

Die Septuaginta – Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen

Herausgegeben von
EBERHARD BONS,
MICHAELA GEIGER,
FRANK UEBERSCHAER,
MARCUS SIGISMUND
und MARTIN MEISER

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

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Herausgegeben von
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Vorwort

Veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D) unter der Tagungspräsidentschaft von Eberhard Bons fand vom 19. bis 22. Juli 2018 in Wuppertal die „7. Internationale Septuaginta-Konferenz“ statt. Sie stand unter dem Thema: „Die Septuaginta. Themen – Manuskripte – Wirkungen“. Bei der Vorbereitung der Tagung war es uns ein wichtiges Anliegen, den Kreis der Teilnehmenden zu erweitern. Neben Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus Mitteleuropa, Skandinavien und Großbritannien wurden zu dieser Tagung Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler aus den südeuropäischen Ländern, aus Russland, aus den Vereinigten Staaten, aus Kanada und aus Südafrika eingeladen. Das Spektrum der Themen ist aus diesem Grund noch einmal vielfältiger. Die im vorliegenden Band versammelten Beiträge greifen daher eine Fülle von verschiedenen Fragestellungen auf: Textkritik und Textgeschichte, Vokabular und Themen, Manuskripte und Überlieferungen, Wirkungen und Einflüsse, um nur die wichtigsten zu nennen. Eine „Precelebration („IOSCS at 50‘)“ mit einer Rede des Präsidenten, Prof. Dr. Robert J.V. Hiebert, und die Präsentation von Band 3 des „Handbuches zur Septuaginta. Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint“, hg. Eberhard Bons und Jan Joosten, Gütersloh 2018, rundeten das Programm ab.

Die Durchführung der Tagung und die Publikation dieses Bandes wurden ermöglicht durch vielfache finanzielle, ideelle und personelle Unterstützung. Die finanzielle Förderung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft erlaubte es uns, die vielen Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus dem Ausland einzuladen. Weitere Fördermittel kamen vor allem von der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel, der Sparkasse Wuppertal und der Bergischen Universität Wuppertal. All diesen Institutionen sei herzlich für ihre Bereitschaft gedankt, eine Tagung zu fördern, die einmal mehr Brücken zwischen Sprachen, Ländern und Forschungspositionen schlug. Besonders erwähnt sei auch wieder die fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit mit Prof. Dr. Stefan Freund von der Bergischen Universität Wuppertal, der die Verbindung zur Klassischen Philologie intensivierte.

Unser Dank geht auch an das Rektorat und die Verwaltung der Kirchlichen Hochschule sowie an das Tagungshaus und alle Mitarbeitenden, die zum Gelingen und zur guten Atmosphäre der Tagung beigetragen haben.

Ein letztes Mal wurde die Tagung von den drei Gründervätern von *Septuaginta Deutsch*, Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, Siegfried Kreuzer unter Beteiligung von Michaela Geiger mitveranstaltet. Den drei Gründervätern gilt der Dank, die Septuaginta und mit ihr die Frage nach der Textgrundlage für die gesamte alttestamentliche Wissenschaft in den Fokus gerückt zu haben. Die Impulse, die von ihrer Arbeit und den von ihnen verantworteten Tagungen für die Textwissenschaft ausgehen, haben Folgen für die gesamte weitere Exegese, betreffen sie doch nicht weniger als den Ausgangspunkt allen Theologietreibens. An ihre Stelle werden nun Michaela Geiger (Wuppertal), Frank Ueberschaer (Halle) und Martin Vahrenhorst (Saarbrücken) treten und die Verantwortung für die organisatorische und inhaltliche Fortführung und Weiterentwicklung der Tagungen übernehmen.

Das lebhafte Interesse und die Attraktivität der Tagungen in Wuppertal werden auch an der Zahl der Beiträge sichtbar. Deshalb mussten die Register auf das Allernotwendigste beschränkt werden.

Um die Arbeiten an den Bibliographien und den Registern haben sich Elena Belenkaja, Nora Hempel, Kerstin Kirsch und Franziska Offelotto verdient gemacht. Von Seiten des Verlages besorgten in gewohnter vorzüglicher Qualität Frau Müller die Programmleitung, Herr Stäbler das Lektorat, Frau König und Herr Spitzner die Herstellung. Ihnen allen gilt unser Dank für die bewährte und vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit.

Zuletzt sei aber allen Autorinnen und Autoren gedankt, die durch ihre Beiträge nicht nur die Forschung zur Septuaginta bereichern, sondern den Austausch über die Grenzen von Schulen, Forschungsrichtungen und religiösen Überzeugungen hinaus ermöglichen.

Strasbourg, Halle, Wuppertal und Saarbrücken im Juni 2020

*Eberhard Bons
Michaela Geiger
Frank Ueberschaer
Marcus Sigismund
Martin Meiser*

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Themen

Eberhard Bons

Septuagint Studies between Past and Future

State of the Art and New Perspectives*

Introduction

“I am not bold enough to specify the time when academical lectures and exercises upon the Septuagint will again be given in Germany. But the coming century is long, and the mechanical conception of science is but the humour of a day!”¹

This quotation dates from the last decade of the 19th century. It is taken from the *Bible Studies* of the German New Testament scholar Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) to whom we are indebted for important insights into the linguistic features of Septuagint Greek.² In the preface of his work, Deissmann expressed the hope that the Septuagint would be studied in Germany in the following century, i.e. the twentieth century. More than one century after Deissmann has written his preface, on the threshold of the third millennium, it is beyond any doubt that Deissmann’s expectations have been fulfilled. In fact, since the 1980s Septuagint studies are of increasing importance. Not only in the German speaking countries but also in the English language area, in France, Italy, Spain, Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world Septuagint studies are flourishing, going beyond the narrow confines of biblical exegesis and involving amongst others, classicists, papyrologists, and historians.

The aim of my paper is to provide some reflections on past and present studies on the Septuagint and to open perspectives for future research. In particular, I would like to raise the three following issues.

– In a first step, it is necessary to explain briefly why Septuagint studies over centuries only played a minor role in Western biblical studies. In

* I wish to express my sincere thanks to Richard Bautch, Austin TX, who corrected my English, and to my colleagues with whom I was able to discuss several aspects of this article, especially Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua (Milan), Jennifer M. Dines (Cambridge), and Christoph Kugelmeier (Saarbrücken).

¹ DEISSMANN, *Bible Studies*, XI. The original German text had already been published in 1895: *Bibelstudien*, IX.

² See e.g. PORTER, “History,” 20–21.

particular, we have to reckon with the fact that research has been strongly influenced by some decisive choices made in a distant past. In terms of epistemology, we should think of paradigms originating from Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early modern period which have impacted upon biblical studies and especially the importance attributed to the Septuagint. In other words, the renewed interest for Septuagint studies has to be explained against the background of an *histoire de la longue durée* (Fernand Braudel).

– In a second step, I will focus on current research on the Septuagint, its achievements, and its open questions. Apparently, recent scholarship on the Greek Bible did not start *ex nihilo* but was from the very outset embedded in the current debate of biblical exegesis, Jewish and early Christian studies, and Greek philology, to mention the most important ones. In particular, the following questions arise: As for biblical studies in the strict sense, to what extent is a deeper investigation of the Septuagint expected to fill gaps in our knowledge of the text of the Bible and its evolution in the last centuries B.C.E.? As for Jewish and early Christian studies, to what extent can the study of the Septuagint as a biblical source text add to a better understanding of specific features of later Jewish and Christian literature? Finally, as for Greek philology, to what extent can a thorough investigation both of the Septuagint and of contemporary non Jewish sources, e.g. papyri and inscriptions of the Hellenistic era, can contribute to a better explanation of hapaxlegomena, rare words, and technical terms, let alone theological vocabulary? If so, is it possible to draw some conclusions concerning the *milieu* where the Septuagint came into being and its target audience?

– In a third step, I will try to open some perspectives and define several tasks for future research on the Septuagint without, however, any claim to completeness. On the one hand, recent studies have opened some new and exciting fields of research that are still in an early stage. Therefore, it would be extremely useful to foster such approaches and, if necessary, to involve scholars of different academic disciplines. On the other hand, in-depth research on the Septuagint makes us aware of the evolution of the text of the Bible and its plurality. It is beyond any doubt that this issue has implications for both exegesis and theology that require further studies.

1. A Shift of Paradigms in the Appraisal of the Septuagint

The starting point of my reflections is the following question: Which arguments have contributed in the past to the fact that the Septuagint – at least in Western thought – has not received special attention either in Biblical

studies or in church practice? My aim is not to give a detailed overview of the history of Western scholarship of the Septuagint. Rather, I will highlight some important factors that have determined over centuries the reception of the Septuagint.³

a) A central position in the appraisal of the Septuagint is taken by Jerome, Bible translator and commentator who died in 420 C.E. Contrary to what is often assumed, he did not reject the Septuagint categorically⁴, but pleaded for the *hebraica veritas* for three main reasons:

– In the *Prologus in Pentateuco* that precedes his Latin translation of the Bible, Jerome distinguishes exactly between the *vates* and the *interpretes*: the first represents the seer who, by direct divine inspiration, puts into words the received message and announces the future. The latter, on the other hand, is the translator who, as it were, only relies on second hand information. Nevertheless, his solid grammatical and rhetorical skills allow him to translate the source text into another language.

– According to the Septuagint origin legend, the seventy translators arrived at a consistent Greek translation, although they worked separately from each other (Philo, *De vita Mosis*, II, 37). However, Jerome distrusts this tradition and claims that the seventy translators only have compared their texts instead of prophesying (*Prologus in Pentateuco: contulisse ... non prophetasse*)

– In his Letter 57, Jerome refers to numerous differences between the Greek and Hebrew Bible manuscripts available to him, including pluses and minuses in the Septuagint.⁵ This raises the problem of assessing these variants. As a rule, for Jerome, the decisive criterion is which text is original and which is translated. The answer is clear: The Septuagint is only a translation. Thus, in textual criticism of the Old Testament, the *hebraica veritas* is to be considered decisive.⁶

b) Jerome's influence on Western biblical interpretation turned out to influence decisions to be taken more than one millenium after his death. In fact, in the wake of his choices Humanist scholars like Giannozzo Manetti (1346–1459) and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536) argued for the prio-

³ For more details, see also BONS, "Die Septuaginta als biblischer Referenztext," 343–348.

⁴ See e.g. SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, "Hieronymus," 753.

⁵ See Jerome, *Epistula* 57.11 (CSEL 54, 522): *Longum est nunc evolvere quanta Septuaginta de suo addiderint, quanta dimiserint, que in exemplaribus ecclesiae obelis asteristicque distincta sunt.*

⁶ See Jerome, *Epistula* 106.2 (CSEL 55, 239): *Sicut autem in novo testamento, si quando recurrimus ad fontem Graeci sermonis [...], ita in veteri testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus veritatem, ut, quicquid de fonte proficiscitur, hoc quaeramus in rivulis.*

rity of sources, i.e. the Hebrew Bible, over the ancient translations.⁷ Following these options, the Reformed Churches advocated the importance of the *hebraica veritas* for teaching and preaching⁸ while the Roman Catholic Church went exactly in the opposite direction. At the Council of Trent in 1546, the Vulgate was declared the normative biblical text for scripture reading, sermon, research and teaching.⁹ It is not overstating it to say that these two decisions had a decisive impact on exegetical practice for five centuries. Admittedly, Western exegesis still considered the Septuagint as one of the most important textual sources of the Old Testament. However, in privileging either the Masoretic text or the Vulgate, the Septuagint was denied its own particular place in biblical scholarship. As a result, scholars were not used to considering the Septuagint as an autonomous text which, though translated from a Hebrew source, does undeniably have its own literary and theological features and which, for this reason, deserves detailed study in its own right. Roughly speaking, in Old Testament exegesis the role of the Septuagint was limited to textual criticism: Where the Masoretic text appeared enigmatic, untranslatable or even wrong, the Septuagint was expected to provide “spare parts” supposed to improve the biblical text. A look at numerous modern commentaries and translations of the Old Testament shows how often the biblical text got corrected according to the Septuagint. As for New Testament exegesis, a deeper knowledge of the Septuagint proved to be important when dealing with quotations or concepts taken from the Greek Bible, e.g. for christological or ecclesiological purposes.

c) In recent decades, the function of the Septuagint in biblical research has changed. To be sure, a detailed study of this long neglected Bible text is still necessary for Old Testament textual criticism. But above all, three considerations have helped to place the Septuagint at the centre of biblical research.

– The Septuagint writings translated from a Hebrew source text have many literary and theological peculiarities more or less neglected in the past. Moreover, as an ancient translation, the Septuagint is not only a witness of the textual history of the biblical text, but also provides insight

⁷ See MANETTI, *Apologeticus*, V, 66: *Totum enim Vetus, ut dicitur, Testamentum a Septuaginta interpretibus in grecum eloquium conversum, partim addita-mentis, partim omissionibus, partim denique alienis interpretationibus ita referctum reperitur, ut horum omnium cumulus, si simul congeretur ita ut uno aspectu aspici viderique posset, profecto talium discrepantiarum numerus pene incredibis et quasi infinitus putaretur.* For Erasmus of Rotterdam, see e.g. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, *In Novum Testamentum praefationes*, 98.

⁸ For details see e.g. HOBBS, “Pluriformity,” *passim*.

⁹ DS 1506: *haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus praedicationibus et expositi-onibus pro authentica habeatur.*

into the world of the Hellenistic Jewish communities in Egypt, where it originated. On the one hand, the social, political and literary environment has left its clear traces in the texts of the Septuagint, and on the other hand, conspicuous theological deviations from the Hebrew Bible might betray corresponding discussions in the Greek-speaking Jewish communities. In this respect, a thorough study of the Septuagint reveals new insights into the relationship of these communities to Hebrew or Aramaic-speaking Judaism, on the one hand, and to their Egyptian-Hellenistic environment, on the other.

– The Septuagint is a central biblical source text – in many cases the only one – not only for the various authors of the New Testament, but also for the mostly anonymous authors of the so-called “inter-testamental literature”, furthermore for Philo of Alexandria and Josephus. The same applies to the many Greek speaking Fathers of the Church who had no access to the Hebrew Bible or did not even speak or understand Hebrew. Numerous terminological and content-related details of these extensive literatures are only understandable if it is taken into account that they are based on the Greek Bible text and its explicit or implicit statements.

– In the last decades, text-critical and text-historical research into the Old Testament has led to some new insights. These can help to at least partially revise the widespread view that the Septuagint is characterized by numerous errors, additions and omissions as already claimed by Jerome in his Letter 57. To begin with, the discovery of biblical and parabiblical texts in the Judaean Desert has significantly influenced the studies of Old Testament text criticism and text history, especially in the field of those books in which the Septuagint differs considerably from the Masoretic text. The comparison of Qumran manuscripts and Septuagint texts has in some cases led to the result that the Septuagint conveys a certain text form whose quantitative differences vis-à-vis the Masoretic text, e.g. in the case of the book of Jeremiah, cannot be attributed to the translators themselves. Rather, the differences suggest a Hebrew *Vorlage* that was not necessarily identical to the later Masoretic text. It can therefore be concluded that the Septuagint is rather the indirect witness of a plurality of text forms of the Bible text in the Hellenistic-Roman epoch and thus a document of its complex textual history. Finally, the intensive analysis of the translation technique underlying the various Septuagint books led to a new assessment of the Septuagint variants.¹⁰ In the past, scholars used to correct the Masoretic text in the light of the Septuagint, if it appeared to be incomprehensible, enigmatic or even incorrect. However, there are limits to such a procedure. The variants of the Septuagint are only suitable for correcting the Masoretic text if it can be excluded with great certainty that

¹⁰ See e.g. TOV, *The Text-Critical Use*, 18–20.

they cannot be attributed to the translators, i.e. to their interest in giving the text a different profile in the target language Greek.

To conclude, in recent decades – especially since the discovery of the biblical Qumran fragments – there has been a growing focus on the Septuagint. On the one hand, the Greek Bible text is of interest as a source text which had a decisive influence on the Jewish literature of the Hellenistic-Roman period, later also on the New Testament and Christian literature in Greek. On the other hand, the Septuagint is seen more than ever as an autonomous, albeit long neglected document of biblical textual history that requires thorough analysis and commentary.

2. Current Research on the Septuagint: Achievements and Open Questions

The recent renewal of Septuagint studies is closely connected with the various translation initiatives of the last decades. Since the 1980s, several new initiatives in editing translations of the Septuagint have been launched in European countries as well as in the United States: the French “*La Bible d’Alexandrie*” (BA), the English “*New English Translation of the Septuagint*” (NETS), the German “*Septuaginta Deutsch*” (LXX.D), the Spanish “*La Biblia griega – Septuaginta*”, and the Italian “*La Bibbia dei Settanta*”. Four of these translations are complete (NETS, LXX.D, “*La Biblia griega – Septuaginta*”, and “*La Bibbia dei Settanta*”). Needless to say, these translations differ in terms of approaches and objectives. A major distinctive feature is the point of view taken by the modern translators and commentators. Using the categories introduced by the French scholar Marguerite Harl, two fundamental points of view can be distinguished: an “upstream approach” (“*amont*” in French) and a “downstream approach” (“*aval*” in French).¹¹ The first places emphasis on the underlying Hebrew text and the manner in which it was rendered into Greek by the original translator(s). By contrast, the second focusses on the reception of the Septuagint, both in Jewish and in Christian literature, including rabbinic texts and patristic writings. It goes without saying that both approaches – “upstream” and “downstream” – are not mutually exclusive. Rather, having been personally involved in “*Bible d’Alexandrie*” and “*Septuaginta Deutsch*” and having followed the scholarly debate since the 1990s, it seems to me that the Septuagint requires a multifaceted approach. Let me illustrate this by some key questions followed each by an example:

¹¹ See HARL, “*Traduire la Septante*,” 32–33.

a) From the point of view of textual criticism one question appears to be crucial: Does the Septuagint text offer a variant compared with the MT or the Hebrew textual witnesses from the Judaean Desert, e.g. a plus or a minus or a very different verbal form? If so, does this variant give access to a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the extant Hebrew sources? In order to explain such a phenomenon a wide range of scenarios can be taken into account, e.g. confusion of similar letters or confusion of homonyms. In Amos 3:7, e.g., God is said to reveal his secret (יְסוֹדֵי) to his servants, the prophets. The Septuagint diverges from this text insofar as the Greek text reads that God reveals his education or instruction (παιδείαν αὐτοῦ) to the prophets. How to explain this variant of the Septuagint? Obviously, the translator did not render the noun יְסוֹד but probably a noun to be derived from the verbal root יָסַר “to chastise, to discipline”. The manuscripts from the Judaean Desert do not provide material suitable to confirm or to rule out the lesson יְסוֹדֵי. Only some centuries later the Christian translator and commentator Jerome quotes both texts in Latin translation, *segretum* and *eruditio* respectively (CCL 76, 245). This implies that Jerome had at his disposal a Hebrew text that probably read יְסוֹדֵי. Therefore, we might cautiously conclude that the Hebrew lesson יְסוֹדֵי is attested in documents previous to the MT. – In the past, scholars have made numerous attempts to explain such kind of variants putting forward more or less plausible hypotheses. Nevertheless, the ongoing debate on textual criticism and textual history of the Bible as well as the decipherment of Qumran manuscripts require further investigations that place Septuagint variants in a wider context of textual history, ancient exegesis and philology. To return to the quoted example of Amos 3:7, the crucial question is not first and foremost the problem of the biblical *Urtext* – probably the MT offers an older lesson than the Septuagint – but the question as to whether the idea of divine *παιδεία* plays a role in an early stage of the reception of biblical texts. Obviously, in the book of Hosea, translated probably by the same translator or group of translators as the book of Amos, this idea is more predominant, God being presented as the educator (παιδευτής) of his people, a divine epitheton that is extremely rare in the biblical and parabiblical writings.¹²

b) From the point of view of textual criticism the presence of variants in the Septuagint has led to another question: Is an alleged variant due to a *Vorlage* different from the MT or other Hebrew textual witnesses and, if not, does it reveal a literary, exegetical or theological preference of the translator? On the assumption that similar phenomena can be found

¹² For more information, see BONS, “‘Je suis votre éducateur’ (Os 5,2 LXX), 191–206. For the idea of “divine education” and its differences between the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, see POUCHELLE, *Dieu éducateur*, passim.

throughout a book of the Septuagint it is highly likely that such variants betray the influence of the translator. In the past, numerous elements of a specific translation technique have been described which can diverge from book to book. As for the Septuagint Psalter, e.g., various Hebrew verbs denoting embarrassment, perplexity, and confusion are rendered by the Greek verbs *παράσσω* (e.g. Ps 6:3) and its compound *συνταράσσω* (e.g. Ps 17[18]:5) which are certainly favorite verbs of the translators.¹³ Moreover, when the nouns of the semantic field of “rock” or “fortress”, e.g. *צור* and *מצודה*, are used to speak of God, the Septuagint Psalter does not translate them literally but employs other terminology, e.g. *ἀντιλήμπτωρ* “protector” and *βοηθός* “helper” (e.g. Ps 17:3^{LXX}), i.e. terms that occur especially in contemporary petitions preserved in papyri.¹⁴ However, if the Hebrew nouns mentioned are not used metaphorically but refer to a real rock or stone the translator opts for nouns like *πέτρα*, e.g. in Ps 26:5; 60:3; 77:15; 20^{LXX}. Regardless of whether these and other translations are influenced by literary or theological concerns, they offer a glimpse into the world of the translators, in particular their literary skill and their theological background. In fact, the question arises of whether a phrase like “the Lord is my rock and my fortress” was not more understandable in a Hellenistic-Jewish community located in Alexandria in Egypt and, if so, why. Admittedly, in the last three decades thorough comparisons between the MT and the Septuagint have yielded significant results, at least as far as rather literally translated books are concerned, e.g. the Psalter. New results could be expected by comparing the translation techniques of different books, e.g. those translated in an earlier stage (namely the Pentateuch) and those translated in a later stage (namely the Psalter and the former and latter prophets). This approach proves to be promising when theological issues in a wider sense are at stake. In Hezekiah’s prayer according to the Hebrew text of Isa 37:19, for example, the Judean king states that the Assyrian kings have cast the gods of the conquered nations into the fire, and he explains that they were no gods but the work of human hands. The Septuagint differentiates: The “gods” thrown into the fire are only “their idols” (*τὰ εἰδωλα αὐτῶν*). By contrast, in the parallel text in 4 Kgdms 19:18 the translator opts for the literal translation *τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν* “their gods”. This difference is perhaps an indication of an underlying debate concerning “theologically correct language”. Is a “god” fashioned by human hands and carved in wood and stone a *θεός* in the full sense of the word? Probably not, as the rendering *εἰδωλον* suggests. Once more, the biblical scholar would get stuck halfway if the context of the Greek book of Isaiah would

¹³ See BARR, *Comparative Philology*, 252; SPICQ, *Lexique théologique*, 1514–1515.

¹⁴ For a thorough investigation of this topic see PASSONI DELL’ACQUA, “La metafora biblica di Dio,” 417–53. For the divine title *βοηθός* see BONS, “The Noun *βοηθός*,” 53–66.

Stellenregister

1. Septuaginta		7,11	784, 787f., 790, 794f.
Die Reihenfolge der Bücher wie die Stellenangaben richten sich nach der Septuaginta		8,1–6 8,10 8,12f. 8,14 8,21	785, 788–795 786 786f., 794 786–788, 794f. 401
<i>Genesis</i>		8,21	401
1	409	9,5	64
1,1–3	865	9,6	407
1,2	638	9,21–22	180
1,3	633	9,22–23	177
1,16	865	10,11	98
1,22	636	11,3	497
1,25	633, 637	11,5	634
1,26	407	12,3	829
1,27	495, 497	12,8	60
2,4	634	13,11–13	800
2,6	734	13,15	279
2,8f.	774	14,1–11	799
2,8	322	14,11–16	799–807, 810
2,9	256	14,14	75
2,15–17	774	14,17	810
2,18–24	774	14,18–19	370, 806
2,17	636	14,20	804
2,19	596, 634	14,21	805f.
2,24	495–498	15,17	294
2,25	866	16,7–14	331, 334
3,1–8	774f.	17,6	308
3,18	865	17,10	821
3,24	774f.	17,16	308
4,1–16	291, 297	17,23.26	67f., 75
4,6–7	298	18–19	747, 810
4,8	291–299	18,1–2	807f.
4,11	296, 636	18,4	255
5	780f.	18,10–12	808
5,2	495	18,16–19	800
6,4	72	19,11	102, 118
7,4	784, 790	19,9	800, 810

19,20	635, 638	12,19	321, 168
19,29	801, 810	12,20	321
20,14	29	12,40	320f.
21,6–7	808f.	13,3	304
22,5	294	13,17	317, 330
22,8	260	14,19	329, 331, 344, 346
23,6	308	15,4–15	316
24,2	260	15,9	323
24,9	825	15,13,16–18	315–318, 320–325
24,16f.	824, 829	15,26	118
26,11	167	19,3	323
26,31	497	19,5–6	323
27,3,5	294	19,6	268, 325
27,30	70	19,16	323
28	747	19,20	323
28,13	635, 639	19,23	323
28,14	638	22,2	167
28,17	634	22,27	309
30,8	65	23,20	320f., 323
31,4	294	23,22	391
31,11	638	25,7 [8 ^{MT}]	322
31,39	63	26,29	317
32	747	29,26–27	130
32,28	640	29,31–32	123f.
33,10	69	29,35–37	125
35,11	308	32,34	317, 330
36,31	308	33,2	330, 342
38,29	70	34,6	144, 410
41,1–4	840	34,24	323
41,5	840	34,34	131
41,7	840	35,3	320f.
41,46	294	38,24	319
43,28	29	40,9	319
45,19	131		
49,10f.	634, 640	<i>Leviticus</i>	
49,20	302–304, 307f.	4,27	171
50,25	29	5,11–13	689
		6,17–23	127
<i>Exodus</i>		7,32–36	130
2,24f.	83	7,32–33	130
3	747	8,29	130
3,1	323	8,31	123, 125, 127–129
3,2	329, 343, 346	8,33–34	125
4,11	455	8,35	124f., 127–129
4,24	318, 343	9,5	122, 129
5,15f.	267	9,7	172
6,6	304	9,20	130
7,23	413	9,21	122, 129f.
9,21	413	10,3	173
12,2	786	10,9–11	126

10,12	126	24,17	666
10,13	126, 128f.	26–27	518
10,14–15	130	26,27[33]	518
10,15	126	26,30	518f.
10,18	127–129	27,1	518, 520
11,6	302f.	35,31	167
16,22	695	36	518
16,29	168	36,2	131
18,6–20	306	36,11	518
18,6	174, 179		
18,9	175	<i>Deuteronomium</i>	
18,11	176	1,1	705
18,14	177	1,44	193
18,17	175, 180	2,32	193
18,20	183	3,1	193
18,21	302, 306f.	4,10	189
18,22–23	306	4,12	189
18,23	184	4,15	189
18,26	168–170	4,33	189
19,3	497	4,36	189
19,14	455, 465	4,45	24f.
19,16	174	5,1	705
19,31	183	5,4	189
19,34	169	5,15	267
20	167	5,22	189
20,1–5	307	5,24	189
20,2–5	302	5,26	189
20,2	171	6,4f.	24f.
20,4	171f.	6,21	267
20,5	307	9	190
20,16	184	9,10	189
20,17	174	10,4	189
20,20	178	10,16	823
21,1	173	12,5	339
21,14	173	14,7	302f.
21,17–23	452f.	16,3	193
24,16	195, 339	17	3303, 306, 310,
24,22	168–170		312
25,14	497	17,7	306
25,44ff.	262	17,14–20	309
25,44	263, 269	17,14–15	302f., 305, 312
26,5	143	18,10	230
26,13	264	18,16	189
26,16	143	19,14	193
		20,19	193
<i>Numeri</i>		22,25–27	295
3,16	131	23,2	453
6,2	239	27–33	132
20,16	330, 345	27,1–11	132
23,21	303f., 307	27,11	132

28,10	304	1,24	145
28,22	225	1,27	531–534
28,36	302, 305, 307	1,34	554
29,6	193	2,1–5	330, 332, 345f.
31,10	132	2,1	554
31,11	196	3,12–30	832, 834–836
31,14	193	3,15	847
31,25	132	3,17	557
32	194, 196	5,7	554
32,3	195	5,16	548
32,4	190	5,19	534
32,8	195	6,11–24	331, 333
32,15	188, 195	8,35	145
32,36	264		
32,37	195, 197	<i>1. Königtümer [1. Samuel]</i>	
33,4	132	4,13	487
33,5	302f., 305	9,6	208
		15,6	145
<i>Josua</i>		28,7	533
1,7	526		
1,23	526	<i>2. Königtümer [2. Samuel]</i>	
2,12	145	1–9	571
5,2–3	748	3,39	566
5,12	537f.	5,8	453
11,2	533, 535	5,24	479
12	533	10–24	565, 571
12,21	533f.	11,8f.	569
12,23	533, 535	12,11	158
15,47	487	12,31	482
16,8	528f.	13,37	486
17,1–2	515, 518f., 538	19,38	460
17,3	518, 520f.	20,2	567
17,5–11	522	21,10	596
17,7–13	515, 518, 531	22,15	475
17,7	515, 522–528, 530	24,2	565
17,12–18	531	24,3	566
19,10–39	518f.	24,16	567
20,7	520		
21,21	520	<i>3. Königtümer [1. Könige]</i>	
21,25	534	4,11	533, 535
22,7	484	4,12	532, 534
24,1	516, 526	5,3	840
24,25	516, 526, 530	8,15	534
24,32	520	8,50	145
		11,34	309
<i>Richter</i>		22,19ff.	220
1,1	547, 549	22,22	226, 229
1,11	554	22,28	227
1,16	553	23,24	526
1,19	557		

<i>4. Königtümer [2. Könige]</i>		<i>Judith</i>	
3,24	481	4,13	83
5,12	483	8,8	84
6,18	118	8,31	87
7,6	318	11,6	81
7,10	322	11,9–17	85f.
9,27	533f.	15,10	88
9,22	107	16,7	88
14,9	596	16,22	87
14,25	220		
15,10	533	<i>Tobit</i>	
15,32–34	249	1	97–99
16,5	355f., 358	1,7	268
16,6	485	1,14	104
19,8f.	357f.	1,15	98
19,35	392	1,21f.	99
22,5	476	2	117
23,13	526	2,10	100f.
23,23	484	3	102
23,30	534	3,17	103–105
25,4	139	4	104, 114
25,8f.	150	4,21	106
		5	105
<i>1. Paralipomena [1. Chronik]</i>		5,3	104, 111
6,70	533	5,14	116
7,29	532–534	5,17	105f.
17,16	278f.	5,21	106
28,12	319	6	101, 106, 110, 117
		6,1	105
<i>2. Paralipomena [2. Chronik]</i>		6,4f.7	107
18,22	226	7	109
33,16	480	7,13	97
		8	109, 117
<i>1. Esdras</i>		8,3	110
5,1	666	8,20	110
5,58[3,11]	208	9	111
		9,2,5	104
<i>Esther</i>		10	111
1,15	380	11	101, 110, 112, 117
1,22	139	11,2	101
4,8	383	11,4	105, 112
4,10	379	11,8	107, 112
4,11	379	11,11	101, 107, 112
4,13–16	84	11,12	101
5,1	141f.	11,19	99
5,3	381	12	113
6,10	268	12,15.20	113
8,7	383	13–14	114
9,26	139	14,10f.	99

<i>1. Makkabäer</i>		17[18],3	196f.
1,6	260	17[18],5+6	413
1,62f.	911	17[18],9	413
2,11	264	17[18],28	405
3,45	319	17[18],36	416
		17[18],45	580
<i>2. Makkabäer</i>		17[18],47	196
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2,17	160	21[22],1	197
3,21	141f.	21[22],3	412
4,30–38	43, 45	21[22],30	411
7,1–38	912	21[22],16	411
8,1	911	21[22],22	416, 864
8,19	392	22[23],1	405
10,20	911	22,2f.[23,3f.]	15, 319
10,26	391	24[25],9	416
10,29f.	388–391	24[25],18	416
14,17	911	25[26],7	584
15,22f.	392	26[27],12	408
15,36	378	27[28],7	412
		29[30],10	414
<i>3. Makkabäer</i>		30[31],7	415
4,16	461	30[31],8	416
		33[34],3	416
<i>4. Makkabäer</i>		33[34],19	405, 416
1,1	913	34[35],6	144
6,29	690	34[35],25	408
17,21f.	690	35[36],2	413
		36[37],11	416
<i>Psalmen</i>		37[38],4	412
2,7	770	37[38],14f.	458
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4,3	413	38[39],2	404, 407
5,10	413, 415	38[39],3	404f.
6,3	412	38[39],4f.	405
7,3	599	38[39],6	405–407, 415
7,6	411	38[39],7	406–408, 579f.
7,10	599	38[39],8f.	406f.
7,16	414	38[39],12	407f.
8	411	38[39],14	408
8,4	401	39[40],5	415
8,6	412	39[40],7	580
9,2	584	45[46],3	409
10[11],1	100	47[48],9	278
10[11],5	414	47[48],10	580
11[12],3	415	49[50]	587–600
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15[16],6	413	49[50],7	594
15[16],7	412	49[50],10	595
15[16],9	413, 763f.	49[50],16	412

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54[55],22	413	118[119]	405
55[56],9	415	118[119],66	416
57[58],10	582	123,7	100
59[60],13	415	129,6[130,7]	416
61[62],10	415	131[132],11	746
64[65],2	584	132[133 ^{MT}],3	277
67[68],2	864	134[135 ^{MT}],21	709
68[69],3	415	137[138],1	412
68[69],21	412	138[139],15	415
71[72],14	416	140,3	859
72[73],6	414	140[141],5	416
72[73],20	407	142,3	862
74[75],3	583f.	143,6	864
75[76],10	416	144[145],5	584
77[78],52–53	319	145[146],3	416
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79[80],3	864		
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83[84],4	100	9,55	277
84[85],7	411		
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87[88],10	582	1,29	253
88[89],13	526	2,5	253
88[89],27	197	2.16f.	671
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89[90],2–3	410f.	9,2	863
89[90],10	416	9,10	254
90[91],14	416	15,33	253
93[94],9	583	19,6	268
93[94],13	414	21,29	482
93[94],19	413	25,14	731
95[96],10	743	29,26	268
96[97],7	412		
97[98],4	583	<i>Kohelet</i>	
101[102],7	859	1,8	606
101[102],8	100	1,14	107
104[105],2	584	2,2	606
104[105],11	596	2,7.10	605
104[105],22	416	2,15	607
105[106],31	276	3,18	606
108[109],29	859	3,21	606f.
110[111],10	253	4,1.8f.	606
113,16[115,8]	416	5,11	605

6,4	606	3,7.11.17	205
7,7.12	606	3,23	507
7,15	608	3,24	280
7,17	605	6,16	107
7,28	606	6,24	511
8,9	606	6,31.34	511
10,11	606	7,11.18	511
10,12	607	7,24.26	511
10,20	606	8,7	288
11,9	608	9,7.9	614
12,1	608	12,6	278
12,4	100	13,13	612
12,5	606	15,14	613
		16,10	614
		16,28	279
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4,13–14	442	24,3	733f.
7,1–5	509	25,1f.	278
7,14	443	31,25	280
8,9–13	509	33,16–18	214
		37,1	274
<i>Hiob</i>		38,4	107
6,26	225	40,12	280
7,9	734	42,15–43,33	206
14,2	863	42,15	206
16,3	225	43,27.32	206
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