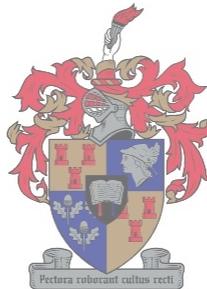


**TOWARDS ESTABLISHING THE HISTORICAL
CONTEXT OF SEPTUAGINT PROVERBS**

by

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Declaration

I the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problem of the unanswered questions on the historical context of the Septuagint version of the book of Proverbs. In other words, it seeks to increase our knowledge on where, when and by whom the Greek translation of Proverbs was made. Our knowledge on Septuagint Proverbs is very limited in this respect, with little consensus amongst scholars on these specific questions. Previous research on Septuagint Proverbs has shown that the translation represents one of the most freely translated units in the LXX corpus. Not only does the Greek version contain several pluses, but the choices made by the translator(s) - on a lexical, semantical and syntactical level - also indicate that the translator adopted a very paraphrastic translation technique. Understanding his translation technique is of crucial importance to us in our efforts to form a comprehensive 'picture' of the translator and the worldview he represents.

Through an analysis of his translation technique, I intend to illustrate that the translator was someone who had a marked respect for the Jewish law and the covenant that existed between the God of Israel and his people. Indeed, there is a greater emphasis in the Greek version on these themes than in the Hebrew.

The translator uses the Greek noun νόμος in several passages as a translation for the Hebrew word תורה. In certain contexts the translator uses other Greek words as equivalent for תורה, which indicates that νόμος had a specific and limited meaning for him. I argue that he uses the singular νόμος as a technical term for the Mosaic Law. The effect is that in a number of passages the Greek version (with νόμος) refers to the Law of Moses where the Hebrew verses (with תורה) refer to the teaching of the father/teacher.

In addition to that there occur several passages in LXX Proverbs in which the translator added stichs containing the noun νόμος, with the result that LXX Proverbs has a completely different sense than the corresponding Hebrew parent text. The consequence of this is that LXX Proverbs places a greater emphasis on the Mosaic Law than MT does.

This obviously mirrors something of the attitude of the translator and the context in which he operated.

In both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Proverbs we encounter the 'wise man'. In several passages there are references to his teaching, his law and so forth. It is my opinion that the wise man who features in LXX Proverbs differs from the wise man of MT Proverbs. From the Wisdom of Sirach we learn that by the middle of the second century BCE there existed schools in Palestine and that the teachers in these schools were very similar to the wise men. An important difference is that by then the corpus of the Pentateuch was almost certainly already fixed and that the teachers, who were also scribes, most probably taught the Law of Moses in such schools. So, whereas the wise man of MT Proverbs was not (immediately) concerned with the Law, the wise man of LXX Proverbs certainly was.

This is not the only aspect that LXX Proverbs and the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Sirach have in common. The translators of these works also share traditional Jewish themes such as the fear of the Lord, Wisdom and the Law, and the covenant. Although LXX Proverbs is not a *de novo* composition, it shares the same conservative theological language as Sirach and the first book of Maccabees. Chapter 2 in LXX Proverbs is a clear example of how the translator interpreted the Hebrew parent text in order to stress the importance of the covenant and to warn against foreign Hellenistic influences. If we place the translator in a context in which traditional Jewish theology was under threat from Hellenism, we can understand the renewed emphasis placed in the Greek version on the Law of Moses, the covenant, and the warning against Greek influences. It is therefore my hypothesis that the translator was a conservative Jew who translated the book of Proverbs subsequent to the Maccabean revolts, with a renewed emphasis on the Law of Moses.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis poog om die onbeantwoorde vrae rondom die historiese konteks van die Septuaginta weergawe van die boek Spreuke aan te spreek. In ander woorde, dit poog om ons kennis oor waar, wanneer en deur wie die Griekse vertaling gemaak is, te vermeerder. Ons kennis ten opsigte van hierdie vrae is baie beperk en daar bestaan min konsensus tussen geleerdes hieroor. Vorige navorsing wat oor Septuaginta Spreuke gedoen is, het aangetoon dat dit een van die mees vry vertaalde eenhede in die LXX korpus verteenwoordig. Nie alleen is daar verskeie plusse in die Griekse teks nie, maar die leksikale, semantiese en sintaktiese keuses wat deur die vertaler uitgeoefen is, dui daarop dat die vertaler 'n baie parafrastiese vertalingstegniek gevolg het. Dit is daarom belangrik om hierdie vertalingstegniek te verstaan sodat ons 'n omvattende 'beeld' van die vertaler en die wêreld wat hy verteenwoordig, kan vorm.

Deur middel van 'n analise van sy vertalingstegniek, dui ek aan dat die vertaler 'n diep respek vir die Joodse wet en die verbond tussen God en Israel aan die dag lê. Daar is inderdaad 'n groter klem in die Griekse weergawe op hierdie temas as in die Hebreeuse.

In verskeie instansies gebruik die vertaler die Griekse woord νόμος as vertaling vir die Hebreeuse woord תורה. In sekere kontekste gebruik die vertaler ander Griekse woorde as ekwivalent vir תורה, wat aantoon dat die vertaler 'n spesifieke en beperkte betekenis aan νόμος gekoppel het. Ek argumenteer dat die vertaler die enkelvoudige νόμος gebruik as tegniese term vir die Mosaise Wet. Die effek is dat in verskeie passasies die Griekse teks (met νόμος) na die Wet van Moses verwys, terwyl die Hebreeuse teks (met תורה) na die onderwysing van die vader/leraar verwys.

Verder kom daar verskeie verse in Septuaginta Spreuke voor waar die vertaler 'n plus met die woord νόμος daarin ingewerk het, met die gevolg dat die Griekse betekenis van die passasie soms heeltemal anders is as die ooreenstemmende Hebreeuse teks. Dit het tot gevolg dat die Griekse weergawe 'n groter klem op die Wet van Moses plaas as wat met

die Hebreus die geval is. Dit weerspieël ook tot 'n sekere mate die gesindheid van die vertaler en die wêreld waarin hy geopereer het.

In beide die Griekse en die Hebreuse weergawes van die boek Spreuke vind ons die sogenaamde "wyse man". Verskeie gedeeltes handel oor sy instruksie, sy wet, ensovoorts. Dit is my opinie dat die wyse man van Septuaginta Spreuke verskil van die wyse man van MT Spreuke. Uit die Wysheid van Sirag kan ons aflei dat daar reeds teen die middel van die 2de eeu v.C. skole in Palestina bestaan het en dat die leraars van daardie skole baie dieselfde was as die wyse manne. Een belangrike verskil is dat die Pentateug as korpus teen daardie tyd sekerlik al gefinaliseer was en dat die leraars, wat ook skrifgeleerdes was, sekerlik die Wet van Moses in hierdie skole onderrig het. So, terwyl die wyse man van MT Spreuke geen (onmiddellike) verbindtenis met die Wet gehad het nie, was die wyse man van LXX Spreuke beslis daarmee gemoeid.

Hierdie is egter nie die enigste aspek wat LXX Spreuke en die Griekse vertaling van die Wysheid van Sirag in gemeen het nie. Beide boeke deel ook in tradisionele Joodse temas soos die Wet, vrees van die Here, Wysheid en Wet en die verbond. Nieteenstaande die feit dat LXX Spreuke nie 'n *de novo* komposisie is nie, deel dit met Sirag en die eerste boek van Makkabeërs in dieselfde konserwatiewe teologiese taal.

LXX Spreuke hoofstuk 2 is ook 'n duidelike voorbeeld van hoe die vertaler die Hebreuse grondteks geïnterpreteer het om sodoende die belangrikheid van die verbond te beklemtoon en om mense te waarsku teen vreemde Hellenistiese invloede. As ons die vertaler in 'n konteks plaas waar die tradisionele Joodse teologie bedreig was deur Hellenisme, kan ons die hernude klem in LXX Spreuke op die Wet van Moses, die verbond en die waarskuwings teen Griekse invloede, beter verstaan. Dit is my hipotese dat die vertaler 'n konserwatiewe Jood was wat na die Makkabese opstande die boek Spreuke vertaal het met 'n hernude klem op die Wet van Moses.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aris	Letter of Aristeas
BCE	Before Common Era
BDB	Brown, Driver & Briggs
Bar	Baruch
BHS	Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CE	Common Era
Esd	Esdras
HR	Hatch & Redpath
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages.
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
KB	Koehler & Baumgartner
LSJ	Liddel, Scott & Jones
Macc	Maccabees
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Sir	Wisdom of Sirach
TWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplementum
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Foreword

There is a renewed interest among scholars in the Septuagint version of the Bible. There are a number of reasons for this, one of which is the current tendency to view the Septuagint as a document and literary work in its own right. Previous studies on the Septuagint usually regarded the Greek version only as a tool in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, and therefore as a secondary text next to the Hebrew Bible (Jellicoe 1968:352). Furthermore, the publication of the Old Greek (OG) of parts of the Septuagint in the Göttingen series and the greater availability of the texts from Qumran are extremely important factors in the new stimulus that Septuagint studies are experiencing (see papers on Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran in Brooke & Lindars 1992).

Notwithstanding this growth in the Septuagint as a field of study, certain areas of our knowledge remain very limited. These gaps in our knowledge frequently centre on the historical contexts in which the translations were made - in other words, when, where and by whom the translations were made. The question of the historical context is of course also important in the evaluation of the LXX in textual criticism. The degree of consensus on the historical contexts of the books of the Septuagint varies from book to book. Septuagint scholars have reached some form of consensus on the historical context in which, for instance, the Pentateuch was translated, but the lack of research on Proverbs, for example, means that there is no general consensus among scholars on the historical context of the Septuagint version of Proverbs (Cook 1993:25).

The aim of this study, therefore, is to contribute to the debate surrounding the historical context in which the Septuagint Proverbs (LXX Proverbs) was translated. By investigating certain themes in the Greek version, and by comparing the Greek and Hebrew in order to establish a 'picture' of the translator, I intend to contribute to our knowledge of the social world to which the translator belonged. Before engaging with the issue of methodology, I shall review some of the previous research that has been done on

LXX Proverbs, especially that which has a direct bearing on my own research. Following the discussion on the research done by other scholars and their respective views on LXX Proverbs, I will deal with the issue of methodology and set out my plan of research.

1.2 Previous research

As I stated in my foreword, it is a recent development in Septuagint studies that the Greek version of the Bible has come to be seen as a document in its own right. Consequently, most of the previous research on LXX Proverbs were conducted on the basis that the Greek version is primarily a witness to the Hebrew text and it was therefore usually dealt with in conjunction with the Hebrew text (usually MT). Not many scholars deemed it necessary to study the LXX as a text in its own right and to work towards establishing the historical contexts of the different translation units.

There seem to be two opposing views in the scholarly world on the issue of the historical context of LXX Proverbs, and I will therefore review the previous research in the light of these two groupings. On the one hand, there is the hypothesis that the Greek translation must be seen as primarily a Hellenistic document, since it does exhibit certain Greek influences not present in the Hebrew version. The other view advocates exactly the opposite notion: the Greek version must be regarded as a Jewish document, since it reflects certain views and underlying themes which can only be linked to a translator who was fundamentally Jewish. Although the very same Greek version led scholars to these diametrically opposed views, both views have the shared underlying assumption that the Greek translator approached his Hebrew parent text creatively and interpreted the text in such a way that his own intentions and exegesis are clear in the source text (LXX).

One of the landmark studies on the LXX Proverbs is the one by Gilles Gerleman, which was published in 1956. In this study he advocated the view that the LXX Proverbs must be seen primarily as a Hellenistic document (Gerleman 1956:51). He formed this conclusion after establishing that the translator was very competent in the Greek language. Not only was he competent in the language, but his Greek background is

reflected in the introduction - sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly – of Greek aspects to his translation on the levels of content, style and ideas (Gerleman 1956:51). These influences, which Gerleman linked to the post-Aristotelian schools such as Stoicism, affected the translator and his translation as a work of interpretation (Gerleman 1956:53). Previous studies by Bertram and Baumgartner led Gerleman to address the question of religion and ethics in LXX Proverbs (Cook 1997:8). On these issues he found that there are no grounds for supporting the hypothesis regarding influences in the LXX Proverbs of Jewish midrash (Baumgartner) and Jewish legalism (Bertram). Rather, LXX Proverbs seems to be markedly unfamiliar with the "distinctive Jewish traits of religion and ethics... all these things do not lead up to Judaism, but to the Greek world" (Gerleman 1956:7).

He also found that the many differences between the Greek and Hebrew texts can frequently be explained as originating from the free approach of the translator (1956:10). Furthermore, he found that there is no trace whatever in LXX Proverbs of any identification between Wisdom and the Torah (1956:42). Another aspect that he investigated was the translator's attitude towards the Law. He noted, for instance, the "great freedom" with which the translator rendered the word תורה. Gerleman (1956:45) observes that the LXX translator always rendered the word תורה with $\sigma\mu\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the Psalms and likewise so in most of the Pentateuch and the Prophets. The translator of LXX Proverbs, however, "failed to take the word תורה as a technical term". Thus he concludes that this "unique position held by the LXX Proverbs with regard to ethical vocabulary militates against the view that the translator would be a mouthpiece of Jewish legalism" (1956:45).

As I mentioned, both Bertram and Baumgartner concluded before Gerleman, that there is a strong case to be made that LXX Proverbs originated in a Jewish environment. Baumgartner (Cook 1997a:211) concluded that the LXX Proverbs has a strong Jewish midrashic basis. It is also his view that the Hebrew text of the LXX was very similar to MT and that the differences between these two were the result of the translational approach of the translator (which Gerleman also accepted in his later study). Bertram's

study on the wisdom theme in LXX Proverbs found that the doctrine of retribution has a stronger emphasis in LXX Proverbs than in the Hebrew text. This led him to postulate that the Greek version of Proverbs exhibits signs of some strong views on the part of the translator who imparted his own Jewish legalistic spirit into the translated text (Cook 1997:5).

A number of studies followed on the works of Bertram, Baumgartner and Gerleman. These were mostly divided on the issue of LXX Proverbs according to the lines of the earlier noted research. Most of these studies were also done with the aim of improving our understanding of how the translator dealt with his Hebrew parent text, which indicated that most saw the translator as someone who was not afraid to approach his parent text creatively.

Some of these studies are also of great importance to my own investigation, and I will therefore shortly discuss some of them. J.G. Gammie made a study of the Greek versions of Job and Proverbs in which he was critical of the position taken by Gerleman. According to Cook (1997:10) the study made by M.B. Dick concluded that the LXX Proverbs has no Torah-based ethics and that the Law of Moses plays no role in it. Dick further argues that LXX Proverbs is devoid of the characteristic Hellenistic Jewish ethical features, since the translation was made in Palestine before the Maccabean revolt.

Most recently strong arguments have been presented by Cook in support of the hypothesis that the LXX Proverbs is a Jewish document and the product of a translator who was "fundamentally Jewish" in his approach to his subject matter. In his recent monograph on LXX Proverbs, Cook (1997:316-327) argues that the translator of Proverbs rendered his parent text creatively. Cook analyses several chapters of LXX Proverbs in comparison to MT and also as a text that functioned in its own right. He describes the translation technique that was followed by the translator and treats the differences between them as possible instances of ideological exegesis by the translator.

Cook (1997:316-7) concludes that the translator had a unique approach towards his

parent text and that his translation technique can be described as a free rendering of the Hebrew (cf. also Gerleman and Baumgartner). This approach was followed by the translator because he had specific intentions in mind to impart his own religious perspectives to the text. These religious perspectives were not so much Greek philosophical notions, as Gerleman argued, but they were fundamentally Jewish (Cook 1997:318). Therefore LXX Proverbs should not be seen as a Hellenistic document or even as a Hellenistic-Jewish document, but rather as a Jewish-Hellenistic document. Together with these conclusions he also advocates the hypothesis that Proverbs was not necessarily translated in Alexandria, and that we should also look to Palestine as possible place of origin (Cook 1997:3126-7; 1993:25-39).

There are some aspects of the Greek translator and the translation of Proverbs on which there is some degree of consensus. It is usually accepted that the Greek book of Proverbs is one of the most freely translated units in the LXX (Thackeray 1909:13). It is also clear that LXX Proverbs contains a multitude of doublets and later Hexaplaric additions, such as in 1:7 and 14:18 (Cook 1997:13-14; Tov 1990:46). Both Cook (1997:317) and Gerleman (1965:15) demonstrated that the Greek translator was extremely competent in the Greek language and most probably had an excellent training. Cook (1997:54) also showed that one of the characteristics of the Greek translator of Proverbs is that he contrasts specific entities, even more so than is the case in the Hebrew (so also Gerleman). These are all aspects that I will use in my study and which will influence my own 'picture' of the translator.

1.3 Methodology

The question of methodology is always a very important one and not the least so in Septuagint studies. The development that the Septuagint must be studied as a literary work in its own right has also contributed greatly to the methodological debate in Septuagint studies.

Now, more than ever before, questions such as how the Septuagint must be studied, how

to research the translation techniques, and how these translation units must be interpreted, are more frequently addressed. The understanding of the importance of sound methodology is illustrated in a publication by Van der Kooij in which he surveys recent publications on the LXX of Daniel and Psalms and in which he shows to what extent "the study of interpretation in the LXX is related to the question of method of analysis" (1998:6-7).

The issue of methodology in this paper centres on the issue of the way I want to investigate or address the research problem. How do I intend to fill the gaps in our knowledge on the historical context of LXX Proverbs? What are the sources that I am going to use and how will these be used/interpreted?

1.3.1 The Greek and Hebrew texts of Proverbs

As I already stated, my research focuses on the historical context of the LXX Proverbs, and therefore I will take the Greek text of the Proverbs as the major source and aim of my research.

In order to show how the translator of the Greek version dealt with certain contentious issues, and to establish a 'picture' of the translator, we must be able to compare his translated (source) text with the parent text. This poses a methodological problem since the Hebrew parent text of the Old Greek (OG) of Proverbs is not extant. For the purposes of this study I will use the Masoretic text (MT) as published in the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) as the text against which I will compare the OG (see Aejmelaeus 1993:79).

Another important issue is the fact that we do not have in our possession the OG of Proverbs and unfortunately the Göttingen Project has not yet published a new critical edition of the OG of Proverbs. I will therefore take the 1935 edition of Rahlfs's *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* as the basis for the OG (see Aejmelaeus 1993:81). Although I will take text critical issues into account when

dealing with the Greek text of Proverbs, the scope of this study does not permit me to deal at great length with the issue of textual criticism of the LXX.

1.3.2 The Septuagint as collection and as translation

Before addressing the specifics of the way I intend to go about my research, I want to highlight some important aspects concerning the nature of the LXX that have direct implications for the choice of methodology. Firstly, it is important to view the LXX as a collection of individual translation units (books/chapters). Since the translator of the book of Proverbs most probably did his translation work at a different time and place than, for instance, the translator of Genesis, my approach to the study of LXX Proverbs would differ from another scholar's study of, for example, Genesis. The different aspects of the heterogeneity of the LXX must also be noted, since as a collection it includes different genres, old and early translations, different types of translations, etc.

This has serious implications for establishing a methodology for a study of the Septuagint, since it is very difficult to work towards an (appropriate) methodology for the interpretation of the LXX as a whole. Rather, each individual book or unit must be studied and treated separately, using a specific methodology for that unit (see Jellicoe 1968:315; Aejmelaeus 1993:82). This is indeed the view of Van der Kooij (1998:8) regarding his study on LXX Isaiah 23:

In view of the diversity within the LXX the method of analysis proposed here is not to be understood as the method for every book of the LXX, but as the method to be applied in this study to the book of LXX Isaiah.

The second important methodological note that I want to draw attention to pertains to the nature of LXX Proverbs as a translation. It has been stated often that no translation is simply a translation alone - there is always some degree of interpretation involved in the process of translation. A translator must choose word equivalents, how to translate difficult and contentious concepts, whether to give a literal translation or whether to try and give the sense of the parent text. Coupled with this is the process of translation in which misreadings and misunderstandings do occur. Then there is also the intricate issue

of the textual history of such a translation unit, as Cook (1995:50) highlights with regards to LXX Proverbs:

The problem, however, remains that in a translation unit as freely rendered as Proverbs, it is not easy to distinguish between the work of the translator and possible later hands.

As a translation LXX Proverbs is regarded as one of the most freely translated units in the LXX. In several passages there are remarkable differences between the Greek and Hebrew versions, including several pluses in the Greek text. In general the differences between MT and LXX are due to several possible factors, such as a different *Vorlage*, mistranslations and misreadings, a lack of understanding of the Hebrew text, and exegesis (Van der Kooij 1998:1). It is especially the last factor which, methodologically speaking, is the most important for my thesis (see also Aejmelaeus 1993:65-76). As I emphasised in my discussion on previous research, the one element that most of the scholars agree on is that the translator was responsible for some, if not most, differences between MT and LXX. And most of them attributed these differences to the specific exegetical approach that the translator followed.

Tov (1997:45-50) distinguishes between two different types of exegesis that occur in the LXX, namely "linguistic exegesis" and "contextual exegesis". Linguistic exegesis operates at the level of word equivalents and the lexical, while contextual exegesis is most evident in harmonisations and "tendentious theological exegesis". In my study I will also be looking at the ways in which the translator dealt with certain themes and how these are to be interpreted in comparison with MT. This is a common notion: the LXX, as oldest translation, represents the earliest interpretation of MT.

1.3.3 Translation technique

It is an established view that fruitful textual criticism and exegesis can only occur if the text is considered with regard to the context in which it was written, or, as in this case, translated. Also, a translation contains many hints on the historical context in which it was translated, and that context certainly includes the person of the translator.

Our view of the person of the translator consciously or unconsciously influences the methodology and sources we use:

Officially, we know nothing about what went on in the translators' minds. But every one of us has created in his or her mind a picture of the translators, how they worked, what they aimed at, what was their attitude towards the text, what they were or were not capable of doing, etc. This image that we have in our minds greatly affects our decisions, particularly in questions dealing with textual criticism (Aejmelaeus 1993:66).

For Aejmelaeus (1993:1-3) translation technique is a "question of the method followed in the study of linguistic phenomena in the translation". But, it is also important to remember, as Aejmelaeus (1993:2) says, that "(they had no) translation technique in the sense of a conscious method to be employed consistently. It was more of a human process of intuitive trial and error and of finding ways to express in the target language – usually their mother tongue - what was understood to be the meaning in the source text". She agrees, therefore, with the notion that the Septuagint translators followed a certain intuitive method of translation and that this method can be described, at least to some extent. With the use of this method, the translator and the various factors at work during the process of translation can be taken into account to understand the translators and the problems they faced. This method plays an important role in establishing the origin of deviations, such as translation errors, exegesis, etc.

Cook (1997:30) broadens the idea of translation technique in that he sees it not just as the study of language:

Translation technique, the way the translator actually rendered his parent text, has to do with more than just linguistic analysis, even though this analysis forms the basis for interpretation.

He employs this broadening of the concept in his analysis and demonstrates that in many instances the translator made specific linguistic choices for the purpose or because of religious considerations. This is indeed also a crucial aspect of my own methodology for this study. Not only are linguistic choices very important, but syntactical and semantical

issues also help us to form a picture of the translator.

1.4 Research plan and method

I will start my investigation with an analysis of Proverbs 4:1-9. I chose this section because it contains some important word equivalents, a significant minus and because Cook did not deal with chapter 4 in his recent monograph. This passage will bring to the surface certain crucial questions regarding the context in which the Greek text functioned. In order for us to make a fruitful interpretation of the LXX, and in order to evaluate the LXX as a tool in textual criticism, we must have a better idea of the historical context in which the Greek book of Proverbs was translated and used. This passage in Proverbs 4 will serve as an introduction in addressing these burning questions.

My analysis of the passage in Proverbs 4 will be executed on several levels. I will firstly deal with the Hebrew text, giving a translation and discussing it within the structure of the chapter. The same method will be followed in analysing the Greek text, after which a preliminary interpretation of the Greek will be given. Then I will make an extensive comparison of the Greek and Hebrew texts, analysing these on the level of word equivalents, syntax and semantics. In this I will focus primarily on the Greek text, but also comparing it to the Hebrew (see Van der Kooij's "method of analysis on several levels" 1986:72; 1998:15-16; Cook 1997:41-43). I will deal with these differences between MT and LXX within their own immediate context of the chapter and also within the wider context of the LXX Proverbs and the LXX as a whole. Some questions on these differences will act as guidelines. Are these differences related to each other? Do they cohere in some way or contradict one another? How will such coherence or contradiction contribute to our understanding of the translator and the world in which he lived?

After this I will deal with aspects of the translation technique of this passage, using the analysis of the Greek text in comparison to MT, but also within the context of LXX Proverbs and the LXX as a whole. I will look at the way in which the translator rendered certain words in this passage in relation to their treatment elsewhere in Proverbs. I will

also illustrate that the translator followed a creative approach in his translation in that he made suggestive changes in the word order, syntax and meaning of his source text.

My analysis of the translation technique of the translator will also come into play at the level of word equivalents when I investigate how the translator dealt with the Hebrew word חורה. This I will analyse in order to establish his views on the Law. Is there a change of meaning between the use of חורה in MT Proverbs and the use of the Greek equivalents in LXX Proverbs? Gerleman concluded that there is no sign whatever of any importance of the Law in LXX Proverbs – is that indeed the case? Or did the translator, as a conservative Jew, place a renewed emphasis on the Law?

Themes related to the Law, such as the covenant and the identification between the Torah and Wisdom, will also be looked at. The chapter on Proverbs 2 will illustrate to what extent the translator rendered his text, both on syntactical and structural levels, for theological reasons. The importance of the covenant in this passage will also reveal some of the important theological views of the translator.

In the passage in Proverbs 4 it is generally assumed that the teacher plays an important role, as he does in the rest of Proverbs as well. This passage, as an Instruction, most probably functioned in some sort of educational context. How did this context differ in the two versions? Who were the 'teachers' that LXX Proverbs refer to and what was it that they taught? How were they related to the scribes and the wise men and in what way were these persons connected to the teaching of the Law? In Chapter 5 I will engage with these issues in order to improve our understanding of the social world in which the Greek text functioned. In this I will follow a cultural-contextual approach in order to place the Greek text and what we can learn from it in a certain historical and social context (see Cook 1997:41).

Chapter 6 consists of a cursory analysis of the passages in LXX Proverbs that touch upon the relationship between Wisdom and Torah. I will argue that the statement by Gerleman (1956:42), that there is no trace whatever in LXX Proverbs of any identification between

Wisdom and Torah, must be investigated further. I think the theme of the fear of the Lord must also be dealt with more comprehensively, as well as its relation to the Law.

In my final chapter I will bring together these different themes in order to demonstrate that the particular intentions of the translator of LXX Proverbs are quite clear. These intentions reflect on him as person and the specific historical context in which I think the translation was made.

CHAPTER 2: LXX PROVERBS 4:1-9

2.1 MT Proverbs 4:1-9

2.1.1 The Hebrew text (MT) with translation

¹ שִׁמְעוּ בָּנִים מִוֹסֵר אָב וְהִקְשִׁיבוּ לְדַעַת בִּינָה:
² כִּי לֶקַח טוֹב נָתַתִּי לָכֶם הוֹרָתִי אֶל־תַּעֲזֹבוּ:
³ כִּי־בֵן הָיִיתִי לְאָבִי רַךְ וְיָחִיד לִפְנֵי אִמִּי:
⁴ וַיְרַנֵּי וַיֹּאמֶר לִי יִתְמַד־דְּבָרֵי לִבִּי
 שָׁמַר מִצֹּתֵי וְחַיָּה: ⁵ קָנָה חֲכָמָה קָנָה בִינָה
 אֶל־תִּשְׁכַּח וְאֶל־תֵּט מֵאִמְרֵי־פִי
⁶ אֶל־תַּעֲזֹבָהּ וְתִשְׁמָרְךָ אֶהְבֶּהּ וְתִצְרָךָ:
⁷ רֵאשִׁית חֲכָמָה קָנָה חֲכָמָה וּבְכָל־קִנְיָנָךְ קָנָה בִינָה:
⁸ סִלְסְלָהּ וְתִרְוַמְךָ תִּכְבְּדֶךָ כִּי תִחַבֵּקְנָהּ:
⁹ תִּתֵּן לָרֵאשִׁיד לְוַיִּתְחַן עֲשֶׂרֶת תַּפְאֲרֹת תִּמְגַּנֶּנָּךְ:

4:1 Hear, O sons, the instruction of a father, and be attentive, that you may know understanding.

4:2 For I give you good precepts; do not forsake my teaching.

4:3 For I was a son with my father, tender, and an only one in the sight of my mother,

4:4 He taught me, and said to me, Let your heart hold fast my words; keep my commandments, and live;

4:5 Get wisdom; get understanding. Do not forget, and do not turn away from the words of my mouth.

4:6 Do not forsake her, and she will keep you; love her, and she will guard you.

4:7 The beginning of wisdom is: Get wisdom, and in all your substance get understanding.

4:8 Exalt her, and she will lift you up; she will honour you if you embrace her.

4:9 She will place on your head a fair ornament; she will bestow on you a beautiful

crown.¹

2.1.2 Structure and content of MT

Proverbs 4:1-9 form part of what is usually regarded as the fifth Instruction in the book of Proverbs. The theme of this Instruction can be described as the excellence and beneficent power of wisdom (Wisdom). We can structure the passage in the following manner:

- i) Vv. 1-2: Introduction to the Instruction
- ii) Vv. 3-5: A recommendation by the teacher of his teaching and backed up by a reminiscence of his own education.
- iii) Vv. 6-9: This section commends the acquisition of a personified Wisdom.

Verses 1-2 form the introduction to the Instruction and as in the similar introductions of 1:8 and 3:1-2, this one also begins with an address to the pupil, although it uses the plural "sons" instead of the normal singular. As with other introductions to Instructions, there is also a plea for attentiveness ("Hear, O sons"). The main section of the Instruction consists of vv. 3-4 and 5b, while the last word of v. 4 "and live" and 5a is usually regarded as an insertion into the text. According to Whybray (1994a:21) vv. 4b and 5b originally formed a couplet ("keep my commandments, forget them not and do not turn away from the commandments of my mouth") while v. 5a is a shortened form of v. 7. What is peculiar about these verses is the teacher's recollection of his own education, which consists of a quotation of a discourse within the discourse, something unique to this passage. According to Whybray (1994:75), this quotation closely resembles some Egyptian texts, notably the *Kemit*, a school text from the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.

Verses 6-9 clearly differ in character and content from the preceding verses and are written to praise a personified Wisdom. It was probably originally a short poem, which has been inserted into the main body of the Instruction. According to McKane (1970:75) vv. 6-9 might be considered as textual evidence of the process of reinterpretation to which the Instruction was subject. Concerning the overall structure of this passage,

¹ All translations of Hebrew and Greek texts are my own unless specified otherwise.

Whybray (1994:76) is of the opinion that this Instruction differs from others in that there are no specific admonitions in this passage at all. The first verses correspond in their entirety to the introductions of other Instructions, after which this similarity abruptly ends. He suggests that the first part may be a fragment of a larger piece, therefore lacking the whole of the original body of the Instruction. The piece on Wisdom (vv. 6-9) can therefore be regarded as an independent section.

2.1.3 The sense of MT

This passage begins with a familiar introduction to an Instruction, "Hear, o sons". This address is characteristic of Instructions in chapters 1-9, and to a lesser degree of 22:12-24:22 (compare also Prov 1:8; 3:1; 4:10; 4:20 and 5:1). In this introduction it is interesting that the plural form בניים is used, and it has been suggested that the use of this plural form may indicate a sort of "school" where the teacher (the one who is addressing the pupils) would be something like a "professional teacher" (Whybray 1994:76). The "father" is not used here in the strict (family) sense, but has a wider connotation as teacher. Two important words that are frequently used in Proverbs features in v. 1: מוסר, which refers to "teaching, instruction and discipline"; and the word בינה, which means "understanding, discernment". In v. 2 the reason for the exhortation is given: the teachings of the teacher are good. Another exhortation then follows in which the teacher encourages his pupils not to forsake his own teaching (תורה). We can assume that the word תורה in this context refers to the instruction of the Wise man, rather than "law", although this could also be labelled as "moral law".

Verse 3 is rather problematic. According to Toy (1914:85) clauses a and b in this verse are "unnecessary and unnatural" because the son is described as the son of his father, which is an atypical construction. It is more probable that we should expect something descriptive of the son's relationship with the father, in the same way as the second clause describes the relationship with his mother. But, according to the Masoretes' division of the text, the word "tender" should be read in conjunction with the mother, rather than the father. Verse 4 starts with a reference to the father in his role as teacher, although both

the father and mother are mentioned in the previous verse. Although the mother is not quoted, we know that the mother did play a role in education, especially with the upbringing of young children and women. After this recollection of the role of the father, a quote follows in which the teacher recalls his wisdom as a teaching received from his father. The teaching he now teaches is therefore not his own direct revelation, but a tradition, tested, passed on to him by his own father. What makes it a bit more complicated is the fact that it is not exactly clear where this quote ends. It could be at the end of v. 5, because the character of the next four verses is at odds with the previous five. But, it might also be at the end of v. 9, as Toy (1914:86) suggested. In this quotation the word מצוה "commandment" occurs, which is an important word in Proverbs. Here it is used in the familiar phrase to "keep my commandments and live", a phrase very similar to the first line of 7:2, and is therefore regarded by some scholars as a scribal insertion. In v. 5 the word for wisdom חכמה occurs for the first time in this Instruction. The sense of this verse is also difficult to grasp, since it is difficult to connect the two phrases in a meaningful manner. The RSV rearranged the three lines of v. 5, moving the phrase "get wisdom, get understanding" to the end of the verse. It is argued that it belongs there rather than at the beginning, since it is connected to the theme of wisdom, which occurs in the next verse.

In the last section of vv. 6-9 the prominent theme is the personification of Wisdom (חכמה). Wisdom, here referred to in the third person, is personified in a similar way as her self-presentation in 1:20-35 and in chapter 8. Some scholars argue that wisdom is presented here as a "bride", whom men must love and who will honour them if they embrace her (Tuinstra 1996:121). In the Old Testament the word חכמה appears in various contexts and has just as many meanings. According to Toy (1914:84) it can be used to refer to i) a practical sagacity (Jd 5:29; 2 Sam 13:3); ii) the skill of the artisan (Ex 31:3); iii) wide acquaintance with facts (1 Kings 4:29-34); iv) learning (Jer 8:9); v) skill in expounding secret things (Ezek 28:3); and vi) statesmanship (Jer 18:8). Wisdom is also equated with other abstract terms (1:2, 2:1-2, 3:13) and pictured as a precious object (2:4, 3:14-15). Wisdom must be seen as a gift from YHWH (2:6) and is identified with the fear of YHWH (1:7, 2:5, 9:10).

In this passage, however, it clearly denotes the personified Wisdom, a concept that we find elsewhere in the book of Proverbs as well, especially in the first part of the book (chapters 2, 5, 6, 7, and 9). Interpretations on the meaning of this personified Wisdom range from those who see her as a purely literary device to others who see her as a theological concept.

In v. 6 the subject is this personified Wisdom, which refers back to v. 5. Since both v. 6 and v. 5 refer to a shared subject, this could refute Whybray's argument that these two passages are not originally one. However, one can also argue that a later addition on the theme of wisdom could have been inserted just here because it would be appropriate thematically. The teacher is urging the pupil not to forsake wisdom, using the word עֹזֵב, which is quite often used in relation to the law and the commandments. The pupils are also encouraged to "love" wisdom, and that their safety will be the reward for complying.

The beginning of v. 7 is rather awkward since the phrase "the beginning of wisdom, get wisdom" is both grammatically and semantically unusual. The resemblance of this piece to the beginning of v. 5 is striking, especially the repetition of the Hebrew word קִנְיָה - twice in v. 5 and twice in v. 7. The other similarity between these two verses is the occurrence of both the words חִכְמָה and בִּינָה. Both these verses encourage the pupil to obtain Wisdom with the promise of a reward. If there is a possibility that v. 7 is an expansion and reworking of v. 5, then vv. 8 and 9 might be a reworking of v. 6. All three these verses attempt to encourage the pupil "to love" wisdom, "to exalt" her, "to honour" her and not "to forsake" her. Both vv. 8 and 9 are chiasmic in their composition – v. 8 follows the scheme of a-b-b-a and v. 9 of b-a-a-b. The meaning of the first verb in v. 8, סָלַל, is not quite certain. It may signify lifting or casting something up, or casting up a highway, or esteeming something highly - which is how Wisdom is to be treated. The verb סָלַל does not occur frequently in the OT and in only one other passage in Proverbs, namely Prov 15:19:

The way of the slothful man is as a hedge of thorns: but the way of the righteous is made plain/lifted up (סָלַלָהּ).

According to Tuinstra (1996:121) scholars have also proposed translations such as "to cherish" or "to caress" for סלל. This introduces a sexual connotation into the relationship between the pupil and Wisdom and the encouragement in v. 6 to love Wisdom confirms this allusion to a love relationship. The expression "bestow on you a beautiful crown" may originate from a custom of wearing chaplets and crowns at feasts, or on other joyful occasions, such as weddings (Ezek 16:12; 23:42; Isa 28:1; Job 19:9; Sir 32:2). The crown was a symbol of royalty, and was worn by kings (2 Chr 23:11) and by queens (Est 2:17). The head-dress of bridegrooms (Ezek 24:17; Isa 61:10; Bar 5:2) and of women (Isa 3:20) is also mentioned in the OT and Baruch.

Crucial to the analysis of this passage is the understanding of its structure. The first two verses set the scene and draw this passage into the familiar Instruction genre. Then a discourse - a rather foreign tool in the Instructions - is used to capture the attention of the pupils and to bestow authority on the תורה of the teacher. This flows into a poem about personified Wisdom and from the language that is used in these verses it becomes clear that Wisdom is not only something that must be grasped at the intellectual level. Indeed, many of the verbs, which prescribe the reader's attitude and way with Wisdom, have an emotional and sometimes sexual connotation.

A number of important themes from this passage must be highlighted:

- 1) The family as an important social and educational institution (with phrases such as "I was a son", "father and mother"). The importance of the role of the family - in both education and the transmission of knowledge and wisdom - is underscored.
- 2) The Instruction genre and the reference to the teachings of the teacher suggest a "school" environment and therefore "children" technically means pupil.
- 3) Wisdom - she must be loved, honoured and exalted, and must not to be forgotten or forsaken. We can also detect a progression in the relationship between the pupil and Wisdom. At first there is some connotation of a love relationship between them, while later on there seems to be more of a focus on Wisdom as a guardian of those who depend on her.

2.2 LXX Proverbs 4:1-9

2.2.1 The Greek text (LXX) with translation

¹ Ἀκούσατε, παῖδες, παιδείαν πατρὸς
καὶ προσέχετε γνῶναι ἔννοιαν,
² δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι ὑμῖν,
τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον μὴ ἐγκαταλίπητε.
³ υἱὸς γὰρ ἐγενόμην κάγῳ πατρὶ ὑπήκοος
καὶ ἀγαπώμενος ἐν προσώπῳ μητρός,
⁴ οἱ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐδίδασκόν με
Ἐρειδέτω ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος εἰς σὴν καρδίαν,
⁵ φύλασσε ἐντολάς, μὴ ἐπιλάθη
μηδὲ παρίδης ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος
⁶ μηδὲ ἐγκαταλίπης αὐτήν, καὶ ἀνθέξεταιί σου,
ἐράσθητι αὐτῆς, καὶ τηρήσει σε,
⁸ περιχαράκωσον αὐτήν, καὶ ὑψώσει σε,
τίμησον αὐτήν, ἵνα σε περιλάβῃ,
⁹ ἵνα δῶ τῇ σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον χαρίτων,
στεφάνῳ δὲ τρυφῆς ὑπερασπίση σου.

4:1 Listen, you children, to the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding.

4:2 For I give to you a good gift, you must not forsake my law.

4:3 For I was a son, obedient also to a father, and loved in the sight of a mother.

4:4 They spoke and instructed me: Let our speech be fixed in your heart.

4:5 Keep commandments, forget them not, and do not neglect the speech of my mouth.

4:6 And forsake it not, and it shall cling to you; love it and it shall keep you.

4:8 Surround it with a stockade and it shall exalt you; honour it, that it may embrace you.

4:9 That it may give unto your head a crown of graces, and that it may cover you with a crown of delight.

2.2.2 Structure and content of LXX

Verses 1-2 form an introduction to the passage and start with the common address to the pupils and the command to listen. The command "to listen" and "to attend to know understanding" is explained in v. 2 as being part of a "good gift". The teacher urges his pupils not to forsake his law. The reason why we must not forsake his law is that it is good and that it was given to the teacher through both his parents (vv. 3-4). Verse 4b starts with a quotation, which ends at the end of v. 4. In the next section, vv. 5-9, the teacher addresses the pupils about the commandments and the "speech" of his mouth.

2.2.3 The sense of LXX

The beginning of this passage starts with the familiar address to the pupils "you children" as well as the plea for attentiveness (ἀκούσατε). Here, however, the plural of παῖς is used whereas υἱός is used normally. Verse 1 has two imperatives and v. 2 a motive clause introduced by γὰρ and an imperative. These two verses form an introduction to the Instruction of this passage.

In v. 1 the pupil is asked to "attend to know understanding". This implies that there is a certain action required from the pupil to arrive at understanding. In contrast to that, v. 2 refers to the teacher's precepts as a "good gift" which the teacher gives to the pupil. For this "good gift", which could be the teacher's law or instruction, there is no action required - it is a gift. The teacher further admonishes the pupil that his law must not be forsaken - as is asked of wisdom elsewhere in Proverbs. This is the only occurrence of the phrase τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον in the LXX and the question is whether νόμος refers to the teachings of the teacher or to the Law of God.

Verse 3 also begins with a motive clause in which the teacher explains the authority and trustworthiness of his teaching by referring to his own education. The word καὶ γὰρ can be translated syntactically in two ways: "For I **also** was a son, obedient to a father" or "For I was a son, and **also** obedient to a father". Depending on the way this is translated, the

sense of this verse may differ. In v. 4 the teacher begins to quote the instruction his parents gave to him as a child. What is interesting is that in v. 4 both the father and the mother are quoted, since "they spoke and instructed me". However, in v. 5 we read "do not neglect the speech of my mouth", so it seems as if only one person is speaking. It could therefore be that only the phrase "Let our speech be fixed in your heart" forms the quotation, while vv. 5-9 are the admonitions and commands of the teacher.

Verse 6 consists of two clauses, each containing an imperative and a motive clause. The subject of the imperatives refers to the "speech of my mouth" of v. 5 and the verbs that are used are ones that usually govern words such as תורה and מצוה. What exactly the meaning is of περιχαρασκώ is not clear. LSJ gave the meaning as "to surround with a stockade" and it seems to refer to the way in which one is to protect the "speech" of the teacher (ῥήσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος). This teaching of the teacher will then in exchange exalt you.

In Proverbs 28:4 it is said that "They that forsake the law praise godliness, but they that love the law built a wall around themselves (περιβάλλουσιν)." In 28:4 those who love the law will be fortified, but in 4:8 it is the pupil(s) who must surround (protect) the speech of the teacher and in return they will be embraced (περιλαμβάνω). The sense of the phrase must be that the speech of my mouth must be protected and guarded. Verse 9 starts with ἵνα and gives the final argument for why the commandments are to be kept, for it will give unto your head a crown of graces, and it may cover you with a crown of delight.

In order to discuss the interpretation of this passage further, a number of other important themes must be addressed. First, there is the question of the meaning of the word νόμος in v. 2 (as a translation for תורה). How is the noun νόμος used elsewhere in LXX Proverbs? How did the Greek translator understand the meaning(s) of the Hebrew word תורה and how did he choose to translated it?

In what context did this passage, as an Instruction, function after it was translated? Did

this context have any influence on the lexical choices the translator made? Who is the teacher of the Greek Proverbs who is referring to "his law" and did he differ from the teacher of the social world of the Hebrew Proverbs? What role did the teacher play in the intellectual tradition of OT times and the Hellenistic period?

The theme of wisdom (Wisdom) is an important one throughout the book of Proverbs and one that must be dealt with here as well. One of the remarkable differences between the MT and LXX of this passage, which I will discuss later, is the fact that MT has three references to Wisdom (חכמה), while not one of them occurs in the Greek text. What is the translator's attitude towards the issue of the personification of wisdom? In addition, what is wisdom's relationship with the Law and the fear of God?

Before giving my final deliberations on this passage in chapter 7, I will firstly compare the Greek and Hebrew of this passage in detail and then address the issues as formulated in these questions.

2.3 Notes on the comparison of the Greek and Hebrew

Verse 1

MT: שְׁמְעוּ בָנִים מוֹסֵר אָב וְהִקְשִׁיבוּ לְדַעַת בִּינָה:
 Hear, O sons, the instruction of a father,
 and be attentive, that you may know understanding.

LXX: Ἀκούσατε, παῖδες, παιδείαν πατρὸς
 καὶ προσέχετε γυνῶναι ἔννοιαν,
 Listen, you children to the instruction of a father,
 and attend to know understanding.

- i) The plural, vocative of παῖς is used in the LXX as equivalent for the plural of the Hebrew בָּנִים. Although בָּנִים also occurs in three other passages in MT Proverbs (5:7; 7:24; 8:32), in those instances it is translated by the LXX into υἱέ, the singular, vocative of υἱὸς. This is the only instance in Proverbs where the plural form of בֶּן is used in the introduction to an Instruction - in all the other instances the singular בְּנִי (בְּנֵי) is used (1:8; 2:1; 3:1; 3:21; 4:10; 4:20; 5:1; 6:20; and 7:1). If we look at the usage of the Greek noun παῖς, we find that it translates two Hebrew words in LXX Proverbs, namely בֶּן (6x) and נֶעֱר (3x).²
- ii) The word מוֹסֵר "instruction, discipline" is translated here with the feminine, singular, accusative of παιδεία "teaching, instruction, discipline". The word παιδεία occurs 27 times in LXX Proverbs and in only 5 instances is it not a translation of the Hebrew מוֹסֵר - these two words are therefore common word equivalents in LXX Proverbs.³
- iii) The word בִּינָה "understanding" is translated with the feminine, singular, accusative of

² The noun παῖς occurs in LXX Prov 1:4 (נֶעֱר); 4:1 (בֶּן); 19:14 (-); 19:28 (-); 20:7 (בֶּן); 29:15 (נֶעֱר); 29:21 (נֶעֱר).

³ The noun παιδεία translates the following in LXX Proverbs: 1:2 (מוֹסֵר); 1:7 (מוֹסֵר); 1:8 (מוֹסֵר); 1:29 (דַּעַת) (B S σοφίαν); 3:11 (מוֹסֵר); 4:1 (מוֹסֵר); 4:13 (מוֹסֵר); 5:12 (מוֹסֵר); 6:23 (מוֹסֵר) (omitted in A S); 8:10 (מוֹסֵר); 8:33 (omitted in A S²) (מוֹסֵר); 10:17 (omitted in A S²) (מוֹסֵר; חוֹבֵבֶחַח; מוֹסֵר); 12:1 (מוֹסֵר); 13:18 (מוֹסֵר); 15:5 (מוֹסֵר); 15:10 (מוֹסֵר); 16:3 (15:32) (מוֹסֵר); 16:4 (15:33) (מוֹסֵר); 16:17 (-); 16:22 (מוֹסֵר); 17:8 (+); 19:20 (מוֹסֵר); 19:27 (מוֹסֵר); 22:15 (מוֹסֵר); 23:12 (מוֹסֵר); 24:31 (30:8) (+) (B, S πειρία); 24:47 (32) (מוֹסֵר); 25:1 (+) (A S² παροιμία).

ἔννοια "reflection, notion, idea", the only time this equivalent occurs in LXX Proverbs.⁴ The Hebrew word בִּינָה occurs 38 times in the OT and is translated throughout the LXX with three other Greek equivalents as well: φρόνησις, ἐπιστήμη, and διανοέομαι.⁵

Verse 2

MT: כִּי לִקְחָהּ טוֹב נִתְּתִי לָכֶם תּוֹרָתִי אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח־וּ:

For I give you good precepts. My teaching you must not forsake.

LXX: δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι ὑμῖν,

τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον μὴ ἐγκαταλίπητε.

For I give to you a good gift,

you must not forsake my law.

i) The *BHS* notes that לָכֶם in 4:2 should perhaps be read as the singular לָךְ. The plural "to you" (לָכֶם) refers to the "children" the teacher is addressing. *BHS* proposed in 4:1 that the "children" should probably read "child" and therefore the singular form "you" is proposed here. LXX has the plural in both instances (παῖδες and ὑμῖν).

ii) In 4:2 לקחה "precept" is translated with the Greek neuter, singular δῶρον "gift" (Vulgate has *donum*). The Hebrew word לקח occurs only 8 times in the OT, and this is the only instance where it is translated as δῶρον.⁶ But it is very interesting to note that לקח is never translated - not in any of the 8 instances - with one Greek equivalent twice!⁷

iii) Another important word equivalent occurs in 4:2, namely the translation of תּוֹרָה into νόμος. This is the third occurrence of the word תּוֹרָה in MT Proverbs and the first occurrence in LXX Proverbs of νόμος (some mss have νόμος in 1:8). This is also the only time in LXX Proverbs where the phrase τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον occurs.

⁴ In LXX Proverbs the word ἔννοια translates the following Hebrew words: 1:4 (מוֹחָה); 2:11 (הַבְּנָה); 3:21 (מוֹחָה); 4:1 (בִּינָה); 5:2 (מוֹחָה); 8:12 (מוֹחָה); 16:22 (שָׁבַל); 18:15 (דַּעַה); 19:7 (-); 23:4 (בִּינָה); 23:19 (דַּרְךְ); 24:7 (-). The word occurs in only one other passages in the LXX: Wis 2:14.

⁵ In Proverbs בִּינָה occurs in: 1:2 (φρόνησις); 4:1 (ἔννοια); 4:5 (-); 4:7 (-); 8:14; (φρόνησις); 9:6 (φρόνησις) and 16:16 (φρόνησις).

⁶ The noun δῶρον occurs elsewhere in LXX Proverbs as translation for 6:35 (שָׂחָד); 15:27 (מַחְהָה); 17:23 (שָׂחָד); 21:14 (שָׂחָד); 22:9 (+).

Verse 3

MT: כִּי־בֵן הָיִיתִי לְאָבִי רַךְ וְיָחִיד לְפָנַי אִמִּי:

For I was a son with my father, tender,
and an only one in the sight of my mother.

LXX: υἱὸς γὰρ ἐγενόμην κάγω πατρὶ ὑπήκοος

καὶ ἀγαπώμενος ἐν προσώπῳ μητρός,
For I was a son, also obedient to a father,
and loved in the sight of a mother

i) LXX has a plus of κάγω in the first stich of v. 3.

ii) The LXX has ὑπήκοος "obedient" in the first stich for the Hebrew word רך "tender, weak". The Hebrew רך occurs only three times in Proverbs, namely in 4:3 (ὑπήκοος); 15:1 (ὑποπίπτω); and 25:15 (μαλακός) and nowhere else in the LXX is it ever translated as ὑπήκοος. It has been proposed that MT is corrupt at this point and that it should read either מך "poor" or רך "oppressed", but unfortunately none of these suggestions suit the context (Toy 1914:89). It may be that the Greek use of the word "obedient" instead of the Hebrew "tender" is a free rendering of the word "tender" (רך) or it might represent a different Hebrew word (such as מך). From the Masoretic text itself - the pause and the topography - it seems as if the word רך should be read in apposition with the mother, and not with the father, as is the case in LXX.

iii) MT has וְיָחִיד "and an only one" which the LXX translated as καὶ ἀγαπώμενος "and beloved". This is the only instance in the LXX Proverbs where this specific word equivalent occurs, but in various instances in the OT the word יחיד is translated with ἀγαπάω (Gen 22:2, 12, 16; Amos 8:10; Zech 12:10). Scott (1965:49) proposed that the Greek word ἀγαπώμενος "beloved" can be traced to a Hebrew reading of וְיָחִיד "beloved", instead of reading יחיד. The resulting Hebrew would read "When I was a son with my father - tender and beloved in the sight of my mother". However, the fact that elsewhere in the LXX the Greek word ἀγαπάω is used to translate יחיד suggests that the translator of

⁷ The word קהל is treated as follows in the LXX: 1:5 (σοφὸς); 4:2 (δῶρον) "gift"; 7:21 (ὁμιλία) "conversation"; 9:9 (δέχομαι) "teaching"; 16:21 (ἀκούω); Deut 32:2 (ἀπόφθεγμα) "prophecy"; Isa 29:24

Proverbs rendered the Hebrew in the same manner as, for instance, the translator of Genesis and that this Greek reading does not reflect a different *Vorlage*.⁸

Verse 4

MT: וַיְרַנֵּי וַיֹּאמֶר לִי יְהוָה דְּבַר לִבִּי שְׁמֵר מִצְוֹתַי וַחַיֵּה
He taught me, and said to me, Let your heart hold fast my words;
keep my commandments, and live.

LXX: οἱ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐδίδασκόν με
Ἐρειδέτω ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος εἰς σὴν καρδίαν,
They spoke and instructed me:
Let our speech be fixed in your heart.

i) In MT it is only the father who is quoted (וַיְרַנֵּי וַיֹּאמֶר), while the LXX has it that both the father and mother (οἱ ἔλεγον) are addressing the pupils. In the Vulgate, it is also singular with only the father speaking.

ii) It is interesting that the order of the verbs in the first stich differs in the two versions under comparison. The LXX has "spoke and instructed" (ἔλεγον καὶ ἐδίδασκόν), while the MT has "he taught me, and said to me" (וַיְרַנֵּי וַיֹּאמֶר).

iii) The Hebrew phrase שְׁמֵר מִצְוֹתַי וַחַיֵּה "keep my commandments and live" in MT is translated with φύλασσε ἐντολάς "keep commandments", which forms part of v. 5 in the LXX, and differs from MT with regard to: i) a minus in LXX - "my" does not occur in the Greek; and ii) another minus in LXX, namely the absence of וַחַיֵּה "and live". The word ἐντολή is used here as equivalent for מצוה, as in most cases in LXX Proverbs.⁹

iv) The Hebrew phrase "keep my commandments and live" is identical with the first line of Prov 7:2, and could be regarded as a scribal insertion taken from 7:2.

v) The Hebrew word תָּמַךְ "hold fast" is translated with the third person, singular, present,

(σύνεσις); Job 11:4 (λέγω) "saying".

⁸ The Greek words μονογενής "only-begotten" (Jd 11:34; Ps 21(22):21; 24(25):16; and 34(35):17) and μονοτροπού "solitary" (Ps 67(68):7) are also used as a translation for יָחִיד.

⁹ HR has it that the noun ἐντολή occurs in LXX Proverbs as a translation of: 2:1 (מצוה); 4:5 (4:4) (מצוה); 6:23 (מצוה); 7:1 (מצוה); 7:2 (מצוה); 10:8 (מצוה); 13:13 (מצוה); 15:5 (חוכחה); 19:16 (מצוה). Also in Eccl 8:5; 12:13; Wis 9:9, 16:6; Sir 1:26; 2:15 (S², omitted in A); 6:37; 10:19; 15:15; 23:27; 28:6; 28:7; 29:1; 29:9; 29:11; 35(32):1; 35(32):4; 32(35):23; 32(35):24; 37:12; 39:31; 45:5; 45:17.

imperative of ἐρείδω "to fix firmly". The word ἐρείδω occurs 9 times in LXX Proverbs and in 6 instances as a translation for חָמַך.¹⁰

Verse 5

MT: : קְנֵה חִכְמָה קְנֵה בִינָה אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח וְאַל־תִּמְרָץ מֵאֲמַר־פִּי:

Get wisdom; get understanding.

Do not forget, and do not turn away from the words of my mouth.

LXX: φύλασσε ἐντολάς, μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ

μηδὲ παρίδῃς ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος

Keep commandments, do not forget

and neglect the speech of my mouth.

i) The first two clauses of MT (קְנֵה חִכְמָה קְנֵה בִינָה) are absent from the LXX. Some of the later MSS place the clauses after "forget it not" in the next line (Oesterley 1929:30). The phrase is very similar to a portion of 4:7.

ii) The second person, singular, aorist of παροράω "neglect" translates the Hebrew verb נָטָה "turn away". This is the only occurrence of the word παριδεῖν in Proverbs and also the only instance in the LXX where it is used as translation for נָטָה.¹¹

iii) The Hebrew phrase "words of my mouth" is translated with ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος. The Greek word ῥῆσις "speech" is often used in LXX Proverbs as equivalent for אָמַר.¹²

¹⁰ The verb ἐρείδω translates in LXX Proverbs 3:26 (שָׁמַר); 4:4 (חָמַךְ) (S διάνοιαν); 5:5 (חָמַךְ); 9:12 (-); 11:16 (חָמַךְ); 24:63 (30:28) (חָפֵץ); 29:23 (חָמַךְ); (B S¹ ἐρίζει; S² ἐγείρει); 31:17 (אָמַר); 31:19 (חָמַךְ) (A ἐρδει; S ἐρίζει). The word occurs only once elsewhere in LXX: Job 17:10.

¹¹ The word παριδεῖν occurs elsewhere for: Lev 5:21 (6:2) (מעל); Num 5:6 (מעל); 5:12 (מעל); Ps 137(138):8 (רָפוּה) as well as several times in Sir and Macc.

¹² The noun ῥῆσις occurs in LXX Proverbs as translation for: 1:6 (דָּבַר); 1:23 (-); 2:1 (אָמַר); 4:5 (אָמַר); 4:20 (דָּבַר); 7:24 (B S ῥῆμα) (אָמַר); 15:26 (אָמַר); 19:27 (אָמַר); 24:70 (31:2) (*); 27:27 (*). It occurs only in one other passage in the LXX: 2 Esd 5:7.

Verse 6

MT: אֲלֹתֵי עֲזָבָהּ וְהִשְׁמְרָךְ אֶהְיֶה וְחָצְרָךְ :

Do not forsake her, and she will keep you;

love her, and she will guard you.

LXX: μηδὲ ἐγκαταλίπῃς αὐτήν, καὶ ἀνθέξεται σου,

ἐράσθητι αὐτῆς, καὶ τηρήσει σε,

And forsake it not, and it shall cling to you;

love it and it shall keep you.

i) In MT 4:6 the subject of the verse is the feminine חכמה "wisdom", which was referred to in 4:5 with the imperative חכמה קנה. In the LXX, however, the reference to wisdom in 4:5 is lacking, therefore the subject of μηδὲ ἐγκαταλίπῃς αὐτήν is either the "commandments" or the "speech of my mouth". However, the reference to the "commandments" is plural, while "forsake her not" is singular. Therefore, it must refer to the "speech of my mouth" (ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος).

ii) The Hebrew אָב "forsake" is translated with ἐγκαταλείπω "leave behind" - these two words are common equivalents in LXX Proverbs.¹³

iii) The third person, singular, future of ἀντέχω translates the Hebrew קָמַח "to keep". The Greek word ἀντέχω "to cleave to, to hold out against" occurs only here in LXX Proverbs.¹⁴

iv) The Greek word ἐράω is used to translate the Hebrew אָהַב. The Greek word ἐράω "to love" occurs only three times in the LXX and in all these instances as a translation for אָהַב (1 Esd 4:24; Est 2:17 and Prov 4:6).

v) The third person, singular, future of τηρέω "to keep" translates the Hebrew נָצַר "to guard". The word τηρέω occurs as a translation for two Hebrew words in LXX Proverbs,

¹³ The verb ἐγκαταλείπω translates 2:13 (עָזַב); 4:2 (עָזַב); 4:6 (עָזַב); 24:14 (חָרַק); 27:10 (עָזַב); 28:4 (עָזַב).

¹⁴ The Hebrew word קָמַח occurs as follows in Proverbs: 2:8 (φυλάσσω); 2:11 (φυλάσσω); 2:20 (εὐρίσκω); 3:26 (ἐρείδω); 4:4 (ἐρείδω); 4:6 (τηρέω); 4:21(φυλάσσω); 4:21; 5:2 (φυλάσσω); 6:22 (φυλάσσω); 6:24 (φυλάσσω); 7:1 (φυλάσσω); 7:2 (φυλάσσω); 7:5 (τηρέω); 8:32 (-); 8:34 (); 10:17 (φυλάσσω); 13:3 (φυλάσσω); 13:18 (φυλάσσω); 14:3 (φυλάσσω); 15:5 (φυλάσσω); 16:17 (φυλάσσω); 19:8 (φυλάσσω); 19:16 (φυλάσσω); 21:23 (φυλάσσω); 22:5 (φυλάσσω); 22:18 (-); 22:18 (-); 27:18 (); 28:4 (ἀγαπάω); 29:18 (φυλάσσω).

namely נצר and שמר.¹⁵

Verse 7

MT: ראשית חכמה קנה ובכל־קנייך קנה בינה
 The beginning of wisdom is: Get wisdom,
 and in all your substance get understanding.

LXX: ---

i) The whole of v. 7 is a minus in the LXX. As with the minus in v. 5, the words בינה and חכמה form part of this minus. The sense of the awkward Hebrew expression "The beginning of wisdom is: Get wisdom" is that wisdom must be obtained at all cost (see also Prov 23:23 and Matt 13:45-46). Many commentators have commented on the possibility that the MT might be corrupt (Toy 1914:92). It has, for instance, been proposed that the word ראשית may be used here in the sense of "best, chief, principal", but it never occurs undefined, apart from Isa 46:10 and Gen 1:1 where it is connected to "the beginning". A reading such as "wisdom is the principal thing" (such as found in the RSV) can therefore not be supported.

Verse 8

MT: סלסלה ותרוממך תכבדך כי תחבקנה
 Exalt her, and she will lift you up; she will honour you if you embrace her.

LXX: περιχάρακωσον αὐτήν, καὶ ὑψώσει σε,
 τίμησον αὐτήν, ἵνα σε περιλάβῃ,
 Surround it with a stockade and it shall exalt you;
 honour it, that it may embrace you.

i) The subject of MT Prov 4:8 is still Wisdom, while the LXX refers to the speech of the

¹⁵ The word תהרעו is found in: 2:11 (נצר); 3:1 (נצר); 3:21 (נצר); 4:6 (נצר); 4:23 (נצר); 7:5 (שמר); 8:34 (שמר); 13:3 (שמר); 16:3 (15:32) (שמע); 16:17 (שמר); 19:16 (שמר); 23:18 (-); 23:26 (*, נצר); 24:70 (31:2) (-) (omitted)

teacher (ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος).

ii) The Hebrew uses the verb סלל "to lift up, to exalt", while the Greek has the second person, singular, aorist, active, imperative of περιχαρακώ "to surround with a stockade" with the meaning "to secure" (Codex B has χαριτώ "to show grace"). The word περιχαρακώ occurs elsewhere only in Isa 52:4 (הח), while סלל occurs in only one other passage in Proverbs, namely 15:19, where it is translated as τρίβος "to crush, grind" or "to be worn smooth". It seems as if the translators of the LXX often had problems with the verb סלל, since HR shows that it is translated with at least three different Greek words. The noun מסלל also gave them problems, since they translated it into ὁδός (12 x), τρίβος (9 x), and into ἀνάβασις (4 x).

iii) The Hebrew word רם "lift high" is translated with the third person, singular, future of ὑψώ "lift high". These two words are often used as word equivalents.¹⁶

iv) The second person, singular, aorist, imperative of τιμάω "honour" translates the Hebrew word כבד "to honour". The word τιμάω occurs in several passages in LXX Proverbs, apart from its usage in pluses it is always used as translation for כבד.¹⁷

v) The Hebrew word חבק "embrace" is translated with the verb περιλαμβάνω "embrace". The word περιλαμβάνω occurs only here in LXX Proverbs, while in the rest of the LXX, it usually is a translation for חבק.

Verse 9

MT: תתן לראשך לְיִתְחַן עֲשֶׂתָּ תַפְאֶרֶת תְּמַנְנֶנָּךְ

She will place on your head a fair ornament; she will bestow on you a beautiful crown

LXX: ἵνα δῶ τῆ σῆ κεφαλῆ στέφανον χαρίτων,
στεφάνω δὲ τρυφῆς ὑπερασπίση σου.

That it may give unto your head a crown of graces,
and that it may cover you with a crown of delight

in S); 25:10 (-).

¹⁶ The verb ὑψώ occurs in 3:35 (רום); 4:8 (רום); 11:11 (A B² S²) (רום); 14:34 (רום); 18:10 (שגב); 18:12 (גנה).

¹⁷ The verb τιμάω occurs in: 3:9 (כבד); 4:8 (כבד); 6:8 (-); 7:2 (-); 14:31 (כבד); 15:22 (-); 25:2 (+); 25:27 (+); 27:18 (כבד); 27:26 (+).

i) The subject of these two versions still differs.

ii) This verse is very similar to Prov 1:9:

MT: כִּי לַיְהוָה חֵן הֵם לְרֵאשִׁיךָ וְעֲנָקִים לְגַרְגְּרֹתֶיךָ

For they shall be an ornament of grace to your head and chains about your neck

LXX: στέφανον γὰρ χαρίτων δέξει σῆ κορυφῆ

καὶ κλοιὸν χρύσειον περὶ σῶ τραχήλῳ.

Because you will receive a crown of graces on your head

and a golden necklace around your neck.

iii) The Hebrew expression לַיְהוָה חֵן "fair ornament" is translated with στέφανον χαρίτων "crown of graces". This expression occurs only here and in Prov 1:9 in the LXX (the only other passage where these two words occur together is Zech 6:14). The word לוייה "ornament, wreath" occurs twice in the OT, both times in Proverbs. The Greek equivalent στέφανος occurs twice in 4:9, once as a translation for לוייה and once for עֲחָרָה.¹⁸

iv) The phrase עֲטָרַת הַפְּאֵרָה "beautiful crown" is translated with στεφάνῳ τρυφῆς "crown of delight".

¹⁸ The noun στέφανος is used in several passages in LXX Prov as translation for: 1:9 (לוייה); 4:9 (לוייה); 4:9 (עֲחָרָה); 12:4 (עֲחָרָה); 14:24 (עֲחָרָה); 16:31 (עֲחָרָה); 17:6 (עֲחָרָה) and is also found 9 times in Sir: 1:11; 1:18; 6:31; 15:6; 25:6; 35(32):2; 40:4; 45:12; 50:12.

2.4 Synopsis of the translation technique¹⁹

2.4.1 Semantic and lexical level

2.4.1.1 *Hapax legomena*

One *hapax legomena* occurs, namely περιχαρακώ (v. 8). This unique word is used both a literary device (with περιλάβη) and theological admonition. The words of the teacher must be surrounded, just as the Torah must be protected with a wall (see discussion on Proverbs 28:4)

2.4.1.2 Common word equivalents

Several common word equivalents occur:

παιδεία for מוסר (v. 1); ἐγκαταλείπω for עזב (vv. 2, 6); ἐντολή for מצוה (v. 4); ῥῆσις for אמר (v. 5); τηρέω for נצר (v. 6); ὑψόω for רום (v. 8); τιμάω for כבד (v. 8).

2.4.1.3 Uncommon word equivalents

Uncommon to LXX:

- δώρον for לקח (v. 2); ὑπήκοος for דן (v. 3); παροράω for נטה (v. 5); ἀντέχω for שמר (v. 6); and περιχαρακώ for סלל (v. 8).

Uncommon to LXX Proverbs:

- ἔννοια for בינה (v. 1); ἐράω for אהב (v. 6); περιλαμβάνω for קבץ (v. 8) ἀγαπάω for יחיד (v. 3).

2.4.1.4 Words used uniquely

- δώρον as interpretation of לקח (v. 2);
- ἀγαπάω (v. 3) as interpretation of יחיד, as used by the translator of Genesis;

¹⁹ In this synopsis I follow the methodology of Cook that was fruitfully applied on LXX Proverbs.

- περιχαράκω (v. 8) for סלל.

2.4.1.5 Greek and Hebrew particles

The translator faithfully rendered the Hebrew particles:

- γὰρ for כִּי (v. 2, 3); ἵνα for כִּי (v. 8); and ἵνα as plus (v. 9) in order to introduce the final arguments at the end of the Instruction.

2.4.1.6 Unique expressions

- τὸν ἕμὸν νόμον (v. 2);
- τρυφῆς ὑπερασπίση (v. 9).

2.4.2 Syntactical level

In general the translator of the LXX followed the structure of his Hebrew parent text, although there are some structural differences. Most of the syntactical differences between MT and LXX Proverbs are a result of the many pluses found in the Greek version. In this passage, however, this does not hold true.

2.4.2.1 Pluses and minuses

There are no significantly large pluses in the Greek text. The word κἀγω (v. 3) was probably added to explain the rather difficult Hebrew syntax. More important, though, are the minuses in LXX. In v. 4 we have two minuses in a verse that is difficult in both MT and LXX. In LXX the "my" is absent as well as the phrase "and live".

In verse 5 we have a large minus that contains the phrase "get wisdom, get understanding". The explanation for this minus may be found in the next minus, which consists of the entire v. 7 ("The beginning of wisdom is: Get wisdom. And in all your substance get understanding"). Although the Hebrew of this phrase is very awkward, the

fact that in both these minuses חורה and בינה occur is significant. Whether these minuses are the result of the translator's work or whether they refer back to a different *Vorlage* must be investigated.

The LXX has a different division of verses in 4:4-5. The phrase "keep my commandments" in MT 4:4 occurs in 4:5 in LXX, without the "my". Some other syntactical differences can also be noted. In v. 4 in LXX both the father and mother are quoted while in MT it is only the father. In LXX v. 4 the word order of the first stich is also the other way around than in MT.

2.4.2.2 Word order

In several instances the Greek translator changed the word order:

- in v. 4 the word order of LXX is different from MT in that LXX has "spoke and instructed" while MT has "taught and said";
- also in v. 4 MT has "let your heart hold fast to my words", while LXX changed the order into "let our speech be fixed in your heart", most probably because the λόγος, and in the next verse ῥῆσις are important subjects.

2.4.3 Stylistic level

The translator of the LXX followed his Hebrew parent text in the general structure of this passage, since both the Greek and Hebrew versions have the characteristic form of an Instruction.

2.4.3.1 Stylistic devices

- παῖδες, παιδείαν πατρὸς (v. 1);
- δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι (v. 2);
- μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ μὴδὲ παρίδῃς ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος ὅ μὴδὲ ἐγκαταλίπῃς αὐτήν (vv. 5-6);

- **μη** ἐπιλάθη **μηδὲ** παρίδης ῥῆσιν ἐμοῦ στόματος ⁶ **μηδὲ** ἐγκαταλίπης αὐτήν (vv. 5-6);
- **περιχαράκωσον** αὐτήν, καὶ ὑψώσει σε, τίμησον αὐτήν, ἵνα σε **περιλάβῃ**, (v. 8).

2.4.3.2 Internal relation of passages/verses

The minuses in verses 5 and 7 are related to each other since both have the words חורה and בינה.

2.4.3.3 Relationship with other scriptural passages

Proverbs 4:4 is identical to 7:2 and Prov 4:9 is very similar to another introduction to an Instruction, 1:9.

2.4.4 Conclusion

Thematically, the minuses in LXX have a great influence on the general theme of these two versions. In MT verses 5-9 are regarded as a poem dedicated to personified Wisdom, but in LXX there is never any mention of Wisdom. In other words, the whole of verses 5-9 has a different theme than MT, in which the words of the teacher are praised.

In several other instances in MT "wisdom poems" have been inserted into the text after a treatment of the theme of חורה. It could be that later editors inserted these "wisdom poems" to align the theme of God's Law (חורה) with Wisdom. It might be that this redaction by later editors was reversed by the translator of the LXX who decided to leave out any passage that speaks about Wisdom.

It is, however, necessary to address certain important questions first before I give my conclusions on LXX Proverbs 4:1-9 in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 3: Νομός IN LXX PROVERBS

3.1 תורה in the Hebrew Bible

3.1.1 The meaning(s) of תורה

The dictionaries inform us that the Hebrew word תורה means either "teaching", "instruction" or "law". While KB gives the original meaning of תורה as "instruction, direction", BDB holds that the word derives from the verb ירה, which means "to throw" or "to cast lots". In the Hebrew Bible תורה is firstly used as a term for "instruction" and designates either human instruction (Prov 1:8; 3:1; 13:14) or divine instruction (Job 22:22; Jer 8:8). It also refers to either a body of prophetic teaching (Isa 42:21-24; Job 9:12), instruction in the Messianic age (Mi 4:4; Isa 42:4), or a body of priestly instruction (Ho 4:6; Jer 2:8; Ezek 7:26). Secondly, תורה also refers to "law" since it is used for special laws (Ex 13:9), codes of laws (Ex 24:12 E), and the Deuteronomic codes of laws (Deut 1:5, 4:8, 4:44). Lastly it is also used as a more general term for "customs" and "manners".

From this we can see that the meaning of the word in the Hebrew Bible oscillates between the meanings of "instruction" and "law", depending on the specific context in which it is used. These contexts include different genres; whether the תורה is human or divine; etc. Furthermore, the meaning of תורה has changed over the centuries since it was first written down in the Hebrew Bible and also since it was translated into the Greek language in the Septuagint. This factor is most evident in the way in which תורה is used in Judaism today, since it is often said that the word תורה sums up (or is central to) the entire religious system of modern Judaism (Kugel 1987:997).

3.1.2 תורה in the Pentateuch

The word תורה as well as the plural form תורות is used in the Hebrew Bible mostly in apposition to words for "law", "statute" or "commandment". According to Lopez

(1986:604) the word appears thirty-four times in the Pentateuch and in 26 of these instances it occurs in priestly literature. In Leviticus and Numbers it is used mostly in the singular to designate specific priestly cultic actions (Lev 6:9 and Num 6:13) and is therefore closely connected to the priesthood and the priests as imparters of תורה. In the book of Deuteronomy we find for the first time that תורה is used (and almost always so) as an overall and inclusive designation for the Law, which clearly designates an entire corpus of laws, or even more broadly, the book of Deuteronomy as a whole (Deut 1:5, 4:44). So already within the Pentateuch we can witness a development in the use and meaning of תורה.

The influence that the use of תורה in Deuteronomy had on later Jewish thought is emphasised by Blenkinsopp (1983:76). According to him this book represents in many ways the divide between Israel and Judaism, and תורה is central to that divide. The importance of the written law, and especially the book Deuteronomy, grew during the Exile and upon Israel's immediate return. According to some this was due to the Josianic reform, when Deuteronomy was accepted as the norm for religious observances and practices and when it was treated as a state law-code, quite contrary to the original intention. Thus תורה is still primarily associated with "law", although not limited to specific cultic laws, but signifying the Deuteronomic corpus of laws.

Already in the Pentateuch we find an interesting link between wisdom and law: in Deut 4:5-6 תורה is said to be to Israel what wisdom is to other nations with rich and ancient traditions. According to Kugel (1987:996-7) there is a relationship between the usage of the word תורה in Deuteronomy and the usage of Wisdom in the wisdom literature, since they share the same vocabulary of words and expressions. Just as Deuteronomy insists that Israel should "keep", "guard" and "heed" the divine covenant and not "forget" or "turn from" the law, the wisdom literature insists that Israel should treat Wisdom in a like manner. This we shall see also in the use of תורה in Proverbs. Ralph Marcus (1927:43) holds a similar opinion:

In the later Old Testament literature Torah is identified with חכמה, *sofia*, 'wisdom', which is sometimes personified, as in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. It is interesting to note that in other

parts of the Old Testament the word חכמה is used in connection with the law or books of law (Deut 4:5-6 and Ezra 7:25).

3.1.3 תורה in the Prophets

According to Anderson & Freedman (1989:297) the usage of תורה in the prophets was that of divine instruction of "prophetic תורה". This תורה was oracular and occasional, the same as "the word of the Lord" (cf. parallelism in Isa 2:3) and rejecting prophetic תורה would be the same as silencing or spurning the prophets. This prophetic תורה differed from the priestly תורה, which was concerned with the right conduct of liturgy and performance of ritual acts.

According to some scholars, Hosea, Amos and Isaiah use the term in a very broad sense, perhaps meaning the totality of cultic laws and decrees, although this broad interpretation is not shared by all scholars (Hos 4:6; Amos 2:4; Isa 1:10, 2:3). In Amos 2:4 there is a reference to the "the Law of the Lord" on which Anderson & Freedman (1989:298) comment as follows:

The references to torah in pre-exilic sources, such as Amos 2:4, which we are now studying, are not clear enough to permit us to say that Amos and others who used the term had the torah of Moses in their minds, let alone in their hands. The infrequency of such references and the low profile of Moses in the few that there are, suggest that any such body of received torah and statutes, whether written or still only or mainly oral, did not enjoy the kind of canonical status as sacred scripture that it eventually acquired by the time of Ezra.

Hosea 4:6 also refers to the "the law of our God" (תורת אֱלֹהֵינוּ) and, although some of the content of this verse resembles sections of the Pentateuch, there is no literal quotation from a known text. As is the case with Amos 2:4, it is very hard to connect תורה with any specific body of laws or teachings. According to Meyers the reference in Neh 8:1 to "the book of the law of Moses" was doubtless a reflection of the latest recension of the Pentateuch (Meyers 1965:153). Clines (1984:182) is also of the opinion that this is a reference to the law which was brought back by Ezra from Babylon (Ezra 7:6) and that it is "very likely the Pentateuch as a whole in more or less its present form". The תורה

mentioned in 7:14 ("the law of your God which is in your hand") probably also refers "to a well-defined document, perhaps the priestly edition of the Pentateuch" (Meyers 1965:62).

According to Clines (1984:182) scholars are divided as to the meaning of תורה in these instances. On the one hand, scholars argue that it is a reference to the whole Pentateuch (Wellhausen, Schaeder, Eissfeldt), others that it refers to only the priestly code (Meyer, Oesterley), while still others take it to mean Deuteronomy (Bowman, Kellerman). However, during the post-exilic time the references to תורה suggest that we can link them to a specific body of teachings and that the use of the word תורה in expressions such as "the תורה of Moses" or "the תורה of the Lord" appears in the latest stratum of biblical literature which may indicate the entire Pentateuch (see Neh 8:1ff.). This use of the word תורה, which subsequently became the Torah, was carried on in the rabbinical texts as a designation for the Pentateuch and later as a synonym for the entire Scripture, including the oral and written Torah.

Another interesting fact to note is that, although the Pentateuch is often referred to as the תורה, it is not primarily about the law(s). For the most part it is a narrative, beginning at the creation and ending with the death of Moses.

3.1.4 תורה in the Wisdom Literature

According to Kugel (1987:996) it seems as if the word תורה took on another meaning - it expanded or was displaced - in the wisdom literature. There it is used in apposition to words associated with wisdom teaching, such as "counsel" or "discipline". So we find that in Proverbs תורה is used to describe the instructions or commands of parents (1:8; 6:20; 13:14; 31:26) and that it can also refer to an individual's capacity for learning (13:4). The use of תורה is definitely bound more closely to wisdom in Proverbs than in the other books of the Hebrew Bible, although we saw that in Deuteronomy already the two concepts were linked with each other. According to Marcus (1927:43) it is only in the wisdom literature, some of the Psalms, Proverbs, Wisdom of Sirach and Wisdom of

Solomon that תורה is personified as "the divine wisdom, a preexistent spirit, whose philosophical relation to God is not clearly defined".

It is, however, often said there are few, if indeed any, references to the Law in Proverbs. This is indeed one of the main concerns of this study - the role of the Law in both MT and LXX Proverbs. Just as "the failure of the book of Proverbs to reflect explicitly on the Torah" may provide us with possible clues to its dating (Camp 1985:234), so the references to the Law in LXX Proverbs might prove crucial in contextualising it. This is crucial to the question that I formulated in the introduction to this investigation - is there a shift in meaning between the use of תורה in MT Proverbs and the use of νομός in LXX Proverbs?

3.2. Νομός in the Septuagint

According to Westerholm (1991:45) it was the publication of Schechter's *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* that introduced the claim that the Greek word νόμος "law" is a distortion of the 'true' meaning of the word תורה. According to Schechter and others the translation of תורה by the Greek νόμος resulted in a narrowing of the conception of תורה - from God's way in general to a set of requirements and rules. Although this distortion of תורה is most evident in the anti-legalistic works of Paul, it is argued that it was introduced during the Hellenistic age through the Septuagint.

Dodd describes the meaning of νόμος as an immanent or underlying principle of life and action that came to have the meaning of "law" - either as a single legal statute or as a legal corpus of a given community (Westerholm 1991:46). He made the important distinction between the different connotations of the word תורה and concluded that in some instances νόμος is a good translation for תורה and in others not. The use of νόμος as a translation for תורה in the Deuteronomic codes and the related literature is appropriate. When it comes to the use of תורה where it has a prophetic connotation and where it means instruction in the principles of religion, the use of νόμος could indeed involve a narrowing of the concept.

3.2.1 The importance of the Law during the Hellenistic period

Writings which have survived from the Second Temple period (538 BCE onwards), whether biblical or post-biblical writings, testify to the central place of the Torah in Jewish intellectual and religious life. According to Blenkinsopp (1983:76) the focus on the Torah in this period can be traced back to the Josianic reform and the book of Deuteronomy. Others argue that the increasing influence of Hellenism on the Jewish communities unleashed a reaction among conservative Jews who, subsequently, increased their focus on the Torah. This is well attested to in the book of 1 Maccabees on the events surrounding the Maccabean revolt, which, although it was probably the 'official' version of the events from the Hasmonean point of view, remains our greatest

historical source for the uprisings (Grabbe 1992:223). Already before the accession of Antiochus and the Maccabean revolt, Ben Sirach complains and warns about the level of Hellenisation²⁰ under certain Jews:

He that seeks the law shall be filled with it: and he that deals deceitfully, shall meet with a stumbling block therein (32:19).

Woe to you, ungodly men, who have forsaken the law of the most high Lord. And if you be born, you shall be born in malediction: and if you die, in malediction shall be your portion (41:11-12).²¹

These passages would refer to the Jews who were compromising or forsaking the law to accommodate the influences of Greek culture during the Hellenistic period – and which led to the Maccabean revolt (Hengel 1973:503-564; Tcherikover 1959:175ff ; Schürer 1986:151ff). Our main source for the Maccabean revolt, an event that took place between 168 and 165 BCE, is the first book of Maccabees, written about 100 BCE. Although the book stresses the influence of "foreign powers" - and they obviously played a crucial role in these events - it is important to note that the revolt was triggered primarily by an internal crisis in the Jewish community.

The internal struggle between the Jews, as well as the oppressive reign of the Greek kings, that included, for instance, the burning of the books of the law of God and the killing of those who observed the Law (1 Macc 1:59-60), resulted in a revolt that was led by Matthias Maccabee (also referred to as the Hasmonean uprising). The author of Maccabees paints a very bold picture of Matthias, who set out to achieve religious freedom and the restoration of Jewish worship in Jerusalem (1 Macc 2:19-27). Matthias and his sons refused to listen to the words of the king Antiochus and continued to obey the law of their fathers. They refused to sacrifice and to transgress the commandments of their law.

When Judas, the son of Matthias, eventually succeeded in driving out the Gentiles and

²⁰ Schürer (1979:52) summarises Hellenism as follows: "It was a civilizing power which extended into every branch of life. It shaped the organisation of the constitution, the administration of justice and government, public institutions, art and learning, commerce and industry, the customs of daily life down to fashion and dress, and thereby set the stamp of the Greek spirit on the whole of existence."

²¹ The English translations of the Greek texts of Wisdom of Sirach and Maccabees are taken from the English translation by Sir Lancelot Lee Brenton (Bagster 1976).

Hellenised Jews, he chose priests without blemish to take stones and build a new altar, "according to the law" (1 Macc 4:47). The priests then offered sacrifices "according to the law", upon the new altar (1 Macc 4:53). There followed several years of continued fighting with hostile neighbours that led the leaders of the uprising to the second stage of the revolution - political independence. This was achieved when the last Greek garrison fell in Jerusalem in 141 BCE (Stone 1984:12; Grabbe 1992:285-311).

Clearly the Law played an important role in the beginning and the completion of the revolt. Another illustration of the zeal for the Law is found in 3 Macc 7:10-15, where it is noted that the Alexandrian Jews are said to have punished with death their fellow Jews who had "transgressed the Law". Even if this is not necessarily historically "true", such a reference alone signifies the importance the Law had for conservative Jews.

Consequently we find that in the Wisdom of Sirach and the books of Maccabees the Law or the Torah becomes a defining characteristic of the Jews. Some argue that they deliberately broadened the concept of the law, because they identified their law with the values of other societies. So the Jewish Law, or broadly speaking the Torah, became more than just a set of rules for them; it represented the social and moral fibre of the Jewish communities - and that which distinguished them from the Gentiles.

The renewed emphasis that was placed on the Torah is usually reflected in the literature dating from this period and onwards:

A book like Daniel shows the traumas of the Maccabean persecutions. Any writing from the second century BCE, especially after 170 BCE, is likely to show some influence from the contemporary situation ... The post-Maccabean literature tends to reflect that crisis in some way (Grabbe 1995:208).

3.2.2 Νομός in the first book of Maccabees

The above section have given an overview of the political and religious situation in Palestine before and after the Maccabean revolt. We saw that one of the characteristic notions of the time was the renewed emphasis on the Law of Moses as a defining

characteristic of the Jews, also called the second concentration on the Torah. This emphasis had a political dimension in that the re-establishment of the Law as national religion and the sanctification of the temple coincided with national independence.

In this section I want to look at the way in which the author of the first book of Maccabees, who clearly sided with the revolutionary Maccabees, envisaged the Law. I not only want to investigate this on a broad religious level, but also on a lexical and syntactical level. What are the words and phrases used to convey the importance of the Law?

The word νομός is found frequently in the first book of Maccabees. The first time the word is used is in 1 Macc 1:48-49:

that they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation: to the end that they might forget the law (τοῦ νόμου), and change all the ordinances (τὰ δικαιώματα).

This verse is part of a passage in which the author of 1 Maccabees describes the contents of the letters that king Antiochus wrote to the whole kingdom, including Jerusalem. In it he urged the people to reject the strange laws of the Jews in order to conform to Greek religious practices. In 1:49 then, νομός is used to refer either specifically to the Mosaic Law or the general Jewish way of life.

And wheresoever was found with any book of the testament (βιβλίον διαθήκης), or if any consented to the law (συνευδόκει τῷ νόμῳ), the king's commandment was that they should put him to death (1:57).

Those that forsake the law

A few verses further the author describes how many people, because of the decree from the king, forsook the law:

Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, everyone that forsook the law (τὸν νόμον), and so they committed evils in the land (1 Macc 1:52).

The expression "to forsake the law" is well known to us from the Pentateuch and it is also

used in LXX Proverbs and the Wisdom of Sirach. In 1 Maccabees it is also frequently used to either encourage the Jews not to forsake the law or to warn against those who do.

God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances (2:21).

Only in Bethsura certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments remained still: for it was their place of refuge (10:14).

The books of the law

The author of 1 Maccabees also refers to the "books of the law", which refers to the written law that was used in the temple in Jerusalem. This expression does not occur in LXX Proverbs and a similar expression is used once in Sirach (Sir 24:23).

And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law of God they found, they burnt them with fire (βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου) (1:56).

And laid open the book of the law (τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου), wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images (3:48).

Both the words βίβλος and βιβλίον are used in 1 Maccabees; Marcus (1927:69) is of the opinion that the plural refers to different copies of the law, each written on one scroll.

The law, our fathers and the covenant

A very important passage occurs in 1 Macc 2:20-21, where Matthias, one of the leaders of the revolt, answered the king's officers and said:

Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

In these verses the author relates the covenant of our fathers directly with the law and its ordinances. This is also the case in several verses where the author of 1 Maccabees praises the leaders of the revolt for their "zeal for the law" in which he also mentions the covenant.

And Matthias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me (2:27).

Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers (2:50).

Conclusions

The word νόμος is used in several instances in the first book of Maccabees and in familiar expressions such as "to forsake the law" and "according to the law". The use of these phrases is very similar to the vocabulary and style of Deuteronomy. The author of Maccabees also uses the word νόμος to refer to the "books of the law" (βιβλία) and the covenant (διαθήκη). The covenant, together with the law and the zeal for the law, are frequently mentioned and occupy a very important place in the author's mind; indeed, according to the author, the Law is the centre of everything. This is to be expected since the author is clearly a supporter of the leaders of the revolt and faithful to the Torah (Schürer 1986:180).

3.2.3 Νομός in the Wisdom of Sirach

The Wisdom of Sirach was originally written in Hebrew around 200 BCE and therefore reflects the anxieties of the Jews in the decades before the Maccabean revolt. The Greek translation, which was made by Sirach's self-proclaimed grandson, was made in Alexandria around 132 BCE. The importance of the Wisdom of Sirach for this study is the close relationship between LXX Proverbs and Sirach. Both these books fall within the so-called wisdom literature and share in the same vocabulary and style of writing. The Greek grandson of Sirach also had to deal with concepts similar to those faced by the translator of LXX Proverbs, which include the concept תורה and themes such as the covenant.

The most detailed study to date on the Law in Sirach was executed by Schnabel (*Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 1985). In his study he noted that the Law plays an important role in Sirach. Ben Sirach often invites his listeners to observe the Torah and to carry out its precepts - which is how true fear of the Lord is shown, and how wisdom is gained and preserved. It would seem as if Sirach shows little interest in the details of the Torah or in specifying them, but he uses the Torah when he urges his listeners to give the priest his share (7:31), to avoid rancour (28:7), to help the poor (29:9), or not to come empty-handed before the Lord (35:6-7). Therefore, it cannot be said that Ben Sirach's

teaching is based on the Torah; rather, he reads the Torah with "the eyes of a wise man". Sirach 24 is also very important because it contains a passage in which the Torah is presented as expressing God's wisdom; the Torah is God's wisdom. In this he carries on a tradition seen as early as Deut 4:6-8 and Ezra 7:14, 24. Schnabel's (1985:62) concluding remarks on the law in Sirach is that, although the Torah is never the subject of a longer pericope, "it is nevertheless of fundamental importance to Ben Sira".

On the lexical level, it is also interesting to see how Sirach's grandson used the word νόμος. According to Schnabel (1985:38) the word νόμος appears 26 times in Sirach, of which nine instances are a translation for the Hebrew תורה.²² Schnabel (1985:38) notes also that of the references to νόμος that are extant only in Greek, a possible 12 or 13 refer to the Mosaic law (prol. 1:8; 2:16; 17:11; 19:17; 20:24; 21:11 (?); 23:23; 24:23; 32(35):1; 38:34d; 39:8.). In at least four passages νόμος is linked to the fear of the Lord (2:16; 19:20; 19:24; 21:11), a theme that I will look into more comprehensively later.

According to Schnabel (1985:37) the references to νόμος in the prologue clearly refers to the Pentateuch. Verses 1-2 refer to the "law, and the prophets, and others that have followed them" and 8-10 also mention "the law also itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books". It would also be interesting to see how the Law is portrayed in the rest of the Wisdom of Sirach and what words and phrases are employed to allude to it.

The law of life

They that fear the Lord will not disobey his word; and they that love him will keep his ways. They that fear the Lord will seek that which is wellpleasing unto him; and they that love him shall be filled with the law (ἐμπλησθήσονται τοῦ νόμου) (2:15-6).

In Sir 2:16 νόμος corresponds with God's ῥῆμα and ὁδός of 2:15, and can therefore be taken as referring to God's law. In the first part of chapter 17 Sirach describes the creation of man and the Lord's dealings with man from creation onwards:

²² HR has νόμος in prol. 1, 8 (omitted in A), 12 (A B S² εννόμου), 17, and 27, and in 2:16 (omitted in S); 9:15; 15:1; 17:11; 19:17; 19:20; 19:24; 21:1; 23:23; 24:23; 31(34):8; 32(35):1; 35(32):15; 35(32):24; 36(33):2; 36(33):3; 38:34; 39:8; 41:8 (omitted in S); 42:2; 44:19; 45:5; 45:17; 46:14; 49:4.

Beside this he gave them knowledge (ἐπιστήμην), and the law of life (νόμον ζωῆς) for an heritage. He made an everlasting covenant (διαθήκην αἰῶνος) with them, and shewed them his judgments (κρίματα) (17:11-12).

This "law of life" must refer to the Mosaic law since the setting of these events is in Sinai (vv. 13-14) and "law of life" is parallel to διαθήκην αἰῶνος and God's κρίμα (Schnabel 1985:37). Also in Sir 45:5, where Ben Sirach praises the Heroes, he says regarding Moses at Sinai:

He made him to hear his voice, and brought him into the dark cloud, and gave him commandments (ἐντολάς) before his face, even the law of life (νόμον ζωῆς) and knowledge, that he might teach Jacob his covenants (διαθήκην), and Israel his judgments (κρίματα).

The law of the most High

There are also some references in Sirach to the "law of the most High", which also refers to the Mosaic law:

Admonish thy neighbour before thou threaten him, and give place to the law of the most High. The fear of the Lord is all wisdom; and in all wisdom is the performance of the law. He that hath small understanding, and feareth God, is better than one that hath much wisdom, and transgresseth the law of the most High (19:17, 20, 24).

According to Schnabel (1985:38) νόμος in 23:23 also refers to the Mosaic law:

For first, she hath disobeyed the law of the most High (νόμῳ ὑψίστου); and secondly, she hath trespassed against her own husband; and thirdly, she had played the whore in adultery, and brought children by another man (23:23).

To keep the law

In Sir 21:11 the keeping of the law is equated with the perfection of the fear of the Lord. In the previous verses there are references to the "assembly of the godless" (v. 9) and the "way of sinners" (v. 10), which suggest that νόμος refers to the revealed will of God.

He that keepeth the law of the Lord getteth the understanding thereof: and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom (21:11).

In LXX Proverbs the phrase "to keep the law" also occurs in 4:5; 6:20, 22; 29:18 and 28:7.

The law and the covenant

In another passage in the Wisdom of Sirach, the Law of Moses is referred to as the "book of the covenant of the most high God".

All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God (βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ), even the law which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob (24:23).

Of the law of the most High, and his covenant; and of judgment to justify the ungodly (42:2).

In his praises of the Heroes of Israel, Ben Sirach also uses both the words covenant and law in his praise of Abraham:

who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant with him (ἐν διαθήκῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ): he established the covenant in his flesh (ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν διαθήκην); and when he was proved, he was found faithful (44:20).

The law and commandments

Sirach also often uses the word ἐντολή as a parallel for νόμος to refer to the Mosaic Law:

He that keeps the law (νόμον) brings enough offers, he that takes heed to the commandment (ἐντολαῖς) offers a peace offering (35:1).

He that believes in the Lord, takes heed to the commandment (προσέχει ἐντολαῖς), and he that trusts in him shall fare never the worse (32:24).

The law and the scribe

In Sirach's passage on the ideal scribe, who is also a scholar of the Law, he uses νόμος to refer to the Mosaic Law:

But he that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High (νόμῳ ὑψίστου), and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and be occupied in prophecies. He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord (ἐν νόμῳ διαθήκης κυρίου) (39:1, 8).

The law and the Heroes

In his eulogy on the Heroes of the Jewish nation, Ben Sirach also uses the term νόμος to refer to their keeping to the Mosaic Law.

Abraham was a great father of many people: in glory was there none like unto him; who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant (ἐν διαθήκῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ) with him (44:19-20).

Conclusion

We have found that the word is used frequently in parallel with words such as ἐντολή, διαθήκη, and ῥῆμα and that it occurs in expressions such as "law of life" and "law of the most High". The word is also employed in sections such as the prologue, the eulogy on the Heroes and the passage on the ideal scribe to refer to the Mosaic Law.

Both Wisdom of Sirach and the first book of Maccabees reflect the historical context in which it was written. Both authors make use of the word νόμος as a designation for the Law of Moses and treat related themes, such as the covenant, with great respect.

3.3 תורה and νόμος in MT and LXX Proverbs

Is there a shift in meaning from the use of the word תורה in MT Proverbs to the use of νόμος in LXX Proverbs? If so, could this shift in meaning contribute to our picture of the translator and the context in which he translated this work? In the next section I will deal with all the occurrences of the word in MT Proverbs, firstly by discussing them in their nearest context (mostly as part of the introduction of an Instruction) and in the context of the specific chapter.²³ Then I will compare both the Hebrew and Greek versions of these passages, focusing on the important word equivalents and the interpretation of the Greek text. I make the distinction between the occurrences of תורה in the Instruction literature and the Sentence literature, following McKane (1970:15) and Whybray (1994:13).

The word νόμος occurs in a number of pluses in LXX Proverbs in which the meaning of the word νόμος (and the intentions of the translator in employing it) is most telling.²⁴ I will discuss these as well as the one instance where νόμος translates another word.

3.3.1 The occurrences of תורה in Instruction literature

3.3.1.1 Proverbs 1:8-9

MT: שָׁמַע בְּנֵי מוֹסֵר אָבִיךָ וְאַל־תִּטַּשׁ תּוֹרַת אִמְךָ:
כִּי לִנְיֹת חֵן הֵם לְרֵאשִׁיף וְעֲנֻקִּים לְנֶגְרֵתֶיךָ:

⁸ My son, hear the instruction of your father, and reject not your mother's teaching. ⁹ For they are a fair garland for your head, and pendants for your neck.

LXX: ἄκουε, υἱέ, παιδείαν πατρός σου
καὶ μὴ ἀπόση θεσμούς μητρός σου,
στέφανον γὰρ χαρίτων δέξῃ σὴ κορυφῇ
καὶ κλοιὸν χρύσεον περὶ σῶ τραχήλῳ.

⁸ Listen, (my) son, to the instruction of your father and do not reject your

²³ The word תורה occurs in 1:8; 3:1; 4:2; 6:23; 7:2; 13:14; 28:4 (2x); 28:7; 28:9; 29:18; 31:29.

²⁴ The word νόμος occurs in 1:8 (A S; B has παιδείαν); 3:16; 4:2; 6:20; 6:23; 9:10; 13:14; 13:15; 28:4 (2x); 28:7; 28:9; 29:18.

mother's ordinances.⁹ Because you will receive a crown of graces on your head, and a golden necklace around your neck.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 1

Most scholars agree that Proverbs 1:1-7 serve as introduction to the first chapter and/or the entire book of Proverb. Others argue that only vv. 1-6 form the introduction, while v. 7 is a later addition (see summary of views by Cook 1997:44). They agree, however, that v. 8 is the beginning of the introduction to the first Instruction in the book of Proverbs (Whybray 1994a:13). This Instruction runs from v. 9 to 19 and exemplifies this type of teaching medium in its "simplest and most characteristic form" (Whybray 1994a:14). This is attested to by the characteristic elements of an Instruction, which include two imperatives in v. 8 and a motive clause introduced by כִּי in v. 9, which serves to reinforce the imperatives of v. 8 with an argument. We also find the familiar address of בְּנֵי, which is a common stylistic feature of the Instruction genre. It is also found in the Babylonian *Book of Proverbs*, the *Words of Achikar*, the *Egyptian Proverbs of Anni* and also in Sirach 2:1, 3:12, 3:17, and 5:8 (Whybray 1994:14). The introductory plea for attentiveness שִׁמְעוּ בְנֵי is also common to the Instructions' introductions. The rest of the Instruction depicts a hypothetical scene in which a band of ruffians attempt to lead the pupil into mischief, and it ends with a prohibition and a warning of the consequences of mischief.

The sense of MT Proverbs 1:8-9

In this introduction to the Instruction the teacher is urging his pupils, who are young men no longer under parental authority, to remember and to hold onto the teachings and instructions they had received from their parents. What is important about 1:8 is the fact that the word חֹרֶה is used here in conjunction with the mother, something that occurs in only one other passage in Proverbs, namely 6:20. We know that the mother in Israelite society had an inferior position to that of the father, especially concerning matters that were strictly legal or ritual. She did, however, play an important role in the teaching of general behaviour and ethics, which is the general sense in which חֹרֶה is used here (see Deut 21:18-19; Prov 30:17). Clearly, the חֹרֶה mentioned here is not connected to the wise

man, since he would hardly speak of himself as "mother". Neither is it possible to link it in any way to the "law". Whybray (1994:37) notes that in these verses the mother's חורה is mentioned side by side with the teaching of the father, something which does not occur in any of the Egyptian or Babylonian Instructions, and which, so he argues, makes a family setting for the Instruction plausible (see also Sir 3:1-2). From what we know of social life in Israel, it is generally assumed that the mother was responsible for the education of the children up to a certain age. After that the father or teacher would take responsibility for the sons, while the mother educated the daughters (Collins 1997:140-2). It seems therefore as if חורה in 1:8 refers to the general contents of the mother's education.

Comparing MT and LXX of Proverbs 1:8-9

A number of important word equivalents occur in this introduction to the first Instruction as well as one plus in the LXX, the adjective χρύσεος. Of the word equivalents, the most important one is the first occurrence of the word חורה in Proverbs. The word חורה, here used in the singular, is translated in the LXX with the masculine, plural, accusative form of θεσμός.

According to LSJ the word θεσμός has a meaning of "that which is laid down", "law", or "ordinance". It is used only 5 times in the LXX, in Prov 1:8; 6:20; Wisdom of Solomon 14:23; 3 Macc 6:36 and 4 Macc 8:7. In 3 Macc 6:35-36 the author is writing about the Jews who instituted a dance and thanksgiving and the declaration of a public ordinance to commemorate it. In 4 Macc 8:7 the king Antiochus is speaking to seven brothers and their mother and urges them not to be foolish like the old man Eleazar, who had just been tortured and burned for his belief in the Law. In his admonition to the brothers, he uses the word θεσμός to refer to the Jews' national ordinance, which Hadas translates as "ancestral Law of your citizenship". In the previous chapter, Eleazar made use of the word νόμος when he referred to the law of the Jews. In the Wisdom of Solomon 14:23 the plural of θεσμός is used as a reference to certain "secret ceremonies" or "mysteries". In this passage the author is attacking the practice of idolatry and argues that the practice itself did not exist from the beginning, but that it originated as the result of human error. The other occurrence of the word θεσμός in Proverbs is in 6:20, a verse that is strikingly

similar to 1:8. As in 1:8, both תורה and θεσμός point to the teachings/ordinances of the mother. What is furthermore important to note is that in both these verses the singular תורה is used in MT, while the LXX has the plural form of θεσμός.

A number of issues must be considered now. Why in the first place did the translator choose to use θεσμός 1:8 and in 6:20 rather than the 'normal' equivalent for תורה, namely νόμος? Secondly, why did he, in both these verses, render the singular Hebrew into a Greek plural? Did the Greek translator read the plural form of תורה or did he consciously render the singular into the plural?

It seems as the translator intentionally linked the meaning of θεσμός to the ordinances or teachings of the mother, for he used the word twice (1:8; 6:20) in such a manner (see also Cook 1998:66). This would imply that the term νόμος, which he used elsewhere in Proverbs, had a different and specific meaning for the translator. I think the translator intentionally used θεσμός here because he did not want to refer to the Mosaic Law, perhaps because women were not allowed to teach or to be taught in the Law. Unfortunately, the other occurrences of the word θεσμός in the LXX do not shed much light on its specific meaning.

Another important word equivalent that occurs in this verse is the Greek word παιδεία for the Hebrew מוסר. The word παιδεία "teaching, instruction" occurs 27 times in LXX; of which it is in 22 instances it is a translation for the Hebrew מוסר.²⁵ The word מוסר is usually translated as "instruction, discipline", but Whybray (1974:128) notes that, although the word is used in the OT in almost all cases as a designation for the discipline and punishment imposed by God upon Israel, it is used in Proverbs mainly in an educational context: unless "wisdom" is equated with the educational context, the word therefore does not form part of what he calls "wisdom vocabulary".

²⁵ HR has it that the noun παιδεία translates the following in LXX Proverbs: 1:2 (מוסר); 1:7 (מוסר); 1:8 (מוסר); 1:29 (דעה) (B S σοφία); 3:11 (מוסר); 4:1 (מוסר); 4:13 (מוסר); 5:12 (מוסר); 6:23 (מוסר) (omitted in A S); 8:10 (מוסר); 8:33 (S²; omitted in A) (מוסר); 10:17 (omitted in A S²) (מוסר; חובכח); 12:1 (מוסר); 13:18 (מוסר); 15:5 (מוסר); 15:10 (מוסר); 16:3 (15:32) (מוסר); 16:4 (15:33) (מוסר); 16:17 (-); 16:22 (מוסר); 17:8 (+); 19:20 (מוסר); 19:27 (מוסר); 22:15 (מוסר); 23:12 (מוסר); 24:31 (30:8) (+) (B, S πείρα); 24:47 (32) (מוסר); 25:1 (+) (A S² παροιμία).

Verse 9, which is introduced by כִּי, is a motive clause in which the benefits of the teaching are explained. This verse is very similar to 4:9, which I discussed earlier. Interesting is the use of the word κορυφή for שֵׂרָא, a unique word equivalent in LXX Proverbs. The word κλοιός is a plus and is found only in 1:9 (-); 25:11 (זִהְבִּי); and 25:12 (זִהְבִּי). According to LSJ the word κλοιός has the meanings of "dog-collar" or "wooden collar worn by prisoners" What is interesting is that Sirach uses the word occurs in two passages when he speaks about the "yoke of the law" (6:24-31 and 51:26). In Sir 6:24-31 Sirach describes the glorious reward for carrying the burden of Wisdom, or the law.

In v. 9 the adjective χρύσεος is a plus and could be an exegetical addition in describing the necklace (Cook 1998:68). A similar expression is also found in Sir 45:14. The sense of 1:9 in MT is that these benefits are already a "fair garland for your head", while the LXX translates the benefit as a future promise: "you will receive a crown of graces". What is also interesting is that the description of the benefits of the instruction and teaching - as a garland and pendants - corresponds with what is said elsewhere regarding the benefits of wisdom. In Proverbs 4:9 it is said that Wisdom "will place on your head a fair garland; she will bestow on you a beautiful crown." So here in MT we have the first, albeit vague, connection between תורה and Wisdom, a theme that I will address later in my discussion.

Conclusion

The text of MT refers to the תורה of the mother, which must be a reference to her teachings and instructions. The translator of LXX Proverbs used the word θεσμός to translate תורה, as in 6:20, and thereby indicates firstly that he connects θεσμός with the mother, and secondly (indirectly) that the word νόμος has a distinct and separate meaning.

3.3.1.2 Proverbs 3:1-2

MT: בְּנֵי הוֹרָתִי אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח וּמִצְוֹתַי יִצַּר לְבָבְךָ:

כִּי אַרְבֵּךְ יָמִים וְשָׁנוֹת חַיִּים וְשָׁלוֹם יוֹסִיפוּ לָךְ:

¹ My son, forget not my teaching, but let your heart keep my commandments,

² for length of days, and long life, and peace, shall they add to you.

LXX: Υἱέ, ἐμῶν νομίμων μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου,

τὰ δὲ ῥήματά μου τηρείτω σὴ καρδία,

μῆκος γὰρ βίου καὶ ἔτη ζωῆς

καὶ εἰρήνην προσθήσουσίν σοι.

¹ (My) son, forget not my laws, but let your heart keep my words,

² for length of existence, and years of life, and peace, shall they add to you.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 3

According to McKane (1970:289) we can distinguish "by reason of their formal structure" that in chapter 3, vv. 1-12 and 21-35 are unmistakably Instruction. Other scholars, like Whybray, argue that v. 11 is the beginning of another Instruction because of the common address "My son" that occurs (Whybray 1994:58). McKane, however, holds that this address is not *per se* an indication for a new section, since this address is used in the Egyptian Instructions often without indicating a new section. Furthermore, he highlights that vv. 13-20 lack the imperative, that the exclamation "Happy is" (v. 13) is not appropriate to the genre, and that vv. 13-20 are more hymnic in style than the 'normal' Instruction. Whybray is also of the opinion that vv. 13-20 is a later addition since there is a lack of reference to wisdom in the preceding verses and this was rectified by the addition: "Happy is the man that finds wisdom..."

The sense of MT Proverbs 3:1-2

Verses 3:1-2 are, like 1:8-9, the introduction of an Instruction and it also starts with the "My son" address. As to the syntax of vv. 1-2, the negative imperative and jussive are arranged antithetically and are followed by a motive clause, which explains why the teacher's teaching should be followed. Again כִּי introduces the motive clause. We also

find the second occurrence of תורה in Proverbs in this introduction. In 1:8 the teacher referred to the teaching of the parents, but in this verse the teacher is speaking about his own teaching when he says: "My son, forget not my teaching (תורה)". According to Toy (1914:56) the תורה mentioned here and in general in Proverbs are moral and religious precepts, never national, but always individual, very rarely ceremonial, never dogmatic. This is in contrast with the תורה of the prophets, which is national-religious, and that of the priests, which is ritual.

Interesting to note is the comparison of Prov 3:1-4 with the language of Deut 6:1-15. As is the case in 1:8, we find the words תורה and מצוה grouped together in 3:1. These two words reappear - together with others such as דבר, אמר, and מוסר - in the introductions to Instructions (see Prov 1:8; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1 and 4:20). According to Whybray (1994:58) they are used in combinations very frequently, which suggests that they are interchangeable. They occur mainly in parallel pairs, not always in the same order and the verbs that govern them - שכח, יצר, שמע, שמר, etc. - are also interchangeable.

Comparing the MT and LXX

If we look at the Greek translation of these verses, we find the only occurrence of τὸμῶς in LXX Proverbs in v. 1, as a translation for the Hebrew word תורה. Furthermore, the Greek uses the genitive, plural form of τὸμῶς for the singular תורה. It is, however, not an unfamiliar equivalent in the rest of the LXX, since HR shows that it is also found in Gen 26:5, Jer 33(26):4, Ezek 43:11, and Ezek 44:5. As with the first occurrence of תורה in 1:8, the translator of the LXX rendered or interpreted the word - either the translator read תורתו as the plural, or he rendered the singular consciously into the plural. However, whereas תורה in 1:8 is used in connection with the teachings of the mother and translated with θεσμός, the תורה in 3:1 refers to the teaching of the teacher and is translated with νόμος. Could this different context explain why the translator used τὸμῶς?

LSJ gives the meaning of τὸμῶς as "conformable to custom, usage or law". This is the only occurrence of the word in LXX Proverbs and it is therefore difficult to establish how

the translator used it. According to HR it occurs elsewhere only seven times in 1 Macc and twice in 2 Macc.²⁶ In the book of Maccabees νόμιμος is employed to refer to the body of laws of both the Jews and the gentiles. Therefore we read in 1 Macc 1:14 that "they built a place of exercise in Jerusalem, according to the laws of the nations" (κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἔθνῶν), and in 1:44-45 that "the king had sent letters by messengers to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they should follow the strange laws of the land and forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple, and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days". But it is also used by Judas, a leader of the revolt, to refer to their own laws: "But we fight for our lives and our laws (τῶν νομίμων ἡμῶν)" (1 Macc 3:21). It is also used by Jews in 2 Macc 11:24 to refer to their own laws. So in the later books of Maccabees the word νόμιμος is used in some contexts to refer to the Mosaic Law.

As to the other important word equivalents in 3:1, we find that ἐπιλανθάνομαι "to forget" is a translation of the Hebrew שכח, as in all the other instances in the LXX Proverbs.²⁷ Another interesting equivalent is the use of the plural, accusative of ῥῆμα for the Hebrew מצוה. The word ῥῆμα occurs only 5 times in LXX Proverbs and this is the only time this equivalent occurs.²⁸ Apart from this verse and 6:20, where מצוה is translated with νόμος, it is elsewhere in Proverbs always translated by ἐντολή.

Verse 2 serves as motive clause for the imperatives in v. 1 and describes the benefits of the תורה and מצוה - length of days, and long life, and peace. This same expression, "length of days", is used in 3:16 to describe the effect of Wisdom and therefore this passage also links Wisdom and תורה in some way. In other passages the phrase "years of life" is also linked to the words of the teacher (4:10; 9:11).

Conclusion

This is the second Instruction in MT Proverbs where there is a reference to תורה. While

²⁶ 1 Mac 1:14; 1:41; 1:44; 3:21; 3:29; 6:59; 6:59; 2 Mac 4:11; 11:24.

²⁷ See also Prov 2:17, 3:1, 4:4, 4:5, 31:5 and 31:7.

²⁸ The word ῥῆμα occurs in Prov 3:1 (מצוה); 4:5 (אמר); 7:24 (אמר) (A ῥῆσιν); 8:8 (אמר) (A κρίματα); 17:27 (אמר).

1:8 spoke of the instruction of the mother, this reference to תורה speaks about the laws or ordinances of the teacher. What is peculiar is that this is the only instance in the LXX where the word νόμος is used as equivalent for תורה. Only by looking further into all the other occurrences of תורה in Proverbs and the way in which the translator of LXX Proverbs dealt with תורה, can we perhaps establish why the translator used νόμος here.

3.3.1.3 Proverbs 4:1-2

MT: שמעו בנים מוסר אב והקשיבו לדעת בינה:

כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורת אל־תעזבו:

¹ Hear, o children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding.

² For I give you good doctrine, you must not forsake my teaching.

LXX: Ἀκούσατε, παῖδες, παιδείαν πατρὸς

καὶ προσέχετε γνῶναι ἔννοιαν,

δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι ὑμῖν,

τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον μὴ ἐγκαταλίπητε.

¹ Listen, you children, to the instruction of a father and attend to know understanding. ² For I give you a good gift, do not forsake my law.

This text is treated in more detail in the discussion of Proverbs 4:1-9 (see pp. 13-35).

3.3.1.4 Proverbs 6:23

MT: כִּי נֵר מִצְוָה וְתוֹרָה אֹר וְדִרְדָּר סִיִּים תּוֹכַחֹת מוֹסֵר:

For the commandment is a lamp; and the law is light; and reproofs of instruction are the way of life:

LXX: ὅτι λύχνος ἐντολῆ νόμου καὶ φῶς,

καὶ ὁδὸς ζωῆς ἔλεγχος καὶ παιδεία

For the commandment of the law is a lamp and a light, and reproof and instruction a way of life.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 6

According to McKane (1970:320) vv. 1-19 of chapter 6 do not belong to the genre of Instruction, mostly because of the lack of imperatives, even though v. 1 starts with בני. There are, however, some imperatives in vv. 1-5, while vv. 6-11 are introduced by an imperative. Whybray (1994a:102) states that vv. 20-35 consist of an Instruction to which further material on the general theme of the folly of adultery has been added. The usual address by the teacher to the pupil ends in v. 25, but he also adds that this Instruction originally consisted only of vv. 20-22 and 24-25. Verse 23 was not part of the original Instruction and "consists of a gloss followed by what appears to be an originally separate comment". It also interrupts the normal passage from the introduction to the main body of the Instruction of which this verse forms part. The gloss is placed here to define the meaning of מצוה and תורה used in v. 20. According to Whybray these two words are always used in the Instructions to refer to parental teaching (1:8; 2:1; 3:1; 4:2; 4:4; 7:1; 7:2). McKane (1970:328), however, does not agree with Whybray that v. 23 is a gloss.

The sense of MT Proverbs 6:23

The idea that is expressed in Prov 6:23, where the commandment and the law is metaphorically referred to as "a lamp" and "a light", is not unfamiliar to the Hebrew Bible. In Ps 119:105 we have the phrase "Your word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path". Whybray (1994:104) notes the following concerning the relationship of 6:23 with Psalm 119:

Although God is not specifically mentioned in Proverbs 6:23, the strong resemblance in the first line to Ps 119:105, where in a psalm entirely devoted to the praise of the Law, the psalmist speaks of Yahweh's word - that is Law - as a נר and an אור, makes it probable that this gloss, inserted at the end of the introductory section of the Instruction as a kind of "footnote", had the Law in mind and reinterpreted v. 20 in this sense.

McKane (1970:327-8) is also of the opinion that the figures of speech in v. 23 "are redolent of the piety inspired by the Law" and that they have been imported into the Instruction. Indeed, the description of the commandments as a lamp and the teaching as a light is the summary of the "quasi-personified" מצוה or תורה of the preceding verses (McKane 1970:328).

Comparing MT and LXX

In 6:23 the singular תורה is translated into the familiar equivalent νόμος, also in the singular, genitive form. In addition, the word מצוה is translated with its 'normal' equivalent of ἐντολή, also in the singular. However, if we look at the way in which these nouns are used here in a construction in MT and how these constructions are translated in LXX, some peculiarities arise. Cook (1997:184) pointed out that the construction in MT "the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light" is translated in the Greek into a genitive construction - "commandment of the law is a lamp and a light" (ἐντολὴ νόμου). Furthermore, the construction in MT "reproofs of instruction" is translated into the Greek phrase "reproof and correction" - so the genitive construction in MT is rendered in exactly the opposite manner to the previous one. Therefore, we have here two constructions in MT that were dealt with differently by the Greek translator. What could be the reason for this difference? Is it on the level of a different *Vorlage* or did the translator consciously render his text?

If we reconstruct a possible Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text, it could read תוכחתו נער, instead of MT's תוכחות נער. The only difference between MT and this postulated text is that the ו and the ת have changed places. This rather small difference could lead one to think that the different construction in LXX might therefore only be the result of a reading error by the translator or a previous copier of the Hebrew text. Although this and

the possibility that it could also be only a matter of stylistic variation are possible explanations, Cook (1997:184; 1999:25) argues that the translator of the LXX uses the expressions ἐντολὴ νόμου and ὁδὸς ζωῆς in various instances in LXX Proverbs as a deliberate reference to the Mosaic law. According to him, this is also the case in this verse, since νόμος is used here in the singular, not in the plural as in 6:20, where it refers to the father's teaching. The construction ἐντολὴ νόμου occurs only once in Proverbs (6:23) and further also in Wisdom of Solomon 16:6; 1 Esd 8:7; Neh 9:14 and Ps 118:105 (LXX).

What is interesting is that, although תורה and מצוה occur grouped together in several verses in Proverbs (3:1; 6:20; 6:23; and 7:2), this is the only verse in LXX Proverbs where their 'normal' Greek equivalents (νόμος and ἐντολή) appear together. In all the other instances either of the two words is rendered in another way - in 3:1 ῥῆμα is used for מצוה; in 6:20 νόμος for מצוה; and in 7:2 תורה is translated with λόγος. The combination of νόμος and ἐντολή occurs in four passages in Ben Sirach but not in 1 or 2 Maccabees.

Conclusion

In MT Proverbs 6:20-25 we have two occurrences of the word תורה, once in 6:20 and once in 6:23. In 6:20 we have תורה in the familiar setting of the introduction to an Instruction, referring again to the mother's ordinances. The translator was consistent in that he rendered this occurrence of תורה in the same way as in 1:8, a verse that has the same context and sense.

In MT Proverbs 6:23 a verse that could be regarded as alien to the original Instruction, the תורה is described as light, thereby making a link with the familiar idea that is expressed in Psalm 119. It could be that this verse is a later addition in order to explain the תורה and מצוה of 6:20. Although MT could also refer to the Law, I agree with Cook (1999:26) that the LXX definitely speaks about the Law, because of the use of the word νόμος, in the singular, and the way he translated the expression as a whole.

3.3.1.5 Proverbs 7:1-2

MT: בְּנֵי שֹׁמֵר אִמְרֵי וּמִצְוֹתַי תִּצְפֹּן אִתָּךְ:

שֹׁמֵר מִצְוֹתַי יִחְיֶה וְתוֹרָתִי כְּאִישׁוֹן עֵינֶיךָ:

¹ My son, keep my words, and store up my commandments with you.² Keep my commandments, and live; and my teaching as the pupil (little man) of your eye.

LXX: Υἱέ, φύλασσε ἐμοὺς λόγους,

τὰς δὲ ἐμὰς ἐντολὰς κρύψον παρὰ σεαυτῷ,

υἱέ, τίμα τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἰσχύσεις,

πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον.

φύλαξον ἐμὰς ἐντολὰς, καὶ βιώσεις,

τοὺς δὲ ἐμοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ κόρας ὀμμάτων,

¹ (My) son, keep my words and hide with you my commandments. (My) son, honour the Lord, and you shall be strong, and fear none but him.² Keep my commandments, and you shall live; and my words as the pupils of your eyes.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 7

If we look at chapter 7 as a whole, the form of vv. 1-5, 6-23 and 24-27 clearly differ. Of these sections, vv. 1-5 and 24-27 have recognisably the form of Instruction. Both vv. 1 and 24 have the usual form of address of בְּנֵי (v. 1) and בְּנִים (v. 24). Verse 24 also starts with the usual plea for attentiveness (שמע). The middle section, however, "constitutes a clear departure from the formal elements of the genre" (McKane 1970:332). While McKane considers vv. 1-5 and 24-27 as belonging to the Instruction genre, Whybray holds that in chapter 7 only vv. 1-3, 5 and 25-27 belong to an original Instruction. According to him (1994:110) vv. 6-23 are a "vivid and polished moral story having its own introduction, development and conclusion. Its theme and evident purpose show that it comes from the same circles as the Instructions, but there are many indications that it was originally an independent poem." The only difference between these scholars, then, is on the nature of v. 4.

If we focus on vv. 1-5, we find that the teacher is asserting his authority and imposing his commandments upon his pupils. Verses 2 and 3 are filled with words that McKane (1970: 307-308) says demonstrates the "conservative nature of this educational discipline". He is referring to the use of verbs such as "keep", "store", "bind", and "write". McKane is of the opinion that the use of the word מצוה in v. 1 defines the mandatory form of this Instruction, while תורה in v. 2 indicates that it has the character of "directive" or "guidance". Furthermore, v. 3 is phrased in such a way that it closely resembles passages which deal with law and covenant, and may be a deliberate literary conflation of these passages. In v. 4 we find the only reference to wisdom in this chapter.

The sense of MT Proverbs 7:1-2

According to McKane (1970:333) the meaning of these verses is that, in saying that his תורה is to be kept as the "pupil of your eye", the wisdom teacher defines it as illumination or guidance:

The pupil, because it is the light of the eye, is precious beyond reckoning, and if a man does not 'keep' it, he is consigned to a world of darkness. Likewise, the *torah* of the teacher is the light of the mind and without it men have no sure guidance for the conduct of their lives.

McKane then also refers to the metaphor used in Proverbs 6:23 where the figure of speech used there - which is also linked to light and law - is probably characteristic of Jewish legal piety. Other passages that are very similar in the language used are Ex 13:9, Jer 31:33, and Prov 3:3. The first few verses of chapter 7 also correspond in some degree to other verses of the first three chapters of Proverbs:

PROVERBS	
(7:1b) and store up my commandments with you	(2:1b) and store up my commandments with you
(7:2a) Keep my commandments, and live	(4:4c) Keep my commandments, and live
(7:3b) write them upon the table of your heart	(3:3c) write them upon the table of your heart

There is also an interesting similarity between the first line in Prov 7:2 and Prov 4:4-5. The Hebrew texts of 7:2 and 4:4 are the same, while the LXX version of these verses

differs. LXX Proverbs 4:5 does not have "my commandments", but only "commandments" and it does not have "and live".

Comparing MT and LXX

When comparing the Hebrew and Greek versions of these verses, a significant plus in 7:1 as well as a number of important word equivalents are noted. The plus in LXX is very interesting, since it contains the idea that the Lord must be feared.

LXX: υἱέ, τίμα τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἰσχύσεις, πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον.

(My) son, honour the Lord, and you shall be strong, and fear none but him.

Tov (1990:48) is of the opinion that the plus in 7:1 is the result of inner-translational factors, but I think that there is also the possibility that the translator rendered the text intentionally, especially since the translator alluded, in the plus, to the notion of the fear of the Lord, something he did elsewhere in LXX Proverbs as well. The notion of the fear of the Lord is a very important concept in LXX Proverbs which I will deal with later more extensively.

As to the word equivalents in 7:1-2, we find in 7:2 the sixth occurrence of the word תורה in Proverbs, which is translated in the LXX with the masculine, plural, accusative form of word λόγος. This is the only time in LXX Proverbs where this equivalent occurs.²⁹ We also have twice in 7:1-2 the plural form of מצוה, which is translated on both occasions with the plural (and normal equivalent) ἐντολή.

So why did the translator decide to use the word λόγος? According to Schnabel (1985:120) the phrase τὰ λόγια is used on two occasions in the *Letter of Aristeas* (155, 168) as designation for the Mosaic Law and its commandments, although νομοθεσία and

²⁹ The word λόγος also occurs in Prov 1:2 (אמר); 1:3 (+); 1:6 (מליצה); 1:23 (דבר); 1:24 (+); 1:29 (+); 4:4 (דבר); 4:10 (אמר); 4:20 (v); 5:1 (חבונה); 5:7 (אמר); 7:1 (אמר); 7:2 (חורה); 7:5 (אמר); 12:5 (+); 12:6 (דבר); 12:25 (דאנה); 13:5 (דבר); 14:15 (דבר); 15:1 (דבר); 16:13 (מאמר); 16:21 (שפה); 16:24 (אמר); 17:14 (+); 18:4 (דבר); 18:13 (דבר); 19:7 (אמר); 22:12 (דבר); 22:17 (דבר, -); 22:21 (אמר); 22:21 (אמר); 23:8 (דבר); 23:9 (מלה); 23:12 (אמר); 23:16 (מאמר); 24:23(29:27) (-); 24:23 (29:27) (-); 24:28 (30:5) (אמר); 24:29 (30:6) (דבר); 24:31 (30:8) (דבר); 24:41 (26) (דבר); 24:68 (30:33) (+); 24:69 (31:1) (דבר); 24:76 (31:8) (+); 25:2 (דבר); 25:11 (דבר); 25:12 (+); 25:27 (+); 26:6 (דבר); 26:18 (+, -); 26:22 (דבר); 26:24 (+); 27:11 (דבר); 29:12 (דבר); 29:19 (דבר); 29:20 (דבר).

νόμος are primarily used to refer to the Law. He is of the opinion that these passages in *Aristeas* are probably the earliest instances of the application of the phrase τὰ λόγια to the law as a whole (cf. Acts 7:38; Rom 3:2; Heb 5:12). Although this could be the case in LXX Prov 7:2 as well, it is doubtful since it is the only time the translator uses this specific word equivalent. In 7:1 the translator also employed λόγος, but as translation for דבר. It could be that the translator used λόγος here only for literary reasons, since the phrase ἐμοὺς λόγους occurs now in both vv. 1 and 2. In fact, the expression ἐμοὺς λόγους occurs in three other passages in LXX Proverbs as well - in 4:10; 5:7 and 30:1.

Conclusions

In MT the teacher urges his pupil(s) to keep his (the teacher's) תורה as the pupil of his eye. As in 3:1, this תורה refers to the instruction of the teacher, which must guide the pupil in life. The fact that the first three verses of Prov 7 are so similar to other verses in the Instruction genre in Proverbs could suggest that these were all interchangeable phrases used in the education of young men. Even if this is the case, we cannot assume that the translator of the LXX used them likewise, since he translated these proverbs in a different context and with a 'new' meaning. However, the reason why the translator decided to use the Greek word λόγος to render the Hebrew תורה, and why he again did so in the plural, is uncertain. It could in this instance be for purely literary reasons, since the word is used three times in the five first verses of chapter 7.

3.3.2 The occurrences of תורה in Sentence literature

3.3.2.1 Proverbs 13:14

MT: תורת חכם מקור חיים לסור ממוקשי מות:

The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.

LXX: νόμος σοφοῦ πηγὴ ζωῆς,

ὁ δὲ ἄνοους ὑπὸ παγίδος θανεῖται.

The law of the wise is a fountain of life,

but he without understanding shall die by a snare.

The structure and content of MT Proverbs 13

The dominating theme of chapter 13 is the need to accept instruction and discipline. In his discussion on chapter 13, McKane (1970:453) divides the verses in this chapter into different classes. The four verses under discussion belong to his class A - a group of sentences which deal with different aspects of the educational concept associated with wisdom (vv. 1, 10, 13-16, 18, 20, 24). According to Whybray (1994:99) vv. 12-19 could possibly constitute the core of the chapter, at least in its final form. This is so because of the various references to the teaching of the wise (3-16, 18) as well as the chiasmic arrangement of the verses.

The sense of MT Proverbs 13:14

Verse 14 is very similar in meaning to the previous verse, also since תורה, מצוה, דבר and חכם are all used interchangeably in the first 9 chapters in Proverbs. The one who follows the teaching of the wise, or fears the commandment, will live, while those who despise the word (דבר) will perish. With regard to form, McKane (1970:205) is of the opinion that v. 14 appears to be a mixture of sentence and Instruction, since what is accomplished by the phrase תורה חכם is indicated by the final clause. He also notes that, as is the case with the expression "water of life", the expression "snares of death" may have a mythological basis - it might be Death, envisaged as a hunter or fowler. However, the crux of this verse

is the meaning of the "teaching of the wise", a phrase that is unique to this passage in the entire LXX. Although we assume that in many of the other Instructions it is the wise man who is addressing his pupils, this is the only explicit reference to the תורה of the wise man.

Comparing MT and LXX of Proverbs 13:14

In this verse תורה, which refers to the teaching of the wise, is translated in LXX into νόμος. This is the first occurrence of תורה in the Sentence literature, but the second occurrence of νόμος, since it occurs in the plus in 9:10. It is also the only occurrence of the specific construction חכם תורה in the Hebrew Bible, as well as the only occurrence for the Greek equivalent.

The teaching/law of the wise is described as a "fountain of life" (πηγή ζωῆς), a metaphor which also occurs elsewhere in Proverbs. In MT Prov 14:27 it is used in connection with the fear of Yahweh, while the LXX relates it to the "commandment of the Lord". The LXX therefore somehow makes a closer connection between the law and the fear of the Lord in 14:27. Prov 16:22 also states that Wisdom is a fountain of life. A similar connection is made in Prov 10:11, although neither Yahweh nor Wisdom is said to be a fountain of life, but the speech of the righteous. In the Wisdom of Sirach we also find this metaphor - the counsel of the wise is said to be like "a pure fountain of life" (Sir 21:13). So we find that the theme that is addressed in Prov 13:14 is also found in other Wisdom literature and that it relates to some extent to other themes such as the law, the fear of the Lord and wisdom. These are all very important concepts in Proverbs and themes that the translator of the LXX used extensively - the scope and aim of which I will address later.

Conclusion

The Hebrew text of 13:14 is very clear in that תורה is coupled to the wise man. His "teaching" consisted of the general wisdom and skills that a certain group of intellectuals had and applied in daily practice. The text of the LXX, however, must be read as the "law of the wise". The use of the singular νόμος in this construction suggests that the translator

the Hellenistic period (of LXX Proverbs) was something different from the "teaching of the wise" of ancient Israel (of MT Proverbs). I will address this question in Chapter 5 where I argue that the "law of the wise" that LXX Proverbs refers to is in fact the Mosaic Law.

3.3.2.2 Proverbs 28:1-9

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 28

Chapter 28 forms part of the genre known as Sentence literature. The chapter as a whole has no formal structure, but Whybray (1994a:126) argues that two things make it probable that it has been assembled to form some sort of independent Instruction. The one reason is the frequency of the occurrence of the word תורה, and the other is the fact that the majority of the proverbs in chapter 28 agree in content, since they all are of an "ethical nature", dealing with the righteous and/or the wicked. The word תורה occurs twice in v. 4, once in v. 7, and once in v. 9. It occurs otherwise only in three other passages in the Sentence literature, namely 13:14, 29:18 and 31:26. In all four instances in this chapter the word is governed by the verbs "keep", "heed" and "do not forsake", very much like most of the occurrences of תורה in the Instruction genre (1:8, 3:1, 4:2, 6:20, 7:2).

Proverbs 28:4

MT: עֹבְרֵי תוֹרָה יִהְיֶה רָשָׁע וְשֹׁמְרֵי תוֹרָה יִתְגַּדְּרוּ בָּם:

They that forsake the law praise the wicked: but they that keep the law struggle with them (Toy: but those who observe the law are zealous against them)

LXX: οὕτως οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν νόμον ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἀσέβειαν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν νόμον περιβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς τεῖχος.

so they that forsake the law praise godlessness,
but they that love the law *fortify themselves with a wall*.

(Italics from Cook 1999:28)

The sense of MT Proverbs 28:4

The obvious issue at stake here is the interpretation of the word תורה. We have seen earlier in Proverbs that it denotes the teaching of the mother, father and wise man. According to Whybray (1994:390) it is not clear whether תורה refers to divine law, but there is a connection between this verse and v. 5 in that "to keep the law" is to fight the

evil men mentioned in v. 5. Toy (1914:496) also states that the interpretation of this verse depends on the meaning given to חורה. If it refers to the law of Yahweh, then "the reference is probably not only to the general fact therein announced, but particularly to the conditions of things in the Greek period when many Jews did give up the national religion and attach themselves to foreign rulers and magnates, who are often referred to in the Psalms as 'wicked'". If this is indeed what is meant here, then this couplet forms, according to Toy, the only reference in Proverbs to such apostasy. If, on the other hand, חורה is taken to be the instruction of the wise, the couplet will mean that he who refuses this instruction actually endorses the wicked, and those who heed it will in effect oppose them. Toy therefore holds that the reference to חורה cannot mean "law in general", since such a use does not accord with the verb "forsake", which implies a body of instruction. For "law in general" the verb "transgress" would be used. Toy therefore builds his argument on the use of the verb "forsake" (עזב). However, the same verb is used in Prov 4:2, where the teacher refers to his חורה, and in Prov 3:3, where it is used in connection with "truth and mercy".

McKane (1970:622-3) holds that, even though חורה is used in Proverbs 1-9 as a designation of parental or scholastic instruction, the reinterpretation of חורה in chapter 28 is associated with a new concept of discipline in which the directives of Yahweh ("the Law of Yahweh") are substituted for the authoritative instruction of the wisdom teacher: "In brief, educational discipline is replaced by the discipline of piety". Murphy (1981:34) states that the strong religious colouring of especially v. 9 ("hearing the law", "prayer") should lead us into taking the "law" as meaning "the will of the Lord".

Comparing MT and LXX

If we compare the first clause of both versions, we find some familiar word equivalents. Firstly we have the Hebrew word עזב, which is translated with the familiar equivalent of ἐγκαταλείπω. Then we have the two occurrences of the word חורה in v. 4. On both occasions, חורה is translated with the singular νόμος. BHS suggests that יתגרו should probably read יתגערו "rebuke". The word ἀσέβεια "godlessness" is used here as translation for the Hebrew רשע "wicked". The word ἀσέβεια occurs only 8 times in LXX

Proverbs, namely in 1:19 (-); 1:31 (מַעֲרָה); 4:17 (עָשָׂה); 11:5 (רָשָׁע) (A, B, S²); 28:3 (+); 28:4 (עָשָׂה); 28:13 (עָשָׂה); 29:25 (+). Therefore, we find that three of the eight occurrences of ἀσέβεια are in chapter 28! We also find the only occurrence of the word ἐγκωμιάζω "to praise" in the LXX as a translation for the Hebrew לָלַח.

If we compare the LXX and MT further, we find that the second clause is rendered quite differently in LXX. MT has "but they that keep the law struggle with them", while LXX has "but they that love the law fortify themselves with a wall". The first difference we note is the way the Greek translator treated the verb שָׁמַר "keep". Here he translated it with the Greek verb ἀγαπάω "love", so that MT is speaking about those who "keep the law" and LXX about those who "love the law". Elsewhere in Proverbs, the verb שָׁמַר is usually translated with the verbs φυλάσσω or τηρέω and this is the only passage in Proverbs where ἀγαπάω translates שָׁמַר.³⁰ Cook (1998:28) observes that the use of ἀγαπάω might be an interpretation of the Hebrew, although he does not go into detail as to the content or purpose of the interpretation. Although this is the only passage in LXX Proverbs where the verb ἀγαπάω is used in conjunction with the law, it is a familiar idea also expressed in Psalm 118 (119). In Proverbs 28:7 there is also a reference to those who "keep" the law, although a different word (נָצַר) is used in MT.

Looking at the second stich of 28:4, we find a peculiar difference in the way in which the LXX translated MT. The LXX has "but they that love the law fortify themselves with a wall" (περιβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς τεῖχος), while MT only has "but they that keep the law struggle with them". There is no formal correspondence between the Greek and the Hebrew used in this phrase. In addition to that we find that this is the only occurrence of the word περιβάλλω in the LXX and the only occurrence of the word τεῖχος in LXX Proverbs. It seems as if the translator consciously rendered the Hebrew in order to say that the law, when it is loved (=kept, obeyed), will protect those who love it - like a wall that protects people. There is probably more to it than just the defensive aspect, since a

³⁰ In LXX Proverbs שָׁמַר is treated as follows: 2:8 (φυλάσσω); 2:11 (φυλάσσω); 2:20 (εὐρίσκω); 3:26 (ἐρείδω); 4:4 (ἐρείδω); 4:6 (τηρέω); 4:21 (φυλάσσω); 5:2 (φυλάσσω); 6:22 (φυλάσσω); 6:24 (φυλάσσω); 7:1 (φυλάσσω); 7:2 (φυλάσσω); 7:5 (τηρέω); 8:32 (-); 8:34 (φυλάσσω); 10:17 (φυλάσσω); 13:3 (φυλάσσω);

wall also establishes a boundary between people on either side. This is exactly what the effect (or the purpose) was of the dietary laws of the Jews. These laws established a clear boundary between Jew and Gentile, especially so at a time when these two cultures were coming into frequent (and not always voluntarily) contact.

In a recent article Cook (1998:28) linked this unknown exegetical tradition concerning the Torah as a surrounding fence to similar passages found in later Jewish works, such as *Aristeas* and *Mishnah Aboth*. He argues that the exegetical tradition of LXX Proverbs 28:4 is a tradition dating from the post-Maccabean era, while the later passages represent a later reworking of the earlier tradition.

The idea that a wall is not only defensive, but that it creates boundaries as well, is illustrated with the later tradition which refers to the dietary laws. This is exactly the idea that is also found in the *Letter of Aristeas*, where it is said that Moses, the "lawgiver" (ὁ νομοθέτης)

surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other peoples in any matter, since we have been constituted pure in body and soul, preserved from false beliefs, and worshipping the only God, omnipotent over all creation (*Aris* 139);³¹

and a few paragraphs later:

So, to prevent our being perverted by contact with others or by mixing with bad influences, [Moses] hedged us in on all sides with strict observances connected with meat and drink and touch and hearing and sight, after the manner of the law (*Aris* 142).

Here then the law is referred to as a "palisade" and an "iron wall" which prevent the Jews from mixing with Gentiles. The *Letter of Aristeas* is important for our current inquiry also since two of the main theological features of the *Letter* are the doctrine of God and the significance of the Jewish Law (Schnabel 1985:120). Another very similar passage

13:18 (φυλάσσω); 14:3 (φυλάσσω); 15:5 (φυλάσσω); 16:17 (φυλάσσω); 19:8 (φυλάσσω); 19:16 (φυλάσσω); 21:23 (φυλάσσω); 22:5 (φυλάσσω); 22:18 (-); 27:18 (φυλάσσω); 28:4 (); 29:18 (φυλάσσω).

³¹ The *Letter of Aristeas* was written, in excellent Hellenistic Greek, probably between 130 and 100 BCE by a Jewish-Alexandrian author as an apology for Judaism, defending the LXX and the temple in Jerusalem (see Schnabel 1985:119; Hadas 1973. *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*, KTAV Publishing House: New York (Thackeray's text)).

occurs in the famous opening of the (much later) *Mishnah Aboth*:

Moses received the law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets committed it to the men of the great synagogue. They said three things: "be deliberate in judgment, raise up many disciples, and make a palisade around the law" (1:1).

Although this passage seems very similar, there is an ideological difference between LXX Proverbs and *Aristeas* on the one side, and *Mishnah Aboth* on the other. In *Mishnah Aboth* it is the law that is to be defended with a fence, while in Proverbs and *Aristeas* it is the law that is the fence which defends the Jewish people (Boccaccini 1991:175).

There are, however, also some differences between the two passages from LXX Proverbs and *Aristeas*. The passage from *Aristeas* is in a pericope in which the Jewish laws regarding food and purity are discussed. This is not the case with the passage in Proverbs. According to Cook (1998:31-2) there is a tendency in Proverbs to downplay or remove references to purity (cf. Prov 16:2, 20:9 and 30:12) and to employ stronger contradictions. He makes the case that the reason why these topics are treated differently is that, apart from the fact that Proverbs is a biblical translation and *Aristeas* a *de novo* composition, *Aristeas* was written in Egypt with the purpose of reminding the Egyptian Jews there of their "Mosaic heritage". LXX Proverbs, on the other hand, was written in Jerusalem at a time when the Torah was banned and when the Jews were pressurised to Hellenise.

Conclusion

While scholars differ on the meaning of תורה in 28:4 – McKane says it means Law, while Murphy associates the religious elements in chapter 28 with תורה as the "will of the Lord", the interpretation of LXX Proverbs 28:4 is not that ambiguous. The LXX twice uses the singular νόμος as translation for תורה and there can be little doubt that the translator of LXX Proverbs refers to two groupings in (his own) society – those that love the Law and those who chose to forsake it. Why the translator decided not to say literally that those who keep the Law must struggle with the wicked, I do not know. Maybe he was, like the author of Daniel 6-12 and the *Testament of Moses*, not in favour of a

'violent' struggle between the groups and suggested instead that those who love the Law must protect themselves with the Law – a passive resistance (Grabbe 1992:310).

Proverbs 28:7

MT: נֹצֵר תּוֹרָה בֶּן מִבֵּין וְרָעָה זֹלְלִים יְכַלִּים אָבִיו:

Whoever keeps the law is a wise son: but he that is a companion of riotous men (profligates) shames his father.

LXX: φυλάσσει νόμον υἱὸς συνετός,

ὃς δὲ ποιμαίνει ἀσωτίαν, ἀτιμάζει πατέρα.

A wise son keeps the law, but he that keeps up debauchery dishonours his father.

The sense of MT Proverbs 28:7

According to Toy (1914:498), the תורה of v. 7 refers to the instruction of the father/teacher, and not the national law. McKane (1970:623) states that there is a "prevailing climate of piety" in chapter 28 and that it therefore would be reasonable to argue that תורה here means the laws of Yahweh, rather than the wisdom of parental teaching. To Whybray (1994:388-9) the four references to תורה in vv. 4, 7 and 9, shape the general character of this chapter. He holds that, apart from perhaps 6:23, elsewhere in the book of Proverbs תורה denotes the teaching of parents or teachers. In this chapter, however, it is used without qualification, and it appears to refer to divine law, although not necessarily the Deuteronomic Law (see also Murphy 1981:79). As in 28:4, v. 7 contrasts those who keep the law against some other opposite, although here they are not contrasted with those who do not keep the law, but with a shameful son.

Comparing MT and LXX

Familiar word equivalents occur, such as φυλάσσω for נצר. In addition the Greek word συνετός translates the familiar Hebrew word בין, one of only two times this word equivalent occurs.³² The translator also employs some unfamiliar Greek words. The word

³² The word συνετός translates in LXX Proverbs 12:8 (שכל); 12:23 (ערום); 15:24 (שכל); 16:20 (שכל); 16:21 (חכם לב); 17:24 (בין); 23:9 (שכל); 28:7 (בין); and 31:30 (-).

ποιμαίνω "to tend, cherish" occurs in only 4 passages in the LXX and in two as translation for רעה.³³ The word συνετός occurs in LXX Proverbs 10:4, 11:16, 12:4, 13:4, 15:19, 28:3, and 31:10. The word ἀσωτία occurs only here in LXX Proverbs and once in 2 Macc 6:4 and means "debauchery, wastefulness". The word ἀτιμάζω means "to esteem lightly, dishonour" and this is the only time that it translates כלם.³⁴ In this verse, the singular νόμος again translates תורה. The phrase בן מבין "wise son" is here translated with υἱὸς συνετός, which is the only time this combination occurs in LXX Proverbs, although συνετός is also used with ἀνὴρ (12:23; 12:8; 17:24). In similar expressions in Proverbs, it is said that the wise son gladdens his father and a wise son is one who listens to the instruction of his father (13:1).

Conclusion

MT speaks about the wise son who keeps the תורה - whether that is the Law of Moses, the instruction of the teacher, or divine law in general. I would favour the interpretation that it means divine law or instruction, especially since it does not occur in conjunction with a given person. But what was the context in which the Greek translator placed this passage when he translated תורה with νόμος? It would seem that the translator had the Law of Moses in mind when he used the singular νόμος and this meaning would certainly suit this context as well.

Proverbs 28: 9

MT: מִסִּיר אָזְנוֹ מִשְׁמַע תּוֹרָה גַּם־תְּפִלָּתוֹ תוֹעֵבָה:

He that turns away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be an abomination.

LXX: ὁ ἐκκλίνων τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι νόμου

καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐβδέλυκται

He that turns away his ear from hearing the law, even he has made his prayer abominable.

³³ The word ποιμαίνω occurs in 9:12 (-), 22:11 (+), 28:7 (רעה), and 29:3 (רעה).

The sense of MT Proverbs 28:9

The sense of this proverb is very clear: those who hear - that is, obey - the law, their prayers are acceptable to God. The interpretation of v. 9, as is the case with vv. 4 and 7, depends on the translation and meaning given to תורה. It seems as if it also refers here to the "divine law". What is interesting is the coupling of תורה with prayer, which, according to McKane, betrays the intention to "establish the place of the Law observance" (1970:623).

Comparing MT and LXX

The first clause of LXX Proverbs 28:9 is a very literal translation of the Hebrew text. We have familiar word equivalents such as the verb ἐκαλίγω for the Hebrew סור and εἰσακούω for שמע, even though this is the only occurrence of εἰσακούω in LXX Proverbs. We also find another occurrence of תורה, translated with the singular, genitive of νόμος. The second clause of 28:9 is also quite literal, with familiar word equivalents such as προσευχή for תפלה.³⁵ In one passage in the Wisdom of Sirach, Ben Sirach mentions the Law and prayer together:

But they shall strengthen the state of the world, and their prayer shall be in the work of their craft, applying their soul, and searching in the law of the most High (38:39).

We also find that the Hebrew word תועבה is translated with the uncommon third person, singular, indicative of βδελύσσω. The word βδελύσσω has the meaning of "to feel nausea, be sick" and this is the only time it occurs in the entire LXX.

Conclusion

Whereas MT could again refer to either the Law of Moses, the instruction of the teacher, or divine law in general, the LXX most probably refers to the Law. It could also be that the meaning of "to hear" the Law had a more distinct meaning in the time that the

³⁴ The Greek word ἀτιμάζω translates in LXX Proverbs 14:2 (בוזה); 14:21 (בוזה); 19:26 (שרד); 22:10 (קלון); 22:22 (דכה); 24:52 (30:17) (בוז); 24:67 (30:32) (-); 27:22 (+); and 28:7 (כלם);

translation was made than it did in MT. This could be linked to the practice in synagogues where the Law was read and interpreted, something that probably did not happen at the time of the compilation of the Hebrew Proverbs, but did by the time of the Maccabean uprisings (Schechter 1945:118).

³⁵ The Greek word προσευχή occurs only in 28:9 in LXX Proverbs. It also occurs in Sirach 3:5; 7:10; 31(34):26; 32(35):17; 39:5; 39:7; 50:19; 51:3 and 51:13. The word εὐχή appears in Prov 7:14 (נדר); 15:8 (תפלה); 15:29 (תפלה); 19:13 (+); 24:70 (31:2) (נדר).

3.3.2.3 Proverbs 29:18

MT: הוֹלֵךְ תִּמִּים יוֹשֵׁעַ וְנִעְקָשׁ דְּרָכִים יִפּוֹל בְּאֵתָהּ:

Where there is no vision, the people perish, but he that keeps the law, happy is he.

LXX: οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξῃ ἐξηγητῆς ἔθνει παρανόμῳ,
ὁ δὲ φυλάσσων τὸν νόμον μακαριστός.

There shall be no interpreter to a sinful nation, but he that keeps the law is blessed.

The structure and content of MT Proverbs 29

There are some similarities between chapter 29 and the previous chapter. This has to do with structure - the predominance of antithetical proverbs, which dominates both chapters - as well as their contents. For one, both chapters deal with the rise and fall from power of the righteous and the wicked respectively – this theme occurs twice in both chapters (28:12, 28; 29:2, 16). Apart from these similarities with chapter 28, chapter 29 exhibits no clear overall structure.

The sense of MT Proverbs 29:18

According to Whybray (1994:403) and McKane (1970:640), the Hebrew can only mean that when no prophetic message is available to guide the people, chaos ensues, but that the individual person who observes the תורה will nevertheless be blessed. The תורה here may refer to either the Law in the Deuteronomic or priestly sense, or to the teachings of the sage. Some commentators have supposed that this verse must be a later addition to the book when, during the post-exilic period, prophecy had ceased and when the Law (the Pentateuch) had become the sole source of divine guidance (Whybray 1994:403).

Comparing the MT and LXX

The Greek version of the first clause is not a literal translation of MT. The Greek word ἐξηγητῆς, which means "interpreter, expounder", serves as equivalent for the Hebrew

חזון "vision" (LSJ has "one who leads on, adviser").³⁶ Some scholars (Gemser, Driver) suggested that חזון should be replaced with the Aramaic חזין, meaning "magistrate" (Whybray 1994:403). This word has no equivalent in the OT, but in Mishnaic Hebrew it means "magistrate, overseer". In this these scholars follow to a degree the reading of the LXX, which refers to an "interpreter", rather than to a "vision", as MT does. While MT warns that the result of the absence of vision will be that the people will perish, the LXX speaks about the consequences for a sinful nation. The Greek word ὑπάρχω "to be, be at hand, to belong to" occurs in only two passages in the LXX: here and in Ps 36:10 (ואין). The word μακαριστός occurs in two other passages in LXX Proverbs as well: 14:21 and 16:20. The singular, accusative of νόμος again translates the Hebrew word תורה.

Conclusion

MT speaks about the result of happiness that will befall the person who keeps the תורה. Since the contents of this chapter and chapter 28 are so similar, we can assume that this must be the same תורה that is referred to in chapter 28. The Greek translator also interpreted תורה in this way by again using the singular νόμος as equivalent.

³⁶ The word ἐξηγητής occurs in only three passages in the LXX, namely Gen 41:8 (חרטמים); Gen 41:24 (חרטמים); and in Prov 29:18 (חזון).

3.3.2.4 Proverbs 31:26

MT: פִּיהָ פִּתְחָהּ בְּחָכְמָה וְתוֹרַת־חַסְדִּים עַל־לְשׁוֹנָהּ:

She opens her mouth with wisdom and the teaching of kindness on her tongue.

LXX: ²⁸ τὸ στόμα δὲ ἀνοίγει σοφῶς καὶ νομοθέσμως,

ἢ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη αὐτῆς ἀνέστησεν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς,

καὶ ἐπλούτησαν, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἤνεσεν αὐτήν

But she opens her mouth wisely, and according to the law.

And her kindness sets up her children,

and they grow rich and her husband praises her.

The structure and content of MT Proverbs 31

Verses 1-9 of chapter 31 are attributed to the mother of a non-Israelite king, Lemuel. They form a unitary composition and are sometimes labelled as the only known example of "royal instruction". They also resemble some Egyptian instructions, such as *Advice to a Prince* and *Instruction for King Merikare*. The rest of the chapter has no heading of its own, but it is a dependent literary unit since it is a complete alphabetic acrostic, with the initial letters of its 22 verses forming the Hebrew alphabet. As to the content, this is a poem, which describes the ideal wife and her activities. According to Camp (1985:185) there is a connection between chapters 1-9 and chapter 31. Apart from the general theme of female imagery, the reference to the mother's teaching in 1:8 reappears thematically in 31:1-9, where the teaching is linked to King Lemuel's mother. It is also linked to 31:26 which speaks of woman's wisdom and teaching of kindness (תּוֹרַת־חַסְדִּים).

The sense of MT Proverbs 31:26

In this section of Proverbs 31 a picture of the ideal wife is sketched. One of the attributes of such a woman is that she opens her mouth with wisdom. She also has the teaching (חַסְדִּים) of kindness in her tongue, an expression that is unique to this passage.

Comparing the MT and LXX

It is the only occurrence of the verb ἀνοίγω in LXX Proverbs, although it is used as

equivalent for פה in Job 35:16 and Isa 53:7. The word στόμα is a familiar equivalent for פה and occurs three times in chapter 31. The adverb σοφῶς is used for the Hebrew בחכמה, also a common word equivalent. The phrase תורת־חֹסֶד is translated with καὶ νομοθέσμως, a unique expression in the Hebrew Bible. So this is the only instance in the LXX where תורה is translated with the adverb νομοθέσμως, which means "according to law, legitimately", in fact, this is the only occurrence of the word in the LXX. According to Marcus (1927:69) and Schnabel (1985:120) the cognate word νομοθεσία occurs in *Aristeas* as a reference to the Mosaic Law and its commandments:

They entered, then, with the gifts which had been sent and the precious parchments in which the Law was inscribed in Jewish letters with writing of gold. (*Aris* 176).

Because the Law is holy and has come into being through God (*Aris* 313).

There is a clear difference between the meanings of the Greek and Hebrew texts. The Hebrew speaks about the ideal woman who "opens her mouth with wisdom" and who has the "teaching of kindness on her tongue". The LXX states that she "opens her mouth wisely", which can be interpreted in the same way as in MT. The next phrase, however, differs drastically, since LXX has nothing about a "teaching of kindness", but speaks about her speech that is "according to the law".

Since this is most probably the earliest use of the word νομόθεσμος, I think the translator combined the words νόμος and θεσμός in order to convey a specific meaning to his readers. The author wanted this passage to refer to the Mosaic Law, but did not want to use the word νόμος in conjunction with a female person. He therefore used both νόμος and θεσμός, in the combination of νομόθεσμος: νόμος so that the element of the Law will be present, and θεσμός because he wanted to be consistent with 1:8 and 6:20 where he coupled it to the female. That gender played an important role in the mind of the LXX translator is illustrated a couple of verses further on in the poem on the ideal wife.

Proverbs 30:30-31

MT: שָׁקַר סֶחֶן וְהִבֵּל הִיפִי אִשָּׁה יִרְאֵת יְהוָה הִיא תִתְהַלֵּל:
 31 תִּנְדֹּלָה מִפְּרִי יָדֶיהָ וַיִּהְיֶה בְּשָׁעֶרַיִם מְעֻשִׂיהָ:

Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that fears Yahweh, she shall be praised. Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.

LXX: ψευδεῖς ἀρέσκειαι καὶ μάταιον κάλλος γυναικός, γυνὴ γὰρ συνετὴ εὐλογεῖται, φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὕτη αἰνεῖτω. ³¹ δότε αὐτῇ ἀπὸ καρπῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ αἰνεῖσθω ἐν πύλαις ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς.

Charms are false and woman's beauty is vain, for it is a wise woman that is blessed, and let her praise the fear of the Lord. Give her of the fruit of her lips, and let her husband be praised in the gates.

In MT Proverbs 30:30 it is said that the woman who fears Yahweh will be praised. The LXX, however, renders the verse so that it only allows the woman to praise the fear of the Lord. It seems as if a woman is not allowed to fear the Lord herself, she may, however, praise the fear of the Lord. In Prov 30:31 we also encounter this thematical rendering since the woman is again treated differently in LXX. Whereas MT speaks of the "fruits of her hands", LXX speaks of "the fruits of her lips". The only reference to the woman speaking is in verse 26 and in 30 - in 26 where she speaks "according to the law" and in 30 where she praises the fear of the Lord. As we have seen already, both the Law and the fear of the Lord are two very important themes in Proverbs. Furthermore, MT has "let her own works praise her in the gates", while LXX has a completely different reading of "let her husband be praised in the gates". The woman in MT is allowed some praise, but in LXX it is not the woman, but her husband, that may be praised.

Conclusion

This reference to the חַרְוּת of kindness is unique in the Hebrew Bible, but it is clearly an attribute of the ideal wife. The translator of the LXX was consistent in that he again used a similar word as in 1:8 and 6:20 (θεσμός), when the חַרְוּת is linked to a female person. In addition, he linked this to the Mosaic Law by using a combination of both νόμος and θεσμός. The fact that gender played a role in his creative approach to the text is illustrated in his treatment of the last couple of verses of this chapter, although a more thorough analysis of this topic is needed.

3.3.3 The occurrences of νόμος in pluses

3.3.3.1 Proverbs 3:16

MT: אַרְבָּעַ יָמִים בְּיַמֶּינָהּ בַּשְּׂמֹאלָהּ עֶשֶׂר וְכָבוֹד :

Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour.

LXX: ¹⁶ μῆκος γὰρ βίου καὶ ἔτη ζωῆς ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτῆς,

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ αὐτῆς πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα,

^{16a} ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεται δικαιοσύνη,

νόμον δὲ καὶ ἔλεον ἐπὶ γλώσσης φορεῖ.

For length of existence and years of life are in her right hand,

and in her left hand are wealth and glory.

^{16a} Out of her mouth proceeds righteousness

and she carries law and mercy upon her tongue.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 3

As I mentioned in the discussion on Proverbs 3:1-2, chapter 3 can be divided into three sections, namely vv. 1-12, 13-20 and 21-35. Of these vv. 1-12 and 21-35 are unmistakably Instruction, while 13-20 is written in praise of Wisdom. The style of vv. 13-20 are also hymnic rather than didactic in style, since no one is addressed and no demands are formulated. In form it closely resembles similar hymns in praise of various goddesses from the ancient Near East (see Whybray 1994:65). It also differs in content from the preceding verses in that Wisdom is mentioned in 13-20. In fact, Whybray (1994:65) is of the opinion that vv. 13-20 are a later addition to this chapter because of the fact that there is a lack of reference to wisdom in the preceding verses and a later editor found the reference necessary. The content of the motivation in v. 13, however, resembles those in vv. 2, 4, and 9 - the benefits of wisdom are similar to those which flow from the תורה and מצוה of v. 1.

The sense of MT Proverbs 3:16

Verse 16 forms part of the wisdom poem and describes Wisdom and also the "gifts" that

she can bestow on those who find her. Whybray (1994:76) remarks that the study of Kayatz pointed out the remarkable similarity between what is said of personified wisdom here and Egyptian pictorial representations of the goddess Maat. In these presentations she is shown as holding precisely the symbols of life and riches and honour in her hands.

Comparing the MT and LXX

There are a couple of differences between the text of MT and that of LXX. There are, for instance, several pluses in LXX: i) the particle γάρ; ii) the phrase καὶ ἔτη ζωῆς; iii) and the large plus ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεται δικαιοσύνη, νόμον δὲ καὶ ἔλεον ἐπὶ γλώσσης φορεῖ.

The first plus in LXX, the particle γάρ, renders the Greek verse into a motive clause describing why she (wisdom) is more precious than rubies. The second plus, καὶ ἔτη ζωῆς, seems to be an insertion taken from 3:2. LXX Proverbs 3:2 talks about the benefits of the laws of the teacher (3:1) and describes them as adding "length of existence and years of life". A few verses later in 3:16, Wisdom is described as the benefactor of "years of life" (καὶ ἔτη ζωῆς).

So how do we evaluate this plus? It could be that the Greek translator wanted this passage to refer back to 3:1-2, either to bring about some form of coherence and continuity in the chapter, or to make an implicit link between wisdom and the teacher's law (Law of Moses). This last option seems the most likely, since the Greek translator added an explicit reference to the law in the next phrase. This brings us to the third plus, which is the most important one for our discussion, since the word νόμος occurs in this plus. This is the first occurrence of νόμος in LXX Proverbs, apart from the use of the cognate νόμιμος which occurs in 3:1 (A and S have νόμος in 1:8).

So, whereas in MT this passage is dedicated to wisdom and explains the benefits to the man who finds her, the Greek text has a passage in which wisdom and law are mentioned side by side. It is difficult in this figurative speech to determine exactly what is meant by "Out of her mouth proceeds righteousness and she carries law and mercy upon her

tongue". However, the identification of wisdom and law, which is referred to in this plus, is not unfamiliar in a book such as the Wisdom of Sirach.

According to Toy (1914:69) this large plus in LXX, which is not in keeping with the context, is the addition of an annotator who felt that the passage should not contain a Pharisaic glorification of the *Torah*, but a recognition of the ethical elements of wisdom. Tov (1990:49) uses this verse as an example of the differences between the texts of LXX and MT, which derives from a different Hebrew *Vorlage* than the one that was used by the Greek translator. Tov is of the opinion that the Greek plus ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεται δικαιοσύνη is based on Isa 45:23, and that the LXX only uses a different verb. The other phrase in the plus - νόμον δὲ καὶ ἔλεον ἐπὶ γλώσσης φορεῖ - is a more literal version of Prov 31:26.

PROV 3:16	ISA 45:23	PROV 31:26
	ἐξελεύσεται	
ἐκ τοῦ στόματος	ἐκ τοῦ στόματός	τὸ στόμα
αὐτῆς	μου	δὲ
ἐκπορεύεται		
δικαιοσύνη	δικαιοσύνη	ἀνοίγει
		σοφῶς
νόμον	οἱ λόγοι μου	καὶ νομοθέσμως,
	οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει	
δὲ καὶ ἔλεον		
ἐπὶ γλώσσης φορεῖ		

Although Tov's arguments for a different *Vorlage* must be taken seriously, it is very difficult to discern whether the plus in 3:16 is the result of a different *Vorlage* or of a contextual rendering by a Greek translator or even by a later reworking of the Greek text. Although Tov admits that inner-Greek activity cannot be excluded, he opts for an expanded Hebrew text. This is hard to prove since the dependency of the plus in 3:16 can

be on either the level of the Hebrew or the Greek.

Conclusion

Deviations between the Hebrew and Greek texts are sometimes too easily ascribed to a different parent text. This was illustrated by Cook (1997:314-315) in his analysis of the difference of sequence of Proverbs 31 in LXX and MT. Previously it was an accepted notion that this difference was the result of a different *Vorlage* (Tov 1990:49-50). Cook, however, offers compelling arguments that it was the result of the translator's approach towards his parent text.

I don't think the translator was afraid to render his text creatively and to convey his own theological position (Cook, Gerleman). The previous plus in 3:16, which could refer back to 3:1-2, would suggest that the translator wanted to make an explicit link to the law and therefore the large plus in 3:16 should also be attributed to him. Furthermore, the translator thereby achieved a closer connection between the Law and Wisdom, something that I think he did more than once in his translation of LXX Proverbs.

3.3.3.2 Proverbs 9:10-11

MT: תחלת חכמה יראת יהוה ודעת קדשים בינה

כי־כי ירבו ימִיךָ ויִוָּסִיפוּ לְךָ שָׁנֹת חַיִּים:

¹⁰ The beginning of wisdom is the fear of YHWH and the knowledge of the holy is understanding. ¹¹ For by me your days shall be multiplied, and the years of your life shall be increased.

LXX: ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου, καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις,

^{10a} τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς,

¹¹ τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον,

καὶ προστεθήσεται σοι ἔτη ζωῆς σου.

¹⁰ The beginning of Wisdom is the fear of the Lord and the counsel of holy ones is understanding; for to know the law is the character of a sound mind. ¹¹ For in this way you shall live long, and years of life shall be added to you.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 9

If we look at chapter 9 as a whole, the different character of this chapter with regards to the Instruction genre and the so-called wisdom poems is evident. McKane (1970:358) is of the opinion that vv. 6, 8, and 9 are possible remnants of the Instruction genre, but that there is otherwise little evidence of any formal influence from the Instruction genre on this chapter. The chapter can be divided into three sections, namely vv. 1-6, 7-12 and 13-18.

Verses 1-6 consist of a passage in which Wisdom is personified and where she issues a public invitation, as in 1:20-33, to the simple and the fools. Some scholars argue that the imagery of these verses is borrowed from the previous chapters and that it served, together with vv. 13-18 (the invitation of Madame Folly), as a conclusion to chapters 1-9. Verses 7-12, in which the verses under discussion feature, are about the mocker and the wise. Although scholars have treated this section quite diversely, it is clear, though, that these verses do not form a single literary unit and that they consist of diverse subject matter. There is evidence from textual criticism of the growth of these verses. Indeed,

BHS records that vv. 9-10 are entirely missing from one Hebrew MS and that vv. 1-12 are entirely missing from another. Furthermore, the text of the LXX also differs in that it has three additional couplets after v. 12 and another three after v. 18. Most scholars agree, therefore, that vv. 7-12 in the Hebrew text are most probably an "intrusion". Cook (1997:245) notes that chapter 9 has by far the most pluses of any of the first nine chapters of LXX Proverbs: 17 extra stichs and several individual pluses.

The sense of MT Proverbs 9:10

This verse has three important elements, namely the theme of wisdom, the fear of the lord, and the knowledge of holy ones. The first two are found quite often in Proverbs, but the last one is unique. Whybray (1994:46) notes that v. 10 is clearly not original, since it constitutes the only reference to Yahweh in the chapter. Furthermore, it is also an impersonal and quite general maxim or motto concerning the nature of wisdom, which it refers to in the third person and without any suggestion of identification, asserting its close relation or near-identity with the "fear of Yahweh".

Comparing LXX and MT

If we compare the LXX text of Proverbs 9:10-11 with that of MT, we find two important differences. Firstly we have in v. 10 the Hebrew phrase דעת קדשים "knowledge of the holy", which is translated with the Greek phrase βουλή ἁγίων "counsel of the holy ones" (also in Vulgate). The word קדשים usually refers to holy or saintly persons or heavenly beings or angels. It may be that in this verse, as in Proverbs 30:3 and Hos 11:12, it is a reference to God. Although 9:10 and 30:3 do not correspond completely, 9:10 might be a reference to 30:3 since both deal with wisdom. The different translation in the Greek could either be the result of a different *Vorlage* or an exegetical rendering by a later editor or the translator.

The second difference is the third stich ("for to know the law is the character of a sound mind") of v. 10, which is a considerable plus in LXX. This is of great importance since the word νόμος occurs in this plus. What is also interesting is that a very similar plus occurs in LXX Proverbs 13:15: "Sound discretion gives favour, and to know the law is

the part of a sound understanding, but the ways of scorners tend to ruin."

The Greek texts of these verses compare as follow:

PROV 9:10	PROV 13:15
τὸ	τὸ
γὰρ	δὲ
γινῶναι νόμον	γινῶναι νόμον
διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς	διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς,

So we have in LXX Proverbs 9:1 a plus that is very similar to another plus in 13:15 and both these pluses have the word νόμος. The question is whether the pluses are the result of a different *Vorlage*, the exegetical translation technique of the translator or of a later editor. According to McKane (1970:39) vv. 7-12 in MT are an insertion and the pluses in LXX are a further elaboration of this secondary theme. According to him the "fear of YHWH" is not an original constituent of wisdom and that the reference in this verse to "the fear of YHWH" is a clear statement of the "redefinition of wisdom in terms of Yahwistic piety" (1970:368). The large plus in LXX thus forms part of the elaboration on this theme. He does not, however, say on what level the 'elaboration' of the LXX occurred. Cook (1999:27) agrees with McKane that the plus in 9:10 was taken from the original passage in 13:15. Cook (1999:27-28) argues that the translator inserted the plus here to promote the value of the law (νόμος). The translator did this in order to contrast the dangers of foreign wisdom (Hellenism), which he mentions in 18b, with the law as a power that must sustain and protect the Jews. His renewed emphasis on the Law can therefore be seen as a reaction against the process of Hellenisation, "for to know the law is the character of a sound mind".

Conclusion

I agree with Cook (1999:27) that the translator placed a renewed emphasis on the Law by inserting this reference to the Law. He did this also to warn his people against the foreign wisdom contained in Hellenism. The resulting passage also illustrates the interconnectedness of Law and Wisdom.

3.3.3.3 Proverbs 13:14-15

MT: תורת חכם מקור חיים לסור ממקשי מות:

שכל-טוב יתן-חן ונרדף בגדים איתן:

¹⁴ Good understanding gives favour: but the way of transgressors is hard.

¹⁵ The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.

LXX: νόμος σοφοῦ πηγή ζωῆς,

ὁ δὲ ἄνους ὑπὸ παγίδος θανεῖται.

¹⁵ σύνεσις ἀγαθῆ δίδωσιν χάριν,

τὸ δὲ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς,

ὁδοὶ δὲ καταφρονούντων ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ.

¹⁴ The law of the wise is a fountain of life, but he without understanding shall die by a snare.¹⁵ Sound discretion gives favour, and to know the law is the part of a sound understanding: but the ways of scorners tend to ruin.

The structure and content of MT Proverbs 13

As I indicated earlier on the discussion of 13:14, the dominating theme of this chapter is the need to accept instruction and discipline. McKane (1970:453) groups this verse together with vv. 1, 10, 13-16, 18, 20, 24 into a group of sentences which deal with different aspects of the educational concept associated with wisdom. To Whybray (1994:99) vv. 12-19 could possibly constitute the core of the chapter, at least in its final form.

Comparing LXX and MT

When comparing the texts of MT and LXX for Prov 13:14-15, two interesting features must be noted. The first is the occurrence in v. 14 of תורה in MT and νόμος in the LXX, which I discussed earlier. Then, in v. 15 there is a large plus in LXX of τὸ δὲ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς "and to know the law is the part of a sound understanding". This large plus in v. 15 is almost exactly the same as the plus in 9:10, discussed previously, and also has the singular νόμος in it.

So in these two verses MT speaks of "good understanding" and the "teaching of the wise". The LXX, however, speaks of "sound discretion", "to know the law" and the "law of the wise". Why the different text in LXX?

According to McKane (1970:46) νόμος is here defined as knowledge of the Law and, as is also the case in Proverbs 9:10, the plus constitutes a reinterpretation of the vocabulary of wisdom in terms of Yahwistic legal piety. According to Muller (1901:77) this plus is intended to explain what is meant by σύνεσις ἀγαθῆ in v. 15a.

Conclusion

It seems to me that the translator wanted to elaborate on the theme of the law of the wise that was mentioned in the previous verse. If it is true that the translator of LXX Proverbs employed a creative approach towards the Hebrew text and that he wanted to stress the importance of the Law, then this view might hold true. The expression "law of the wise" is also very important and in my chapter on the wise man, scribe and teacher, I will refer to this verse again and illustrate that the wise man mentioned in v. 14 is also a teacher of the Law of Moses.

3.3.4 The other occurrence of νόμος

3.3.4.1 Proverbs 6:20

MT: נִצַּר בְּנֵי מִצְוַת אָבִיךָ וְאַל־תִּשְׁטַשׁ תּוֹרַת אִמְךָ:

My son, keep your father's commandment, and reject not the teaching of your mother.

LXX: Υἱέ, φύλασσε νόμους πατρός σου

καὶ μὴ ἀπόση θεσμούς μητρός σου,

(My) son, keep the laws of your father,

and do not forsake the ordinances of your mother.

Structure and content of MT Proverbs 6

I discussed this in more detail earlier in my commentary 6:23, but can summarise by saying that vv. 20-35 consist of an Instruction to which further material on the general theme of the folly of adultery has been added.

The sense of MT Proverbs 6:20

Proverbs 6:20 is the opening line of an Instruction and we find the familiar "My son" address as well as 2 imperatives. In v. 20 the son is urged to keep his father's commandment (מצוה) and not to forsake the teachings of his mother (תורה). As in 1:8 and 4:9, there is a reference to both the father and the mother and their respective teachings or instructions. Unlike 1:8-9 and 3:1-2, there follows no motive clause in the next verse.

Comparing the MT and LXX

In this verse the phrase "your father's commandment" (בני מצוה) is translated with νόμους πατρός σου, so νόμος translates the Hebrew מצוה, the only time this equivalent occurs in LXX Proverbs.³⁷ In other words, מצוה is the only other word, apart from תורה that is used as an equivalent for νόμος.

³⁷ The noun מצוה occurs in Prov in 2:1; 3:1; 4:4; 6:20; 6:23; 7:1; 7:2; 10:8; 13:13; 19:16 - in all these instances, apart from 3:1 (ῥῆμα) and 6:20 (νόμος), the word ἐντολή is used as translation for it.

In the discussion on 1:8 I pointed out the similarities between 1:8 and 6:20. As in 6:20, מצוה and νόμος are used in conjunction with the teaching/law of the father. Also, in both these verses חורה is used in conjunction with the mother and in both 1:8 and 6:20 חורה is translated with the plural form of θεσμός.

Prov 6:20 is also often compared to the similar passage of Deut 6:6-8, and, according to McKane (1970:326), v. 20-22 are best explained as a free adaptation of these verses in Deuteronomy. According to McKane (1970:327) these passages in Deuteronomy are set in a context of parental instruction and may have had some influence on the form of Proverbs 6:20, which also seems to be parental and not scholastic instruction.

Conclusion

This is the only instance in LXX Proverbs where νόμος is used as word equivalent for a word other than חורה. The word מצוה, for which νόμος is a translation here, is often used together with חורה. The νόμος of the father, or of the teacher if βίον/πατρός is taken as synonym for teacher, could include the Law of Moses if the teacher was a teacher of the Law.

3.2.5 Summary of occurrences of תורה and νόμος

VERSE	MT	LXX	CONTEXT
1:8-9	תורה	θεσμός (only here and 6:20 in LXX Proverbs)	Introduction to Instruction; 2 imperatives and motive clause; "my son" address; refers to mother's ordinances; rendered by LXX into plural; with מוסר of father
3:1-2	תורה	νόμιμος (only equivalent in LXX Proverbs)	Introduction to Instruction; 2 imperatives and motive clause; "my son" address; refers to teacher's teaching; rendered by LXX into plural; with מצוה of teacher
4:1-2	תורה	νόμος	Introduction to Instruction; 2 imperatives and motive clause; "my sons" address; refers to teacher's teaching; νόμος is singular in LXX; with מוסר of father
6:20	תורה	θεσμός (only here and 1:8 in LXX Proverbs)	Introduction to Instruction; 2 imperatives in v. 20 and a motive clause in 23; "my son" address; refers to mother's ordinances; rendered by LXX into plural; with מצוה of father
6:23	תורה	νόμος	תורה is described as a light and מצוה as a lamp; LXX has singular νόμος
7:1-2	תורה	λόγος (only equivalent in LXX Proverbs)	Introduction to Instruction; 2 imperatives in v. 1 and no motive clause; "my son" address; keep תורה as the "pupil of your eye"; rendered to plural in LXX; with מצוה of teacher
13:14	תורה	νόμος	MT: Teaching (תורה) of the wise is a fountain of life; LXX has singular νόμος σοφου
28:4	תורה	νόμος	Those who forsake the תורה/νόμος praise the wicked
	תורה	νόμος	Those that keep (MT) / love (LXX) the תורה/νόμος
28:7	תורה	νόμος	Who keeps the תורה/νόμος is a wise son
28:9	תורה	νόμος	Who turns away his ear from hearing the תורה/νόμος
29:18	תורה	νόμος	He who keeps the תורה/νόμος is happy
31:26	תורה	νομοθέσμος (only equivalent in LXX Proverbs)	Alphabetic acrostic in MT; poem on the ideal wife; LXX refers to woman and Law; MT to woman and "teaching of kindness"
3:16	-----	νόμος	Wisdom poem; in picturing wisdom LXX has plus of "...she carries law and mercy on her tongue"
9:10	-----	νόμος	LXX has plus of "for to know the law is the character of a sound mind"

13:15	-----	νόμος	Same plus as in LXX 9:10; "to know the law is part of good understanding"
6:20	מצוה	νόμος (only equivalent in LXX Proverbs)	תורה (νόμος) is the commandments of the father and מצוה refers to the teaching/ordinances of mother (θεσμός)

22 לַחֲסִים וְשֹׁמְרֵי כְּבוֹדָם יִשְׁמְרוּ אֶת-עֵצָתָם:
 17 עֲלֵמֵי-לֵב יִשְׁמְרוּ-שֹׁמְרֵי יְבוּשָׁתָם עֵץ:
 07 דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 61 עֲדָ-עֲשֵׂי אֲדָם לְהַחֲלִי לְהַחֲלִי שְׁלֵמֵי מִיָּם:
 81 עַל-חֲסִים שֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה יִשְׁמְרוּ-לְעֵשָׂה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 71 מִשְׁפָּחַת שֹׁמְרֵי יְבוּשָׁתָם יִשְׁמְרוּ-עֵצָה שֹׁמְרֵי חַיִּים:
 91 דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 51 שֹׁמְרֵי שְׁלֵמֵי אֲשֵׁרֵם יִשְׁמְרוּ עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 41 מִשְׁפָּחַת דְּבֹרָה עַל-יְבוּשָׁתָם עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 13 מִשְׁפָּחַת שְׁלֵמֵי חַיִּים דְּבֹרָה עֲלֵלָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 12 דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 11 עֲלֵלָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 01 עֲלֵלָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 6 שֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה יִשְׁמְרוּ עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה עֲלֵלָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 8 דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 7 יִשְׁמְרוּ דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 9 עֲלֵלָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 5 שֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה יִשְׁמְרוּ עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה עֲלֵלָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 4 אֲשֵׁרֵם עֲלֵלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 3 עַל-יְבוּשָׁתָם עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה עֲלֵלָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:
 2 דְּבֹרָה בְּזָלָה עֲלֵלָה אִתָּם יִשְׁלַח־וּם כַּעֲשֵׂי אֲמֹתָם:
 1 עַל-יְבוּשָׁתָם עֵצָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה עֲלֵלָה וְשֹׁמְרֵי עֵצָה:

4.1.1 Hebrew text (MT) with translation

4.1 MT Proverbs 2

CHAPTER 4: THE COVENANT IN LXX PROVERBS 2

2:1 My son, if you receive my words, and treasure up my commandments with you;
2:2 so that you make your ear attentive unto wisdom; inclining your heart to understanding;
2:3 yes, if you cry out after insight, (and) lift your voice for understanding;
2:4 if you seek for it like silver, and search for it as for hidden treasures;
2:5 then you will understand the fear of YHWH, and find the knowledge of God,
2:6 for YHWH gives wisdom: out of his mouth comes knowledge and understanding,
2:7 he stores up sound wisdom for the righteous: he is a shield to those who walk uprightly,
2:8 he keeps the paths of judgment, and preserves the way of his saints.
2:9 Then you will understand righteousness, and justice, and equity; yes, every good path.
2:10 For wisdom will come into your heart, and discernment will be pleasant to your soul;
2:11 discretion will preserve you, understanding will keep you:
2:12 to deliver you from the way of evil, from the men of perverted speech;
2:13 who forsakes the paths of uprightness, to walk in ways of darkness;
2:14 who rejoices to do evil, and delights in the perverseness of evil;
2:15 whose paths are crooked, and who are devious in their ways,
2:16 to deliver you from the loose woman, from the stranger with her smooth words,
2:17 who forsakes the companion of her youth, and forgets the covenant of her God;
2:18 for her house sinks down to death, and her paths to the shades.
2:19 None that go unto her return again, neither take they hold of the paths of life.
2:20 That you may walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous.
2:21 For the upright will inhabit the land, and men of integrity will remain in it;
2:22 but the wicked will be cut off from the land, and the transgressors will be driven out of it.

4.1.2 The structure and content of MT

At first sight chapter 2 seems to be just another one of the Instructions found in chapters 1-9, especially so because 2:1 corresponds with the other introductions to Instructions. The structure of chapter 2, however, differs from that of most of the other first nine chapters in that this entire chapter is actually a single sentence, of great complexity, starting with a conditional clause. There is, however, also evidence of the Instruction genre, hence Whybray (1994:50) believes that successive layers of material have been added to an earlier Instruction.

McKane (1970:278) is very cautious in labelling chapter 2 as belonging to the Instruction genre and offers compelling reasons. Firstly, he notes the absence of imperatives in this chapter. Instead of the usual grammatical construction of imperatives followed by motive and final clauses, chapter 2 has *protases* and *apodoses* ("if....if...then...then"). Worked into the *apodoses* are clauses that are similar to motive clauses, giving it the structure of "for..... so that".

Whether or not it was originally an Instruction, the result is what Whybray (1994:50) calls "a constant wearisome repetition of the same thoughts" and McKane (1970:278) "a loss of compactness and precision over against the Instruction". Both also agree on the fact that there has been a (formal, according to McKane) development in the chapter and that there is evidence in vv. 1-9 of both a Yahwistic interpretation of piety and a moralism as well as the old educational framework of wisdom.

Apart from its lack of structure, McKane also argues against it being Instruction genre in that the chapter has a lack of "concrete, authoritative instruction" and specific matters that is addressed. What is interesting though, is the fact that wisdom and her equivalent are mentioned 12 times in vv. 2-11. Also, the words for "path" are repeated 9 times in vv. 12-22.

4.1.3 The sense of MT

In v. 1 we have the familiar introduction to an Instruction, which is perhaps the most significant sign that some part of chapter 2 previously belonged to the Instruction genre. In v. 2 the teaching of the teacher (מצוד) is equated with wisdom and in vv. 3-4 and 9-15 the benefits of wisdom are described: "Then you will understand righteousness, and justice, and equity; yes, every good path"; "discretion will preserve you, understanding will keep you."; etc. Vv. 5-8, on the other hand, are of a different nature in that they introduce YHWH as the source of wisdom. So we have the development in that the teaching of the human teacher is first mentioned (v. 1), then identified with wisdom (v. 2) and then related to YHWH. So in effect we have three "teachers", namely the human teacher, YHWH and wisdom, although the human teacher is the one who is speaking.

Verse 12 introduces us to the metaphor of 2 paths (also used in 1:15; 19 and 31) in which the contrast between those who take the path of evil and those who accept God's gift of wisdom (vv. 7-9) is made. Previously in the chapter the theme of the path is used to describe how YHWH "keeps the paths of judgement and preserves the way of his saints" (v. 8). And if you receive wisdom you will know "every good path" (v. 9). The "men of perverted speech" is described in vv. 13-15 and it is from these men that wisdom will deliver you.

If we look at vv. 16-19, the part which Whybray (1994:50) calls the "nub" of the original Instruction, it starts with the infinitive "to deliver" (להצילך) that follows up on the same infinitive used in v. 12. Whereas v. 12 is about the "men of perverted speech", v. 16 speaks about the "loose woman" (אשה זרה). The "loose woman" of vv. 16-19 is used as an antithesis for wisdom in that her "smooth words" are placed against the familiar call of wisdom (9:4-6).

The idea of the אשה זרה is also known from other passages in Proverbs (7:5 also has אשה זרה) and in all these passages it usually refers to a loose woman, her seductive speech and

and the fatal consequences of associating with her. This is also the case in vv. 17-19, which describe the "loose woman" and the results of associating with her. This loose woman is described as a "stranger with her smooth words" and whose "house sinks down to death". She is also one who "forsakes the companion of her youth, and forgets the covenant of her God". There are different opinions on the 'correct' interpretation of the phrase אשה זרה, with Scott and Boström interpreting her as the representation of a foreign goddess and McKane seeing her as someone ethnically foreign, acting as a metaphorical warning (Cook 1994:461).

Various interpretations have been offered for the phrases "companion of her youth" (אֱלוֹף נְעוּרֶיהָ) and "covenant of her God" (בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיהָ). McKane (1970:286) interprets אֱלוֹף as meaning "teacher, father" and therefore argues that the loose woman forsook her early education. The more 'natural' interpretation, according to Whybray (1994:55), is that it refers to her marriage vows and that she left her husband, as in Mal 2:14.

4.2 LXX Proverbs 2

4.2.1 Greek text (LXX) with translation

- Υἱέ, ἐὰν δεξάμενος ῥῆσιν ἐμῆς ἐντολῆς κρύψῃς παρὰ σεαυτῷ,
² ὑπακούσεται σοφίας τὸ οὖς σου, καὶ παραβαλεῖς καρδίαν σου εἰς σύνεσιν, παραβαλεῖς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ νουθέτησιν τῷ υἱῷ σου.
³ ἐὰν γὰρ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπικαλέσῃ καὶ τῇ συνέσει δῶς φωνὴν σου, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν ζητήσῃς μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ,
⁴ καὶ ἐὰν ζητήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς ἀργύριον καὶ ὡς θησαυροὺς ἐξερευνήσῃς αὐτήν,
⁵ τότε συνήσεις φόβον κυρίου καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ εὐρήσεις.
⁶ ὅτι κύριος δίδωσιν σοφίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ γνώσις καὶ σύνεσις,
⁷ καὶ θησαυρίζει τοῖς κατορθοῦσι σωτηρίαν, ὑπερασπιεῖ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν
⁸ τοῦ φυλάξαι ὁδοὺς δικαιωμάτων καὶ ὁδὸν εὐλαβουμένων αὐτὸν διαφυλάξει.
⁹ τότε συνήσεις δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα καὶ κατορθώσεις πάντας ἄξονας ἀγαθοῦς.
¹⁰ ἐὰν γὰρ ἔλθῃ ἡ σοφία εἰς σὴν διάνοιαν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ καλὴ εἶναι δόξῃ,
¹¹ βουλὴ καλὴ φυλάξει σε, ἔννοια δὲ ὅσια τηρήσει σε,
¹² ἵνα ῥύσηταί σε ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ κακῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λαλοῦντος μηδὲν πιστόν.
¹³ ὧ οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες ὁδοὺς εὐθείας τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐν ὁδοῖς σκότους,
¹⁴ οἱ εὐφραϊνόμενοι ἐπὶ κακοῖς καὶ χαίροντες ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ κακῇ,
¹⁵ ὧν αἱ τρίβοι σκολιαὶ καὶ καμπύλαι αἱ τροχιαὶ αὐτῶν
¹⁶ τοῦ μακράν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης.
¹⁷ υἱέ, μὴ σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ βουλὴ ἢ ἀπολείπουσα διδασκαλίαν νεότητος καὶ διαθήκην θείαν ἐπιλελησμένη,
¹⁸ ἔθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἄδῃ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν τοὺς ἄξονας αὐτῆς,
¹⁹ πάντες οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ οὐκ ἀναστρέψουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ καταλάβωσιν τρίβους εὐθείας, οὐ γὰρ καταλαμβάνονται ὑπὸ ἐνιαυτῶν ζωῆς.
²⁰ εἰ γὰρ ἐπορεύοντο τρίβους ἀγαθὰς, εὐροσαν ἂν τρίβους δικαιοσύνης λείους.
²¹ χρηστοὶ ἔσονται οἰκήτορες γῆς, ἄκακοι δὲ ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι

εὐθεῖς κατασκηνώσουσι γῆν, καὶ ὅσοι ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐν αὐτῇ,
²² ὁδοὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται, οἱ δὲ παράνομοι ἐξωσθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

2:1 My son, if you will receive the word of my commandment, and hide it with you

2:2 your ear will hearken to wisdom, and you shall apply your heart to understanding,
and shall apply it to the instruction of your son.

2:3 For if you call out to wisdom, and raise your voice for understanding; and you seek
with a great voice insight,

2:4 and if you seek it as silver and search diligently for it as for treasures;

2:5 then you will understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God.

2:6 For the Lord gives wisdom; and from his presence come knowledge and
understanding,

2:7 and he treasures up salvation for them that walk uprightly; he will protect their way

2:8 that he may guard the righteous ways and he will preserve the way of them that fear
him.

2:9 Then you will understand righteousness, and justice and shall direct all your course
aright,

2:10 for if wisdom comes into your mind, and discernment will seem pleasing to your
soul,

2:11 good counsel will guard you, and holy understanding will protect you,

2:12 to deliver you from the evil way, and from the man who speaks nothing faithful.

2:13 Woe to those who forsake straight paths, to walk in ways of darkness;

2:14 who rejoice in evils, and delight in wicked perverseness;

2:15 whose paths are crooked, and their courses winding;

2:16 to remove you far from the straight way, and to estrange you from a righteous
opinion.

2:17 My son, let not evil counsel overtake you, that has forsaken the teachings of the
youth, and has forgotten the divine covenant;

2:18 for it has fixed its house near death, and its pathways near Hades with the giants.

2:19 All those who go to it do not return, nor do they take hold of right paths, for they are
not apprehended of the years of life.

2:20 For had they gone in good paths, they would have found the smooth paths of righteousness.

2:21 The upright will dwell in the earth, and the innocent will be left behind in it; because the upright will live in the earth, and the holy will be left in it.

2:22 The paths of the ungodly will perish from the earth, and transgressors will be driven out of it.

4.2.2 The structure and content of LXX

This chapter is divided up into several sections with even smaller subsections within the larger units. There seems to be much more structure and coherence in chapter 2 of LXX than in MT (Cook 1997:111). This chapter can be divided into four main sections:

- i) The first section, consisting of vv. 1-5, generally follows MT and introduces the "Instruction" and the themes of wisdom and the fear of the Lord.
- ii) The second section consists of vv. 6-12, which can also be divided further into vv. 6-9 and 10-12. This section deals with those who walk in the paths of the Lord and who receive the wisdom of the Lord.
- iii) The third section of vv. 13-16, which starts with the exclamation ω , contrasts the previous section by elaborating on those who forsake the paths of righteousness.
- iv) The last section (vv. 17-22) deals with the consequences of these choices, whether good or bad.

4.2.3 The sense of LXX

The chapter begins with the familiar address to the son (pupil) and the call for attentiveness to the word of the commandment of the teacher. In v. 2 the teaching of the teacher is identified with wisdom and the teacher urges or commands the pupil to apply wisdom to the instruction of his (the pupil's) son. This is a very peculiar phrase in that it is unique to the Instruction genre, apart from the passage in Proverbs 4 where the teacher recalls his own education.

Verses 3-4 are both conditional clauses urging the pupil to search for wisdom, while v. 5, which is introduced by τότε, describes the benefit of a pupil's search for wisdom: "you will understand the fear of the Lord and find the knowledge of God". Wisdom is therefore described as the way to YHWH, "for the Lord gives wisdom" (v. 6), he (YHWH) "treasures up salvation" (v. 7) and he "guards the righteous" (v. 8). If you have searched for wisdom, and found it, "then you will understand righteousness, and justice shall direct all your course aright" (v. 9).

The result of wisdom is therefore linked to the right path/course, a theme that is used often in this chapter and also in the rest of the book of Proverbs. In v. 7 it is said that the Lord will protect the way of the upright and in v. 8 that he will preserve the way of those who fear him. In v. 9 it is stated that justice, a result of wisdom, will direct all your course aright. Only in v. 12 is the "evil way" (ὁδοῦ κακῆς) introduced to create the opposition between the previously mentioned ways, which were all positive, and the evil way. The result of wisdom (v. 10), discernment (v. 10), good counsel (v. 11), and holy understanding (v. 11) will be "to deliver you from the evil way, and from the man who speaks nothing faithful" (v. 12).

The theme of the paths is further elaborated on in vv. 13-15, where references are made to the "straight paths" (ὁδοὺς εὐθείας), "ways of darkness (ὁδοῖς σκοτόους) and those whose "paths are crooked" (τρίβοι σκολιαι). Verse 16 also refers to the "straight way" (ὁδοῦ εὐθείας) in that the evil way and those who walk evil ways will remove you from the straight way. That is not all, since they will also estrange you from "a righteous opinion" (δικαίας γνώμης).

Although a new section starts with v. 17 with the familiar address "My son", the same themes are addressed in the next verses. The opposition between the good and evil ways are emphasised by another opposition that is introduced into the text, that of the "evil counsel" (κακῆ βουλή) versus the "good counsel" (βουλή καλή) of v. 11 and the "righteous opinion" (δικαίας γνώμης) of v. 16. This "evil counsel" is described as one that has forsaken the teachings of the youth and the divine covenant. Since this "evil

counsel" refers to 'something of the mind', it could refer to foreign influences, most probably influences from Hellenism (Cook 1994:465; 1997:131).

The last 4 verses (v. 19-22) first deal with those who associate with the "loose woman" and then contrasts them with the upright, the innocent and the holy.

4.3 Comparing the Greek and Hebrew versions

Since this section of my inquiry deals primarily with the reference to the "covenant", I will not investigate all the differences between the Greek and Hebrew of this chapter, but will look globally at the structural and thematic differences and specifically at vv. 16-17.

4.3.1 Large pluses in LXX

V. 1: and shall apply it to the instruction of your son.

V. 2: and you seek with a great voice insight.

V. 17: My son, let not evil counsel overtake you.

V. 19: for they are not apprehended of the years of life.

V. 21: because the upright will live in the earth, and the holy will be left in it.

4.3.2 Structural differences

While the text of the LXX can be divided into the 4 sections of vv. 1-5, 6-12, 13-16, and 17-22, and these sections into even smaller subsections, the text of MT has a more flowing structure - a single sentence. According to Cook (1997:149) the translator of this chapter intentionally gave the text this structure in order to explicate structurally the religious perspectives of the text. This religious perspective is based on the dualism that is presented by opposing the "good way" and the "evil way", as well as contrasting the "good counsel" with the "bad counsel". This contrast is not so explicit in MT, since the LXX translator rendered the MT or even added stichs (v. 17) in order to create this dualism:

Significant, therefore, is the fact that the subtle changes, even on the level of syntax, were brought about by the translator in view of his religious perspective. (Cook 1997:149)

4.3.3 Comparing Proverbs 2:16-17

MT : להצילך מאשה זרה מנכרִיהָ אִמְרִיהָ הַחֲלִיקָה:
הַעֲנֹבֶת אֱלֹהִים נְעוּרֶיהָ וְאֶת־בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים שָׁכַחָה:

16 to deliver you from the loose woman,
 from the stranger with her smooth words,
 17 who forsakes the companion of her youth,
 and forgets the covenant of her God.

LXX: τοῦ μακράν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας
 καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης.
 υἱέ, μή σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ βουλὴ
 ἢ ἀπολείπουσα διδασκαλίαν νεότητος
 καὶ διαθήκην θεῖαν ἐπιλελησμένη,
 16 to remove you far from the straight way,
 and to estrange you from a righteous opinion.
 17 My son, let not evil counsel overtake you,
 that has forsaken the teachings of the youth,
 and has forgotten the divine covenant.

Verse 16

In MT v. 16 starts with an infinitive "to deliver you", which is what YHWH will do if you receive his gift of wisdom. In v. 12 the same infinitive was used, although the object from which YHWH will deliver differs. In v. 12 it was the "man of perverted speech" and in v. 16 it is the "loose woman", who is a "stranger" who flirts and flatters with her "smooth words".

The LXX, on the other hand, begins with the infinitive "to remove you" (ποιῆσαι) and the object from which you will be removed is "the straight way (ὁδοῦ εὐθείας)³⁸ and "a righteous opinion" (δικαίας γνώμης). The LXX makes no reference to the "loose woman" who is so prominent in MT; rather, it introduces two concepts (ὁδοῦ εὐθείας and δικαίας γνώμη) which are not in MT. MT's "loose woman" must probably be taken

³⁸ The adjective εὐθύς is used 10 times in LXX Proverbs of which four occurrences are in chapter 2: 2:13 (יָשׁוּ); 2:16 (*); 2:19 (יָשׁוּ); 2:21 (יָשׁוּ). Otherwise it occurs in 11:3 (יָשׁוּ); 11:11 (יָשׁוּ); 20:11 (יָשׁוּ); 21:29 (יָשׁוּ, *); 28:10 (יָשׁוּ, *); and 29:10 (יָשׁוּ).

as a reference to an individual who is looked down upon because of her "sexual foreignness" (Cook 1997:131), while the LXX, which has nothing on sexual issues, refers to strangeness,³⁹ which has to do with intellectual influences, the "righteous opinion". This "righteous opinion" is similar to phrases such as referred to in 1:11 (δικαίον ἀδίκως); 3:9 (καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης); 32 (δικαίοις οὐ συνεδριάζει); 33 (δικαίων εὐλογοῦνται); 9:9 (γνώριζε δικαίω).

Cook compared this passage with the other passages in both MT and LXX where the loose woman is mentioned (chapters 5, 6, 7, and 9). He concludes (1994:474) that the LXX of Proverbs interprets this metaphor of the loose woman as a reference to foreign wisdom, and that this "dangerous" wisdom refers to the Greek philosophical influences encountered during the Hellenistic period.

What is interesting is that this is the only instance in the LXX where the word γνώμη is used (Codex A also has γνώμη in Prov 12:26). The theme of "the straight way" is common to Proverbs - it is also used in 2:13 (ὁδοῦ εὐθείας); 20:11 (εὐθεία ἢ ὁδός).⁴⁰ The word ὁδός itself is used 7 times in this chapter (vv. 8, 12, 13, 16, 22), while words with a similar meaning are also used (πορεία "course"; ἄξων "course"; τρίβος "road"; τροχιά "path").

But how are we to explain or to understand the differences between these versions? According to Cook (1997:132) there are many indications that the text of the LXX represents a reworking of a Hebrew text.⁴¹ The first indication is the exegetical rendering of the verb נצל (to save) with the words μακράν and τοῦ ποιῆσαι to indicate the act of removing. The second indication of this is the fact that the LXX makes no reference to

³⁹ The adjective ἀλλότριος is found in LXX Proverbs in 2:16 (נכר); 5:10 (זור); 5:10 (נכר); 5:17 (זור); 5:20 (זור); 6:24 (נכר); 7:5 (זור); 9:18 (-), (-), (-), (-); 11:24 (*); 23:27 (*) (נכר); 23:33 (זור); 26:17 (לא לך); 27:2 (נכר); 27:13 (נכר).

⁴⁰ Similar passages include Prov 2:12 (ὁδοῦ κακῆς, דרך); 2:13 (ὁδοῦς εὐθείας, ארץ, דרך); 2:16 (ὁδοῦ εὐθείας, *); 2:22 (ὁδοὶ ἀσεβῶν, -); 4:27 (ὁδοῦ κακῆς, *); 8:13 (ὁδοῦς κακῶν, -); 20:11 (εὐθεία ἢ ὁδός); 25:19 (ὁδοῦς κακοῦ, *).

⁴¹ Toy (1914:51) made the interesting comment that the different text in LXX is not "a scribal heterogram of the words in MT, but an independent allegorizing reading of the schools". According to him this reading is an illustration of the way in which the expounders and scribes, be they in Jerusalem or Alexandria, sometimes dealt with ethical texts such as this one.

the "strange and foreign woman", although the Greek translator of Proverbs did not hesitate to mention her in other passages where the "strange and foreign woman" was discussed. The explanation for this variation, according to Cook, is to be found in the next verse.

Verse 17

When comparing the Greek and Hebrew texts, the first remarkable difference is an extra stich in LXX "υἱέ, μή σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ βουλή" at the start of v. 17. Verse 17 of MT continues on the previous verse by describing the "loose woman" of v. 16 as one who "forsakes the companion of her youth" and who "forgets the covenant of her God". Since LXX does not refer to the "strange woman" in v. 16, the context of v. 17 will also be different to that of MT. This thematic break between vv. 16 and 17 in LXX is structurally achieved by the extra stich that the translator inserted into this verse - "My son, let not evil counsel overtake you". The rest of v. 17 is then a reworking of the text of MT, not to describe the "loose woman", but the "evil counsel" (κακὴ βουλή).⁴² According to Cook (1997:134) the extra stich in LXX can be taken as part of the OG, since it appears in all the main manuscripts and because it makes perfect sense in this context. He further takes the reference to the "strange woman" in v. 16 as a metaphor for foreign wisdom and views the "evil counsel" of v. 17 as an elaboration on that theme.

The rest of v. 17 in MT describes the "loose woman", while the LXX reworks the text of MT in order to describe the "evil counsel". While MT describes the "loose woman" as one who "forsakes the companion of her youth" (הַיָּתוּמָה וְהַלֵּוָה), the LXX refers to the evil counsel that has "forsaken the teachings of the youth (διδασκαλίαν νεότητος).⁴³ The question is whether there is any difference between the use of διδασκαλία for the Hebrew word הַלֵּוָה.

Unfortunately the word διδασκαλία "teaching, instruction" does not appear elsewhere in

⁴² The noun βουλή is also used in 1:25; 1:30; 2:11; 2:16; 3:21; 8:12; 8:14; 9:10; 11:13; 11:14; 15:22; 19:21; 20:5; 21:30; 22:20; 24:71(31:3); 25:28.

LXX Proverbs, so it is not possible to see how the translator uses the word in another context.⁴⁴ It is used, however, in Isa 29:13, where it has למד as basis. The Hebrew word אָלִיף also occurs elsewhere in Proverbs: in 16:28 and in 17:9 it is translated with the Greek word φίλος "friend", which indicates that the translator of LXX Proverbs knew it had both the meanings of "friend, confidant" and "companion".

McKane (1970:286) argues that אָלִיף should here be taken as meaning "teacher" or "father of my youth", in the same manner in which the word is used in Jer 3:4. So when MT refers to the loose woman who has forsaken the "teacher of her youth", it refers to her early education. She therefore both leaves her education behind as well as forgetting her religious duties (Cook 1994:465). Whybray (1994:55) would favour the interpretation that MT is speaking about the strange woman leaving her husband and abandoning her marriage vows, calling it a more "natural interpretation". So, while MT is referring to her husband when speaking about the "companion of her youth", the LXX clearly refers to the evil counsel "that has forsaken the teachings of the youth". While MT refers to a person, the translator of the LXX Proverbs, who elsewhere translated אָלִיף with "friend", rendered the text intentionally so that the "teachings of the youth" would refer not to a person, but to the Jewish education, the Jewish way of life, the Torah. This was done in order to elaborate on the "evil counsel".

The last stich of v. 17 of MT also describes the loose woman as one who "forgets the covenant of her God", while LXX's (third) stich refers to another aspect of the evil counsel that "has forgotten the divine covenant". According to Whybray (1994:58) the reference in MT to "the covenant of her God" refers to the marriage as a covenant to which YHWH is witness. This would complement the interpretation of the previous stich (companion of her youth) as referring to her husband. According to Whybray the idea that YHWH is witness to a marriage ceremony is also found in Mal 2:17. Both he and Toy (1914:47) therefore favour an interpretation of בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים as meaning simply the "general idea of sacredness" involved, or maybe as referring to a religious marriage

⁴³ The noun νεότης occurs in Pr 2:17 (נעורה); 5:18 (נעורה); and in 24:54 (30:19) (עלמה).

ceremony.

The LXX uses the noun διαθήκη "covenant" for the Hebrew ברית. Although this is the only occurrence of both these words in Proverbs, they are frequently used as word-equivalents elsewhere in the LXX. Although the reading of διαθήκην θείαν may refer back to a Hebrew reading of ברית אלהים, it is clear from the verses under discussion that the translator of LXX Proverbs wanted his Greek text to 'speak' to a certain audience, rather than giving a literal translation. The question therefore is the meaning of "divine covenant" within the context of this chapter and the book of Proverbs. If the phrase "divine covenant" in LXX Prov 2:17 refers to the covenant between God and Israel, it would reflect very significantly on the "theological" position of the translator. It would be a clear instance of the text of MT being reworked in order to transmit a 'different' theological message to the readers/listeners of the LXX.

Ralph Marcus (1927:11) notes that the apocryphal authors frequently appealed to the idea of the covenant that God has made with His People - both as a mark of Israel's glory as well as encouragement to Israel in times of struggle. Thus, we read in the Wisdom of Sirach, in the passage on Israel's Heroes (Sir 44-45), that the covenant was of great importance to all of these men. Also, in Sir 24:23, after Ben Sirach's poetic description of the beauty of Wisdom, Sirach refers to the Lord's covenant:

All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, even the law which Moses commanded for a heritage unto the congregations of Jacob (Ταῦτα πάντα βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου, νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς κληρονομίαν συναγωγαῖς Ἰακωβ).

Likewise, in the first and second books of Maccabees the leaders of the revolt on several occasions reminded the Jews of the covenant that God had made with their fathers (1 Macc 2:20). And when condemning the Hellenised Jews, the author of 1 Maccabees refers to the covenant (1 Macc 1:15). Sirach, in his praises of the Heroes of Israel, also uses both the words "covenant" and "Law" in his praise of Abraham, "who kept the law of the most High" and with who he (YHWH) was "in covenant with in his flesh" (44:20).

⁴⁴ The noun διδασκαλία occurs only here in LXX Proverbs as well as in Sir 24:33; 39:8 and in Isa 29:13 (למד).

So we see that the idea of the covenant that God made with Israel was used to warn against those who are rejecting the Law of Moses and those who are selling themselves to evil, the ungodly. An interesting passage occurs in the Sirach 39:9, where mention is made of both διαθήκη and διδασκαλία, both of which also occur in our passage of Proverbs 2:17:

He will show the wisdom of what he has learned and the glory in the Law of the Lord's covenant.

In this passage Ben Sirach is talking about the man who "gives his mind to the law of the most High" (39:1) and he states that this man will "show the wisdom of what he has learned and the glory in the Law of the Lord's covenant". Apart from Ben Sirach's identification between the Law and the covenant of the Lord, he also links the Law here with the διδασκαλία of the man in some way. The only other reference to the noun διδασκαλία in the LXX (apart from Prov 2:17 and Isa 29:13) is in Sir 24:33 in a passage which deals with wisdom and only a few verses after the passage on the "book of the covenant of the most high God, even the law which Moses commanded" (Sir 24:23). Although the context of this passage in Sirach differs from the one in Proverbs, Ben Sirach is clearly speaking about the Law here and the ideas of covenant and teaching are also very important.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter, and especially vv. 16-17, shows to what extent the translator of LXX Proverbs interpreted his Hebrew parent text in order to give it a new meaning in a new context (see also Cook 1997:153; 1994:464-465). For this purpose he added several lines in the text of the LXX; he completely omitted any reference to the "loose woman"; he introduced the antithesis of the "good counsel" in the form of the "evil counsel" which refers to Hellenism; and he made use of some very suggestive word-equivalents. This underlines the importance of studying any passage of the LXX within its own context and as a literary work in itself.

According to Cook (1994:464) the translator did not avoid the sexual connotation concerning the foreign lady. Rather, he interpreted the lady as a deserter who forsook the instruction of the youth and the divine covenant. The bad counsel must be linked to some sort of foreign wisdom and corresponds to what we know of the Greek influences during the Hellenistic period (Cook 1997:153). The translator uses this passage to warn his readers not to do away with their early education and with the divine covenant which exists between YHWH and Israel. On the contrary, they must remain faithful to the Law, then they, the holy and the upright, will remain in the land. There are therefore strong indications that, as Cook demonstrated, the translator of LXX Proverbs, or this chapter at least, was a Jewish and not a Hellenistically inclined scribe (1997:153).

CHAPTER 5: THE TEACHERS OF THE LAW

In the discussion on Proverbs 4:1-9 it became apparent that the Greek text must be interpreted against the social and religious background in which it functioned. In that passage there is a reference to the law of the teacher in the Greek and the teaching of the teacher in the Hebrew. Who are these teachers and what were they teaching?

In Proverbs 13:14 the Hebrew text speaks about the blessing of the teaching of the wise, while the LXX interprets that as the "law of the wise". Who are the so-called wise men? Are the wise men of the Persian period (MT) the same as those to which the Greek text refers?

In this chapter I will illustrate that not only are there hints in the Greek text of Proverbs on the importance of the Law of Moses, but that by the time the Greek translation was probably made, the scribes/wise men of LXX Proverbs were also the teachers (and custodians) of the Law.

5.1 The pre-exilic period

We read in Jer 18:18 of the priest, wise man and prophet who plotted against Jeremiah, for they feared that the priest's torah, the wise man's counsel and the prophet's message will cease. We know more about the prophets and the priests than the wise men of the OT. This passage in Jeremiah might be an indication that the wise men of the Old Testament were some form of "third force" alongside the priests and prophets. This notion finds resonance in the division of the Hebrew Bible into the Law, the Prophets and the Writings, since the wise men were most probably responsible for (at the least) collecting the proverbs and sayings of Proverbs (Grabbe 1995:155; Scott 1965:xv).

These wise men (חכמים) were not coupled to the national religion of Israel; rather, they were concerned with practical religious issues which were directed towards individuals. Wisdom played a pivotal role in their teachings as the principle and skill of life.

According to Scott (1965:xix) the book of Proverbs was used as a source book of material for the instruction of youths - and we can assume primarily for young men.

Some of the proverbs in Proverbs are structured in a form of Instruction, a genre that is very similar to other such Instructions found in the ancient Near East. The distinction that McKane draws between Sentence and Instruction literature in Proverbs is a very helpful tool in establishing the context of proverbial material, even though it is not one that is always easy to make, especially since Sentences are often used in the context of Instructions. The Instructions, for instance, presuppose a more formal educational setting, since they are more structured, formed according to "their own rationale". Although opinions differ, it is usually accepted that the genre of Instruction is found in Proverbs 22:17-24:22, which bear a close resemblance to the Egyptian *Instruction of Amenemope*. In Proverbs 1-9 there is also a development of this genre as well as in 31:1-9. On the other hand, Sentence literature is found in 10:1-22:16 and chapters 25 to 29.

There is, however, no unanimity among scholars with regard to the "social worlds" of the authors of Proverbs and the contexts in which these proverbs were used in the education of young men (Whybray 1995:21). We can establish that there were mainly three formal settings in which education took place in ancient Israel: the family, the school and the royal court. According to Crenshaw (1990:208-9) the formal setting of learning in Israel changed over the years. The royal court schools started out as a pragmatic venture to provide the state with educated "civil servants" to work in the fields of international diplomacy, record keeping, commercial activities and even to entertain royalty. This coincided with the change to monarchy, when trained personnel were needed to run the administrative side of the monarchy.

Although there is no direct evidence from the OT of the existence of schools, we can assume that schools were established for the purpose of training an elite group of government employees. The basis for claiming the existence of such schools is usually based on a comparison with neighbouring cultures in the ancient Near East, where they in fact did exist, and the supposed training that scribes, government officials and royal men

had received. Not all scholars agree on this issue, though (See Grabbe 1995:173). We know at least that by the time of the Wisdom of Sirach, which dates from the Greek period, there indeed were such schools.

In the pre-exilic period we also find evidence of a group of people who were so-called 'secretaries' or 'scribes' in the administration of the Israelite monarchy. Of these, the so-called royal secretaries were the most important and were responsible for maintaining the state annals and the king's correspondence (Grabbe 1995:160). These secretaries and scribes were most probably also linked, at least on an international level, to the "wise men".

5.2 The post-exilic period

After the exile the internal development of Israel was influenced greatly by two influential groups in Jewish society: the priests and the scribes. In the first post-exilic period until well into the Hellenistic period, the priests were dominant. After the exile they were the ones who organised the new community and who acted as leaders in both spiritual and material matters. Although they were also originally the expert interpreters of the Torah, there came into existence an independent group of Torah scholars alongside the priest, namely the scribes (*sopherim*). As the zeal for the Torah cooled down among the priests, especially after the Maccabean revolt, the vigorous study of the Torah increased in the circles of the Torah scholars. It was during this period that these scribes took over control of most of the Jews' spiritual affairs (Schürer 1965:238).

Although the scribes became dominant in religious matters and the 'teachers of the nation', so to speak, the priests remained an important and influential factor in religious life. This was mainly due to their exclusive right to sacrifice, which was enshrined in the Torah (See Ex 28-29; Lev 8-10 and Num 16-18). For the religious Jews living in this period, the Torah not only regulated the priestly service, but also the whole life of the nation in all its aspects. The piety of the Jews was directed entirely towards obeying the Torah in all its details (Schürer 1965:315). This interest in the Torah was sparked off

when Ezra and the Israelites returned from exile and Ezra read the Torah to the people and they solemnly bound themselves to it (Neh 8-10). Although it is not certain whether the תורה referred to in Nehemiah is the entire Pentateuch or only the Priestly Code, the use of the word תורה is very significant. It introduced an era in which the (written) Pentateuch was recognised as the Torah of God, a canonical God-given work that is the binding rule of life.

Therefore it is said that Ezra, on his return to Palestine, started "scribism" and with it an ideology that saw the Mosaic Law as binding upon the nation. The need arose therefore that this Law had to be interpreted authoritatively and applied in daily affairs. Thus we read already in Ezra 7:6-10 something of the work of the scribe, which included the study of the Torah and its interpretation, which was to be made known to the entire community. "He was a scribe, well-versed in the law of Moses which was given by the Lord, the God of Israel ... Ezra had set his heart on the study and practice of the law of the Lord and on teaching statutes and ordinances in Israel" (Ezra 7:6, 10).

Although these scribes were also wise men in the sense that they were also learned and wise, the fact that they focused primarily on the Torah as a written document constitutes the major difference between these groups.

5.3 The Greek Period

During the Early Greek period, there was also a group of the *sopherim* who were linked to the temple (Ant 12, 142). They were literate priests who copied the Scriptures, especially the Pentateuch, and are therefore sometimes labelled "custodians of the Law". During this time there also featured another group called the *hasidic sopherim* who interpreted the law in new situations as 'legal experts' (1 Macc 7:12-13).

The importance of this class of *sopherim*, which was not the name of a party but a professional or educational designation, is clearly showed in the Wisdom of Sirach, and especially in the passages on the ideal scribe, Sir 38:24-39:11 (Schnabel 1985:63). In this

passage Ben Sirach first contrasts the (superior) occupation of the scribe with the farmer, engraver, smith and potter before exclaiming:

How different the person who devotes himself to the fear of God and to the study of the Law of the Most High! (38:34).

He then continues by describing the occupation of the scribe as one who "studies the wisdom of all the ancients...[and] the hidden meaning of proverbs", who "travels among the peoples of foreign lands", and who "opens his lips in prayer". Furthermore, "if it pleases the Lord Almighty", he will "pour forth his words of wisdom and in prayer give praise to the Lord. He will direct his counsel and knowledge aright, as he meditates upon God's mysteries. He will show the wisdom of what he has learned and glory in the Law of the Lord's covenant" (Sir 38:24-39:11).

Now Ben Sirach himself was a professional scribe who lived in Jerusalem. He was most probably also a priest since he was a descendant of Eleazar. He wrote the Wisdom of Sirach in Hebrew, two thirds of which have been discovered up to date. We do have the entire Greek translation of the Book, which was made by his 'self-proclaimed' grandson in Egypt circa 132 BCE. According to the grandson's prologue, by which we can date the Greek translation, the original Book was probably compiled between 200 and 170 BCE. The importance of Sirach for our current inquiry lies in the fact that he gives us valuable insight into the contemporary anxieties of his day, both political and religious. These are the same anxieties that faced the Jews for whom the Greek translation of Proverbs was made.

Ben Sirach, being a scribe himself, provides us with useful information on the profession of the scribe during the pre-Maccabean period:

Whereas the *sopher* of the Persian period focused his interest exclusively on the Torah (cf. Ezra), we find that the *sopher* of the pre-Maccabean period includes topics and traditions of traditional wisdom (Sir 39,2-3). Ben Sira's *sopher* is an intellectual, not a 'scribe' in the old sense, a scholar, not a copyist, a sage, not a secretary. This fusion of traditional scribal (Torah) erudition and wisdom teaching can also be seen in telling phrases, mentioned already, of the σοφία γραμματέως = חכמה סופר (Sir 38,24). With Ben Sira, חכם and סופר are essentially identical terms (Schnabel 1985:65-66).

He uses the word סופר for the first time in a "technical sense" and as a designation for a scholar who is both חכם and סופר at the same time (38:24). Not only do we find in the Wisdom of Sirach the merging of חכם and סופר as designations for a class or order, but we also find a closer identification between the Law and Wisdom, two prominent themes in the Wisdom of Sirach.

The scribe of Sirach is not only scribe and wise man, but also a teacher, since the position of the priest declined after the Maccabean revolt and the scribes took over the main responsibility as teachers. This process was completed by the time of the New Testament, when the scribes (γραμματέως) are represented as the undisputed spiritual leaders. That they were teachers is also evident from the functioning of the *bet ha-midrash* in Sirach as well as the ideal scribe "who will show the wisdom of what he has learned" (39:8). These teachers most probably taught admonitions and proverbs such as are contained in the Wisdom of Sirach, and they would as Torah scholars teach the Law and wisdom:

In the Judaism of Ben Sira's time, the scribe (in Heb *sôper*) was a well-travelled, cultured, an pious Jew who was highly trained in the Sacred Scriptures, especially in the Law; his principal responsibility was to instruct others in the glories of Israel's religious heritage and wisdom (Skehan 1987:450).

Another important aspect that I pointed out earlier is that Sirach mentions the existence of schools in Palestine, namely the *bet ha-midrash*, "place of study" (Sir 51:23). It is an institution that is often coupled with that of the synagogue, and in such a way as to show that they were distinct but closely associated. In Palestine, and most probably also elsewhere, the schools were frequently adjacent to the synagogue. In fact, it was later assumed that every synagogue had its own school. This may well indicate that by 200 BCE the school was an established institution (Moore 1927:312, Blenkinsopp 1983:120). Ben Sirach, being a teacher, most certainly imparted to his pupils such religious and moral teachings as are collected in his book and the Law must also have played a primary role in his teachings (Blenkinsopp 1995:15; Schechter 1945:65). During the Hasmonean period we find the second concentration on the Torah as a reaction against the attempt to abolish the law by the Hellenisers, which strengthens the argument that the Law was

important in the time of Ben Sirach.

5.4 A scribe, wise man and teacher of the Law in LXX Proverbs

Ben Sirach provides us with valuable insight into the contemporary anxieties of his day, which are very important in our quest for the *Sitz im Leben* of LXX Proverbs. He also sheds valuable light on the position of the scribes and their relationship with the Law.

In the Wisdom of Sirach there is a definite association between the scribe, teacher and wise man. This is evident from the significant use of words such as σοφία γραμματέως, the existence of schools, and the general identification between Law and Wisdom which was prevalent in his time. I will make a deeper examination of the latter in the next chapter, where I argue that there is closer identification of these two concepts in LXX Proverbs than in MT Proverbs.

It would be reasonable to argue that the proverbs and admonitions of LXX Proverbs were also used in schools such as Sirach's and by the same teachers of the Law who operated in his time. It could also be that the translator of LXX Proverbs was educated in such an environment or even that the translation was made by a scribe/teacher in one of these schools. Since this thesis deals with the historical context of LXX Proverbs, we have to establish if there are any links between LXX Proverbs and the teachers of the Law of the time of Ben Sirach.

Although the word (γραμματέως) does not occur in LXX Proverbs, we have other indications that the teacher of LXX Proverbs was not only a teacher of Wisdom, but also a teacher of the Law. The most important passage in this regard is the one that led to the question of the role of the teacher in LXX Proverbs. In LXX Proverbs 4 he urges his pupils not to forsake "my law" (τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον), while MT has "my teaching (תּוֹרָתִי) you must not forsake". In the context of the LXX Proverbs this reference to "my law" can only refer to the laws that the teacher teaches his pupils. What was the content of this teaching?

The teachers of Sirach's school were not only teachers, but also scribes. Moreover, since it was the scribes who were the chief custodians of the Law, we can assume that the teacher of LXX Proverbs also instructed his pupils in the Law of Moses. Or rather, the Law of Moses would have been the main focus of his teachings (Grabbe 1995:159). Therefore, we can argue that this reference to "my law" is not only a reference to the law of the teacher, but also to that which he was a teacher of - the Law of Moses. Another important aspect is the fact that νόμος is here used in the singular. Although the text of MT could also be read in the singular, we have shown that the translator of the LXX does not take the singular or plural use of תורה into account when translating it. Rather, he uses the context of LXX to decide which Greek word he wants to use as a translation for תורה and whether it should be singular or plural.

Another passage of great importance is Proverbs 13:15:

MT: The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.

LXX: The law of the wise is a fountain of life, but he without understanding shall die by a snare.

While the context of MT suggests that the תורה of the wise refers to wisdom, the reference in the LXX to the "law of the wise" most probably refers to the Mosaic Law, which the wise man, who was also a scribe, taught. The fact that the translator inserted a plus in the previous verse ("and to know the law is part of a sound understanding"), which refers to the Law, as well as the fact that he uses the singular form of νόμος, are all indications that the reference to "law" of the wise should be taken as the Mosaic Law. This "law of the wise" is the same one that is referred to when the teacher speaks of τὸν ἐμὸν νόμον in Proverbs 4.

CHAPTER 6: WISDOM AND LAW AND THE FEAR OF THE LORD

In our discussion of Proverbs 4:1-9 and in several of the passages in Proverbs where there is a reference to *הוֹרָה* or *σοφία*, there was frequently some form of identification between "law", "wisdom" and the "fear of the Lord". All of these concepts are well known in sapiential literature and to some extent they are a dominant theme in books such as Proverbs, the Wisdom of Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon and Baruch. Although this enquiry into the relationship between these concepts cannot be dealt with at length, I will continue to look at some passages and commentaries on the Wisdom of Sirach and the *Letter of Aristeas* in order to put these themes in a context where I can compare them with Proverbs (MT and LXX).

The concept of Wisdom is central to sapiential literature. It is a concept that evolved in the course of time and that has taken on different meanings in different times and contexts. In the Hebrew Bible there is an acknowledgement of the limits of human wisdom (Prov 16:1-2; 19:14, 21) and the fact that God has supreme wisdom in creation (Ps 104:24; Jer 10:12) and in history (Isa 31:1-2; Job 12:13). It is also God who bestows wisdom on man (Gen 41:16, 39; Dan 1:7) and on kings (Isa 11:2).

Wisdom is also personified in the book of Proverbs (1:20-33; 8; 9:1-6), where the female figure of Wisdom is pictured as addressing a crowd, praising her own words and her close position to God. Opinions on the nature and origin of this personification differ widely. Some regard it as a purely literary technique, while others claim Wisdom to be the remnant of some ancient goddess or myth (see Whybray 1996:71-71). Another feature of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible is that it is often linked with the Torah. In the Old Testament some passages point out that the Torah is Israel's authentic wisdom (Deut 4:6; Jer 8:8; Ezra 7:14). This 'identification' is explicitly stated in later books such as Sirach and Baruch (Sir 24; Bar 4), where the Torah is the expression of the wisdom God gave to Israel.

6.1 The Wisdom of Sirach

It is often said that Ben Sirach was the first writer who explicitly identified wisdom with the Torah. Schnabel (1985:69-92) lists 7 passages in which there is a "clear and direct identification of wisdom and law" (15:1; 17:11; 19:20; 21:11; 24:23; 34:8; 45:5) and several other passages in which there is implicit evidence of such an identification. His view is that this "evidence" for the identification suggests that this is an important *theologoumenon* for Sirach. Schnabel argues that this identification is characterised by four dimensions, namely the particularistic, theological, ethical and didactic dimensions ("When we say that Sirach identified or correlated law and wisdom, we assert an identity in diversity", Schnabel 1985:91). The particularistic dimension, which lies at the basis of the identification, implies that both the law and wisdom belong to Israel and have an important function. The theological dimension is summarised by the concept of the fear of the Lord, which is the goal of both wisdom and law. The notion that both law and wisdom are the basis and prerequisite, the reward and result of personal piety, is the foundation for the ethical dimension. The last dimension, the didactic one, is personified in the scribe and the wisdom teacher who studies and teaches both law and wisdom: the coming together of the concepts of law and wisdom is personified by the fusion of the roles of חכם and סופר in the scribe (σοφία γραμματέως).

The text that is mostly quoted in any discussion on wisdom and law is Sir 24:23, in which he sums up all his statements regarding Wisdom:

All this is the book of the Most High's covenant, the law which Moses imposed upon us, the inheritance for the assemblies of Jacob.

Boccaccini (1991:89) warns, however, that we must be very careful in the way we 'identify' law and wisdom, especially in 24:23, in that saying that the law is the historical manifestation in Israel of a pretemporal wisdom is far from an affirmation of identity. It is more the indication of a relationship conceived in strongly asymmetrical terms. It is also possible that the influence of later conceptions, such as the pretemporality of the law,

has conditioned commentators on the reading of this passage.

He further notes that the law has no function outside the relationship between God and man, while wisdom has a degree of autonomy as God's eternal possession. The law is an already-given gift and its application depends on the choice of the individual; wisdom is a gift that is sought after by many, but denied to the majority. He also argues that the law is not so much identified with wisdom as it is identified with the "education" (παιδεία) of wisdom. This education in turn equips him to be able to transform the law into "teaching" (διδασκαλία) so that others can benefit from the law as well, since he is a teacher. Therefore, the relationship between law and wisdom is not an identification, "but a complex play of balances within the synergetic prospect proposed to humankind as the road to salvation" (Boccaccini 1991:89).

6.2 The *Letter of Aristeas*

We find in the *Letter of Aristeas* the notion that there is a definite link between the law and wisdom. Although *Aristeas* is not primarily concerned with theological problems, the significance of the Law is a major theme in the book (Schnabel 1985:69-120). In *Aristeas* the law is described as "full of wisdom" (par. 31), that wisdom and right way are the same as keeping the commandments (par. 127), and it is said that Moses, the lawgiver, is wise (par. 139).

This led Schnabel (1985:123) to say:

Several passages in EpArist prove that the identification of law and wisdom was taught and presupposed in the Palestinian wisdom and scribal schools had started to exert significant influence in Alexandria too.

He is further of the opinion that the identification of law and wisdom in *Aristeas* has primarily an ethical dimension in that "the Jewish law which is true wisdom contains everything which is needed for a morally perfect character and a perfect life." The particularistic dimension is also present in that the Mosaic Law (which also embodies wisdom) is the law of the Jews, which must be commended to the Gentiles.

6.3 Wisdom and Law in Proverbs

In our discussion on the use of תורה in Proverbs, we saw that several passages referred to some form of identification between law and wisdom. First there are the passages which describe the benefits of תורה, which are strikingly similar to those which explain the promises of Wisdom (1:8; 3:2; 4:9; 4:10 and 9:11). Then there is Prov 13:15, where MT mentions the "teaching of the wise". Although the reference to תורה most probably does not refer to the law, the תורה is described as a fountain of life, which is the same way in which the "fear of the Lord" is described in 14:27. This also brings to mind passages in the Wisdom of Sirach where it is said that "The knowledge of a wise man shall abound like a flood, and his counsel continues like a fountain of life" (21:16) and that "Wisdom inspires life into her children" (4:12).

So in MT Prov 13:14 there is some loose association between wisdom, law and the fear of the Lord. What is even more interesting is that the Greek text of 13:15 has the reading of "law of the wise" (νόμος σοφοῦ). Although νόμος is the 'normal' Greek equivalent for תורה, the reference here must refer to the Law, which would indicate that the LXX translator made an even closer identification between the Law and the wise man, and therefore Wisdom (didactical dimension). I therefore think that LXX 13:14 refers to the Law, since there is a plus in 13:15 in which νόμος is used to refer to the Law, and also because the singular νόμος is used.

Another passage in LXX Proverbs confirms this closer identification between law and wisdom. In Prov 3:16, which falls within a pericope in which Wisdom is praised, there occurs a plus in LXX that also has a reference to the Law.

MT: Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour.

LXX: For length of existence and years of life are in her right hand: and in her left hand are wealth and glory. (a) Out of her mouth proceeds righteousness and she carries law and mercy upon her tongue.

So here we have another plus in LXX in which the translator inserted a reference to the

Law in a passage that is dedicated to Wisdom. This is another sign that in the time of the translator of the LXX the identification of these two concepts was a common feature of sapiential literature. Another passage that must also be mentioned here is Prov 9:10, where the LXX has a plus that is very similar to the plus in 13:15.

MT: The beginning of wisdom is the fear of YHWH and the knowledge of the holy is understanding.

LXX: The beginning of Wisdom is the fear of the Lord and the counsel of holy ones is understanding;

(a) for to know the law is the character of a sound mind.

Apart from the plus in LXX that refers to the ethical dimension of the identification between law and wisdom, the LXX also rendered the text into "counsel of the holy ones", which could just as well be a reference to the teaching (or counsel) of the wisdom teachers. Another theme is also touched upon in 9:10 (as in 13:14 and 14:27), namely the "fear of the Lord". It seems therefore as if these three concepts, namely the law, wisdom and the fear of the Lord, are used together frequently. Furthermore, it seems as if there are indications that already in LXX Proverbs there is some closer (or more explicit) form of identification between law and wisdom than in MT Proverbs.

But what can be said about the nature or origin of this identification in the LXX? This is very difficult to answer, since the LXX Proverbs is a translation and not a *de novo* composition, as is the case with the Wisdom of Sirach and the *Letter of Aristeas*. The best therefore is to compare it with the dimensions of identification that Schnabel found in the Wisdom of Sirach and *Aristeas*. The didactic dimension of the identification of wisdom and law is one that is definitely present in LXX Proverbs. This is so because by the time the translation was made, the scribe was both wise man and Torah scholar, thereby identifying the concepts of wisdom and law in his own make-up. This is also evident from the LXX text in Prov 13:15, where there is a reference to the "law of the wise". This law, which was also the law he taught, was the Mosaic Law. The ethical dimension of the identification can be seen in Prov 9:10 and especially in the plus, where it is said that "to know the law is the character of a sound mind", which is structurally linked ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$) with "the beginning of wisdom".

The most important foundation for the identification is, however, the theological

dimension. According to Schnabel this dimension is summarised by the concept of the fear of the Lord, which is the goal of both wisdom and law.

6.4 The fear of the Lord in Sirach and *Aristeas*

The theme of the fear of the Lord is so prominent in the Wisdom of Sirach that some scholars have labelled it the most important theme in the book (Schnabel 1985:24 on the study of J. Haspecker: *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach*; Gammie 1990:369). Although the Wisdom of Sirach has no systematic theology - it is rather a compilation of reflections and aphorisms - it is possible to establish that the doctrine of the book is traditional and conservative (Skehan 1987:75). The theme of the fear of the Lord is usually taken as one of the features of this "traditional" viewpoint.

The expression "fear of the Lord" or similar expressions number between 55 and 60 in the Wisdom of Sirach. The Wisdom of Sirach starts with a passage on wisdom (1:1-10), which is directly followed in verses 11-20 with a lengthy passage on the fear of the Lord. The placement of this important concept so early on may already be taken as an indication of the importance it had in the time of the Wisdom of Sirach. The close structural link with the theme of wisdom is also carried through with regard to the content, since the fear of the Lord is described as the way to wisdom: the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (v. 14), the fullness of wisdom (v. 16), the crown of wisdom (v. 18), and the root of wisdom (v. 20). The fear of the Lord is also "wisdom and instruction" (v. 26) and it shares the same fruits as wisdom, namely glory (1:11 and 4:13, 24:16-17), joy and gladness (1:11-12 and 4:12, 6:28), honour (1:13 and 6:29, 24:16) and length of days (1:12 and 1:20).

Apart from the link that Sirach makes early on between Wisdom and the fear of the Lord, he also links the latter with the Law (1:14, 16, 18, 20 2:15, 16; 6:36; 15:1; 19:20), as in 21:11:

But he that keeps the law gets the understanding thereof; and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom.

In several passages the fear of the Lord and obedience to the Law are used together (and apart) as prerequisites for wisdom - in some even as the source of wisdom. In Sir 19:20 Ben Sirach says that the keeping of God's law is all wisdom and that all wisdom equals the fear of the Lord.

Sirach identifies the fear of the Lord with another theme, namely the love of the Lord. Those who fear and love the Lord i) "will not disobey his word"; ii) "will keep his ways"; iii) "will seek that which is well pleasing to him"; and iv) "shall be filled with the law". Skehan (1987:79) notes his view on this as follows:

Ben Sirach teaches that believers must love and fear God, must walk in his ways and keep the commandments of the Law. By doing so, they are living out God's own wisdom, which is revealed in the Law, and as a result their practical wisdom approaches in some significant way the divine wisdom (cf. 24:28-29).

In 7:31 Sirach's regard for the priests is also shown as he links the fear of the Lord to faithful sacrifices.

Fear the Lord, and honour the priest, and give him his portion as it is commanded to you: the firstfruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the firstfruits of the holy things.

According to Skehan (1987:75-76) the primary theme of the Wisdom of Sirach is also linked to the theme of the fear of the Lord, since he notes that the book deals primarily with "wisdom as fear of God the fundamental thesis of the book is the following: wisdom, which is identified with the Law, can be achieved only by one who fears God and keeps the commandments." Moore (1994:312), on the other hand, has it that "Subjectively wisdom is 'the fear of the Lord' (Ecc 1:1-15); objectively it is the Law of Moses".

The fear of the Lord is also an important theme in the *Letter of Aristeas*, attesting to its significant position in Hellenistic writings. This is clearly shown in the scene where the King asks the men from Jerusalem how he could preserve his kingdom to the end. One of

the men replied:

By making your starting-point the fear of God you would nowhere fail (*Aris* 189).

6.5 Wisdom and fear of the Lord in Sirach and Proverbs

The idea that wisdom and the fear of the Lord are closely linked is one of the features of Ben Sirach: the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (1:14), the fullness of wisdom (1:16), the crown of wisdom (1:18), and the root of wisdom (1:20). The fear of the Lord is also "wisdom and instruction" (1:26). Although it is great to find wisdom, Sirach seems to regard the fear of the Lord as superior (25:10).

The expression "fear of the Lord", used in the nominal form *יִרְאַת יְהוָה*, occurs 14 times in the book of Proverbs, while other expressions such as "to fear the Lord" or "those who fear the Lord" occur another 5 times (Whybray 1996:136). In the first 9 chapters the concept is closely associated with wisdom and in the latter part it usually denotes a way of life which is characteristic of the righteous.

The theme of the fear of the Lord is not unique to Proverbs - in fact it is a common theme throughout the Hebrew Bible. There is a general agreement between scholars that the theme of the fear of the Lord in wisdom literature differs somewhat from its use in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. Outside the wisdom literature it is sometimes used to denote literal terror (Ex 3:6, 20:8) or to refer to less dramatic and "positive human reactions to God" (Whybray 1996:137). In Deuteronomy, on the other hand, it is used more in a cultic sense. We also know that it was a familiar concept in other Near Eastern religions.

According to Blenkinsopp (1983:24-25) the theme of the fear of the Lord as the epitome of the moral life (e.g. 10:27) is characteristic of the modification and supplementing that Proverbs underwent under religious leaders after the Babylonian exile. This is also the view of Drousseau and McKane, especially with regards to chapters 10-29.

Schnabel (1985:5) remarks on a study done by T.K. Koo, *Wisdom and Torah, with*

Special Reference to the Wisdom Psalms, in which Koo established a profound theological connection between the Torah as the revelation of God's wisdom and (more importantly) man's fear of the Lord as a manifestation of wisdom. Therefore, in some passages the "fear of the Lord" means, *per matonymiam*, the Law (Ps. 19:10; 111:10 LXX; 112:1; 119:38, 63; 128:1, 4; Sir 1:28; 6:37; 9:16; 28:7).

Are there any differences in the way that LXX and MT Proverbs portray the relationship between wisdom and the fear of the Lord?

Proverbs 1:7

In Proverbs 1:7 it is said that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. This is the first occurrence of the expression in both MT and LXX, and the text of LXX differs quite significantly from MT. The added two lines in LXX are the first major plus in LXX Proverbs. Verse 7 forms part of the introductory verses of the book (1:1-7) and therefore early on establishes the importance of the concept of the "fear of the Lord". The plus adds the following: "and piety toward God is the beginning of discernment; but the ungodly will set at nought wisdom and instruction", which also contains another reference to wisdom.

Proverbs 22:4

MT: By humility and the fear of Yahweh are riches, and honour, and life.

LXX: The fear of the Lord is the offspring of wisdom, and wealth, and glory, and life.

The sense of LXX is completely different in that LXX refers to the fear of the Lord as the offspring of wisdom. This is close to ideas that are expressed in Sirach, where he states that "The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord" (1:25) and "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (1:14).

Proverbs 1:29

MT: Because they have hated instruction and received not the fear of Yahweh,

LXX: For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord.

The Hebrew בחר "receive" is translated with προαιρέω "choose", which makes quite a difference to the interpretation, since there is a definite difference in the viewpoint that one must choose the fear of the Lord rather than receive it.

Proverbs 14:27

MT: The fear of Yahweh is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.

LXX: The commandment of the Lord (πρόσταγμα κυρίου) is a fountain of life, it causes men to turn aside from the snares of death.

While MT has the familiar expression יהוה יראתו, LXX has πρόσταγμα κυρίου. This is the only occurrence of the word πρόσταγμα "ordinance, command" in LXX Proverbs.

The phrase πρόσταγμα κυρίου also occurs in Sir 6:37:

Let your thoughts be upon the precepts of God, and meditate continually on his commandments:
and he will give you a heart, and the desire of wisdom shall be given you.

Schnabel (1985:29) notes that although the word πρόσταγμα is only used 4 times in the Wisdom of Sirach, in 6:37 it is of great theological importance since πρόσταγμα κυρίου is used parallel to ἐντολή/הצו and therefore refers to the law. J. Marböck in his study *Weisheit* (1971:86) lists πρόσταγμα as one of the four expressions for the Law in Sirach. In the *Letter of Aristeas* the expression θείω πρόσταγματι occurs in paragraph 279, where it also refers to the Law:

The guidance of the laws, so that by just dealing they may repair the lives of men; just as you say, by such conduct, have laid the foundations for an eternal memorial of yourself, through following the divine commandment.

This verse is indeed very important, since the translator of LXX Proverbs interpreted the phrase "fear of the Lord" as "commandment of the Lord". Since the word νόμος is used elsewhere as denoting the Law, this is a clear instance of the translator of LXX Proverbs making a closer connection between Torah and fear of the Lord in LXX than MT:

Pluses in LXX Proverbs with fear of the Lord

Proverbs 15:27

MT: He that is greedy of gain troubles his own house: but he that hates bribes shall live.

LXX: A receiver of bribes destroys himself, but he that hates the receiving of bribes is safe. By alms and by faithful dealings sins are purged away: and by the fear of the Lord every one departs from evil.

There are 2 stichs extra in LXX, of which the fourth contains the expression "fear of the Lord".

Proverbs 14:16

MT: A wise man fears, and departeth from evil: but the fool rages, and is confident.

LXX: A wise man fears and departs from evil, but the fool trusts in himself, and joins himself with the transgressor. In the fear of the Lord is confidence of strength, and there shall be hope for his children.

Minuses in LXX Proverbs with fear of the Lord

Proverbs 16:6

MT: By mercy and truth iniquity is purged: and by the fear of Yahweh men depart from evil.

LXX: minus

This is the only minus the LXX has that has "fear of the Lord" as basis.

Conclusions

In both MT and LXX Proverbs the idea that wisdom and the fear of the Lord are explicitly linked is stated early on in the book. In this passage, Prov 1:7, the LXX has a large plus, the first major plus in LXX Proverbs. Through this plus LXX links the fear of the Lord with personal piety towards God and wisdom.

This connection between the fear of the Lord and wisdom is taken further by LXX in a couple of passages. In Prov 1:29 the LXX links these two concepts by rendering MT's "Because they have hated instruction and received not the fear of Yahweh" into the Greek "For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord". So whereas MT connects "instruction" with the fear of the Lord, the LXX links it with wisdom. Likewise, LXX renders the MT text of Prov 15:33 "The fear of Yahweh is the lesson of wisdom: and humility goes before glory" into "The fear of the Lord is instruction and wisdom and

the highest honour will correspond therewith".

The identification between wisdom and the fear of the Lord also has a dimension that links their results. Therefore we see in Prov 10:27 that the benefits of the fear of the Lord are the same as those of Wisdom, as was the case with the passages in 1:9 and 4:9.

The LXX text of Prov 22:4 also differs from that of MT. MT has "By humility and the fear of Yahweh are riches, and honour, and life" and LXX has "The fear of the Lord is the offspring of wisdom, and wealth, and glory, and life". Although LXX has in 1:7 that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, the idea that the fear of the Lord is the offspring of wisdom is not found elsewhere in Proverbs. It is closer to Sirach's "The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord" (1:25).

Another passage in which the fear of the Lord and wisdom are related is Prov 9:10, a passage that is very similar to 1:7. An interesting feature about the Greek text is that it has a large plus which also brings the Law into the picture: "for to know the law is the character of a sound mind". So the LXX not only links the concept of the fear of the Lord more closely to wisdom, it also brings the Law into the equation. This is another feature that is familiar to the Wisdom of Sirach, who states that "But he that keeps the law gets the understanding thereof; and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom" (21:11). Also, the person who has knowledge of the Law shall obtain wisdom (15:1).

The notion that the LXX relates these concepts to one another more closely than MT does is supported by a very interesting reading in Proverbs 14:27. Here the translator of the LXX read "The fear of Yahweh is a fountain of life" and translated it into "the commandment of the Lord is a fountain of life", which is a reference to the Law. By the time of Ben Sirach the meaning of wisdom had undergone considerable change, being identified in Jewish circles with the Jewish Law, the Torah. Gerleman (1956:42) observed that there is no trace whatever in LXX Proverbs of any identification between Wisdom and Torah. This view was also challenged by Cook (1998:330-331), for he argues as well that there is a closer identification between law and wisdom in LXX

Proverbs than previously accepted.

In the discussion on this theme I also detected some peculiar differences between the way in which these concepts are linked in the Hebrew and Greek texts. The Greek translator had no difficulty with this identification and agrees in that sense more with the writings of Ben Sirach, although he does not go as far as Sirach.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 The use of $\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in LXX Proverbs as designation for the Law

7.1.1 The occurrences of תורה in MT Proverbs

The word תורה occurs 13 times in MT Proverbs, six times in the Instruction literature and seven times in the Sentence literature. Of the six occurrences in the Instruction literature, five appear in the introductions to Instructions, with only 6:23 that is not situated in an introduction. While many believe 6:23 to be a later addition to the text, it is the only time in the Instruction literature that תורה could have the meaning of "law". On two occasions (1:8 and 6:20) תורה is used to denote the teaching of the mother, while the other occurrences of תורה in the Instruction literature refer to the instruction/teaching of the teacher.

In the Sentence literature the word תורה is used seven times, of which five are governed by the verbs "keep", "forsake" and "hear". Once it is used in the expression "תורה of the wise" (13:14) and once to describe the ideal woman as one having the "תורה of kindness" (31:26). Four of these occurrences of תורה are in chapter 28, with two in v. 4, one in v. 7, and one in v. 9. While these four references to תורה might be translated with "law", signifying the Law of Moses, the other two references to תורה have the meaning of "teaching".

7.1.2 The translations of תורה in LXX Proverbs

The two references to the תורה of the mother in the introductions to Instructions (1:8 and 6:20) are both rendered in exactly the same way by the Greek translator. On both occasions the translator used the word $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and rendered the singular תורה into the plural Greek form. In addition, MT Prov 31:26 speaks of the "תורה of kindness" as a characteristic of the ideal woman. The Greek translator used a combination of both

νόμος and θεσμός (νομοθέσμως) in order to translate the word תורה. Since I am of the opinion that he uses the word θεσμός in conjunction with females and νόμος when signifying the Law, his use of the word νομοθέσμως also confirms this. In 31:26 both the ideal woman and the Law are important, thus the combination of the words is used.

The translator also renders the second occurrence (3:1) of תורה, where it refers to the teaching of the teacher, into the plural. However, he uses the word νόμιμος, which is the only time it occurs in LXX Proverbs. He did the same in 7:2, where he renders the singular תורה into the plural of the Greek word λόγος, another unique equivalent to LXX Proverbs.

In Proverbs 4:2, where MT refers to the teaching of the teacher, the translator translates the singular תורה with the singular of νόμος. This is the first time νόμος occurs in Proverbs (some mss have νόμος in 1:8). The only other occurrence of תורה in the Instruction Literature, 6:23, is dealt with likewise by the translator and translated with νόμος. It seems as if 6:23 certainly refers to the Mosaic Law.

So, when תורה concerns the teaching of the teacher, it is translated into νόμος and rendered into the plural in 3:2 and into the singular νόμος in 4:2. And when the תורה is described, it is translated with the singular νόμος (6:23) and with the plural of λόγος (7:2). In the Sentence literature the translator used only the word νόμος as equivalent for תורה, apart from 31:26, where he used νομοθέσμως because it is linked to the woman. In all the six other passages in the Sentence literature where νόμος is used, it can be linked to the Law.

If we look at the overall picture, we see that the term תורה is translated in 3:1; 7:2 and 31:26 into Greek words that occur only once in LXX Proverbs. And in 1:8 and 6:23 an equivalent is used that occurs only there in the entire LXX. For the rest νόμος is used.

7.1.3 Other occurrences of νόμος in LXX Proverbs

The word νόμος is also used as equivalent for מצוה once (6:20) and in three passages in LXX Proverbs in pluses (3:16; 9:10; 13:15). The plus in 3:16 is very similar to Proverbs 31:26, while the pluses of 9:10 and 13:15 are nearly identical. In all these cases the singular form of νόμος is used. In all these passages the importance of the Law of Moses is illustrated as well as the closer link between Wisdom and the Law in LXX Proverbs.

It is my opinion that the translator of LXX Proverbs used the word νόμος in a way which suggests that he meant it as a designation of the Law of Moses. This would imply that there occurred a significant shift in emphasis between the Hebrew and the Greek versions of Proverbs on the subject of the Law. Whereas the Hebrew version scarcely refers to the Law of Moses, which was after all probably not a finalised corpus yet, the Greek version is certainly not oblivious to the Law as was previously accepted.

7.2 The covenant in LXX Proverbs

The notion that the Greek translation is very conscious of the Law is strengthened by my analysis of LXX chapter 2, in which I demonstrate that:

- i) the Greek translator approached his text creatively and rendered it, both on the lexical and structural levels, in order to state his own theological viewpoint;
- ii) the theological viewpoint of the Greek translator is one which led him to reinterpret this Hebrew chapter in order to warn his pupils against foreign, Greek philosophical influences;
- iii) the Greek translator wanted to remind his pupils of the divine covenant, of the most integral part of the relationship between Israel and Yaweh, the Torah.

7.3 The teacher of the Law LXX Proverbs

The Greek version of Proverbs also functioned within a certain context, one that was considerably different than the one in which the Hebrew version functioned. In Chapter 5

I illustrated that the teacher(s)/scribe(s) of LXX Proverbs was different to the wise men of ancient Israel and that they were much more concerned with the Law, both as a result of the Hellenising process and because their scribal activities were focused on the written Torah. We can assume that the teacher of LXX Proverbs was very much like the scribe of Ben Sirach, who was both scribe and teacher of the Law.

7.4 Wisdom and Law in LXX Proverbs

Not only is LXX Proverbs closely linked with the Wisdom of Sirach in this aspect. There is evidence that the identification between wisdom and law, which is so prevalent in Sirach and the later writings, is not absent from LXX Proverbs as formerly advocated by Gerleman. Thus my cursory analysis in Chapter 6 showed that even though the Greek translator was bound by a parent text, he consciously stated this identification more often and more explicitly in his translation than was the case with his parent text. This also strengthens the case for the fusion of the wise man and scribe in LXX Proverbs as a teacher of the Law.

7.5 LXX Proverbs 4:1-9

If the above is all accepted as true, our understanding of the Greek version of Proverbs must change. No longer can we accept that the Greek translator is ignorant of the Law. Consequently our interpretation of the Greek text must change, as I illustrated in my analysis of LXX Proverbs 4. In our use of the Greek text of Proverbs in textual criticism, either in amending the Masoretic text or in reconstructing a Hebrew *Vorlage*, we must admit that the Greek text of Proverbs does not necessarily reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage* than MT.

7.6 The historical context of Septuagint Proverbs

The translator of the Septuagint Proverbs placed a renewed emphasis on the Law of Moses. He used the idea of the covenant and the Torah to warn his people against the

foreign philosophies of Hellenism. He accomplished the above through the translation technique he employed, which must count as one of the most interpretative in the LXX as a whole. His emphasis on the Law and his warnings against Hellenism reflect on the historical context in which this translation was executed.

The translator's relationship with the Wisdom of Sirach on the theme of Wisdom and Torah indicates that the Septuagint Proverbs must be dated in the second century BCE. The process of Hellenisation was already making inroads into the established Jewish communities, but it seems as if the work was executed during or most probably after the Maccabean revolt in 168-165 BCE. The author, as a conservative Jew *and* highly proficient in the Greek language, could have executed his work either in Palestine or Alexandria.

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