ הַפַּעַם הַזֶּה הָאֱלֹהִים וְאִנָּקְמָה נְקַם־אַחַת מִשְּׁתֵי עֵינַי מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים:

καὶ ἔκλαυσεν Σαμψων πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν Αδωναιε κύριε <u>μνήσθητι</u> δή μου νῦν καὶ ἐνίσχυσόν με ἔτι τὸ ἅπαξ τοῦτο θεέ καὶ ἀνταποδώσω ἀνταπόδοσιν μίαν περὶ τῶν δύο ὀφθαλμῶν μου τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις

חָזַק

The verb חָזַק *be strong, strengthen*, occurs twice, translated literally by ἐνισχύω, *strengthen*.

3:12

וַיֹּסִפוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיְחַזֵּק יְהוָה אֶת־עֶגְלוֹן מֶלֶךְ־מוֹאָב עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל כִּי־עָשׂוּ אֶת־הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה:

καὶ προσέθεντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ <u>ἐνίσχυσεν</u> κύριος τὸν Εγλωμ βασιλέα Μωαβ ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ διὰ τὸ πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ πονηρὸν ἔναντι κυρίου

16:28

וַיִּקְרָא שִׁמְשׁוֹן אֶל־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמַר אֲדֹנָי יֱהֹוִה זָכְרֵנִי נָא וְחַזְּקֵנִי נָא אַךְ הַפַּעַם הַזֶּה הָאֱלֹהִים וְאִנָּקְמָה נְקַם־אַחַת מִשְּׁתֵי עֵינַי מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים:

καὶ ἔκλαυσεν Σαμψων πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν Αδωναιε κύριε μνήσθητι δή μου νῦν καὶ <u>ἐνίσχυσόν</u> με ἔτι τὸ ἅπαξ τοῦτο θεέ καὶ ἀνταποδώσω ἀνταπόδοσιν μίαν περὶ τῶν δύο ὀφθαλμῶν μου τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις

יָטַב

The verb יָטַב, *do good*, occurs once translated literally by ἀγαθύνω, *do good*.

17:13

וַיֹּאמֶר מִיכָה עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יֵיטִיב יְהוָה לִי כִּי הָיָה־לִי הַלֵּוִי לְכֹהֵן:

καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαιας νῦν ἔγνων ὅτι <u>ἀγαθυνεῖ</u> κύριος ἐμοί ὅτι ἐγένετό μοι ὁ Λευίτης εἰς ἱερέα

יָצָא (מוֹצִיא)

The verb יָצָא, *go out, lead out*, occurs four times. Twice it is translated literally by ἐξάγω, *lead, bring out*.

2:12

וַיַּעַזְבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה | אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתָם הַמּוֹצִיא אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי | אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים מֵאֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לָהֶם וַיַּכְעִסוּ אֶת־יְהוָה:

καὶ ἐγκατέλιπον τὸν κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν τὸν <u>ἐξαγαγόντα</u> αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω θεῶν ἑτέρων ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν περικύκλῳ αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρώργισαν τὸν κύριον

6:8

וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אִישׁ נָבִיא אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה | אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָנֹכִי הֶעֱלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם וָאֹצִיא אֶתְכֶם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:

καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος ἄνδρα προφήτην πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἐγώ εἰμι ὃς ἀνήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ <u>ἐξήγαγον</u> ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας ὑμῶν

Once a form of the verb ἐξέρχομαι, *go forth*, is used.

4:14

וַתֹּאמֶר דְּבֹרָה אֶל־בָּרָק קוּם כִּי זֶה הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן יְהוָה אֶת־סִיסְרָא בְּיָדֶךָ הֲלֹא יְהוָה יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֵּרֶד בָּרָק מֵהַר תָּבוֹר וַעֲשֶׂרֶת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ אַחֲרָיו:

καὶ εἶπεν Δεββωρα πρὸς Βαρακ ἀνάστηθι ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ *παρέδωκεν* κύριος τὸν Σισαρα ἐν τῇ χειρί σου ὅτι κύριος <u>ἐξελεύσεται</u> ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ κατέβη Βαρακ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους Θαβωρ καὶ δέκα χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ

Once a form of the noun ἔξοδος, *a going out,* is used to translate the Hebrew verbal noun.

5:4

יְהוָה בְּצֵאתְךָ מִשֵּׂעִיר בְּצַעְדְּךָ מִשְּׂדֵה אֱדוֹם אֶרֶץ רָעָשָׁה גַּם־שָׁמַיִם נָטָפוּ גַּם־עָבִים נָטְפוּ מָיִם:

κύριε ἐν τῇ <u>ἐξόδῳ</u> σου ἐν Σηιρ ἐν τῷ ἀπαίρειν σε ἐξ ἀγροῦ Εδωμ γῆ ἐσείσθη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔσταξεν δρόσους καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ

<div dir="rtl">

יָרַשׁ

</div>

The verb יָרַשׁ , *dispossess,* occurs three times translated literally by ἐξαίρω, *remove, drive out.*

2:21

<div dir="rtl">

גַּם־אֲנִי לֹא אוֹסִיף לְהוֹרִישׁ אִישׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם מִן־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־עָזַב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיָּמֹת:

</div>

καὶ γε ἐγὼ οὐ προσθήσω τοῦ <u>ἐξᾶραι</u> ἄνδρα ἐκ προσώπου αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν κατέλιπεν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀφῆκεν

2:23

<div dir="rtl">

וַיַּנַּח יְהוָה אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה לְבִלְתִּי הוֹרִישָׁם מַהֵר וְלֹא נְתָנָם בְּיַד־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ:

</div>

καὶ ἀφῆκεν κύριος τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ <u>ἐξᾶραι</u> αὐτὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ οὐ παρέδωκεν αὐτὰ ἐν χειρὶ Ἰησοῦ

11:23

<div dir="rtl">

וְעַתָּה יְהוָה | אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתָּה תִּירָשֶׁנּוּ:

</div>

καὶ νῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ <u>ἐξῆρεν</u> τὸν Αμορραῖον ἀπὸ προσώπου λαοῦ αὐτοῦ Ισραηλ καὶ σὺ κληρονομήσεις αὐτόν

<div dir="rtl">

יָשַׁב

</div>

The verb יָשַׁב, *sit, remain,* occurs once and is translated literally by καθίζω, *take one's seat, sit.*

6:18

<div dir="rtl">

אַל־נָא תָמֻשׁ מִזֶּה עַד־בֹּאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהֹצֵאתִי אֶת־מִנְחָתִי וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֹּאמַר אָנֹכִי אֵשֵׁב עַד שׁוּבֶךָ:

</div>

μὴ χωρισθῇς ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν με πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐξοίσω τὴν θυσίαν καὶ θήσω ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ εἶπεν ἐγώ εἰμι <u>καθίομαι</u> ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι σε

<div dir="rtl">

כָּנַע

</div>

The verb כָּנַע, *humble, route, subdue [enemies],* occurs once and is translated by τροπόω, *turn, put to flight.*

4:23

<div dir="rtl">

וַיַּכְנַע אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֵת יָבִין מֶלֶךְ־כְּנָעַן לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

</div>

καὶ <u>ἐτρόπωσεν</u> ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὸν Ιαβιν βασιλέα Χανααν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ

The verb כָּנַע is used in the hiphil in eleven other passages. It is translated by six Greek verbs: ἀποστρέφω (Dt. 9:3), ἐκτρίβω (Neh. 9:24), παραδίδωμι (Isa. 25:5(?)), σβέννυμι (Job 40:12), ταπεινόω (1 Ch 17:10, 2 Ch. 28:19, Ps 81:15, 107:12) and τροπόω (2 S. 8:1, 1 Ch. 18:1). Two of these, ἀποστρέφω and τροπόω, convey the

notion of *turning, removing, putting one's enemy to flight*. ἐκτρίβω and σβέννυμι carry the idea of *wiping out* or *extinguishing*. ταπεινόω is closer to the Hebrew sense of *humbling* or *subduing one's enemies* or *oneself*.

2 S. 8:1

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן וַיַּךְ דָּוִד אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיַּכְנִיעֵם וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים:

καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπάταξεν Δαυιδ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτούς καὶ ἔλαβεν Δαυιδ τὴν ἀφωρισμένην ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων

1 Ch. 18:1

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן וַיַּךְ דָּוִיד אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיַּכְנִיעֵם וַיִּקַּח אֶת־גַּת וּבְנֹתֶיהָ מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים:

καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπάταξεν Δαυιδ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτούς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Γεθ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀλλοφύλων

לָקַח

The verb לָקַח, *take*, occurs once and is translated literally λαμβάνω, *take*.

13:23

וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִשְׁתּוֹ לוּ חָפֵץ יְהוָה לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא־לָקַח מִיָּדֵנוּ עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הֶרְאָנוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה וְכָעֵת לֹא הִשְׁמִיעָנוּ כָּזֹאת:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰ ἤθελεν ὁ κύριος θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡμῶν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα καὶ καθὼς καιρὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠκούτισεν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα

מוּת

The verb מוּת, *die*, occurs once and is translated literally θανατόω, *die*.

13:23

וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִשְׁתּוֹ לוּ חָפֵץ יְהוָה לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא־לָקַח מִיָּדֵנוּ עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הֶרְאָנוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה וְכָעֵת לֹא הִשְׁמִיעָנוּ כָּזֹאת:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰ ἤθελεν ὁ κύριος θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡμῶν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα καὶ καθὼς καιρὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠκούτισεν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα

מָכַר

The verb מָכַר, *sell, deliver up*, occurs three times and is translated literally ἀποδίδωμι, *give back, repay (good or evil)*.

2:14

וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּיַד־שֹׁסִים וַיָּשֹׁסּוּ אוֹתָם וַיִּמְכְּרֵם בְּיַד אוֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ עוֹד לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי אוֹיְבֵיהֶם:

καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας προνομευόντων καὶ κατεπρονόμευσαν αὐτούς καὶ <u>ἀπέδοτο</u> αὐτοὺς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν κυκλόθεν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἔτι ἀντιστῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν

4:2

וַיִּמְכְּרֵם יְהוָה בְּיַד יָבִין מֶלֶךְ־כְּנַעַן אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ בְּחָצוֹר וְשַׂר־צְבָאוֹ סִיסְרָא וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב בַּחֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם:

 καὶ <u>ἀπέδοτο</u> αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Ιαβιν βασιλέως Χανααν ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ασωρ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ Σισαρα καὶ αὐτὸς κατῴκει ἐν Αρισωθ τῶν ἐθνῶν

4:9

וַתֹּאמֶר הָלֹךְ אֵלֵךְ עִמָּךְ אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא תִהְיֶה תִּפְאַרְתְּךָ עַל־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ כִּי בְיַד־אִשָּׁה יִמְכֹּר יְהוָה אֶת־סִיסְרָא וַתָּקָם דְּבוֹרָה וַתֵּלֶךְ עִם־בָּרָק קֶדְשָׁה:

καὶ εἶπεν πορευομένη πορεύσομαι μετὰ σοῦ πλὴν γίνωσκε ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ προτέρημά σου ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν ἣν σὺ πορεύῃ ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ γυναικὸς <u>ἀποδώσεται</u> κύριος τὸν Σισαρα καὶ ἀνέστη Δεββωρα καὶ ἐπορεύθη μετὰ Βαρακ ἐκ Καδης

מָשַׁךְ

The verb מָשַׁךְ, *draw, drag [with hostile intent],* occurs once and is translated ἐπάγω, *bring near, bring upon.*

4:7

וּמָשַׁכְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ אֶל־נַחַל קִישׁוֹן אֶת־סִיסְרָא שַׂר־צְבָא יָבִין וְאֶת־רִכְבּוֹ וְאֶת־הֲמוֹנוֹ וּנְתַתִּיהוּ בְּיָדֶךָ:

 καὶ <u>ἐπάξω</u> πρὸς σὲ εἰς τὸν χειμάρρουν Κισων τὸν Σισαρα ἄρχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως Ιαβιν καὶ τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδώσω αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου

מָשַׁל

The verb מָשַׁל, *rule,* occurs once and is translated literally ἄρχω, *rule.*

8:23

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם גִּדְעוֹן לֹא־אֶמְשֹׁל אֲנִי בָּכֶם וְלֹא־יִמְשֹׁל בְּנִי בָּכֶם יְהוָה יִמְשֹׁל בָּכֶם:

 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γεδεων οὐκ ἄρξω ἐγώ καὶ οὐκ ἄρξει ὁ υἱός μου ἐν ὑμῖν κύριος <u>ἄρξει</u> ὑμῶν
(Notice that the same verb is used for God and people.)

נָגַף

The verb נָגַף, *strike,* occurs once and is translated literally πατάσσω, *strike.*

20:35

וַיִּגֹּף יְהוָה | אֶת־בִּנְיָמִן לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּשְׁחִיתוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבִנְיָמִן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא

עֶשְׂרִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה אֶלֶף וּמֵאָה אִישׁ כָּל־אֵלֶּה שֹׁלֵף חָרֶב׃

καὶ <u>ἐπάταξεν</u> κύριος τὸν Βενιαμιν ἐνώπιον υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ἐκ τοῦ Βενιαμιν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε χιλιάδας καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας πάντες οὗτοι εἷλκον ῥομφαίαν

נוּחַ

The verb נוּחַ, *leave, let alone*, occurs twice and is translated literally ἀφίημι, *leave behind, let be.*
2:23

וַיַּנַּח יְהוָה אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה לְבִלְתִּי הוֹרִישָׁם מַהֵר וְלֹא נְתָנָם בְּיַד־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ׃

καὶ <u>ἀφῆκεν</u> κύριος τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ ἐξᾶραι αὐτὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ οὐ παρέδωκεν αὐτὰ ἐν χειρὶ Ἰησοῦ

3:1

וְאֵלֶּה הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחַ יְהוָה לְנַסּוֹת בָּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּ אֵת כָּל־מִלְחֲמוֹת כְּנָעַן׃

καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἃ <u>ἀφῆκεν</u> κύριος αὐτὰ ὥστε πειράσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ισραηλ πάντας τοὺς μὴ ἐγνωκότας τοὺς πολέμους Χανααν

נָסָה

The verb נָסָה, *test, try,* occurs once translated literally πειράζω, *put to the test, try*.
2:22

לְמַעַן נַסּוֹת בָּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲשֹׁמְרִים הֵם אֶת־דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה לָלֶכֶת בָּם כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמְרוּ אֲבוֹתָם אִם־לֹא׃

τοῦ <u>πειράσαι</u> ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ισραηλ εἰ φυλάσσονται τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου πορεύεσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ ὃν τρόπον ἐφύλαξαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἢ οὔ

נָצַל

The verb נָצַל, *rescue, deliver, save,* occurs three times. Twice it is translated literally by ῥύομαι, *rescue* (6:9; 8:34).
6:9

וְלֹא זָכְרוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הַמַּצִּיל אוֹתָם מִיַּד כָּל־אֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב׃

καὶ <u>ἐρρυσάμην</u> ὑμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν θλιβόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν

8:34

וְלֹא זָכְרוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הַמַּצִּיל אוֹתָם מִיַּד כָּל־אֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב׃

καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ <u>ῥυσαμένου</u> αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων

τῶν θλιβόντων αὐτοὺς κυκλόθεν

Once it is translated by ἐξαιρέω, *deliver, save*.

10:15 (ἐξαιρέω)

וַיֹּאמְר֨וּ בְנֵֽי־יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל אֶל־יְהוָה֮ חָטָאנוּ֒ עֲשֵׂה־אַתָּ֣ה לָ֔נוּ כְּכָל־הַטּ֖וֹב בְּעֵינֶ֑יךָ אַ֛ךְ הַצִּילֵ֥נוּ נָ֖א הַיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּֽה:

καὶ εἶπαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ πρὸς κύριον ἡμάρτομεν ποίησον σὺ ἡμῖν κατὰ πᾶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου πλὴν <u>ἐξελοῦ</u> ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ

נִשְׁבַּע

The verb נִשְׁבַּע, *swear*, occurs once translated literally by ὠμνύω, *swear*.

2:15

בְּכֹ֣ל | אֲשֶׁ֣ר יָצְא֗וּ יַד־יְהוָה֙ הָיְתָה־בָּ֣ם לְרָעָ֔ה כַּאֲשֶׁר֙ דִּבֶּ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה וְכַאֲשֶׁ֛ר נִשְׁבַּ֥ע יְהוָ֖ה לָהֶ֑ם וַיֵּ֥צֶר לָהֶ֖ם מְאֹֽד:

ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐξεπορεύοντο καὶ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς κακά καθὼς ἐλάλησεν κύριος καὶ καθὼς <u>ὤμοσεν</u> κύριος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέθλιψεν αὐτοὺς σφόδρα

נָתַן

The verb נָתַן, *give, grant, hand over, betray*, occurs 25 times.

Ten times it is translated literally by δίδωμι, *give, give over*.

1:2 (δίδωμι)

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהוָ֔ה יְהוּדָ֖ה יַעֲלֶ֑ה הִנֵּ֛ה נָתַ֥תִּי אֶת־הָאָ֖רֶץ בְּיָדֽוֹ:

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Ιουδας ἀναβήσεται ἰδοὺ <u>δέδωκα</u> τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ

6:9

וָאַצִּ֤ל אֶתְכֶם֙ מִיַּ֣ד מִצְרַ֔יִם וּמִיַּ֖ד כָּל־לֹחֲצֵיכֶ֑ם וָאֲגָרֵ֤שׁ אוֹתָם֙ מִפְּנֵיכֶ֔ם וָאֶתְּנָ֥ה לָכֶ֖ם אֶת־אַרְצָֽם:

καὶ ἐρρυσάμην ὑμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν θλιβόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ προσώπου ὑμῶν καὶ <u>ἔδωκα</u> ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν
(See also 6:13; 7:7; 8:7; 11:30 (bis); 12:3; 18:10; 20:28.)

Fifteen times it is translated literally by παραδίδωμι, *deliver, betray, hand over*.

1:4 (παραδίδωμι)

וַיַּ֣עַל יְהוּדָ֔ה וַיִּתֵּ֧ן יְהוָ֛ה אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִ֥י וְהַפְּרִזִּ֖י בְּיָדָ֑ם וַיַּכּ֣וּם בְּבֶ֔זֶק עֲשֶׂ֥רֶת אֲלָפִ֖ים אִֽישׁ:

καὶ ἀνέβη Ιουδας καὶ <u>παρέδωκεν</u> κύριος τὸν Χαναναῖον καὶ τὸν Φερεζαῖον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκοψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν Βεζεκ εἰς δέκα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν

2:14

וַיִּחַר־אַף יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּיַד־שֹׁסִים וַיָּשֹׁסּוּ אוֹתָם וַיִּמְכְּרֵם בְּיַד אוֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ עוֹד לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי אוֹיְבֵיהֶם:

καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ <u>παρέδωκεν</u> αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας προνομευόντων καὶ κατεπρονόμευσαν αὐτούς καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν κυκλόθεν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἔτι ἀντιστῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν

(See also 2:23; 3:10, 28; 4:7, 14; 7:2, 9, 14, 15; 8:3; 11:9, 21; 13:1.)

נָטַשׁ

The verb נָטַשׁ, *abandon, forsake*, occurs once and is translated by ἐκρίπτω, *cast forth*, a slightly more forceful verb.

6:13

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו גִּדְעוֹן בִּי אֲדֹנִי וְיֵשׁ יְהוָה עִמָּנוּ וְלָמָּה מְצָאַתְנוּ כָּל־זֹאת וְאַיֵּה כָל־נִפְלְאֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר סִפְּרוּ־לָנוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ לֵאמֹר הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם הֶעֱלָנוּ יְהוָה וְעַתָּה נְטָשָׁנוּ יְהוָה וַיִּתְּנֵנוּ בְּכַף־מִדְיָן:

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεων ἐν ἐμοί κύριέ μου καὶ εἰ ἔστιν κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τί εὗρεν ἡμᾶς τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα καὶ ποῦ ἐστιν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἃ διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγοντες μὴ οὐχὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνήγαγεν ἡμᾶς κύριος καὶ νῦν <u>ἐξέρριψεν</u> ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ Μαδιαμ

סוּר

The verb סוּר, *turn aside*, occurs once and is translated literally by ἀφίσταμαι, *leave, go away, forsake*.

16:20

וַתֹּאמֶר פְּלִשְׁתִּים עָלֶיךָ שִׁמְשׁוֹן וַיִּקַץ מִשְּׁנָתוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵצֵא כְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם וְאִנָּעֵר וְהוּא לֹא יָדַע כִּי יְהוָה סָר מֵעָלָיו:

καὶ εἶπεν Δαλιδα ἀλλόφυλοι ἐπὶ σέ Σαμψων καὶ ἐξυπνίσθη ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἐξελεύσομαι ὡς ἅπαξ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ ἐκτιναχθήσομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι <u>ἀπέστη</u> ὁ κύριος ἀπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ

עָלָה

The verb עָלָה (*hiphil*), *bring up, lead up*, occurs twice and is translated literally by ἀνάγω, *lead up, bring up*.

6:8

וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אִישׁ נָבִיא אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה | אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָנֹכִי הֶעֱלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם וָאֹצִיא אֶתְכֶם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:

καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος ἄνδρα προφήτην πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἐγώ εἰμι ὃς <u>ἀνήγαγον</u> ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐξήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας ὑμῶν

6:13

וַיָּדַם־פְּכָב וּנִנְתָּיו הָוֹהִי וּנִשָּׁטְנ הָתַעָוּ הָוֹהִי וּנְלֶעָה סִיָרְצַמַּמ אֵלֶה רַמאֹל
וּנֵיתוֹבֲא וּנָל־וּרְפָּסּ רֶשֲׁא וְיָתֹאְלְפָנ־לָכ הֵיַאוּ תאֹז־לָכ וּנְתָאצְמ הָמָלוּ וּנְמָּע
הָוֹהִי שֵׁיָ יַנֹדֲא יִב וְעֵדָגּ וְיָלֵא רֶמאֹיַּו

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Γεδεων ἐν ἐμοί κύριέ μου καὶ εἰ ἔστιν κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τί εὗρεν
ἡμᾶς τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα καὶ ποῦ ἔστιν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἃ διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες
ἡμῶν λέγοντες μὴ οὐχὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου <u>ἀνήγαγεν</u> ἡμᾶς κύριος καὶ νῦν ἐξέρριψεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδωκεν
ἡμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ Μαδιαμ

עָשָׂה

The verb עָשָׂה, *do, make*, occurs five times and is translated literally by ποιέω, *do, make*.
2:7

וַיַּעַבְדוּ הָעָם אֶת־יְהוָה כֹּל יְמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכֹל | יְמֵי הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר הֶאֱרִיכוּ יָמִים
אַחֲרֵי יְהוֹשׁוּעַ אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ אֵת כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:

καὶ ἐδούλευσεν ὁ λαὸς τῷ κυρίῳ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων ὅσοι ἐμακροημέρευσαν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ ὅσοι ἔγνωσαν πᾶν τὸ ἔργον κυρίου τὸ μέγα ὃ
<u>ἐποίησεν</u> ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ
2:10

וְגַם כָּל־הַדּוֹר הַהוּא נֶאֶסְפוּ אֶל־אֲבוֹתָיו וַיָּקָם דּוֹר אַחֵר אַחֲרֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר
לֹא־יָדְעוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וְגַם אֶת־הַמַּעֲשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:

καί γε πᾶσα ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη προσετέθησαν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέστη γενεὰ ἑτέρα
μετ' αὐτούς οἳ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν κύριον καί γε τὸ ἔργον ὃ <u>ἐποίησεν</u> ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ

(See also 6:17, 40; 21:15.)

פָּנָה

The verb פָּנָה, *turn*, occurs once and is translated literally ἐπιστρέφω, *turn around, turn back*.
6:14

וַיִּפֶן אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר לֵךְ בְּכֹחֲךָ זֶה וְהוֹשַׁעְתָּ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכַּף מִדְיָן הֲלֹא
שְׁלַחְתִּיךָ:

καὶ <u>ἐπέστρεψεν</u> πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν πορεύου ἐν ἰσχύι σου ταύτῃ καὶ
σώσεις τὸν Ισραηλ ἐκ χειρὸς Μαδιαμ ἰδοὺ ἐξαπέστειλά σε

צָעַד

The verb צָעַד, *step, go*, occurs once and is translated ἀπαίρω, *take [oneself] away*.
5:4

יְהוָה בְּצֵאתְךָ מִשֵּׂעִיר בְּצַעְדְּךָ מִשְּׂדֵה אֱדוֹם אֶרֶץ רָעָשָׁה גַּם־שָׁמַיִם נָטָפוּ
גַּם־עָבִים נָטְפוּ מָיִם:

κύριε ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ σου ἐν Σηιρ ἐν τῷ <u>ἀπαίρειν</u> σε ἐξ ἀγροῦ Εδωμ γῆ ἐσείσθη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔσταξεν δρόσους καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ἔσταξαν ὕδωρ

צָוָה

Forms of צָוָה, command, occur twice and are translated literally ἐντέλλομαι, *command.*

3:4

וַיִּהְיוּ לְנַסּוֹת בָּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל לָדַעַת הֲיִשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה:

καὶ ἐγένετο ὥστε πειράσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ισραηλ γνῶναι εἰ ἀκούσονται τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου ἃς <u>ἐνετείλατο</u> τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ

4:6

וַתִּשְׁלַח וַתִּקְרָא לְבָרָק בֶּן־אֲבִינֹעַם מִקֶּדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הֲלֹא־צִוָּה | יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵךְ וּמָשַׁכְתָּ בְּהַר תָּבוֹר וְלָקַחְתָּ עִמְּךָ עֲשֶׂרֶת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי וּמִבְּנֵי זְבֻלוּן:

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Δεββωρα καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸν Βαρακ υἱὸν Αβινεεμ ἐκ Καδης Νεφθαλι καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν οὐχὶ <u>ἐνετείλατο</u> κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ σοί καὶ ἀπελεύσῃ εἰς ὄρος Θαβωρ καὶ λήμψῃ μετὰ σεαυτοῦ δέκα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Νεφθαλι καὶ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ζαβουλων

צָרַף

The verb צָרַף, *refine, purify*, occurs once and is translated literally ἐκκαθαίρω, *purify, clean out.*

7:4

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־גִּדְעוֹן עוֹד הָעָם רָב הוֹרֵד אוֹתָם אֶל־הַמַּיִם וְאֶצְרְפֶנּוּ לְךָ שָׁם וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ זֶה | יֵלֵךְ אִתָּךְ הוּא יֵלֵךְ אִתָּךְ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ זֶה לֹא־יֵלֵךְ עִמָּךְ הוּא לֹא יֵלֵךְ:

 καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Γεδεων ἔτι ὁ λαὸς πολύς κατένεγκον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ <u>ἐκκαθαρῶ</u> σοι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔσται ὃν ἐὰν εἴπω πρὸς σέ οὗτος πορεύσεται σὺν σοί αὐτὸς πορεύσεται σὺν σοί καὶ πᾶν ὃν ἐὰν εἴπω πρὸς σέ οὗτος οὐ πορεύσεται μετὰ σοῦ αὐτὸς οὐ πορεύσεται μετὰ σοῦ

קוּם

The verb קוּם (hiphil), *raise up*, occurs four times and is translated literally by ἐγείρω, *rouse, raise, stir up.*

2:16

וַיָּקֶם יְהוָה שֹׁפְטִים וַיּוֹשִׁיעוּם מִיַּד שֹׁסֵיהֶם:

καὶ <u>ἤγειρεν</u> κύριος κριτάς καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν προνομευόντων αὐτούς

2:18

וְכִי־הֵקִים יְהוָה | לָהֶם שֹׁפְטִים וְהָיָה יְהוָה עִם־הַשֹּׁפֵט וְהוֹשִׁיעָם מִיַּד אֹיְבֵיהֶם

כֹּל יְמֵי הַשּׁוֹפֵט כִּי־יִנָּחֵם יְהוָה מִנַּאֲקָתָם מִפְּנֵי לֹחֲצֵיהֶם וְדֹחֲקֵיהֶם:

καὶ ὅτι <u>ἤγειρεν</u> κύριος κριτὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἦν κύριος μετὰ τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ κριτοῦ ὅτι παρεκλήθη κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκθλιβόντων αὐτούς

(See also 3:9, 15.)

רָאָה

The verb רָאָה (hiphil), *show*, occurs once and is translated literally δείκνυμι, *show, reveal.*

13:23

וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִשְׁתּוֹ לוּ חָפֵץ יְהוָה לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא־לָקַח מִיָּדֵנוּ עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הֶרְאָנוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה וְכָעֵת לֹא הִשְׁמִיעָנוּ כָּזֹאת:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰ ἤθελεν ὁ κύριος θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡμῶν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν <u>ἔδειξεν</u> ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα καὶ καθὼς καιρὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠκούτισεν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα

שׁוּב

The verb שׁוּב (hiphil), *return, repay*, occurs twice and is translated literally ἐπιστρέφω, *return.*

9:56

וַיָּשֶׁב אֱלֹהִים אֵת רָעַת אֲבִימֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְאָבִיו לַהֲרֹג אֶת־שִׁבְעִים אֶחָיו:

καὶ <u>ἐπέστρεψεν</u> ὁ θεὸς τὴν πονηρίαν Αβιμελεχ ἣν ἐποίησεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ

9:57

וְאֵת כָּל־רָעַת אַנְשֵׁי שְׁכֶם הֵשִׁיב אֱלֹהִים בְּרֹאשָׁם וַתָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם קִלֲלַת יוֹתָם בֶּן־יְרֻבָּעַל:

καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀνδρῶν Συχεμ <u>ἐπέστρεψεν</u> ὁ θεὸς εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ κατάρα Ιωαθαν υἱοῦ Ιεροβααλ

שִׂים

The verb שִׂים , *put, place, set,* occurs once and is translated literally τίθημι, *put, place.*
7:22

וַיִּתְקְעוּ שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת הַשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וַיָּשֶׂם יְהוָה אֵת חֶרֶב אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ וּבְכָל־הַמַּחֲנֶה וַיָּנָס הַמַּחֲנֶה עַד־בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה צְרֵרָתָה עַד שְׂפַת־אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה עַל־טַבָּת:

καὶ ἐσάλπισαν ἐν ταῖς τριακοσίαις κερατίναις καὶ <u>ἔθηκεν</u> κύριος τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ παρεμβολὴ ἕως Βηθσεεδτα Γαραγαθα ἕως χείλους Αβωμεουλα ἐπὶ Ταβαθ

שָׁלַם

The verb שָׁלַם *(piel)*, *pay back, requite*, occurs once and is translated literally ἀνταποδίδωμι, *repay, return*.

1:7

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנִי־בֶ֫זֶק שִׁבְעִים | מְלָכִים בְּהֹנוֹת יְדֵיהֶם וְרַגְלֵיהֶם מְקֻצָּצִים הָי֤וּ
מְלַקְּטִים תַּ֣חַת שֻׁלְחָנִ֔י כַּאֲשֶׁ֤ר עָשִׂ֨יתִי֙ כֵּ֣ן שִׁלַּם־לִ֣י אֱלֹהִ֔ים וַיְבִיאֻ֖הוּ יְרוּשָׁלַ֑͏ִם
וַיָּ֖מׇת שָֽׁם:

καὶ εἶπεν Αδωνιβεζεκ ἑβδομήκοντα βασιλεῖς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν ἀποκεκομμένοι ἦσαν συλλέγοντες τὰ ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης μου καθὼς οὖν ἐποίησα οὕτως <u>ἀνταπέδωκέν</u> μοι ὁ θεός καὶ ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ

שָׁמַע

The verb שָׁמַע, *(hiphil) announce, cause to hear*, occurs once and is translated literally ἀκουτίζω, *cause to hear*.

13:23

וַתֹּ֧אמֶר ל֣וֹ אִשְׁתּ֗וֹ ל֣וּ חָפֵ֤ץ יְהוָה֙ לַהֲמִיתֵ֔נוּ לֹֽא־לָקַ֤ח מִיָּדֵ֨נוּ֙ עֹלָ֣ה וּמִנְחָ֔ה וְלֹ֥א
הֶרְאָ֖נוּ אֶת־כׇּל־אֵ֑לֶּה וְכָעֵ֕ת לֹ֥א הִשְׁמִיעָ֖נוּ כָּזֹֽאת:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ εἰ ἤθελεν ὁ κύριος θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡμῶν ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα καὶ καθὼς καιρὸς οὐκ ἂν <u>ἠκούτισεν</u> ἡμᾶς ταῦτα

שָׁפַט

The verb שָׁפַט, *judge*, occurs once and is translated literally κρίνω, *judge*.

11:27

וְאָנֹכִי֙ לֹֽא־חָטָ֣אתִי לָ֔ךְ וְאַתָּ֞ה עֹשֶׂ֥ה אִתִּ֛י רָעָ֖ה לְהִלָּ֣חֶם בִּ֑י יִשְׁפֹּ֤ט יְהוָה֙ הַשֹּׁפֵ֜ט
הַיּ֗וֹם בֵּ֚ין בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וּבֵ֖ין בְּנֵ֥י עַמּֽוֹן:

καὶ νῦν ἐγώ εἰμι οὐχ ἥμαρτόν σοι καὶ σὺ ποιεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ πονηρίαν τοῦ παρατάξασθαι ἐν ἐμοί <u>κρίναι</u> κύριος κρίνων σήμερον ἀνὰ μέσον υἱῶν Ισραηλ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον υἱῶν Αμμων

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