

LXX Isaiah among the Other LXX Books: Trajectories and Convergences

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Rodrigo Franklin de Sousa

LXX Isaiah among the Other LXX Books

Trajectories and Convergences

1. Introduction

There are different ways in which we can conceive the idea of "LXX Isaiah among the other LXX books". The first possible approach is chronological. We can think of where Isaiah fits in a timeline of when the different biblical books were translated (we may conceptualize this as a "vertical" or "diachronic" approach). Another possible way of framing the issue is from the standpoint of the unique characteristics of LXX Isaiah in comparison with the other books (which we may think of as a "horizontal" or "synchronic" approach).

LXX Isaiah lends itself well for this kind of study for different reasons. First, there is a somewhat solid consensus regarding its *Vorlage*, generally conceived as close to the MT (although we may detect some possibly interesting variations, as we will see later). There is also considerable stability with respect to the Greek textual tradition. We can also mention a broad consensus regarding some of the basic characteristics of the translation technique, such as its free approach, the quality of the Greek, the attempt to produce an idiomatic translation often at the expense of Hebrew idiom, etc. Yet, there are also widely diverging views regarding specific elements of the translation, as in the case of the discussion around the is-

¹ The identity between the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah and a proto-MT Hebrew text is often assumed. While total identity should not be taken for granted, the proximity between the two is a reasonable assumption given our present knowledge of the witnesses of the Hebrew Isaiah in the last centuries before the Common Era. On this issue, see ZIEGLER, "Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta;" VAN DER KOOIJ, *Textzeugen*; VAN DER KOOIJ, "The Old Greek of Isaiah." Recent studies of the text of Isaiah in Qumran can help our understanding of the Hebrew text of Isaiah at the time of the LXX translation. Some examples are: HØGENHAVEN, "The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsa);" TOV, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran;" PARRY and QIMRON (eds.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa¹*); PULIKOTTIL, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran*; SWANSON, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran." These studies generally point in the direction of an overall stability of the Hebrew text of Isaiah as close to a proto-MT form, yet, they should also make us aware that full identity between the MT and the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah is not a given.

sues of "actualizing" interpretation, contextual versus atomistic readings, and the overall picture of the translator as a "scribe". My contention is that an approach to LXX Isaiah that takes seriously into account the "vertical" and "horizontal" dimensions mentioned above can build from the elements on which there is consensus, helping us to see these elements in a better light and enlightening us regarding the more contentious issues.

2. Some Methodological Considerations

In terms of method, there are two basic approaches available. The first is to begin with a case by case study of places where intertextual echoes are identifiable in LXX Isaiah. These can surface in any attentive continuous reading of the book. In this regard, we can also take as our point of depart studies such as the comprehensive list of examples proposed by Joseph Ziegler² or the catalogue of pluses compiled by Mirjam Van der Worm-Croughs.³

Another possibility is to do a thorough exegetical study of passages in Isaiah that have exact parallels in other books, do the same for the corresponding passages from those books and compare the results. This has the advantage of highlighting the peculiarities of each book, allowing us to see a broad panorama of the LXX in sharper relief. Isaiah has many texts that lend themselves to this kind of study. I am thinking specifically of: Isaiah 2 / Micah 4; Isaiah 7 / 2 Kings 16; Isaiah 36–39 / 2 Kings 18–20; and Isaiah 15–16 / Jeremiah 48 (31 LXX).

This paper illustrates the second approach by means of a comparative reading of Isa 7:1 and 37:8–9 and their corresponding passages in the MT and Greek versions of 2 Kgs 16:5 and 19:8–9. I will use the standard Masoretic and English designation and numbering when I refer to the Hebrew version of Kings, and I will refer to the Greek version as LXX 4 Kingdoms $(\gamma\delta)$.

3. Isa 7:1 and 37:8–9 at a Glance

Let us first look closely at LXX Isa 7:1:

MT LXX Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Αχαζ τοῦ Ιωαθαμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Οζιου βασιλέως Ιουδα ἀνέβη Ραασσων βασιλεὺς Αραμ

² Ziegler, Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias (1934).

³ VAN DER VORM-CROUGHS, The Old Greek of Isaiah (2014).

ופקח בן־רמליהו מלך־ישראל ירושלם למלחמה עליה ולא יכל להלחם עליה

καὶ Φακεε υίὸς Ρομελιου βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ πολεμῆσαι αὐτὴν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πολιορκῆσαι αὐτήν

So it was, in the days of Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah, went up Rezin, king of Aram, and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel,

So it was, in the days of Ahaz, (son) of Jotham, the son of Ozias king of Judah,

went up Raasson, king of Aram, and Phakee, son of Romelias, king of Israel, against Jerusalem to battle her, and they could not besiege her

(to) Jerusalem for the battle against her, but he could not battle against her

The rendering of 7:1 is overall quite close to the Hebrew reflected in the MT, but there are some subtle differences worthy of comment. First, we note the peculiar syntax of rectional marker. If the Vorlage of the translator had the same reading, we already have a small sample of his concern with intelligibility over form, in the insertion of a preposition before Ἱερουσαλήμ, as this is required by the Greek language. In this case, the addition of ἐπί (instead of, for instance, $\pi \rho \delta \varsigma$) is perfectly adequate, given the context of hostility against Jerusalem.

Another notable difference from the MT is the presence of the plural verbal form ἠδυνήθησαν in the last line instead of the difficult MT reading 'csingular'). The singular verb in the MT may seem out of place as it refers to two subjects (Rezin and Pekah). So much that the Targum is the only ancient version that seems to support it. The plural reading of the LXX agrees with $1QIsa^a$, the Vulgate, and the Peshitta.

While a different *Vorlage* is a good explanation, there is also good reason to see the singular MT reading as original. First, it is coherent with the singular with the verse, which has Rezin as its subject. If he is seen as the principal agent of the attack against Jerusalem, the singular form of יכל is grammatically justifiable. Moreover, the use of a singular verb with two subjects is attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, for instance in 1 Sam 18:3.

It is also interesting to see how the Isaiah translator renders the nominal clause καταπό with the infinitive verb πολεμῆσαι ("battle, wage war") and the infinitive construct καταπό with the infinitive πολιορκῆσαι ("besiege"). It is known that the Isaiah translation often represents words that have the same Hebrew root occurring in proximity with different equivalents (presumably for stylistic reasons). As one would expect, the translator chose a

⁴ DE WAARD, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 32. Cf. BARTHÉLEMY, *Critique textuelle*, 44–46. The reading in MT fits the context well if Rezin is viewed as the driving force in the undertaking, with Pekah assuming a secondary role, having been coerced to form the coalition. Cf. WILDBERGER, *Isaiah 1–12*, 283.

term he considered idiomatically appropriate, and the choice of π oλιορκεῖν at this point is significant.

The verb πολιορχεῖν normally means "besiege" or "harass" (the latter in a military or socio-political context). In the LXX it is normally the equivalent of the Hebrew term מוֹר, as in 2 Sam 20:15, 2 Kgs 18:9, 24:11, Jer 46:1, and Dan 1:1. Other equivalents are לחץ (Jdg 2:18), עצר (2 Kgs 17:4), and בוק (Jer 19:9). It also figures in originally Greek compositions. In 1 Esd 5:69 πολιορχεῖν is used of the oppression by the "peoples of the land" against those rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. In 2 Macc 11:6 it is used with the sense of "besiege", as it is also the case in 4 Macc 7:4. These examples indicate that πολιορχεῖν was a current verb in the vocabulary of Hellenistic Jews to describe political hostility or a military siege.

LXX Isaiah knows the equivalence between πολιορκεῖν and צור, as in 1:8 the participial form πολιορκουμένη is used for נצורה. Also, in 27:3 the translator misreads נצָרָה (from נצורה), in the context of an overall deviating rendering that I will not comment here in detail.

There are two uses of the verb $\pi \circ \lambda \circ \rho \times \tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{\nu}$ in the Greek Isaiah that merit greater attention. One is in 9:20 (9:21 in English versions), where the term is added with no Hebrew equivalent in a free rendering that shows that the verb $\pi \circ \lambda \circ \rho \times \tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{\nu}$ is part of the stock vocabulary of the Isaiah translator.

The other case, which particularly interests us in our study, is the use of πολιορκεῖν to translate the Hebrew τη in 7:1 and in 37:8–9. τη and its derivates are consistently rendered by πολεμεῖν in LXX Isaiah (19:2; 20:1; 30:32; 63:10). This is also the case elsewhere in the LXX corpus. The use of πολιορκεῖν as an equivalent of τη is a peculiar phenomenon of LXX Isaiah 7 and 37. Elsewhere in the LXX, the equivalence is attested only in Joshua 10:29, 33, 34.

In light of our brief remarks on the use of πολιορχεῖν in the LXX, it is possible that the choice of the term to translate in LXX Isa 7:1 and 37:8–9 was dictated by the contents of the passages, since both chapters 7 and 37 deal with sieges against Jerusalem.

To see this more clearly, we now turn to LXX Isa 37:8–9:

MT LXX

(verse 8)

וישב רב־שקה וימצא את־מלך אשור נלחם על־לבנה כי שמע כי נסע מלכיש

καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ραψακης καὶ κατέλαβεν πολιορκοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα Λομναν καὶ ἤκουσεν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὅτι

And (the) Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria battling against Libnah, And Rapsakes returned and caught up with the king besieging Lomna:

⁵ Job 17:7 has the remarkable πεπολιόρκημαι, reading צור instead of MT's יצרי.

for he heard that he had departed from and the king of the Assyrians heard that Lachish.

(verse 9)

Ι΄ Αἰθιο Θαρακα βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων

אמר

יצא להלחם אתך πολιορκῆσαι αὐτόν

וישמע וישלח καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπέστρεψεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν

αγγέλους πρὸς Εζεκιαν λέγων

And he heard concerning Tirhaqah king of Tharaka, king of the Ethiopians went out

Cush, saying,

"He has came to battle you" to besiege him.

And he heard, and he sent And hearing it, he turned away, and sent

messengers to Hezekiah, saying: messengers to Ezekias, saying:

The first phrase is quite close to the Hebrew, with the interesting choice of κατέλαβεν for אימצא, which adds some color and tension to the narrative. After that, there is a significant departure. The first noticeable difference is a minor one, namely the change of the epithet of מלך אשר from the direct object of the first phrase to the subject of the second phrase.

The most significant difference between the MT and the LXX of Isaiah 37:8–9 is the one between the direct discourse in the Hebrew, which creates some syntactical and semantic difficulties for the overall understanding of the narrative, and the simpler and smoother account in Greek, containing just the report of what the "king of the Assyrians" heard and did. It is in this context that we find, in verse 8, the rendering of use απολιορκοῦντα, and in verse 9 ἀπόπο as πολιορκοῦντα, attesting the same lexical equivalence that we saw in 7:1.

Another point that is worthy of note is the difference between the phrase π וישׁמע וישׁמע and the Greek καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπέστρεψεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν. While the aorist ἀκούσας represents וישׁמע well and καὶ ἀπέστειλεν corresponds to , we note that ἀπέστρεψεν has no equivalent term in Hebrew.

4. The Relationship between LXX Isa 7:1 and 2 Kgs 16:5

We now turn to the parallel texts in 2 Kings/4 Kingdoms. Within the limits of this paper, it is not feasible to discus the entirety of the entire chapters in parallel, so we will just consider the verses where the term "besiege" is used to discuss the interplay between the translation technical study and the comparative study.

Let us look first at 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 16:5:

MT LXX

τότε ἀνέβη Ραασσων βασιλεὺς Συρίας καὶ Φακεε υίὸς Ρομελιου βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ εἰς Ιερουσαλημ εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν ἐπὶ Αχαζ καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο πολεμεῖν

Then Rezin, king of Aram, went up and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel (to) Jerusalem for the battle and they besieged against Ahaz and they could not battle

Then Raasson, king of Syria, went up and Phakee, son of Romelias, king of Israel towards Jerusalem, towards battle and they were besieging *against* Ahaz and they could not battle

Isaiah 7 and 2 Kings 16 are not synoptic chapters, yet there is a close textual parallel between Isa 7:1 and 2 Kgs 16:5. The first part of Isa 7:1, namely the contextualization of the following narrative "In the days of Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Aram" has no direct parallel with 2 Kgs 16:5, unless we see it as a broad contextualization within the overall framework of 2 Kgs 16:1–4, but this is the subject of another discussion.

The parallel begins with the notice of the attack of Rezin and Pekah against Ahaz. The Isaiah text opens the phrase directly with the perfect third person singular form עלה, whereas in 2 Kings we have the adverbial particle אז followed by the imperfect third person singular יעלה. The following clause is exactly the same, including the peculiar syntax of ירושלם without preposition or directional marker, followed by להלחם.

There are three important differences between the two MT's. The first is the presence of עלה at the end of the last two parallel clauses of Isa 7:1. The second is the line ויצרו על־אחץ between these two lines in 2 Kgs 16:5. Finally, there is a difference in the form of the verse יבל in the last line, which is singular in Isaiah and plural in 2 Kings.

The relationship between the Hebrew texts of Isaiah and 2 Kings is not the focus of our study. Rather, we are interested in seeing what we can learn about LXX Isaiah, in terms of its *Vorlage*, translation technique, possible effects the Hebrew text of 2 Kings could have had on the Isaiah translation, and whether there is any link between the Greek textual traditions of both books. We can begin with the latter issue, stating simply that apart from the use of similar transcriptions of personal names and some standard verbal equivalences, we do not find clear traces of a direct relationship between the two Greek texts. This is not surprising, if we accept the view

 $^{^6}$ WILDBERGER, *Isaiah 1–12*, 283, points out that while Isa. 7:1 can be traced back to 2 Kgs 16:5, there is no need to employ critical tools to establish a text that finds complete agreement in both passages.

that the $\gamma\delta$ section of Kings is a late translation. Thus, there is logically no influence of LXX 4 Kingdoms on LXX Isaiah, but an influence in the inverse sense is at least conceivable.

There seems to be a link, however, between LXX Isaiah and the Hebrew text of 2 Kings. There are two elements that draw our attention. The first is the plural reading ήδυνήθησαν in LXX Isa 7:1. The second is the use of πολιορκεῖν, which is either just a free translation or a representation of "besiege", which appears in the additional clause of 2 Kgs 16:5 but not in the MT of Isaiah.

There are two possible explanations. On the one hand, it is conceivable that the translator had a *Vorlage* that was closer to the MT form of 2 Kgs 16:5 than to the MT of Isaiah. Alternatively, if we concede that the *Vorlage* of the Isaiah translator was similar to MT Isaiah, we can postulate that he was somehow influenced by his knowledge of the Hebrew book of 2 Kings, from which he could have drawn, consciously or unconsciously, a turn of phrase that included the two verbs that finally entered his rendering of Isa 7:1, and which do not figure in MT Isaiah. Thus, me must either conceive a *Vorlage* to LXX Isa 7:1 that is closer the text currently in MT 2 Kgs 16:5 or, in case the translator had access to Hebrew texts that reflect our MT for both verses, we can imagine that the translator was influenced by his memory of a Hebrew version of 2 Kings when translating Isaiah.

The memory of 2 Kgs 16:5 could have influenced the Isaiah translator beyond the simple choice of vocabulary and affected his understanding of the global sense of the narrative. There is a subtle difference in the way the account of the siege of Ahaz is framed in 2 Kgs 16:5 and Isa 7:1. Both texts narrate how Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, formed a coalition to attack Jerusalem. The text of 2 Kings is clear in stating that Rezin and Pekah went against Jerusalem, carried out a siege, but were not able to overthrow Ahaz. However, the Hebrew of Isa 7:1 could indicate that they were not even able to make any active assaults on the city. The Greek could be taken to mean either that there was an unsuccessful siege or that the siege did not even begin to be mounted. If the first is the correct interpretation, this can indicate that the translator's previous knowledge of the Hebrew text of 2 Kings affected his work.

It is worth noting that the late recensions make two significant changes in the Isaiah text. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion change the reading of πολιορκήσαι to πολεμήσαι, bringing the text closer to the Hebrew. Aquila and Symmachus also change the Isaiah reading from $A\rho\alpha\mu$ to $\sigma\nu\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$, bringing the text into alignment with the same tradition to which the Greek version of 2 Kings belongs. This is also a topic for another study.

5. The Relationship between LXX Isa 37:8-9 and 2 Kgs 19:8-9

To understand LXX Isa 37:8-9 further, let us consider the Hebrew and Greek versions of 2 Kings (LXX 4 Kingdoms) 19:8–9:

MT LXX

(verse 8)

וישב רב־שקה וימצא את־מלך אשור נלחם על־לבנה כי שמע כי נסע מלכיש

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ραψακης καὶ εὖρεν τὸν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων πολεμοῦντα ἐπὶ Λομνα ότι ήκουσεν ότι ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ Λαχις

And (the) Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria battling

against Libnah, for he heard that he had departed from Lachish.

And Rapsakes returned and found the king of the Assyrians battling against Lomna, for he heard that he had departed

from Lachis.

(verse 9)

וישמע אל־תרהקה מלד־כוש

וישב וישלח מלאכים אל־חזקיהו לאמר

καὶ ἤκουσεν περὶ Θαρακα βασιλέως Αἰθιόπων ιδού έξηλθεν πολεμεῖν μετὰ σοῦ

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν άγγέλους πρὸς Εζεκιαν λέγων

And he heard concerning Tirhaqah, king of Cush, saying, "Behold, he has come out to battle with you".

And he returned, and he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying,

And he heard concerning Tharaka, king of the Ethiopians, saying, "Behold, he has come out to battle with you". And he returned, and he sent

messengers to Ezekias, saying,

2 Kings 18-20 and Isaiah 36-39 are truly synoptic texts. To have a fuller appreciation of their relationship, we would need a full comparative study of the two sections, both in Hebrew and in Greek. Again, a detailed analysis of the relationship between these sections in Hebrew does not concern us here.⁸ It suffices to note that there are only three differences between the small segments that we are considering, namely Isa 37:8–9 and 2 Kgs 19:8–9. These are: the peculiar use of the preposition אל instead of על at the beginning of verse 8;9 the presence of the interjection יצא before יצא in 2 Kings; and the difference between the sequences וישב וישלח in 2 Kgs

⁷ To date, the most thorough study of LXX Isa 36–39 is HURWITZ, "Septuagint."

⁸ For in depth studies of the relationship, see GONCALVES, "2 Rois 18,13–20,19 par Isaïe 36-39;" PERSON, "II Kings 18-20 and Isaiah 36-39;" VAN PEURSEN and TALSTRA, "Computer-Assisted Analysis;" ROOT, "Scribal Error;" ANDERSON, "Rise, Fall, and Renovation."

⁹ אל is less commonly used with the sense of "about", or "concerning" than על. A good example appears in 2 Sam 1:24.

19:9 and וישמע וישלח in Isa 37:9. This last difference is the only one that interests us in the present study.

However, the translation of Γιώσις ιπώσις in Isa 37:9 is remarkable. We have seen that the Greek Isaiah offers καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπέστρεψεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν, with the notable addition of ἀπέστρεψεν, without a Hebrew equivalent. The verb ἀποστρέφειν can serve as a representation of and this could point in the direction of a Vorlage that included this verb (thus being closer to the MT of 2 Kings than to the MT of Isaiah). It could also indicate that the translator was influenced by a reminiscence of the Hebrew text of 2 Kings in producing his rendering. The fact that he uses a different Greek verb from the one used in LXX 4 Kingdoms makes any relationship between the two Greek versions unlikely. The Greek translations seem to be totally independent.

6. Concluding Remarks

Our study began with an observation of the free approach of the translator in LXX Isa 7:1 and 37:8–9, with particular attention to his idiomatically conscious use of the verb πολιορκεῖν. This could be a self-sufficient study reinforcing some of our already existing knowledge of the translation technique of LXX Isaiah. But when we took into account the data of the parallel texts in 2 Kgs 16:5 and 19:8–9, we found new elements that helped us to paint a more global picture of LXX Isaiah and see the version in sharper relief. The comparative analyses of the Hebrew texts of both Isaiah and 2 Kings and their treatment in the extant Greek versions enabled us to see new issues and ask new questions.

First, our study enabled us to raise questions regarding whether the translator had a *Vorlage* different from the MT of Isaiah. An important

¹⁰ For a study of personal terminology in the Hebrew version, see THEIS, "Noch ein Namensspiel in der Bibel?."

lesson to learn is that we may have some doubts regarding a full equivalence between his *Vorlage* and the MT. This equivalence cannot be fully taken for granted, even if we do not have the same type of complex textual problems that are known to students of the books of Kingdoms, Jeremiah, or Esther.¹¹

Whether or not we decide in favor of a proto-MT *Vorlage* for Isaiah, our study also offered a glimpse into ways the Hebrew text of other books could have influenced the Isaiah translator. This could contribute to the ongoing discussion about the role of the translator as a scribe and interpreter of sacred scripture and the type of hermeneutical elements that came into play in his endeavor.

The fact that there was no evident trace of any influence of the Greek text of 2 Kings in Isaiah reinforces the consensus that LXX Isaiah is earlier than LXX 4 Kingdoms ($\gamma\delta$). In fact, the evidence of recent comparative studies tends to indicate that LXX Isaiah shows little evidence of an influence of Greek texts other than the Pentateuch, which places it earlier than most other books. The data indicates that the earlier classic studies of Ziegler and Seeligmann are in need of revision. 12

Another topic for further discussion raised by our study was the independence between the interpretive and textual traditions of the Greek versions of Isaiah and Kings, even if there could have been subsequent attempts at recensions to bring these texts into greater alignment.

In sum, when we move away from an isolated study of LXX Isaiah in itself, and seriously consider it in relation to other versions, particularly those that share parallel texts with it, we can have a sharper and more complex picture of our version. In this sense, we can see LXX Isaiah as a point of confluence and convergence of different trajectories of tradition of translation and interpretation. I argue that the proposed model of study presented in this paper can enrich our knowledge of LXX Isaiah and can also be applied to other versions.

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¹¹ For a recent assessment of these versions, see ToV, "Three Strange Books."

¹² On this issue, see ZIEGLER, *Untersuchungen*, 103–105, and SEELIGMANN, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 71–76.

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