

MARTIN MEISER

The Septuagint and Its Reception

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

482

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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Martin Meiser

The Septuagint and Its Reception

Collected Essays

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-154917-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-161758-4

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-161758-4

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

It is a great honor for me to publish this volume in the well-known series *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, and I would like to give a warm thanks to Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey, Zürich, and Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Tübingen, for their generous invitation and continued patience.

Research on the Septuagint has enriched my life for the past 25 years, and I thank Wolfgang Kraus for introducing me to this work with his characteristic enthusiasm. With gratitude I remember the conferences in Wuppertal and other places, and I am thankful for all the fruitful discussions, all the collegiality, and all the friendships that grew out of these conferences.

From the beginning I was fascinated by the variety of possible questions in Septuagint research and by its interdisciplinary character.

I have focused my own work on the interpretation of the Septuagint within the framework of the multi-faceted ancient Judaism and on the perception of the history of its reception and impact. From the 4th century BCE onward, a scribal milieu developed in ancient Judaism that reformulates topics of Halakah and history by harmonizing authoritative pretexts according to a distinct way of Torah orientation. The Septuagint is both witness and participant in these processes, sometimes indicator but sometimes author of textual alterations. Within the Greek textual tradition, the different styles of translation reveal a different hermeneutical approach on how to be faithful to Jewish identity. A literal character of a translation does not preclude efforts to develop a theology that emphasizes the transcendence of God and avoids inappropriate statements.

The other focus results from my other fields of research in the New Testament and patristic exegesis. With regard to textual history, we learned to realize the diversity of the Greek Old Testament textual tradition. New Testament authors are less initiators than witnesses of certain developments. With regard to hermeneutics, we observe partial changes: texts are applied for own legitimization, interpreted, and unfortunately also misused in detestable anti-Jewish polemics.

I am truly grateful for all the people who helped me improve my English, and I would like to name them in alphabetical order: Mark Glenn Bilby, Phillip Davis, James Andrew Doole, Michael Gisinger, William Ed-

ward Glenny, Robert J.V. Hiebert, Isabel Kreimes, Kelly Kucaba, William Loader, Josef Lössl, Margaret Mitchell, Katharine Perry, Jenny Pulido, William A. Ross, Alison Salvesen, Mark A. Seifrid. Remaining mistakes, mostly introduced after receiving the manuscripts, are of course mine. Thanks also to Elena Belenkaja, Nora Hempel and Kerstin Kirsch for preparing the bibliographies and the indices.

I thank Elena Müller and Tobias Stäbler from the publishing house for all their support, and I thank Ilse König, Matthias Spitzner and Jana Trispel for their helpful remarks on preparing this manuscript.

Saarbrücken, September 2021

Martin Meiser

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The Septuagint and Its Interpretation

Annotations on Theology in Ancient Scholarship on Homer and the Concept of God in the Septuagint

The relationship between the Septuagint and Greek philosophy is one of the major issues in Martin Karrer's research.¹ In detailed studies², he has developed a well-differentiated portrait: The Septuagint translators were by no means philosophers; they created, however, a terminology capable of formulating Jewish traditions in a Greek fashion and of enabling Jews to develop their apologetics and to carry on debate. Due to the concept of God's personality and the uniqueness of the Torah, the translators did not feel free to an embracement to Greek philosophy more closely.

This contribution dedicated to him focuses only indirectly on philosophy, but more specifically on ancient philology in the writings of Homer. First, I will give a short overview of history. Zoilus of Amphipolis – his work is lost – seems to have discussed inconsistencies of plot within the Homeric poems. Zenodot of Ephesus (325–260) became chief librarian at the *Μουσείον* in Alexandria in 285/84. He was probably the first to use the obelus as a critical sign. We do not know, however, whether he made a new edition of Homer's poems or integrated the results of his comparisons of earlier editions into an already existing version. He rejected (the common term is *ἄθετέω*) some passages which were inconsistent with other passages within Homer; he did not delete them, however, but characterized them as inauthentic. Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 265–190 or ca. 257–180) was more cautious in such evaluations. He re-integrated many passages rejected by Zenodot but rejected passages due to poor style. Further, he used the asterisk for marking verses that were repeated in the poems. His work on colometry was important also for subsequent centuries. The research of his pupil, Aristarchus of Samothrace (216–144), focused on language and customs, mirrored in Homer's poems. He distinguished "the Homeric" (*τὸ ὁμηρικόν*) from characteristics typical of Hesiod and of later poets. His edition became the standard edition in ancient times. Didymus (1st century BCE) intended to put Aristarchus's exegetical decisions on firmer ground. Aristonicus of Alexandria (living during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius) dealt with the critical signs employed by Aristarchus.

¹ He demonstrated this already in his Habilitation thesis; cf. KARRER, *Der Gesalbte*.

² KARRER, "Septuaginta und Philosophie;" ID., "Die Septuaginta und die griechische Philosophie."

Nicanor (flourishing during the reign of Hadrian) dealt with punctuation. His system, however, did not become successful. The research of Herodian (flourishing during the reign of Marcus Aurelius) is dedicated to the language of Homer. He formulated rules of pronunciation and for the employment of diacritic signs. The commentaries of Didymus, Aristonicus, Nicanor and Herodian are combined in the so-called four-man commentary, transmitted in Codes Venetus Graec. 822 (located in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice), dated to the tenth century. Other sources are the *scholium exegeticum*, including comments by Porphyry and Heraclitus, and the *scholia D*, named erroneously for Didymus, going back to 4th and 5th century CE.³

A comparison between Alexandrian scholarship on Homer and scholarship on Septuagint⁴ must be justified. It is one thing to write a commentary on an important but not sacred text; it is another to translate a sacred text. We cannot prove direct contacts between the Greek philologists and the Jewish translators in Alexandria.⁵ Issues regarding Homeric scholarship are diverse: language⁶ and style⁷, etymology⁸ and grammar⁹, explanation of words¹⁰ and characterization of persons¹¹ and coherence of text¹²

³ Cf. Erbse (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, Vol. 1–5 (1969–1977).

⁴ Cf. TROXEL, *LXX-Isaiah*, 290; SCHENKER, “What Do Scribes,” 292.

⁵ SIEGERT, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 32.

⁶ The term ψηφίδες is regarded as un-Homeric and Attic (*scholium exegeticum*, on *Il.* 21:260, Erbse 5:185). Concerning *Il.* 24:423 (ἐπεὶ σφι [φίλος]) this is said: οὐχ’ Ὀμηρικῶς κείται ἢ ἀντωνυμία (*scholium exegeticum*, Erbse 5:592). Sometimes even the comparative Ὀμηρικώτερον is used (on *Il.* 24:20, Erbse 5:519).

⁷ Cf. the characterizing evaluations “tawdry” (εὐτελής; Aristonicus, on *Il.* 24:6–9, Erbse 5:512) and ridiculous (γέλιον; Aristonicus, on *Il.* 24:35–40, Erbse 5:521).

⁸ Concerning *Il.* 20:72 (σῶκος) the following is said in the *scholium exegeticum*: ὡς παρὰ τὸ θάσσω θάκος, σᾶω σάκος, οὕτω σῶζω σῶκος (Erbse 5:17).

⁹ According to Nicanor, the words ὑπαὶ δέλουσ (*Il.* 15:4) can be combined with both the preceding and the following contexts (Erbse 4:3).

¹⁰ Concerning “Dardanos” (*Il.* 20:215; Erbse 5:35), the *scholium exegeticum* gives the following explanation: He is the son of Electra and Zeus, and he is dwelling in Samothrace. The term “Samothrace” is also a subject of explanation. According to Aristonicus (on *Il.* 24:78; Erbse 5:534), “Samothrace” of today is named Samos in Homer; Aristonicus discusses the difference in topographic designation. The command not to eat an animal’s heart is compared with a Pythagorean command (*scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 24:129; Erbse 5:542).

¹¹ *Il.* 9,651 (Ἐκτορα δῖον) is commented upon: οὐχ’ Ὀμηρικὸν τὸ ἐπίθετον ἀλλ’ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς (Erbse 2:535). Aristonicus rejects *Il.* 15:265–268 (these verses are appropriate with respect to Alexander but not to Hector) and *Il.* 15:449–451 (these verses are appropriate with respect to Hippotoos; cf. Erbse 4:69.103). In the *scholium exegeticum*, *Il.* 20:180–186 is rejected as inconvenient to Achilles (Erbse 5:31).

¹² Aristonicus rejects *Il.* 20:205–209 (Erbse 5:33): these verses are not necessary. Further, he rejects *Il.* 24:476 (Erbse 5:599) for including a wrong statement: The tables are not removed. The phrasing of this verse do not fit the heroic meter. Andronicus, Didymus

are the main topics. Sometimes variant readings stand side-by-side.¹³ Many passages are rejected due to inelegance of poetical style¹⁴ or contradictions within Homer¹⁵ or the lack of verisimilitude¹⁶ or assumptions within the narrated world.¹⁷ Theological issues are seldom the subject of philological remarks. On the other hand, the translators of the Septuagint also are not one-sidedly motivated by theological interests.¹⁸ In some cases, we also have to note parallels in the Targumim. Scribal activities well-known from Palestinian Judaism since the fourth century are continuing independently of the use of Greek and Jewish or Aramaic language.

In this study, I will ask whether the translators of the Septuagint are motivated by presuppositions similar to those found in Greek philology. At least Jerome is well aware of Aristarchus's dealing with Homeric texts.¹⁹ But in general, most Christian exegetes were well-educated in Greek rhetoric and philology, and they used ancient Greek philological terminology such as *καταχρηστικῶς*²⁰ or *ἄρμολύζειν*²¹ or *λύειν τὸ ὑφορμοῦν*²², or they referred to issues of form criticism.²³

1. Theological Comments in Greek Philology on Homer

First, we have to refer to traditional well-known Greek concepts concerning deities.

and Nicanor reject *Il.* 24:71–73 (Erbse 5:532): οὐ γὰρ διὰ παντὸς συνδιατρίβει αὐτῶ ἡ Θέτις.

¹³ In *Il.* 21:246, Aristarchus reads *ἐκ δίνης*, other read *ἐκ λίμνης* (Erbse 5:179).

¹⁴ *Il.* 15:212–217 (Aristonicus; Erbse 4:58); *Il.* 22:199–201 (Aristonicus; Erbse 5:309).

¹⁵ Aristonicus rejects *Il.* 20:125–128 due to its contradiction to *Il.* 20:26f., 30 (Erbse 5:24).

¹⁶ Aristonicus rejects *Il.* 10:409–411 on the basis of two arguments: 1. It is ridiculous to ask whether remaining or returning to the city is the best to do. 2. Dolon's response answers the speech of Odysseus in general but not the statement in *Il.* 10:409–411 (Erbse 3:88). According to the *scholium exegeticum*, *Il.* 24:594–595 is to be rejected: The poet should have referred to the command of Zeus (Erbse 5:617).

¹⁷ Aristonicus rejects *Il.* 11:78–83: Not all deities rebuke Zeus but only those who align themselves with the Greeks (Erbse 3:139).

¹⁸ Cf. SOLAMO, "Significance of Septuagint Studies," 506.

¹⁹ Jerome, *Ep.* 57.12, CSEL 54:525.

²⁰ John Chrysostom, *Comm. Gal.*, PG 61:662; Ammonius of Alexandria, *Act.*, PG 85:1529c. Philo of Alexandria, however, uses the term *κατάχρησις* (*Somn.* 1:229, LCL 275:418 etc.).

²¹ Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Gal.*, PG 82:473b.

²² Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Gal.*, PG 82:481a.

²³ Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Gal.*, PG 82:461a names Gal 1:1–5 a *prooemium*.

Deities are envious²⁴ and biased;²⁵ they are subject to *εἰμαρμένη*,²⁶ and they are not vituperated for activating their sexuality.²⁷ Anthropomorphisms are not rebuked.²⁸ Despite this, a positive relation to the deities is characteristic for piety (see below). The issue of piety, however, is part of the process of constructing identities: The Greeks consider themselves to be pious whereas they regard the inhabitants of Troy to be impious.²⁹ The comments to be studied here, however, are more far-reaching.

1.1. Explanations of Phrasings

Homer uses the formula “father of deities and human beings” (*Il.* 1: 544) only of Zeus, but why? The answer to that question is that it is Zeus, who is father of both divine and human beings.³⁰ In *Il.* 9:158, Hades is characterized as *ἀμείχιλος ἦδ’ ἀδάμαστος* (“unyielding and implacable”). The author of the *scholium exegeticum* asks why other deities are regarded to be compliant whereas Hades is named *ἀνελεήμων*, and he answers: The acts of other deities are hostile only when provoked by sins committed against themselves; Hades reacts to sins committed also against others.³¹ Amyntor, blamed by his son Phoenix, calls on the avenging Furies, but Hades, the “Zeus of underworld,” and Persephone enact the curse. According to the *scholium exegeticum*, they are the *αὐτοκράτορες* of the punishments but delegate the *ἐξουσία* of actualizing them to the other demons.³² *Il.* 21:275–

²⁴ *Scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 4:507 (Erbse 1:534).

²⁵ According to Aristonicus, *Il.* 2:160–162 are not appropriate for Hera but for Athene (Erbse 1:216).

²⁶ How was it possible that Zeus who intended to save Hector from the Achaeans should not have been able to prevent Achilles’s dragging of Hector’s corpse (*scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 22:402–403; Erbse 5:342)?

²⁷ Zenodot and Aristonicus reject Hera’s words in *Il.* 14:304–306: these words are not suitable for inciting Zeus’s sexual desire (Hera intends to seduce him in order to support the Greeks during his sleeping; Erbse 3:637).

²⁸ Both deities and heroes are bowmen: Apollo, Artemis, Heracles, Idas, Euphytus, Messiones, Philoktet, Teucrus (*scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 11:385, Erbse 3:195).

²⁹ According to *Il.* 8:42, Agamemnon inserts a prayer to Zeus when threatened after his rebuke of the others’ boasting. The author of the *scholium exegeticum* comments on in the following way: Agamemnon is a Greek, having the good in mind; therefore, he does not desist from hope in the deities (Erbse 2:349). The same author remarks concerning *Il.* 10:277: The Greeks invoke the deities in an adequate way as leaders before their actions whereas the barbarian Dolon does not pray anymore (Erbse 3:60).

³⁰ *Scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 1:544 (Erbse 1:147), referring to Apollo, Hephaistos on the one hand, Sarpedon, Ajax, Radamanthys, Minos, Heracles on the other. According to Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 53.12, this formula includes a moral admonition of paternal care with benevolence and friendship.

³¹ Erbse 2:432.

³² *Scholium exegeticum* on *Il.* 9:454–457 (Erbse 2:498).

276 reports Achilles's lamentation "I blame none of the other dwellers on Olympus (οὐραυιῶν) so severely as I do my dear mother, who has beguiled and tricked me." The author of the *scholium exegeticum* gives an emending explanation for οὐραυιῶν and writes: θεῶν. Οὐ γὰρ Θέτις οὐραυία.³³ The term αἴσα (fate) in *Il.* 20:127 is the starting point of an interpretation of diverse designations of Zeus.³⁴ He is called "Logos of all being" because he is the cause of all living; he is called Δία because all that exists is due to him (derivation from διὰ + acc.); he is called μοῖρα and εἰμαρμένη due to his apportioning of destinies (derivation from μείρω; normally the medio-passive μείρομαι is used).³⁵

1.2. Questions of Celestial Status

According to *Il.* 1:583, Hephaistos hopes for a soon reconciliation between Zeus and the other Olympic deities. The *scholium exegeticum* offers an explanation concerning questions of status: Zeus is superior to other deities as they are superior to human beings.³⁶ Once Zeus was angry at Poseidon and sent Iris with a message expressing his wrath. Iris quotes Zeus's speech on his authority and superiority and Poseidon's inferiority (*Il.* 15:182–183). Some critiques relocate these verses to Zeus's speech to Iris before encountering Poseidon: Zeus is the only one who is allowed to deal with this subject.³⁷ Similarly, the translators of the Septuagint are careful to avoid putting false statements even in the mouths of non-Jews.³⁸ Other critiques, however, reject also the words of Zeus themselves: Only fear or the wish for reconciliation could be the reason for such a speech but that seems implausible.³⁹ In his comment on *Il.* 18:117, Aristicus states that Homer was not familiar with Heracles's immortality.⁴⁰

1.3. Moral Critique Concerning Deities

The main topics of moral critique of the deities are not jealousy or sexual impropriety but inappropriateness with regard to the situation, implacability, and fraud.

³³ Erbse 5:188.

³⁴ A similar list of characteristics of Zeus, without reference to *Il.* 20:127 is given by Cornutus, *Compendium* 2, Nesselrath 32.

³⁵ Erbse 5:24.

³⁶ Erbse 1:156.

³⁷ Erbse 4:46.

³⁸ SIEGERT, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 172.

³⁹ Erbse 4:46.

⁴⁰ Erbse 4:460. Lucian of Samosata wrote a satire (*Dial. mort.* 16) which illustrates also problems for non-Christians of understanding the Christian doctrines of the two natures of Jesus Christ and of the Trinity.

According to *Il.* 8:423f., Iris rebukes Athene: “You (are) most terrible, you fearless dog, if you will truly dare to raise your monstrous spear against Zeus.”⁴¹ In the *scholium exegeticum*, these words are rejected because of their bitterness. Hera addresses her son Hephaistos as *κυλλοπόδιον* (limping).⁴² According to Aristonicus’s point of view, the kind Hera, while addressing her son as “my child”, should not choose the epithet on the base of a fault. He shortly comments briefly: *ἄκαιρον καὶ ἀπρεπές τὸ ἐπίθετον*.⁴³ Pallas Athene, disguised as Deiphobos, the brother of Hector, feigns encouragement to Hector before the fight (*Il.* 22:231): “Let us stand, let us remain unimpaired.” In the *scholium exegeticum*, these fraudulent words are rejected: *ἄτοπον θεὸν οὔσαν πλανᾶν τὸν Ἑκτορα*.⁴⁴ Aristonicus criticizes *Il.* 24:130–132 as inappropriate to the situation: With regard to the war, Thetis should not wish the embracing of a woman for Achilles and announce his imminent death. The *scholium exegeticum* offers but a short comment: It is unsuitable for the goddess and the hero.⁴⁵ Apollo’s sending pestilence for nine days (*Il.* 1:50) is defended: Before these nine days, the *φιλόανθρωπος* Apollo intended to lead the Greek men to piety by infecting only the animals.⁴⁶ The motive of Apollo’s *φιλόανθρωπια* and his intention concerning the piety of the Greeks has no basis within the text; rather it is traced back to the classical conception of this deity which diverges from the portrait of Apollo in Homer’s poems.

1.4. Difference of Status between Divine and Human Beings

In comparisons between deities and human beings, sometimes the term *ὑπερβολή* is used.⁴⁷ Hecabe, the mother of Hector, complains about his death (*Il.* 22:432–435). In the *scholium exegeticum*, the dead Hector is directly addressed: “The inhabitants of Troy prayed to you every day as to a deity and savior. During your lifetime, you were equated with divine beings; now, not even the corpse is benefited by fate.”⁴⁸ On the other hand, sometimes also an exceptional attribute can be justified: If Zeus himself calls Hector “divine” (*Il.* 15:15), it is not objectionable when in *Od.* 1:65 Zeus is quoted: “How could I forget the divine Odysseus.”⁴⁹

⁴¹ ET: WILSON, *Homer Iliad, Books VIII & IX*, 95.

⁴² Erbse 2:373.

⁴³ Erbse 5:202.

⁴⁴ Erbse 5:314.

⁴⁵ Erbse 5:543.

⁴⁶ Erbse 1:24.

⁴⁷ *Il.* 3:158 (Erbse 1:388); *Il.* 9:389–390 (Erbse 2:481).

⁴⁸ Erbse 5:346.

⁴⁹ Erbse 4:9.

1.5. Questions of Human Moral

In the *scholium exegeticum*, the following comments appear concerning *Il.* 1:18: Divine beings dwell not only in heaven but also on earth; human beings should not regard them to be distant and aloof.⁵⁰ *Il.* 9:357–361 is regarded as moral teaching: Homer admonishes people to invoke the deities before beginning any activity.⁵¹ In the quarrel between Achilles and the other Greeks, Agamemnon is engaged in reconciliation and admonishes to appeal for mercy from Zeus (*Il.* 9:172). In the *scholium exegeticum*, the comment is made: We should always begin with the deities, especially in dangerous situations.⁵² According to *Il.* 15:147–148, Hera admonishes Apollo and Iris to obey Zeus with regard to whatever he commands. These words are dismissed as ἀνηθοποίητοι: they do not shape a good mind. Apollo and Iris are obliged to obey even if Hera has not issued a command.⁵³ Once, Athene admonishes Diomedes not to fight against the deities except for Aphrodite (*Il.* 5:131–132). In the *scholium exegeticum*, this is the starting point for a moral interpretation: practical reason teaches condemnation of lusts.⁵⁴ *Il.* 16:433–438 reports Zeus's sorrowful question as to whether his beloved Sarpedon would survive in a fight against Patroclus. The *scholium exegeticum* offers an exhaustive commentary: we should not reproach the poet. We should either abandon the notion of the kinship between divine and human beings or join in Zeus's lament. This lament also has an educational effect: the poet teaches that deities, like humans, are subject to fate.⁵⁵ Human beings should, therefore, be willing to suffer the blows of fate with resolve and noble-mindedness.⁵⁶

2. Theologically Motivated Adjustments in the Septuagint

In the following sections, I will arrange the material thematically. To be sure, we should take into account the individuality of each translator, though that could lead to a discussion of the individual books in their canonical sequence, resulting in manifold repetition. Due to the diversity of the *Vorlagen* it seems impossible to present a diachronic development of ideas to be dealt with. A mere enumeration of possible concepts is one

⁵⁰ Erbse 1:14.

⁵¹ Erbse 2:472 (*scholium exegeticum*).

⁵² Erbse 2:436.

⁵³ Erbse 4:41 (Aristonicus).

⁵⁴ Erbse 2:23.

⁵⁵ Therefore, παντοκράτωρ is seldom attested in Greco-Roman literature (SIEGERT, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 208).

⁵⁶ Erbse 4:258.

thing, developing a trajectory another. Being aware of the problems inherent in attempting to date early Jewish literature, we can say: 1. The uniqueness of Israel's God and his transcendence, but also the issue of his benignity vs. his cruelty and arbitrariness, were issues for some of the translators from the very beginning. 2. Conceptions regarding the so-called anthropomorphisms are diverse. 3. The emphasis on the liability of God's words gave rise to some alterations in the Septuagint of Leviticus and in some prophetic books *vis-à-vis* their Hebrew *Vorlagen*. 4. The implications with respect to the uniqueness of Israel's God, namely his power over creation and history, are articulated only beyond the Septuagint of the Pentateuch.

It seems wise to include two further preliminary remarks. 1. Some formulations which seemingly are motivated by theological arguments, are simply the result of lexical choice.⁵⁷ 2. The tendency to make such adjustments is by no means limited to the Septuagint translators; it is evident in the Masoretic Text as well, but also in other early Jewish literature.⁵⁸

2.1. Designations and Attributes of God

This topic was an issue from the very beginning. For the Septuagint of Genesis, Martin Rösel provided the material.⁵⁹ From his point of view, “κύριος is used for the friendly, merciful portrayals of God, while θεός is used for the powerful actions.”⁶⁰ Against Rösel, Emanuel Tov cites examples proving the inconsistency of the data.⁶¹ But other terms involve problems as well, e.g. ὑψιστος, παντοκράτωρ, and κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. According to Philo of Alexandria, the term ὑψιστος (Gen 14:18) is mistakable: there is no “other not Most High – for God being One ‘is in the heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him’ (Deut 4:39).”⁶² The issue παντοκράτωρ/κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων for יהוה צבאות and אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ is very complex.⁶³ In this study, we can only offer a rather unsophisticated overview. The translation is close to the Hebrew original and reflects Ptolemaic Egyptian usage (“troops; army”)⁶⁴ but can also lead to misunderstanding in terms of polytheism, due to the semantics of δύναμις including

⁵⁷ TOV, “Theologically Motivated Exegesis,” 262.

⁵⁸ In the following, I gratefully used PIETERSMA and WRIGHT (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*.

⁵⁹ RÖSEL, “Übersetzung der Gottesnamen;” ID., “Theo-Logie der griechischen Bibel;” ID., “Towards a ‘Theology’,” 245.

⁶⁰ RÖSEL, “Towards a ‘Theology’,” 245.

⁶¹ TOV, “Harmonizing Character,” 330.

⁶² Philo, *LegAll* 3:82 (English Translation): Philo, In ten Volumes [and two Supplement Volumes] 1, 355; cf. FELDMEIERS, “‘Der Höchste’,” 552.

⁶³ BACHMANN, *Allmacht*, 127–136.

⁶⁴ FLASHAR, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,” 90.

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