

THE RELEVANCE OF BIBLICAL-SEMITIC REVELATION STRUCTURES FOR A HERMENEUTIC OF THE SEPTUAGINT

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

At the end of today's conference, I would like to draw our attention to a very present issue, which is directly related to our interest in the biblical-Semitic structures. It is about "The relevance of biblical-Semitic revelation structures for a hermeneutic of the Septuagint". Our topic is developed as follows:

1. Introduction
2. The Precedence of the LXX in Biblical Theology in Germany
3. Biblical-Semitic Revelation Structures in the Hebrew Bible
4. The Significance of the LXX for a Hermeneutic of the New Testament
5. Results

1. Introduction

The question of the relevance of biblical-Semitic revelation structures for a hermeneutic of the Septuagint (LXX) is very timely and important. At the same time this question leads us back to the 3rd Century BCE, i.e. into the time when probably the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, had been translated from Hebrew into Greek.¹ However, a look at the hermeneutical debate in English and German theology shows that the question of the use of the LXX is still quite unevenly developed.

Thus there are a number of textbooks on Biblical hermeneutics - mainly in German

language - making no reference at all to the LXX, although it has strongly influenced the interpretation of the NT and will continue to exert its influence in the future.² Other hermeneutical approaches, however, consider the LXX as an important factor in the development of the transition of the Hebrew Bible into the Greek language of the New Testament. Here, the insight is foundational, e.g. by A. Thiselton³, that the LXX as a translation already represents an interpretation of the Old Testament⁴ and thus does not provide a timeless interpretation, but a transfer from culture to culture.⁵ Thiselton analyzed, among others, the Bible interpretation of F.D.E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who had already aptly noted that the meaning of the language of the New Testament could not be understood if it were not compared with the Greek language of the LXX. But also the Semitic coloring of language in the NT, according to Schleiermacher, needs to be considered.⁶

Thus, the basic problem is already outlined, namely the proper allocation of the Semitic and Greek language and cultural world. However, it should be noted that in the intertestamental period, extending over a period of 700 years between Exile and the birth of Jesus, Aramaic was increasingly spoken in the Middle East, which was closely related to Hebrew. On this topic, we have heard today in various presentations in an impressive way, how the Aramaic language became alive since the 8th Century BCE, resulting

in a growing cultural impact.⁷ Thus archeology, linguistics and theology interrelate with one another and provide the possibility of an interdisciplinary access to that time period.⁸

It should be noted that the Semitic thought structures are equally effective in both languages, Aramaic and Hebrew.⁹ The attempt has been made to continue these Semitic structures as much as possible in the Greek language of the New Testament, which was the third language of culture and communication prevalent during the Hellenistic period in the Near East.¹⁰ For this purpose, S. Fassberg provides a historical overview of the allocation of the ancient languages Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in the various regions of Palestine.¹¹ The Aramaic language displaced since the Second Temple period more and more the Hebrew¹² language in Palestine, spreading as the language of commerce, the *lingua franca* of the Middle East¹³. Only through the Arab-Islamic conquests in the 7th Century the Aramaic language as the main spoken language in the Middle East was repelled.¹⁴ Since Aramaic at the time when the LXX was generated, was the more vivid language, it probably has affected the Greek text of the LXX more than is generally assumed.¹⁵

This insight is not new, but it needs to be made aware of again and again. For, already in 1841, i.e. 172 years ago (!) the Jewish scholar Zacharias Frankel published his preliminary studies on the Septuagint (*Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*). He was “Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Communities of Dresden and Leipzig.” Frankel discussed at that time extensively (275 pages) the influence of Aramaic on the Greek-speaking translators of the LXX. Regarding the relationship of the LXX to the Hebrew text since the 15th Century Frankel aptly noted:

“With the restoration of the sciences after the fall of the Byzantine Empire also

awoke the interest in a more thorough study of the Bible, a lot of attention was given to the Hebrew language and one was now, to a greater extent than Jerome, able to compare the Septuagint with the Hebrew text. The study of the LXX now manifested itself in three ways: the Septuagint was moved into the field of Bible explanation, it was sought in it for the measure of the Hebrew text, it was asserted or denied its historical value.”¹⁶

Here we see how the LXX was partially made the criterion for the interpretation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Here, the question of the *Vorlage*¹⁷ of the present Masoretic text¹⁸ is of particular importance.¹⁹ However, the perception of the original revelatory quality of the Hebrew - and, where required, of the Aramaic - text always needs to be observed. At the same time, it is important to examine the Aramaic influences on the LXX. Because of its close relationship with the Hebrew the Aramaic language does contain the Semitic language and thought patterns²⁰, but it provides at the same time, as we have seen today, the additional possibility to classify the time of origin of the biblical texts in a better way. Therefore, an investigation of these parallels could provide an important corrective to the alteration of meaning by the hermeneutics of LXX-Greek.²¹

Thus, for us today the following question is foundational: Will we lose in the translation process from the Hebrew / Aramaic Bible into the LXX certain dimensions or structures of knowledge or not?²² We need to notice anew that the LXX from the beginning was *an interest-driven cut of the Hebrew and Aramaic text* for a readership in the Greek context.²³ Thus J. Cook aptly remarks on the Greek translation of the Hebrew OT:

„The fact that the Greek speaking Jews in Egypt were no longer able to understand their mother tongue, made such a

[translation; author] necessary. Thus the specific needs of this population needed to be considered, which were primarily of religious, especially liturgical nature.²⁴

On the one hand the Greek translation of the Old Testament includes clear linguistic structures of the underlying Hebraisms (e.g. Gn 4:5)²⁵ and Aramaisms. On the other hand, the LXX is “an interpretation of the Hebrew text”²⁶, as J. Cook explains. This is evident, for example, in Gen 2:2 where God is resting on the 7th day²⁷, while the LXX moves the resting of God to the 6th day.²⁸ This could be a conscious adaptation, an adjustment made in order to avoid the impression that God had been working on the Sabbath.²⁹ Another example of an adjustment for theological reasons can be observed in Ex 24:10, where the leaders of Israel “saw the God of Israel.”³⁰ This “seeing God” is, however, weakened in the LXX. Here it is expressed as: “they saw the place where the God of Israel stood.”³¹ Here we see a clear shift in meaning and thus a loss of meaning.³²

Conversely, it also occurs that “seeing God” is inserted into the LXX translation, although this is not present in the Hebrew text.³³ In Gen 31:13 the Hebrew text says: “I am the God of Bethel.”³⁴ In the Greek translation, however, we read: “I am the God who appeared to you in the place of God.”³⁵ Against this background and additional examples, J. Joosten arrives at the following conclusion:

“The Hebrew Bible is a religious text, and so is its translation. Whether or not the translators were religious specialists to begin with – probably they were not -, by the sheer fact of undertaking to produce a version of Israel’s Scriptures, they positioned themselves as theologians.”³⁶

Against this linguistic and theological background, we now turn to the current use of the LXX in Germany.³⁷

2. The Precedence of the LXX in Biblical Theology in Germany

The primacy of the LXX over the Masoretic text is, historically, not a new phenomenon.³⁸ Because already in the Early Church, the influential theologian of the Antiochene school, Theodoret of Cyrus (ca. 393-466) emphasized the use of the LXX.³⁹ When writing his commentaries on the Bible he relied almost exclusively on the Greek text of the LXX as well as on Syrian texts, while he had only a modest knowledge of Hebrew and showed no interest in confirming the interpretation of a biblical text on the basis of the original Hebrew text.⁴⁰ This is problematic, as the LXX represents a “sometimes quite freely translated, varied”⁴¹ text form, as P. Stuhlmacher aptly remarks. It should be noted that the original and thus foundational revelatory quality of the Hebrew Bible⁴² was eminently significant. Thus Stuhlmacher aptly remarks:

“The Greek Twelve Prophets Source of Murabba’at confirms a real recension of the Greek text according to the Hebrew original. Such recension work is only possible and meaningful if *the Hebrew text had normative precedence over the Greek.*”⁴³ (italics Stuhlmacher)

This normative primacy of the Hebrew text, however, is obscured by the fact that the text-historical relationship between the various Hebrew text families to the different Greek translations is very complex. This scientific discussion, for example, is documented in the 2010 anthology *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen* (ed. M. Karrer et al.).⁴⁴ The organizing institution of this LXX-research is the project *Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*⁴⁵, which has as its equivalent at the international level the project *A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)*⁴⁶. Both projects are under the auspices of the *International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS)*.⁴⁷

Here, a comprehensive answer to the basic question is yet to be given: “What is the Septuagint?”, respectively, “Which Septuagint?”

This question is of foundational importance, because if a text is to be translated, then first conclusions need to be drawn about its character, as A. Pietersma aptly remarks.⁴⁸ He points out that in researching the LXX, a twofold distinction must always be observed:

First, the translation of the Hebrew Bible in relation to the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible.

Second, the final form of the text of the LXX in contrast to the reception history of the LXX.⁴⁹

Only in this way, the difference between the text produced and the text received can be discerned. For these two levels of interpretation each follow their own rules and procedures.⁵⁰

The picture of the relationship between the Hebrew text and LXX was redrawn by the discovery of the *Qumran texts* in a foundational way. Because there both Hebrew and Greek texts were found, which, however, have no text-historical connection with each other. As E. Tov points out, the only closeness of Hebrew and Greek texts in Qumran exists between the scroll of the Minor Prophets from Nahal Hever and Murabba’at scroll, since both reflect the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Old Testament.⁵¹ This results in the following text development from OT to NT:

The classical Hebrew of the texts from Genesis to Isaiah is foundational. In Jeremiah already later linguistic phenomena occur sporadically such as the use of ‘al “over” in the sense of ‘el “to / toward” as in the Aramaic parts of the book of Ezra. This is followed by the time of Aramaic and non-classical Hebrew. Then we see the inter-testamental period, as documented in Qumran and in the LXX. Fourth, then follows the Koine Greek of the NT with Hebraisms and Aramaisms.

The complexity of the relationship between Hebrew and Greek text templates is emphasized by M. Karrer by examples from the letter to the Hebrews. With regard to the quotations of Hebrews in the Old Testament, Karrer refers to the gradual process of translating the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language. Likewise, the discovery of the Qumran writings shows that the text of the LXX “around the time of Christ was still in motion.”⁵² Therefore Karrer assumes that the author of Hebrews had no complete Hebrew text available, even if the use of written templates is to be assumed. At the same time, however, Karrer emphasizes the openness of the LXX text *after* Qumran and arrives at the following conclusion:

“The Greek translations around the time of Christ were subject to slight revisions according to the standard of the Hebrew parallels. Older, unedited manuscripts ran around next younger ones which needed to be edited in the direction of the (proto-) Masoretic text. Mixed and transitional forms were next to them.”⁵³

Apart from the question of the development of the LXX text, however, there is another important aspect on the linguistic level. This is about the language structures in their relationship to the Hebrew text, which claims to be the carrier of theological revelatory quality.

3. Biblical-Semitic Revelation Structures in the Hebrew Bible

Foundational to our reflections on the access to the Semitic revelation structures is the perception that the language structures of Hebrew, respectively, Aramaic and Greek are cardinally different. This refers not only to the word sequence as G. Walser⁵⁴ has researched, but also to the variety of aspects of meaning of Hebrew and Greek terms and concepts. This can be demonstrated, for example, by the concepts of hb. DABAR (word-deed) and

the gr. *logos*. Here the word-deed of God as the holistic shaping of reality is positioned in contrast to the word as a metaphysical cognitive concept.⁵⁵

So here we see the task of a hermeneutical analysis of the Septuagint. As J. Cook aptly remarks, every translation is at the same time and essentially an interpretation and therefore a hermeneutical activity, which needs to be reflected as such in a more conscious way.⁵⁶

In this graphics, we clearly see that with each translation step occurs a certain loss of meaning.⁵⁷ Foundational is the Hebrew text, which has priority over the interpretation of the LXX due to the original revelation structures. However, this text suffered in the translation process from the Hebrew text into the Greek text of the LXX (level 1) already from a limited perception of the original revelation quality. This process then continues accordingly between the LXX and the later translations (levels 2 and 3).⁵⁸ How can these losses of meaning be overcome? Through the new elaboration of the biblical-Semitic revelation structures. This will be demonstrated by way of example with reference to two important concepts in the Hebrew OT.⁵⁹

3.1 The Concept *EMET*

This word field is based on the Hebrew root AMAN (aleph-mem-nun) with the basic meaning of “be firm, be faithful, be reliable.” The term *emet* occurs 127 times in the Old Testament, most frequently in the Psalms (37 times), followed by Isaiah and Proverbs (12 times each) and Jeremiah (11 times). Thus it exerts a theologically formative force for Biblical Theology.

The root AMAN for “believe” is in close factual relationship to the concept of “covenant” (hb. BERIT) or “building a covenant” (hb. QUM). This is seen, for example, in Gen 15:6,18, where these concepts occur together:

“Abram believed the LORD, and he credited it to him as righteousness. . . . On that day the LORD made a covenant with Abram and said: To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.”

This covenant promise is repeated in Genesis 26:3 and confirmed by the establishing of the covenant:

“Stay as a stranger in this country for a while! And I will be with you and will bless you; for to you and your descendants I will give all these countries and will confirm the oath which I have sworn to your father Abraham.”

The root QUM here stands for the establishing of a covenant (hb. *berit*) (cf. Lv 26:9; Nu 30:14-15). In the later language the verb AMAD is used as a parallel to the verb QUM to express the establishing of a covenant, as A. Hurvitz⁶⁰ emphasizes (e.g. Ezek 17:13-14). Here we see how the word field of AMAN and AMAD represents the reliability of a covenant relationship. It should be noted that in terms of semantics, i.e. the meaning of words, the terms AMAN (with Aleph) and AMAD (with Ayin) seem to partially overlap particularly in Late Biblical Hebrew.⁶¹ But in terms of the original morphology, that is, the verbal form, they are not related roots.

Thus the noun EMET stands for the quality of “truth” in the context of the relationship of Yahweh with his people. Here the cognitive aspect is clearly and essentially integrated into the relational aspect. As H. Wildberger aptly remarks, the Hebrew, on the one hand, is concerned about the reliability of the speaker, and on the other hand, about the reliability of what is said.⁶² However, both aspects belong structurally together against the background of the unity of word and deed.^{63,64} Both in relation to God⁶⁵ as well as in terms of people⁶⁶ the focal concern is the reliability of action and speech.

We see here how a particular aspect of the field of meaning of the original term is selected and continued. The other aspects, however, have been lost by the use of the Greek term. Thus, the dimension of the “revelation of the hidden” prevailed in the Greco-Western perceptual grid as the core meaning.⁶⁷ Therefore, the theological task is all the more urgent to expose the buried or lost dimensions of the original biblical-Semitic revelation structures and to produce them again. The term “truth” is closely connected to another term of the Hebrew OT, in which the Semitic thought structures are clearly seen.

3.2 The Concept CHESED

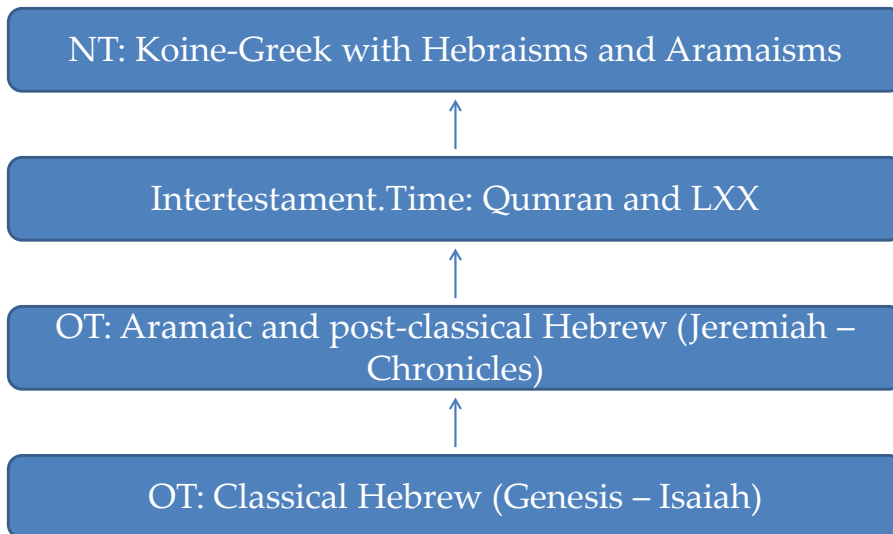
The Hebrew term CHESED is used both in relation to God, as well as in relation to people. The word appears 245 times in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms and in the narrative and wisdom texts.⁶⁸ Thus CHESED is an important and formative concept for biblical theology. In relation to God, it refers to the accomplishment

of the commitments that God has given in his covenant with his people. This becomes also visible in its frequent association with EMET, “truth or loyalty”.⁶⁹ Especially in Ex 34:5-6, this connection is strongly emphasized in the so-called *God-predication* through Moses:⁷⁰

“The Lord descended in the cloud and Moses stood with him there, and called upon the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed before his face and he shouted: LORD, LORD, God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in loyal love and faithfulness.”

These words are in direct context to the covenant of God with Israel, therefore God’s faithfulness is qualified by the mutual obligation of the covenant. Thus, here we find the biblical-Semitic background of the New Testament use of this phrase “grace and truth.” A striking example is John 1:14, where this phrase appears again:

Biblical-semitic Background of Text Development



“And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, a glory as of the only Son from the Father, full of grace and truth.”⁷¹

The term “truth”, which is translated in Ex 34:6 with “loyalty”, is EMET. This covenant faithfulness of God to man includes the expectation that even man exercises CHESD toward God. Thus H. Stoebe aptly remarks:

“Therefore God expects from man the same attitude of readiness for him (*haesaed*), not as a compensation, but as a grateful recognition of what God has done before, as a confirmation and realization of the covenant given by him.”⁷²

Regarding the translation of *chesed* in the LXX as *eleos*, “mercy,” J. Joosten notes that there is only a partial match of the fields of meaning of both terms. Because *chesed* is basically an attitude which characterizes a relationship in

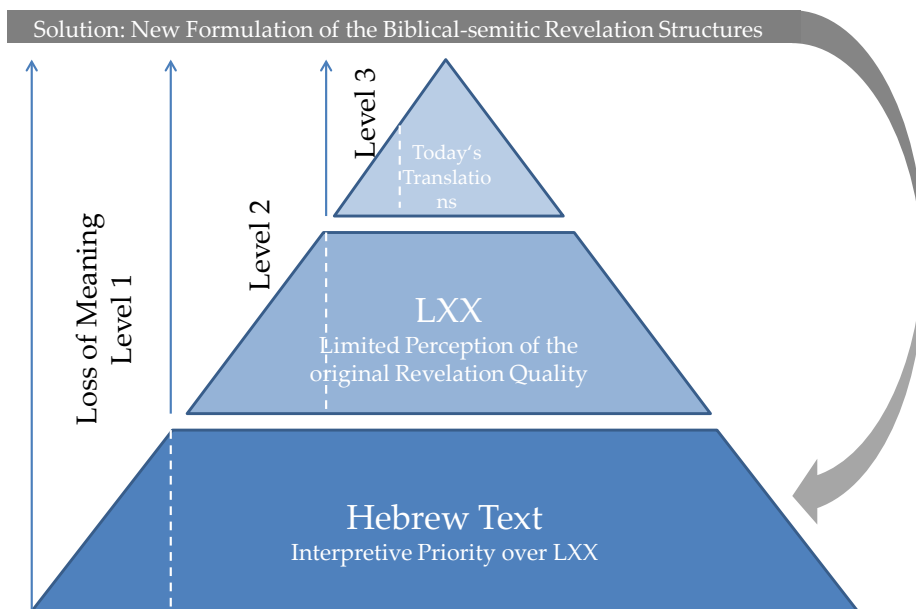
which one strives to ensure the well-being of the other.⁷³ Since the term often appears in connection with the concept of the covenant between God and man, one could translate it with “covenant faithfulness.” In contrast, *eleos* describes the feeling that is experienced when it sees the suffering of other people, i.e. “pity”. However, there is a twofold difference in quality:

First, the covenant loyalty is a *foundational* attitude, while the feeling of pity is triggered by a certain event.

Second, the faithfulness to the covenant may be *mutually* exercised, whereas pity is unilateral and thus includes the aspect of condescension.⁷⁴

This difference in meaning between *chesed* and *eleos* thus obtains a theological dimension. For the God who is “rich in covenant faithfulness” (hb. *rav chesed*) in the Hebrew Bible, is not exactly the same as the God “of great

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mercy” (gr. *polueleos*) in the LXX. Therefore, we see a shift in the perception of God, a process which consequently also affects our present theology.⁷⁵

4. The Significance of the LXX for a Hermeneutic of the New Testament

It is crucial for the proper correlation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek text of the LXX to recognize the structural difference between these two text forms.⁷⁶ Because the Hebrew text has priority of interpretation over against the Greek text. This is due to the Semitic language, thought and cultural forms that are encoded in the Hebrew and Aramaic language.⁷⁷ This interpretational priority must never be confused with the question of the structural analogies between OT and NT, although this topic is very important as well.

Symptomatic of this confusion is the line of argument by W. Kraus, who on the one hand argues aptly in relation to the NT, “... that not only quotations, but Old Testament thinking characterize the NT.”⁷⁸ But this Old Testament thinking, on the other hand, is incorporated into the search for analogous structures in order to adequately accommodate the variety of text traditions and positions in the OT and NT.⁷⁹ In doing so, however, he fails to recognize that many Qumran writings no longer transmit the Hebrew and Aramaic text forms in the original biblical-Semitic language and thought forms, but rather already contain a hermeneutic component parallel with the LXX. As D. Dimant⁸⁰ shows, this goes so far that some of the Qumran texts write the Hebrew Bible anew and thus shed new light on the origins and sources of the Qumran community⁸¹. Against this background, the observation of Kraus is important:

“The study of the LXX (and the other text forms, as for example, documented in the

Qumran scrolls) shows us that the biblical tradition is a living transmission, which - in addition to the preservation of Israelite heritage - was open for inculturation, updating and creative interpretation.”⁸²

Kraus does not recognize the critical weight regarding the meaning of the original “Israelite heritage” for the epistemological difference between the Semitic and the Western world view. Therefore, the *qualitative perceptual priority* of the Hebrew text in comparison with the Greek text, must be emphasized again and again. The hermeneutical importance of this task in terms of further research into the LXX is aptly formulated by J. Cook:

“Finally, hermeneutical studies of the entire LXX corpus are required. Their results will be of great importance for research in the fields of LXX and NT. This way it can be avoided to approach the NT merely as a Hellenistic document and to underestimate its Jewish background, as it happened in the past.”⁸³

On the linguistic level, a number of studies have already been published, but on the hermeneutical level, LXX research is still in its infancy, particularly in relation to the Semitic thought structures.⁸⁴ Thus Walser aptly remarks that in Hebrew the word order is strongly determined while in Greek the word order is rather free.⁸⁵ It may be concluded that the LXX was created by a translation technique that produced a Greek text with a Hebrew structure.

The solution to the question of dealing with the LXX is the elaboration of the Semitic language and thought structures as they are encoded in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Old Testament. Only in this way the physical revelation of God can be made visible in the meaning of the text. This then allows an overcoming of the Hellenistic approach of logical dualism, respectively, the gnostic interpretation in the ap-

plication of the text. Regarding this problem of logical dualism and the gnostic⁸⁶ interpretation of the Bible by the Christian church and theology, A. Köberle already in 1958 aptly remarked:

“Christian theology of the early centuries had the understandable desire to express and process even intellectually and scientifically the great Christian truths of life, sorted out in a planned way. What could be more natural than that the Church of the East used the readily available philosophical building blocks of the Hellenistic intellectual world⁸⁷ and thought work for this related development work? Of course, this dependency was paid for dearly. For now, through Plato and Plotin, this anti-bodily, nature-despising element of thought entered into Christian thought and life and gained more and more power over piety.”⁸⁸

To escape from this deadlock of logical dualism, LXX research can be a fruitful support

for the purpose of a new elaboration of the biblical-Semitic structures of Hebrew and Aramaic texts.

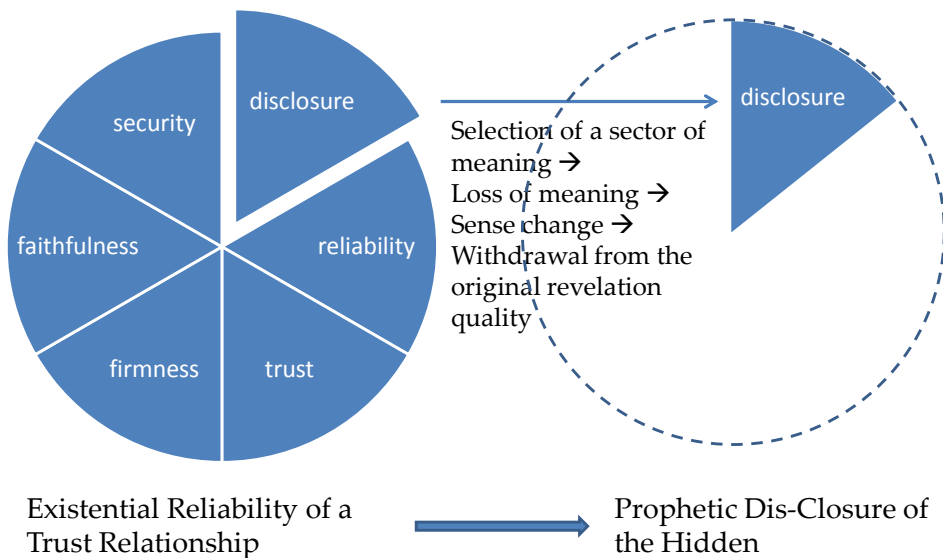
5. Results

The course of our line of argument may be summarized in the form of several theses:

- (1) *Initial hypothesis*: The priority of knowledge and the interpretational monopoly of the LXX over against the Hebrew text because of the age of the manuscripts cannot be maintained without reservation.
- (2) *Justification*: The older Aramaic texts from Tayma show that the Semitic thought structures in the Middle East represent an older, living culture than the Hellenistic, thus ascertaining that the Hebrew-Semitic structures could be represented in Aramaic and continued without significant losses.

Sense Change (1): „Truth“ in LXX

אמת *emet* → *aman* „being faithful, firm“ ἀληθεια *a-letheia* „non-disguise“

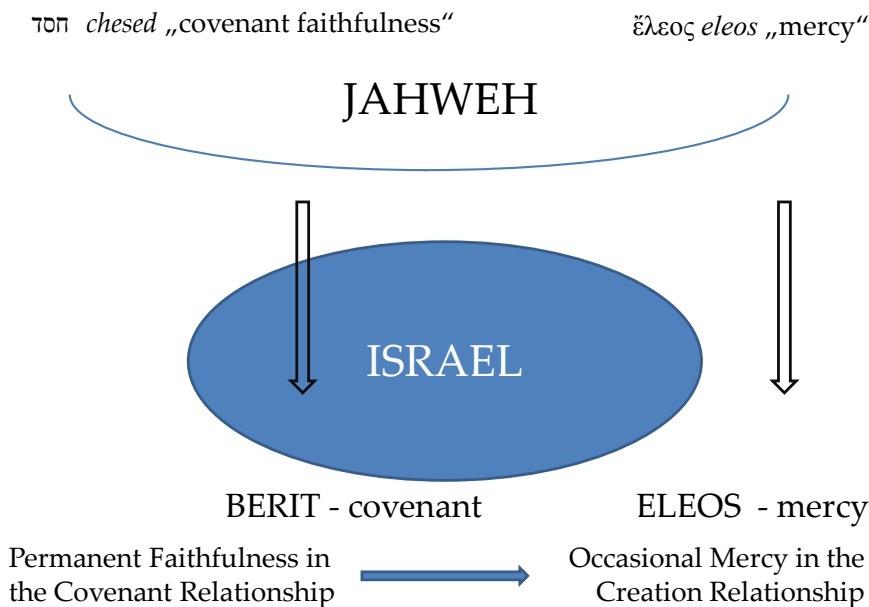


- (3) *Conclusion*: Due to the availability of Semitic language structures in the Aramaic of the Second Temple period we may assume that the Hellenistic thought structures played a subordinate role in the process of translation of the Bible, and thus the use of the LXX as the only valid text basis for the interpretation of the Old Testament is not sustainable, because the Semitic aspect cannot be sufficiently emphasized in the LXX.
- (4) *Task*: The previous interpretational priority of the LXX must be consciously opened to allow the Semitic language structures to be used to overcome the losses of meaning.
- (5) *Route*: Both in the exegetical development of biblical texts as well as in the theological terminology and working method, the reaffirmation of the biblical-Semitic pattern of perception of the Masoretic text is necessary in order to overcome the logical dualism of the Western world view.
- (6) *Objective*: The unique revelatory quality of the biblical-Semitic language and thought structures represent a permanently valid and effective unique selling proposition which needs to be heeded for our understanding of the communication of God with mankind, especially in the spiritual and theological challenges of contemporary life.

Thank you very much!

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Sense Change (2): „Mercy“ in LXX



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¹ Cf. Rendtorff, Rolf. *Das Alte Testament. Eine Einführung*. 7. Aufl. (Neukirchen: Neukirchner, 2007), p. 304.

² See e.g., Oeming, Manfred. *Biblische Hermeneutik. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998); Barton, John (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lundin, Roger, et al. *The Promise of Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); Jeanrond, Werner G. *Theological Hermeneutics. Development and Significance* (London: SCM, 1994); Virkler, Henry A. *Hermeneutics. Principles and Processes of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

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⁴ Cf. Aejmelaeus, Anneli, „Levels of Interpretation: Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators“, in: Aejmelaeus, Anneli. *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007): 295-312.

⁵ See, e.g., Thiselton, Anthony C. *The Two Horizons* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1980), p. 100.

⁶ Cf. Thiselton, Anthony C. *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 224.

⁷ Stein, Peter, „Montheismus oder religiöse Vielfalt? Du Samawi, die Stammesgottheit der `Amir, im 5. Jh. n. Chr.“, in: *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra*. Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima, ed. Werner Arnold et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009): 339-350; Stein, Peter, „Altsüdarabische Grabinschriften“, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge Band 6: Grab-, Sarg-, Bau- und Votivinschriften*, ed. Janowski, Bernd; Schwemer, Daniel (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2011), pp. 387-402.

⁸ Eichmann, Ricardo; Ess, Margarete van (ed.), Deutsches Archäologisches Institut,

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⁹ Müller, Hans-Peter, „Semitische Sprachen. I. Allgemeiner Überblick“, in: Betz, Hans Dieter, et al. (ed.). *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 4. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004), VII: 1199-1202.

¹⁰ Hengel, Martin, „The Political and Social History of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III (333-187 B.C.E.)“, in: Davies, W.D.; Finkelstein, Louis (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 35-78.

¹¹ Fassberg, Steven E., „Which Semitic Language Did Jesus and Other Contemporary Jews Speak?“, *CBQ* 74/1 (2012): 276-277; Fassberg here refers to Spolsky, Bernard, „Jewish Multilingualism in the First Century: An Essay in Historical Sociolinguistics“, in: *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*, ed. Fishman, Joshua A. (Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 41.

¹² Cf. Hurvitz, Avi, „Can Biblical Texts be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew“, in: Lemaire, A., et al. (ed.). *International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament: Congress Volume Oslo 1998*. Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), S. 145-147.

¹³ Cf. Wise, Michael O., „Languages of Palestine“, in: Green, Joel B., et al. (Hg.). *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Leicester: IVP, 1992), S. 437.

¹⁴ Fassberg, „Semitic Language“, p. 278.

¹⁵ Delcor, Mathias, „Jewish Literature in Hebrew and Aramaic in the Greek Era“, in: Davies, W.D.; Finkelstein, Louis (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-

versity Press, 1989): 352-384.

¹⁶ Frankel, Z. *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841), pp. 260-261. In German: „Mit der Restauration der Wissenschaften nach dem Untergang des byzantinischen Reiches erwachte auch das Interesse für ein gründlicheres Bibelstudium, es wurde der hebräischen Sprache viele (sic!) Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt und man war nun in größerem (sic!) Masse (sic!) als Hieronymus befähigt, die Septuaginta mit dem hebr. Text zu vergleichen. Das Studium der LXX. (sic!) manifestierte sich nun auf dreifache Weise: man zog die Septuaginta in das Gebiet der Bibelerklärung, man suchte in ihr den Maßstab (sic!) für den hebräischen Text, man behauptete oder bestritt ihren geschichtlichen Werth (sic!).“

¹⁷ Cf. Aejmelaeus, Anneli, „What can we know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?“, in: Aejmelaeus, Anneli. *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007): 71-106.

¹⁸ Mutius, Hans-Georg von, „Masoreten“, in: Betz, Hans Dieter, et al. (ed.). *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 4. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 2002), V: 892.

¹⁹ De Troyer, Kristin, „The Hebrew Text behind the Greek Text of the Pentateuch“, in: Peters, Melvin K.H. (ed.). *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013): 15-32.

²⁰ Mor, Uri, „Language Contact in Judea: How Much Aramaic is there in the Hebrew Documents from the Judean Desert?“, *Hebrew Studies* 52 (2011), pp. 213-220; Mor aptly remarks: „By the time of the Jewish Revolts, Aramaic had become the dominant language of the Jewish population of Palestine – both in writing, formal as well as informal, and in speech. Hebrew was still the language of ritual and halakah, and judging by the Qumran literature and the Hebrew epigraphy, including the documents discussed here, it must have been spoken as well.“ (p. 219).

²¹ Joosten, Jan, „On Aramaising Renderings

in the Septuagint“, in: Baasten, M.F.J.; Van Peursen, W.Th. (ed.). *Hamlet On A Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), p. 590.

²² Cf. Tov, Emanuel, „Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?“, in: Pietersma, Albert; Cox, Claude E. (ed.). *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Ontario: Benben, 1984): 53-70; Treballe Barrera, Julio. *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²³ Regarding origin and textual history of the LXX, cf. Tilly, Michael. *Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).

²⁴ Cook, Johann, „Septuaginta-Forschung“, in: Betz, Hans-Dieter, et al. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004): 1217. In German: „Die Tatsache, dass die griechischsprachigen Juden in Ägypten ihre Muttersprache nicht mehr verstehen konnten, machte eine solche [Übersetzung; Vf.] notwendig. Somit musste man den spezifischen Bedürfnissen dieses Personenkreises entgegenkommen, die in erster Linie religiöser, insbes[ondere] liturgischer Art waren.“

²⁵ BHS: ויפלו פניו: LXX: καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ

²⁶ Cook, „Septuaginta-Forschung“, p. 1217.

²⁷ BHS: וישבת ביום השביעי

²⁸ LXX: καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ

²⁹ Cook, „Septuaginta-Forschung“, p. 1217.

³⁰ BHS: ויראו את אלהי ישראל

³¹ LXX: καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἰσραηλ

³² Cf. Joosten, Jan, „To See God: Conflicting Exegetical Tendencies in the Septuagint“, in: *Collected Studies on the Septuagint. From Language to Interpretation and Beyond* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2012), p. 160.

³³ Joosten, „To See God“, p. 162.

³⁴ BHS: אנכי האל בית-אל

³⁵ LXX: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθεις σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ

³⁶ Joosten, „To See God“, p. 169.

³⁷ Hengel, Martin. „Die Septuaginta als „christliche Schriftensammlung“, ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons“, in: *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum*, ed. Martin Hengel, Anna Maria Schwemer (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), pp. 182-284.

³⁸ Orlinsky, Harry M., „The Septuagint and its Hebrew Text“, in: Davies, W.D.; Finkelstein, Louis (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 534-562.

³⁹ Dockery, David S. *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now. Contemporary Hermeneutics in the Light of the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), pp. 146-147.

⁴⁰ Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 148; cf. Ashby, G.W., „The Hermeneutic Approach of Theodoret of Cyrhus to the Old Testament“, *Studia Patristica* 15 (1984): 131-134.

⁴¹ Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Vom Verstehen des Neuen Testaments. Eine Hermeneutik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), p. 39.

⁴² Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie*, pp. 292-299; Blomberg, Craig L., „The Legitimacy and Limits of Harmonization“, in: Carson, D.A.; Woodbridge, John D. (ed.). *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), pp. 135-174; Dunbar, David G., „The Biblical Canon“, in: Carson, D.A.; Woodbridge, John D. (ed.). *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), pp. 295-360.

⁴³ Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Band 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), p. 291. In German: Die griechische Zwölfprophetenquelle von Murabba'at belegt eine regelrechte Rezension des griechischen Textes nach der hebräischen Vorlage. Solche Rezensionsarbeit ist nur möglich und sinnvoll, wenn der hebräische Text normativen Vorrang vor dem griechischen besaß.“ (italics Stuhlmacher)

⁴⁴ Karrer, Martin; Kreuzer, Siegfried; Sigismund, Marcus (ed.). *Von der Septuaginta zum*

Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Bd. 43 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010).

⁴⁵ LXX.D, cf. <http://www.septuagintaforchung.de/>: „Septuaginta Deutsch ist das seit 1999 im deutschen Sprachraum laufende Projekt zur Übersetzung und Erläuterung des griechischen Alten Testaments.“

⁴⁶ NETS, cf. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/>

⁴⁷ IOSCS, cf. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/>

⁴⁸ Pietersma, Albert, „LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point For Septuagint Studies?“, in: Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (ed.). *A Question of Methodology: Albert Pietersma Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Biblical Tools and Studies 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), p. 273.

⁴⁹ Pietersma, Albert, „LXX and DTS“, p. 274.

⁵⁰ Pietersma, Albert, „LXX and DTS“, p. 275.

⁵¹ Tov, Emanuel, „The Qumran Hebrew Texts and the Septuagint – An Overview“, in: Kreuzer, Siegfried; Meiser, Martin; Sigismund, Marcus (ed.). *Die Septuaginta – Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. 3. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.-25. Juli 2010 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2012), p. 16.

⁵² Karrer, Martin. *Der Brief an die Hebräer*. Kapitel 1,1 – 5,10. Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament, Bd. 20/1 (Gütersloh/Würzburg: Gütersloher Verlagshaus/Echter, 2002), p. 63.

⁵³ Karrer, *Hebräer*, S. 64. In German: „Die griechischen Übersetzungen unterlagen um die Zeitenwende leichten Überarbeitungen am Maßstab der hebräischen Parallelen. Ältere, unredigierte Handschriften liefen neben jüngeren um, die in Richtung auf den (proto-)masoretischen Text zu redigieren waren. Misch- und Übergangsformen traten daneben.“

⁵⁴ Walser, Georg, „Die Wortfolge der Septuaginta“, in: Karrer, Martin; Kraus, Wolfgang (ed.). *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.-23. Juli 2006. WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2008), p. 258.

⁵⁵ Cf. Piennisch, Markus, „Der ‚biblisch-se-

mitische Aspekt‘ in der Grundstruktur der WORT-TAT Gottes (*dabar*)“, in: *Missionarisch-hermeneutische Aspekte der Systematischen Theologie* (Berlin: Logos, 2011), pp. 303-304.

⁵⁶ Cook, Johann, „Interpreting the Septuagint – Exegesis, Theology and/or Religionsgeschichte?“, in: Kraus, Wolfgang; Karrer, Martin (ed.). *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.-27.7.2008. WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2010), p. 590.

⁵⁷ Muraoka, Takamitsu, „Translation Techniques and Beyond“, in: Sollamo, Raija; Sipilä, Seppo (ed.). *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), pp. 13-22.

⁵⁸ Aejmelaeus, Anneli, „Translating a Translation: Problems of Modern ‚Daughter Versions‘ of the Septuagint“, in: Aejmelaeus, Anneli. *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50. Leuven: Peeters, 2007: 241-263.

⁵⁹ Pietersma, Albert, „Kurios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint“, in: Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (ed.). *A Question of Methodology: Albert Pietersma Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Biblical Tools and Studies 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013): 25-40.

⁶⁰ Hurvitz, Avi. *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel. A New Approach to an Old Problem*. Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 20 (Paris: Gabalda, 1982), S. 94, 97. Regarding the assimilation of both verbs in Late Biblical Hebrew, Hurvitz remarks: „... while in classical biblical literature a clear distinction is maintained between the two roots – *ʾmd* denoting the *position* of standing, whereas *qwm* signifies the *transition* to it – „in the latest books of the OT there is a marked tendency for the verb *ʾmd* to penetrate into the

field of *qwm*“ (italics Hurvitz).“ (S. 94-95); hier zitiert Hurvitz die Studie von Kutscher, E.Y., „Aramaic Calque in Hebrew“, *Tarbiz* 33 (1963-1964): 124.

⁶¹ In the Dead Sea Scrolls there is evidence for a sporadic confusion of Aleph und Ayin, cf. Qimron, Elisha, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008 - Paperback Reprint of the Edition from 1986), p. 25f

⁶² Wildberger, Hans, „*mn* fest, sicher“, in: Jenni, Ernst; Westermann, Claus (ed.). *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (München: Kaiser, 1984), I: 203.

⁶³ Wildberger, Hans, „*mn* fest, sicher“, in: Jenni, Ernst; Westermann, Claus (ed.). *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (München: Kaiser, 1984), I: 203.

⁶⁴ Cf. Piennisch, Markus, „Der ‚biblisch-semitische Aspekt‘ in der Grundstruktur der WORT-TAT Gottes (*dabar*)“, pp. 289-290.

⁶⁵ E.g. Gn 24:27; Ps 26:3; Hos 4:1; Mi 7:20

⁶⁶ E.g. Gn 24:49; 47:29; Jos 2:14; Spr 3:3

⁶⁷ Cf. Enders, Markus; Szaif, Jan (Hg.). *Die Geschichte des philosophischen Begriffs der Wahrheit*. De Gruyter Studienbuch (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006).

⁶⁸ Cf. Stoebe, H.J., „*חסד haesaed* Güte“, in: Jenni, Ernst; Westermann, Claus (ed.). *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (München: Kaiser, 1984), I: 601.

⁶⁹ E.g. Gn 24:27,49; 32:11; 47:29; Ex 34:6; Jos 2:14; 2 Sam 2:6; 15:20; Ps 25:10; 40:11-12; 57:4

⁷⁰ Stoebe, „*haesaed*“, pp. 611-612.

⁷¹ Jh 1:14

⁷² Stoebe, „*haesaed*“, p. 614. In German: „Darum erwartet Gott vom Menschen die gleiche Haltung einer Bereitschaft für ihn (*haesaed*), nicht als Gegenleistung, sondern als dankende Anerkennung dessen, was Gott zuvor getan hat, als Bestätigung und Realisierung des von ihm gegebenen Bundes.“

⁷³ Joosten, Jan, „*חסד*, „Benevolence“, and *ἔλεος*, „Pity“: Reflections on Their Lexical Equivalence in the Septuagint“, in: *Collected Studies on the Septuagint. From Language to*

Interpretation and Beyond (Tübingen: Mohr, 2012), p. 97.

⁷⁴ Joosten, „*חסד*“, p. 99.

⁷⁵ Joosten, „*חסד*“, p. 110.

⁷⁶ Cook, Johann, „Ideology and Translation Technique: Two Sides of the Same Coin?“, in: Sollamo, Raija; Sipilä, Seppo (ed.). *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001: 195-210.

⁷⁷ Regarding the interaction of language, people and culture in Old Testament times, cf. Sternberg, Meir. *Hebrews Between Cultures: Group Portraits and National Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

⁷⁸ Kraus, Wolfgang, „Die hermeneutische Relevanz der LXX für eine Biblische Theologie“, Vortrag bei der Internationalen Fachtagung „Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption“, Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal, 19.-22. Juli 2012, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Kraus, „Die hermeneutische Relevanz“, p. 11.

⁸⁰ Prof. Devorah Dimant, University of Haifa, is a leading researcher on the Qumran-writings; cf. Dimant, Devorah. *Connected Vessels: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Literature of the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2010).

⁸¹ Dimant, Devorah (Ed.). *Scripture and Interpretation. Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

⁸² Kraus, „Die hermeneutische Relevanz“, p. 12. In German: „Die Beschäftigung mit der LXX (und den anderen, etwa in den Qumranschriften belegten Textformen) zeigt uns, dass die biblische Tradition eine lebendige Überlieferung darstellt, die – neben der Bewahrung des israelitischen Erbes – offen war für Inkulturation, Aktualisierung und kreative Auslegung.“

⁸³ Cook, „Septuaginta-Forschung“, 1219. In German: „Schließlich sind hermeneutische Untersuchungen des gesamten LXX-Korpus

erforderlich. Ihre Ergebnisse werden für den Forschungsbereich LXX und NT von großer Tragweite sein. Dadurch wird es sich vermeiden lassen, an das NT lediglich als hell[enistisches] Schriftstück heranzugehen und seinen jüd[jischen] Hintergrund zu unterschätzen, wie es in der Vergangenheit geschah.“

⁸⁴ Regarding the current state of discussion, cf. Cook, Johann; Stipp, Hermann-Josef (ed.). *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Wagner, J. Ross. *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 2013).

⁸⁵ G. Walser explains: „While Hebrew is a rather paratactic language with a fixed word order, Greek is rather syntactic and the word order is quite free. Therefore, it is most often possible to translate Hebrew into Greek without changing very much of the structure of the original, and still preserve the meaning of the original quite well. ... The result of such a translation technique is a Greek text with Hebrew structure, ...“. - Walser, Georg, „The Greek of the Bible: Translated Greek or Translation Greek?“, in: Voitila, Anssi; Jokiranta, Jutta (ed.). *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 456.

⁸⁶ Filoramo, Giovanni, „Gnosis/Gnostizismus. I. Religionswissenschaftlich“, in: Betz, Hans Dieter, et al. (Hg.). *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 4. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 2000), III: 1044.

⁸⁷ Marksches, Christoph. *Hellenisierung des Christentums. Sinn und Unsinn einer historischen Deutungskategorie* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012).

⁸⁸ Köberle, Adolf. *Der Herr über Alles. Beiträge zum Universalismus der christlichen Botschaft*. 2. Aufl. (Hamburg: Furche, 1958), p. 117. In German: „Die christliche Theologie der ersten Jahrhunderte hatte das wohlver-

ständige Verlangen, die großen christlichen Lebenswahrheiten auch denkerisch-wissenschaftlich, planvoll geordnet auszudrücken und zu verarbeiten. Was lag näher, als daß die Kirche des Ostens für diese zusammenhängende Aufbauarbeit die bereitliegenden philosophischen Bausteine der hellenistischen Geisteswelt und Gedankenarbeit benützte? Freilich diese Anleihe wurde teuer bezahlt. Denn nun strömte über Platon und Plotin auch in das christliche Denken und Leben dieses leibfremde, naturverachtende Gedankenelement ein und gewann immer mehr Gewalt über die Frömmigkeit.“