LIBERTY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF RELIGION

EXAMINING THE SEPTUAGINT:

AN EXPLORATION OF THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT'S

UNIQUE HERITAGE AND LASTING IMPACT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

SUBMITTED TO THE THESIS CHAIR IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

BY

CARA L. MURPHY

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

OCTOBER 2007

Copyright © 2007 by Cara Murphy
All rights reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to both my thesis mentor and chair, Dr. Donald Fowler in the School of Religion, and my first reader, Dr. Gary Yates of the Seminary. Without their expert wisdom and guidance, this thesis would not be something for which I am proud.

I am also grateful for my husband James. His support and encouragement were crucial in this process, and his love provided a refuge during the many long hours involved.

ABSTRACT

The Greek Old Testament has been a focus of speculation and study since its entrance into the religious culture of the Diasporic Jews. Legends and myths surround the creation of the Septuagint, and its use by the New Testament authors only added to the questions surrounding this ancient text. The questions this thesis will seek to address are three-fold. First, what does historical evidence prove regarding the origin of the Septuagint? The dating, the location, and the nature of the Septuagint's creation are each open debates within biblical scholarship. While this thesis will not attempt to prove conclusively the answers to each of these foundational issues, it will describe the prominent opinions of Septuagint experts and analyze their findings.

The second question this thesis will address is the nature of the Septuagint's language. Much debate surrounds the linguistic nature of the Septuagint: Does the syntax of the Septuagint represent Hebrew or Greek syntax more aptly? Is there any truth to the hypothesis of the Septuagint being a Hebraic Greek piece of literature? The thesis will provide a brief survey of these issues of linguistics and style in order to explore more aptly the third and focal question.

The foundational question will discuss the usage of Septuagint quotations in Acts 13, Paul's first missionary speech at Pisidian Antioch. This thesis will explore each quotation found in Acts 13 and show that the speech, as recorded by Luke, represents a normative use of Septuagint in its quotations. In addition, there will be a brief survey concerning the understanding of the Septuagint by two key persons, Paul and Luke, in the New Testament. Paul's speech in Acts chapter 13, as recorded by Luke, and its many Old Testament quotations and allusions will provide an in-depth look into the use of the Septuagint by these two men, or at least how Luke records Paul's use of the LXX. This portion of the thesis will specifically

examine Paul's employment of the Septuagint quotations rather than the Masoretic Text quotations in the Acts of the Apostles according to Luke.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

ABSTRACT vi

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. ORIGINS OF THE SEPTUAGINT 6

3. SYNTAX AND LITERARY STYLE OF THE SEPTUAGINT 22

4. INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT 34

5. CONCLUSION 55

BIBLIOGRAPHY 56

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Septuagint Study

The Greek Old Testament has remained a fruitful source of speculation and textual studies since its entrance into the religious culture of Diasporic Jews. The Septuagint's heritage and linguistic features has increasingly become a subject of scholarly inquiry, giving rise to research regarding its unusual nature. Legends and myths surround the purpose and origination of the Septuagint, bringing forth miraculous tales of a perfectly-cogent text. Likewise, numerous hypotheses have been asserted regarding its syntax and style, as well as its unique usage by New Testament authors. The study of the Septuagint (this term will be later defined) is a fruitful, yet challenging task.

Although currently gaining momentum, the study of the Greek Old Testament has not always been considered a central priority among biblical scholars. Students of scripture exalt the Greek New Testament beside the *Biblia Hebraica*, ignoring the importance of the Septuagint for understanding the Scriptures and religious culture as a whole. Worse yet, many biblical studies students are unaware of both its existence and its importance. However, the significance of the Septuagint is not easily overstated. As one writer passionately asserts, "A single hour lovingly devoted to the text of the Septuagint will further our exegetical knowledge of the Pauline Epistles more than a whole day spent over a commentary."[1]

[1] Deissmann, *The Philology of the Greek Bible* . Qtd. in Everett F. Harrison, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the New Vocabulary" In *Truth for Today: Bibliotheca Sacra Reader*, Edited by John F. Walvoord (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963), 144.

The relevance of Septuagint studies to the biblical scholar is of great consequence. Along with being the oldest complete version of the Old Testament,[2] it also comprises the most substantial "self-witness to Greek-speaking Judaism" available to the world today.[3] As Hengel states,

> The LXX is not only a unique linguistic monument without analogy in the Greek literature of antiquity (no other word of this scale was translated into Greek from a foreign language), but it was the first complete and pre-Christian 'commentary' to the Old Testament. It was both the bible of primitive Christianity and the early church until well into the second century, and later it was the 'Old Testament' of the Greek church.[4]

The Septuagint remains a resource to scholars of the Diaspora and intertestamental history and culture. Walters asserts that the Septuagint is "the most comprehensive body of Hellenistic writings that has come down to us."[5] The Greek Old Testament's influence upon the establishment of theological terms and literary style for ancient Christianity is vast. As this thesis will explore, various studies have shown the presence of Septuagint terms and usages within the thought and doctrine of the New Testament. While experts might argue over the details of the Septuagint, it is an inarguable fact that the Greek Old Testament must be studied as literature in its own right.

Topics within Septuagint Study

The study of the Septuagint is fruitful for a variety of reasons to the student of scripture. The Septuagint's Greek has occupied scholars, especially during the last century of study. Its text provides rich soil for linguistic analysis and review. Some consider the texts that comprise the Septuagint to have more of a translational nature, while others adamantly assert its

---

[2] Harrison, "The Influence," 144.
[3] Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* (Grand Rapids,: Baker Academic, 2002), xii.
[4] Ibid., xi.
[5] Peter Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendations*, Edited by D. W. Gooding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 3.

interpretational character. Others resolve the question by arguing for a balanced amalgamation of the two natures. A few scholars even characterize the Septuagint as a full commentary on the Old Testament. Likewise, the unique quality of the Greek within its text has caused some to label the language as Hebraic Greek, while others insist upon its alignment with koinhv Greek.

The Septuagint can also be utilized in the study of the history of intertestamental Judaism. However, the origination of the Septuagint, which proves to be fascinating for any scholar, is not the only source of historical inquiry associated with its text. The indirect references to history found within the Septuagint provide evidence for limitless issues regarding Jewish and international history. The translational techniques used by the creators of the Septuagint are also a benefit to historico-linguistic research. Similarly, the history of polemics can be greatly aided by the study of the Septuagint. The value of the Septuagint upon textual criticism is apparent.

Christian theology is greatly enhanced by Septuagintal studies, especially the effect of Septuagintal theological vocabulary paralleled in the New Testament. The influence of the Greek Old Testament is seen both in the terms and the thought processes used by the various New Testament authors.

Adding to this impressive list of field studies, many scholars consider the Septuagint's greatest contribution to biblical studies to be the use of Septuagint quotations in the New Testament. In many instances, the divergent Septuagint text is chosen by the biblical author to represent the Old Testament rather than the Masoretic Text. Scholars question whether this was simply a matter of choosing a text more appropriate for a particular audience, or did a particular author prefer the interpretation given by the Greek Old Testament. Likewise, the issue of scriptural inspiration arises when the Septuagint is quoted over the Masoretic Text in the New

Testament. One late eighteenth-century scholar wrote, "Objections of various kinds have been made to the truth of the Christian religion: but no objections of any kind seem to bear so hard upon it as those which are drawn from the *differences* that occur between the quotations in the NT and the passages to which they refer in the Old."[6] The issue of source material for the Old Testament quotations found in the New Testament can prompt heated argument among those in biblical scholarship.

Statement of Topics Addressed

In reality, the variety of study is virtually endless when one approaches the Septuagint. Therefore, this thesis must be limited to a narrowed focus. The questions this paper will seek to address are three-fold. First, what does historical evidence show regarding the origin of the Septuagint? The dating, the location, and the nature of the Septuagint's conception are each open debates within biblical scholarship. While this thesis will not attempt to prove conclusively the answers to each of these foundational issues, it will describe the prominent opinions of Septuagint experts and analyze their findings.

The second issue this thesis will address is the nature of the Septuagintal linguistics. Was literalness to the Hebrew text of greater or lesser importance to the Jewish translators? Do we see any influence of κοινη Greek within the Septuagint's text? Does the syntax of the Septuagint represent Hebrew or Greek thought more aptly? Is there any truth to the hypothesis of the Septuagint being a Hebraic Greek piece of literature? Does the Septuagint bear any resemblance to the Mishnah, Masoretic Text, or Qumran scrolls? As is readily apparent, there are more questions than this paper can thoroughly explore. However, these issues are of great concern

---

[6] Henry Owen, *The Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers*, London, 1789, p. 1. Qtd. in Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1981), 3.

when establishing the appropriate context for the Septuagint, and thus, this author finds it necessary to briefly address the above inquiries.

The third question that will be explored is the nature of the Septuagint's influence over three key areas: the Greek New Testament, the early Church, and the post-exilic Jewish community. The usage of quotations from the Septuagint, both direct and indirect, provides a multitude of issues to be discussed: vocabulary, divergence from the Masoretic Text, and divergence from the Septuagintal text. Furthermore, this thesis will seek to determine the understanding of the Septuagint by two key persons in the New Testament. Paul's speech in Acts chapter 13, as recorded by Luke[7], and its many Old Testament quotations and allusions will provide an in-depth look into the use of the Septuagint by these two men, or at least how Luke records Paul's use of the LXX. This portion of the thesis will specifically delve into Paul's usage of Septuagint quotations over Masoretic Text quotations in the Acts of the Apostles according to Luke.

With the importance of Septuagint study and research being firmly demonstrated, this thesis will now begin to address the question of the origin of the Septuagint.

[7] For a foundational work on the citation sources in the Lukan writings, see William K. L. Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," in F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1922).

CHAPTER 2

ORIGINS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

Definition of 'Septuagint'

The term 'Septuagint' is often misleading to biblical studies students. The term often implies more than it was originally intended. Most people assume that it is simply the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, comparable to the Latin Vulgate. However, the Septuagint differs from the Latin Vulgate in several ways. The Vulgate was a unified creation by one author at a specified place and dating.[8] The story of the Septuagint's origin could not be more divergent. Scholars have determined the presence of many authors, in many locations, and at many different time periods. The Septuagint does not represent the unity of simple translation by one author.

In its most broad designation, the term 'Septuagint' refers to any Greek manuscript of the Hebrew Bible within a specific time period.[9] However, Septuagint expert Emanuel Tov defines the term this way: "The name 'Septuaginta,' which now refers to all Jewish-Greek biblical books, at first applied only to the Pentateuch, but when the collection of Greek biblical books grew, it came to denote the whole corpus."[10] Many scholars refer to the books subsequent to the Pentateuch as the 'Old Greek' (OG); therefore, a twofold termination (LXX/OG) is usually employed by scholars.[11] In this thesis, the abbreviation LXX will be used to refer to the Septuagint in its broadest designation unless otherwise specified.

---

[8] Karen Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 30.
[9] Ibid., 30.
[10] Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Yuval Press, 1981), 47.
[11] Jobes, *Invitation*, 32.

The English name 'Septuagint'[12] comes from the Latin name *Interpretatio septuaginta virorum*: "The Translation of the Seventy Men."[13] The origin of the Latin terminology comes, of course, from the Greek title kataV touV" eJbdomhvkonta: "According to the Seventy."[14] The Greeks also abbreviated their title to oiJ o, with the letter 'o' representing the number seventy. [15] However, one may notice the unusual preoccupation with the number seventy.

The History of Septuagint Formation

Origins

Historians often seek to measure the impact the Alexandrian conquests had upon the ancient world, as well as its lingering effects upon the modern world. In fact, the impact of Alexander cannot be fully measured, for it reached to the very edges of the known world and permeated, to an extent, all contiguous culture. Likewise, within such a discussion the term 'Hellenism' and its influence upon various cultures is sure to arise. As it applies to biblical scholarship, the student of history explores the conquest's impact upon Judaism, both within Palestine and without. With the majority of Jews living outside of Palestine, the effects of Alexander and his culture swept through the world of Judaism with a force that could not be stemmed.

---

[12] Karen Jobes includes this important note within her text, which is an issue close to this author's heart as a student of language: "The 'proper' way to pronounce *Septuagint* is the subject of lighthearted debate among specialists. English dictionaries typically suggest the pronunciation *SEP-too-a-jint* or *sep-TOO-a-jint* or the like, but many scholars in the discipline treat it as a three-syllable word, *SEP-twa-jint.* In Europe, often hears the last syllable pronouned with hard *g*, after the pattern of Latin *Septuaginta*."
[13] Ibid., 32.
[14] Jennifer Dines, *The Septuagint*, Edited by Michael A. Knibb (London: T&T Clark Ltd., 2004), 1.
[15] Jobes, *Invitation*, 33.

However, Judaism clung tenaciously to its roots and religion, despite the changing of the culture all around them. The Jews of the Diaspora were especially loyal to Judaism, for it was the only connection they shared with their Jewish brothers in Palestine. While Diasporic Jews during and after the conquests were still unquestionably Jewish, their Judaism began to morph into a wholly new form with the dawning of a new lingua franca: koinhv Greek. The Greek language subtly affected the homes of most Jews across the world and settled not only within their vernacular but also within their religious practice. Therefore, over time it became apparent that the vast majority of Diasporic Jews no longer could read the Hebrew language of their sacred Scriptures. This language adjustment was especially prominent within the Jewish community of Alexandria. As Dines writes,

> Alexandria provided a literate, cosmopolitan culture, where 'everyone who was anyone' came to study, and where debating and writing were second nature. Alexandrian Judaism may have almost accidentally pioneered a new stage in the history of the Bible in response to the excitement of living in an educated milieu which expressed itself in written words.[16]

Such was the environment into which the LXX was born.

The conquests took place around 336 B. C. E., and most scholars consider the date of the specific Septuagint translation (the Pentateuch) to be during a short period within the third century B. C. E.[17] The specific date of its composition involves a great and mysterious legend, due predominantly to the pseudo-epigraphical *Letter of Aristeas* or (*Pseudo-Aristeas*). The document is an alleged letter, both "lengthy and personal," from a man named Aristeas to his ajdelfoV" Pilokrath'".[18] As Jobes and Silva write,

> [The letter] describes, among other things, how the Jewish Torah was first translated from Hebrew into Greek for the great library of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.E) in Alexandria. Copies of this so-called letter survive in

[16] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 60.
[17] Jobes, *Invitation*, 45.
[18] Jobes, *Invitiation*, 33.

> about two dozen medieval manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to the eleventh century. The length and character of the Letter of Aristeas and its apparently wide copying and circulation suggest that the document was not personal correspondence from one person to another, but was intended as an 'open letter' to a wider audience.[19]

The story of the translation continues (based upon the pseudo-epigrapha) that Ptolemy II, pharaoh of Egypt, desired to furnish his library with the world's great works of classical literature. He therefore sent an envoy, of which Aristeas was purportedly a member, to Palestine in order to choose seventy leaders from the Jewish community to come and translate Torah into the lingua franca, koinhv Greek.

The number seventy is crucial to the legend because of a two-fold representation. First, the number of the elders is concluded by Jewish scholars as seventy in order to represent the seventy elders that attended the theophany[20] at Mount Sinai with Moses.[21] Other scholars argue that it is a number to represent six elders chosen from each of the twelve tribes of Israel, and then rounded down to have a dual significance.

The legend proposing the miraculous nature of the translation is evident in the continuation of the story. Again, according to the *Letter*, the elders were sequestered to the Egyptian island of Pharos, which was united by a causeway to Alexandria, and isolated from one another for the highly important number of seventy-two days. When the seventy-two days were completed, the elders were brought before Ptolemy to have their manuscripts inspected and evaluated side-by-side. According to the legend, Ptolemy was awestruck when he discovered that each of the elders had procured a translation that was exactly identical to one another, with absolutely no divergences in the translation of the text. Therefore, it was concluded by all that

---

[19] Ibid.
[20] See Exod. 24: 1-2, 9-11
[21] Jobes, *Invitation*, 36.

the translation of Torah into Greek was inspired by God and should be held on the same authority as Hebrew scripture.[22]

While a fascinating tale, the legend told in the *Letter of Aristeas* should not be considered factual according to historical proof. Internal evidence within the document proves that the 'letter' could not have been written contemporaneous to the actual inception of the LXX. [23] Most experts date the *Letter of Aristeas* at 200 B.C.E. to C.E. 43[24] The nature of the letter, according to Goodin, was

> a work of propaganda aimed at glorifying the Jews, their Law, their High Priest, their holy city and country, their temple and scholarly sages; that the details of the story are more romance than history; and that, contrary to what the Letter says, the translation of the Law arose out of the practical needs of Greek-speaking Jews, and not from the policy of Ptolemy's library.[25]

At a time when Judaism was fragile and defending itself from the inroads of Hellenism, this legend reassured the devout people of God that he was still at work among his chosen ones. Likewise, Gooding continues,

> To have a translation that must be right, and must represent exactly what the Law meant, because it was made by seventy-two experts in the interpretation of the Law, straight from Jerusalem and with the confidence of the High Priest, would be a great comfort for Jews who were disturbed by rumours and reports that not all Hebrew MSS agreed…We can understand why [the Letter] should create a story of LXX origins that would not only glorify the Law and the wisdom of its translators in comparison with Greek literature and sages, but would also incidentally assure Alexandrian Jewry that their Hebrew text, and the Greek translation made from it, were true representatives of the Law; they came direct from the High Priest in Jerusalem with his authority and blessing.[26]

However, the *Letter of Aristeas* does contain some unadulterated facts. As discussed previously, there was a great need in the Jewish community for a Greek translation of Hebrew

---

[22] This legend was found in many scholars' writings on the LXX, but this author chose Karen Jobes' text to utilize for the explanation of the legend.
[23] Jobes, *Invitation*, 34.
[24] Frank Clancy, "The Date of the LXX" *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 16:02 (2002): 207.
[25] D. W. Gooding, "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies" *Vetus Testamentum* 13:04 (1963): 358.
[26] Ibid., 378.

scripture.[27] As Dines states in her text, "For the third century, it is assumed that the growing Greek-speaking Jewish communities, increasingly ignorant of Hebrew, needed educating in their own traditions and sacred literature."[28] With Judaism spread across the known globe, it was essential for the Diasporic Jews to be able to interact with their sacred scripture and religious practice within their own tongue. Another student of the LXX writes, "The interpretation of the Old Testament was of central importance for Judaism from the time when, with Ezra's reform after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity (sixth century B.C.E.), the Old Testament, and the books of the Mosaic Law in particular, became normative for the life of the people."[29] Therefore, not only did the Jews require a translation of Torah in the common language, they needed a translation with an interpretational value to it as well.

Also, there is much internal evidence within the LXX that at least *some* portions had to be written either in Egypt, or by Jews clearly acquainted with the culture, language, and thought.[30] As Tov writes, "On the linguistic level, [the assumption of an Egyptian location] can be verified by the existence of Egyptian elements in the various books of the LXX."[31] In reference to specific books of the Old Testament, scholars usually attribute evidence within Sirach and Isaiah to suggest an Egyptian location of writing.[32]

Many contemporaneous Jewish leaders and later Christian fathers agree with this modern approach to the *Letter of Aristeas*. However, historians and church fathers in the past have accepted the *Letter* as authentic and reliable. Philo is known for accentuating the legendary

---

[27] Hengel, *The Septuagint,* 75.
[28] Dines, *The Septuagint,* 51.
[29] Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, Trannslated by John A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1994), 2.
[30] Harrison, "The Importance," 145.
[31] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use,* 254.
[32] Dines, *The Septuagint,* 46.

nature of the origin of the LXX.[33] Likewise, among the early church fathers, Irenaeus also emphasized the miraculous character and origin. Irenaeus' works in turn persuaded Clement of Alexandria and subsequent church opinion. Hengel writes, "Irenaeus emphasized both the antiquity of both the Hebrew prophecy and the Greek translation in order to forestall any charge of Christian falsification."[34] Irenaeus himself writes,

> Before the Romans established their dominion and the Macedonians still ruled Asia, Ptolemy, son of Lagus…eager to supply the library in Alexandria he had build with the most important writings of all humanity, communicated to the Jerusalemites his wish to possess their writings in the Greek language. They…sent Ptolemy seventy elders, especially learned among them in scriptural exegesis and in both languages, so that they might fulfill his wish. Since Ptolemy, fearing that they might obscure the true content of the writings by agreement…separated them…when they assembled before Ptolemy and compared their translations to one another, glory be to God, the writings were proven to be fully divine (kat= epipnoian tou' qeou').[35]

Paul Kahle in the late 1950's is known to have espoused the position that because there was a previous Greek translation of Hebrew scripture, this legendary view was created to prove its authority over the earlier version.[36] However, most experts, such as Karen Jobes and Moises Silva, denounce this hypothesis as improbable and unsubstantiated.

As for the rest of the books of the Old Testament (the Old Greek), experts argue as to their authorship, dating and location. Scholarship does agree that many of the books were written in a Palestinian setting. For instance, Tov writes, "Certainly not all of them were translated in Egypt. For example, the MSS of Esther contain a colophon at the end stating that 'it was translated by Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemaius, of the people of Jerusalem."[37] Ecclesiastes also clearly follows this evidence. In fact, the evidence found within the LXX suggests a predominant Palestinian setting rather than an Egyptian one. The historical books are usually dated between

---

[33] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 26.
[34] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 38.
[35] *Adv Haer* 3:21:2, Qtd. In Hengel, 38.
[36] Jobes, *Invitation*, 36.
[37] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 254.

second century B.C.E. through the early part of the first century C.E; the prophetic books are given the date of mid-second century B.C.E; and the poetical books show evidence of second century B.C.E. creation.[38]

Experts have proposed various hypotheses in answering the specific purpose for the creation of the LXX that goes beyond a communal need for the Old Testament in the *lingua franca*. Thackeray asserts that the texts were more for liturgical aiding (the 'texts for worship' hypothesis), while others such as Bons and Kessler argue that the texts served more as an interlinear for the Jew less familiar with Hebrew than with Greek (the 'texts for study' hypothesis)? Scholars present strong evidence on either side.[39] However, both hypotheses do state the need for the Diasporic Jews to honor God in their own language. While the present author wanted to offer the diverging opinions, this thesis cannot attempt to define the usage within its text.

There is much debate among scholars regarding the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, that is, "the text that was lying in front of [the translators]."[40] While it is not the intention of this thesis to resolve the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint, this paper will alert the reader to the consensus of opinion more expert than the present author. The scholarly consensus can be summarized in Tov's words, "It is generally assumed that the LXX was translated from a Hebrew text which was written in the square (Aramaic) script."[41] A highly-reliable restoration of the *Vorlage* come from the Gottingen school, as shown in Rahlfs *Septuaginta* and in the volumes edited by the Septuaginta Unternehem: *Septuaginta, VT graecum auctoritate academiae litterarum gottingensis editum.* Likewise, discovering the archetypal text behind the current editions of the

[38] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 46.
[39] See Dines' text, *The Septuagint* (pp. 47-54), for a further discussion on these hypotheses.
[40] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 40.
[41] Ibid., 40.

LXX has been a challenging task for those behind the endeavor. As an expert of LXX *Vorlage*, Emanuel Tov states,

> The editors of [the above] volumes reconstruct what appears to them to be the archetypal form of a given translation by using all available sources for the text of the LXX: Greek MSS, biblical quotations and translations of the LXX…It stands to reason that all known MSS and papyri of the LXX, divergent though they often are, derive from one archetypal text, which may be identical with the original translation.[42]

Likewise, Hengel asserts, "We possess in the LXX two, three, or even more, versions of several books, often starkly divergent. The number of the sometimes substantially divergent forms of the text is greater than in the NT."[43] Most of these differences represent variant LXX manuscripts that have survived through antiquity.

The manuscripts that represent the LXX can be found in three basic categorizations: papyri, uncial codices, and minuscules or cursives.[44] Although textually incomplete, the papyri are the most ancient witnesses to the LXX (i.e. Rylands Papyrus Greek 458). Among the uncials, some well-known manuscripts are Codex Vaticanus (B), Codex Alexandrinus (A), Codex Bodleianus (I), Codex Marchalianus (Q), and Codex Washingtonianus (W). Finally, the miniscules are the more recent of the manuscripts, many times representing facsimiles of older manuscripts.

Ancient Versions

The dawning and circulation of the Septuagint caused an explosion of other versions of the Old Testament, both in Greek and other languages. These "exceedingly old witnesses" that were derived from the LXX are very helpful in the aiding of textual criticism:

---

[42] Ibid., 44.
[43] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 84.
[44] Ralph W. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 54.

> These so-called daughter translations can be retranslated into Greek by modern scholars in order to supplement the evidence form the Greek manuscripts we have just surveyed…While the daughter translations also show corruptions, some of them were made from Greek texts which had not undergone the Origenic or Lucianic revisions; others reflect the shape of the Greek text in a particular geographical locale.[45]

Other ancient versions of the Old Testament, which are based on the LXX text, include an Old Latin (Itala) version, to be distinguished from the Latin Vulgate (second century B.C.E. and later), a Coptic version (third century), an Ethiopic version, a Syro-Hexaplar version (first century), a Gothic version, an Armenian version, a Georgian version, a Slavonic version, and an Arabic version.[46]

Recensions

When discussing early revisions of the LXX text, four key names arise: Aquila, Symmanchus, Theodotion, and most importantly, Origen. The first three, often referred to as "The Three Translators" or "the Later Versions," have not survived, excepting some fragmentary manuscripts. Thus, experts are only aware of them because of reference to them by early Christian writers.[47] These three revisions occurred predominantly in the second century B.C.E. Klein describes some key characteristics:

> Aquila's revision is perhaps the most easy to characterize since it is known for its extreme literalness and for its translation of Hebrew verbal roots in all their nominal and verbal derivatives by a single Greek stem…Symmanchus is not so well-known, and it is generally felt that his revision is of a lesser value for the textual critic…Theodotion was thought to have lived in Ephesus. Transliteration instead of translation is one of the hallmarks of Theodotion, a feature that extends even to well-known and frequent words.[48]

Most essential, however, to scholarship has been the famous work of Origen, the Hexapla. Origen placed the Hebrew and Greek texts available to him side by side in a six-

---

[45] Klein, *Textual Criticism*, 57.
[46] Ibid., 57-58.
[47] Jobes, *Invitation*, 37.
[48] Klein, *Textual Criticism*, 6-7.

column document. The first column contained Hebrew scripture; the second was Hebrew in Greek transliteration; the third column included Aquila's revision of the LXX; the fourth was Symmanchus' Greek version; the fifth was the LXX; and the sixth column contained Theodotion's version.[49] One scholar writes, "Origen created the Hexapla to obtain an overview of the confusing chaos. But he too defended the LXX text as approved by the church."[50] In describing Origen's intent, Klein comments,

> Whenever the LXX contained an expression that was not in the Hebrew Bible of his day, Origen marked that Greek reading with an obelus at the beginning and a metobelus at the end…According to many, Origen was trying to restore the LXX to its original purity since he assumed the original LXX was that which agreed most closely with the Hebrew text as he knew it.[51]

Origen's work was, in effect, the first complex interlinear text of Jewish and Christian scripture (ca. 185 B.C.E.).

The History of Septuagint Usage by the Jewish and Christian Communities

The Jewish Synagogue

In exploring Septuagintal studies, one must never forget the Jewish origin of Christianity. Shires states, "The essence of Christianity was to be preserved only by retaining the original very close relationship with Judaism."[52] Likewise, the LXX is not exclusively a Christian scripture. Van Buren writes, "[The LXX] is not simply the church's own book. Rather, it is *also* the church's book. This book is about the church, but not in the way that it is about the Jewish

[49] Ibid., 7
[50] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 36.
[51] Klein, *Textual Criticism*, 7.
[52] Shires, *Finding the Old Testament*, 14.

people; it is about the church by way of anticipation."[53] Before becoming a text known as 'Christian scripture,' the LXX was prominent among the pre-Messianic Jews of the second and first centuries B. C. E. There is evidence that even the Hellenists in Jerusalem used the LXX within their synagogues. Hengel asserts, "As a student in Jerusalem, Paul may have worked with both the Hebrew and the Greek texts in accordance with the bilingual milieu in the Jewish capital."[54] There are several reasons[55] for its rise in the Jewish culture. First, Hebrew was no longer considered the *lingua franca* among the Jews, even the Jews of Palestine. While Aramaic was also spoken, fragments of Greek material have been found among Palestine archeological finds. The next reason is simply the reverse of the first: Greek was the *lingua franca* of the entire known world. Everyone, everywhere was expected to comprehend and speak Greek. Third, Greek could be utilized and quoted regardless of the nationality or first language of the listener. Thus, the LXX was the best text to use when trying to communicate to the majority of people in the synagogue. Finally, copies, even fragmentary copies, of the Hebraic scripture were exorbitant in price and virtually unattainable for the common Jew, even more so than the scarcity of the LXX fragments.

Why, then, did Judaism eventually drop the usage of the LXX? There are several historical explanations. During the middle of the second century, the early Christian church began to disparage the wording and authority of the Hebrew scripture in comparison to the Greek Old Testament, creating disapproval among the Jewish population for how the church used the Old Testament to support Christianity.[56] Some believe that the Jewish abandonment of the LXX may have been a result of this event. Muller provides one reason:

---

[53] Van Buren, *The Origins of the Gospel*, 89.
[54] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 108.
[55] See Yoder, *New Testament Synonyms*, 38 for an in-depth discussion on these reasons provided by this author
[56] Muller, *The First Bible*, 40.

> Until the appearance of the codex in the first century C.E., books were made in the form of scrolls. While a codex, in which pages can be covered with writing on both sides, can hold a great deal of text inside the binding, this is not the case for scrolls. While the Christian church 'adopted' the codex very early, Judaism adhered to scrolls.[57]

However, there were various textual similarities between the Hebrew text and its Greek counterpart that should have allowed Jewish readers to become comfortable with the text.[58] However, the Jewish church might have retained this invaluable resource if they had recognized the Septuagint's support of the Hebrew text, not its disparagement. Hays writes concerning the LXX, "The Torah is neither superseded nor nullified but transformed into a witness of the gospel."[59]

The Christian Church

The early Christians and church fathers were greatly indebted to the LXX's relative availability. Harrison writes, "Few of the Greek Fathers were conversant with Hebrew, so they read their Old Testaments in Greek and built their homilies on this text."[60] Therefore, the LXX made the scripture of the Old Testament accessible to the Greek-speaking church.

The LXX became subject to great debate amongst Christians as to its interpretation, textual criticism, and authoritative canon. There were four types of exegesis of the Greek Old Testament characteristic of the early church: literal interpretation, midrash, pesher, and allegory.[61] In fact, each of these methods are clearly seen employed by the authors of the New

---

[57] Muller, *The First Bible*, 32.
[58] Martin Hengel writes in his text, "Long before there was a 'NT,' the Christian LXX was distinguished by the use of the *codex* rather than the Jewish *scroll*. Further, the tetragrammaton, as a rule continued in use in Greek scrolls of Jewish provenance, but in the Christian codices it was replaced by κυριος, which was now written, like χριστος and other nomina sacra, for emphasis with only the initial and final letters and a line above" (41).
[59] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 157.
[60] Harrison, "The Importance," 145.
[61] McLay, *The Use*, 33.

Testament. The question of canon roused fierce argument among the church fathers. There was much debate among the early church as to which books to include in their canon of scripture.[62]

Some church fathers relied heavily upon the LXX in their writings. Hengel writes, "Justin's treatment of the LXX is the result of the experience of over thirty years of Christian instruction and of the discussion with Jewish partners. His knowledge of the LXX and the treasury of citations[63] he assembled from his own work with the text of the Greek OT."[64] Clement of Alexandria referred to the LXX as oi onei Ellhnikhn profhteian,[65] or the prophecy in the Greek language. In *The City of God*, Augustine supports the authority of "the church's traditional text"[66], the LXX.

The LXX's influence in the Christian church continues to have a presence today. Significant traditions of the Christian church have included LXX books not contained in the Hebrew scripture for their canon. Likewise, the Greek church continues to read the Septuagint from the pulpit, and other church cultures have translated the LXX into their vernacular for their Old Testament readings.[67]

Historical and Current Trends in Analysis and Study

The direction of current LXX study and research has been as divergent as its manuscripts. Many of these issues will be discussed further throughout this thesis, so an overview of trends will be projected in this section. Scholars have been greatly preoccupied with the predominant theology of the LXX. Is there one over-arching position the various authors were seeking to

---

[62] McLay, *The Use*, 139.
[63] See Justin's *Apologia* and *Dialogue* for specific instances
[64] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 34.
[65] Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 40.
[66] Ibid., 51.
[67] Van Buren, *The Origins*, 86.

convey throughout their translation (and interpretation) of the LXX? Does the time period in which the LXX was written suggest a particular vein of theological thought? Scholars have poured over the text, seeking to determine if such could be the case. One scholar summarizes, "The outcome, so far, is to show that there is no one 'theology' of the LXX any more than there is of the Hebrew Bible; rather, there is an interplay of different 'voices,' some more and some less distinct."[68]

Another key issue for scholars is the source of the New Testament quotations of the Old. Experts disagree as to whether the majority of quotations come from the LXX, or perhaps the quotations originate from the Masoretic Text, the Targumim, the Qumran scrolls, etc. Likewise, many scholars speculate about the presence of Hebraisms or Semitisms within the LXX, and more importantly, their presence (plus Septuagintalisms) within the New Testament text.[69]

Major archaeological discoveries have excited scholars and renewed interest in the LXX. Between 1952 and 1962, fragments of the LXX[70] were unearthed at the Wadi Murabba' and Nahal Hever, giving scholars great information regarding the textual history of the LXX.[71] Muller writes,

> These finds, today referred to as *8HevXIIGr*, have been as revolutionizing for Septuagint research as the Hebrew Bible texts and text fragments so far unearthed have been for the outlining of the textual history of Biblia Hebraica. Soon after the first finds it became clear that these fragments[72] contain amendments which push the Septuagint in the direction of the Protomassoretic Hebrew text. They show that already before the work on the 'new' translations from the second century C.E. had begun, there had already been attempts to amend the Greek text.[73]

---

[68] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 132.
[69] McLay, *The Use*, 32.
[70] In reference to the Pentateuch fragments, see Eugene Ulrich, "The Greek Manuscripts of the Pentateuch from Qumran, Including Newly Identified Fragments of Deuteronomy (4QLXXDeut)", in A. Pietersma and C. Cox (eds.), *De Septuaginta*, pp.71-82.
[71] Mogens Muller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 41.
[72] These fragments have been assigned an approximate dating between 50 B.C.E. and C.E. 50.
[73] Muller, *The First Bible*, 41-42.

The issues important to LXX studies are varied; however, the ones most controversial and most vital to Christian scripture are explored further in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

SYNTAX AND LITERARY STYLE OF THE SEPTUAGINT

The LXX as Translational Greek

To assign a unique status to the LXX among ancient literature is appropriate. Scholarly debate is both prevalent and passionate regarding the nature of the Septuagint linguistic style. Should the LXX be treated as literature originating from koinhv Greek, translational Hebraic Greek, or something that falls in the middle of the two opposing sides. The art of translation technique is complex, and it is often difficult to determine a particular author's translation technique without formal notes (from the author). As Beck writes, "We define translation technique as the pattern of conscious and subconscious decisions made by the translator when transferring a text from the parent language to the target language."[74] As an expert in translation technique, Beck sees the translators of the LXX as 'story-tellers,' representing the often difficult decisions the translators were forced to make regarding emphasis and style. The authors of the LXX had to choose from various translating options involving isolated lexical decisions to complex character development.[75] Likewise, the issue of literalness and equivalence from one language to another gave the translators opportunities to influence the overall nature of the text.

Since the basis of thought is radically different within the two language cultures, can any evidence to the philosophy behind the LXX aid in deciding its nature? Bertram believes the LXX

[74] John A. Beck, *Translators as Storytellers: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2000), 2.
[75] Ibid.

to be anthropocentric, modeling the Hellenistic attitude regarding the centrality of personhood and the individual.[76] Barr counters Bertram's analysis in his text:

> The modern school of biblical theology seems to me to go much too far at times in the degree to which it asserts the Old Testament in Greek took on Hellenized characteristics of 'static' thought, anthropocentrism, and so on. It is the judgment of Bertram…that in it the theological statements of the OT were used and valued psychologically and paedagogically, that development and education took the place of law and command…I want only to point out that even a good number of details in which a change of emphasis of this kind is made does not mean a corresponding change of emphasis of this kind is made does not mean a corresponding change of emphasis in the impression made by the Greek OT as a whole.[77]

To truly understand the context as well as the value of the LXX, one must become familiar with the arguments for each language theory.

The Septuagint as koinhv Greek

A number of scholars are frustrated by what they consider the central focus upon the translational nature of the LXX. There is a call across scholarship to view "the LXX as literature in its own right rather than a mere translation."[78] Beck rightly observes, "No translation is free from interpretation…Thus the Septuagint is not only a translation it is also a 'commentary' which reflects the interpretation of its time."[79] To be sure, the LXX is a significant piece of literature, and thus, should be studied in accordance with its significance. There is disagreement among experts as to the *raison d'être* for the LXX: was it created to be an open door to the Hebrew scriptures, or was it designed as a substitute for the Semitic original completely?[80] As Dines, an expert in LXX study, writes,

---

[76] See G. Bertram in *BZATW* lxvi (1936), 103. Bertram is the main adviser on Septuagint to *TWNT*.
[77] James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 252.
[78] Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Ann Arbor, MI: Eisenbrauns, 1968), 352.
[79] Beck, *Translators as Storytellers*, 5.
[80] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 114.

> If the Greek of the LXX is to be understood as denoting 'a corpus not a language,' there is still considerable disagreement as to how far Hebrew idiom has affected LXX Greek (so called 'Hebrew interference'). Some think that the Hebrew interference is all-pervasive, especially at the level of syntax. Others argue that, although the incidence ('frequency') of a few features is very marked, it is their repetition rather than their existence that creates the effect...Achieving a balance...between the impact of the texts in their new Greekness, and the effect of the gravitational pull of the Semitic originals, is a difficult and delicate operation, and one of great importance for modern readers.[81]

When hearing the term koinhv as applied to a piece of literature, most people often conclude the subsequent document to be a rudimentary and vulgar style of writing. In fact, a leading Greek scholar of the early 20th century, H. B. Swete, furthered this conclusion within scholarship. "Swete is typical in calling [LXX Greek] 'clumsy' (or the prologue to Sirach) a 'mongrel patois' (of the Greek spoken in Alexandria and perhaps reflected in the Pentateuch), and 'uncouth.'"[82] However, such a conclusion would be hasty. Dines states, "koinhv, whether in the Bible or elsewhere, must not be equated simply with colloquial, vernacular language. It was also used in a more polished way (some of the papyri and inscriptions display a consciously elegant style)."[83] Evident within the text, especially those of a more literary nature, is the brilliance and competence of the second century B.C.E. translators, some of whom were considered to be "distinguished Jewish authors."[84] Ottley describes the literary characteristic of the text with clarity:

> My own feeling, after endeavoring to read the LXX thus, is that an impression of ugliness, which may make itself felt at first, soon wears off, and does not return. In some ways, the style is uneven…It is, as we know, possible, if a rare thing, for translations, including those of the Scriptures, to achieve literary merit of a very high order[85]…[However] the merit of the LXX is likely to be felt most easily in

---

[81] Ibid., 114, 117.
[82] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 112.
[83] Ibid., 111.
[84] Ibid., 112.
[85] Richard Ottley cites specifically the lack of continuity found in the poetry of the Septuagint: "The terseness of the original loses its effect, not merely in spite of, but because of, the literalness of the rendering…Job and Proverbs,

> narrative…because it is in continuous reading that the charm of the faithful, artless Greek emerges.[86]

It is helpful to remember that the often terse nature of the language in various LXX books could be due to different thoughts of the various LXX translators: "The generally accepted theory that different translators were occupied with the translation of different parts of the Biblical books both helps to explain many of the remaining inconsistencies and is itself supported by them."[87]

LXX style and syntax is a fascinating focus of scholarship. The study of style and syntax is rudimentary to understanding any text. Walters writes, "The LXX is the largest body of writing in non-literary unaffected koinhv Greek of the pre-Christian period. As such it was for long in an isolated position which made comparison, judgment, and emendation difficult."[88] But the question remains: Is the LXX simply a "Semitic original in a Greek dress,"[89] or does it reflect an accurate portrayal of the linguistic influence of Hellenism that pervaded so many communities during that volatile time period? Harrison answers the question in this manner:

> It was doubted that the Septuagint at all accurately reflected any Greek being spoken at the time. But all this has been changed through the papyri discoveries made in the very region where the Septuagint was created. These fragments, covering a wide range of human activities and relationships, are obviously in the language of everyday life. Misspellings are not infrequent. Enough parallels have been established between these non-literary papyri and the Septuagint to make it apparent that the latter represents a living form of Greek, so that the Septuagint must be included in any list of sources for the κοινη.[90]

The Greek culture had no equivalent to the biblical scriptures, so the emergence of the LXX was a novel concept to Hellenism and the contemporary environment. However, Greek

---

with some literary affinities, are curiously diffuse in effect, even when not really lengthy, but Wisdom, if rich, if often heavy and cumbrous. Generally, there seems little power to maintain either elaboration or simplicity. Anyone who cherishes the sounds and cadences of a favourite text, either in the Hebrew or in the more familiar English, is liable to meet with disappointment on turning to the Septuagint" (*A Handbook*, 176).

[86] Ottley, *A Handbook*, 174-75, 177.

[87] Sheldon Blank, "The LXX Renderings of the Old Testament Terms for Law" *Hebrew Union College Annual* 7:01 (1930): 258.

[88] Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint*, 17.

[89] Harrison, "The Importance," 148.

[90] Ibid., 148.

language and thought still exerted an influence on the nature of the translation: "In their schools of Rhetoric and Philosophy[91] there was a custom of reading and explaining literary and philosophical texts, so that advanced exegetical techniques were also brought to bear on them."[92] Even when elements are divergent from the parent text, the value of the translation is still intact: "The LXX will often translate a Hebrew term with a word[93] that carries a different connotation, and yet the sense of the passage will not be injured,"[94] which remains true of various translation endeavors.

While scholars remain divided, many agree that "the bulk of the LXX witnesses to a non-Semitized Greek."[95] However, a caution is in order when determining the influence of the Hebrew upon the LXX: "There is a danger otherwise that these elements may be obscured, whether because the European mind has an emotional barrier against Jewish culture, or because we naturally tend to think in the Greek manner and tradition, and thus interpret away the Jewish element."[96]

The Septuagint as Translated Hebrew

The Septuagint has once been described as "hardly Greek at all, but rather Hebrew in disguise," a kind of "translationese Greek."[97] While some scholars tend to emphasize the koinhv

---

[91] Manlio Simonetti expounds in his text upon the convergence of Greek hermeneutics and Jewish thought: "This hermeneutical procedure (allegorization) and the terminology connected with it were embraced by the Hellenizing strain of Judaism, especially in Alexandria, as a fundamental means of bringing about the much sought after rapprochement between the religious beliefs of the Jews which centered on the Old Testament and the Greek culture which surrounded it" (*Biblical Interpretation*, 6).
[92] Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation*, 4.
[93] See Sheldon H. Blank's article "The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law" for further discussion on this principle. For instance, the Septuagint often renders the singular Hebrew form hr~oT with the plural Greek ejntolaiV. Blank notes, "The Greek plural corresponds to a singular in the MT in thirty out of sixty occurrences. The proportion is too large to justify us in attributing the discrepancy to chance" (263).
[94] James A. Arieti, "The Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93:03(1974): 339.
[95] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 114.
[96] Barr, *The Semantics*, 8.
[97] Ibid.

and classical nature of LXX Greek, others focus upon its Semitic influence in syntax and style of the translation. If the LXX is simply a guide to the Hebrew, then where can one find the most Hebraic characteristics within the text? The strongest proponent for the Hebraicized Greek in the LXX was H. B. Swete, basing his opinion predominantly on the syntactical nature of the translation. Dines summarizes Swete's position as such: "Concerning the syntax of the translated books, he was so struck by the Semitic character, that he considered the LXX as not really Greek at all: 'The translators…are almost indifferent to idiom, and seem to have no sense of rhythm.'"[98] It should be noted that Swete revised his opinion in later years. However, other experts, such as R. R. Ottley, have taken up Swete's original views:

> It is inconsistent to suppose that Alexander's conquests, which spread the Greek language far and wide, could do so without its purity being to some extent impaired. Therefore it must not be taken for granted that the koinhv was entirely free from Semitic influence; and when close parallels to Semitic forms of speech in translations of Hebrew, it requires the strongest of proofs to fortify the assertion that such parallels are due to natural development of the Greek itself, and not to imitation, or influence of the Semitic idiom.[99]

Likewise, Albert Pietersma, a scholar involved in the *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, writes, "Though it is patently true that the LXX in due time achieved its independence from its parent text and that it at some stage shed its subservience, it is equally true that in its inception it was a translation of a Semitic original…the Greek had a dependent and subservient relationship to its Semitic parent."[100]

While scholars differ whether the LXX is more translational or more interpretational, it is quite clear that there are many emendations from the Hebrew *Vorlage.* The subsequent argument scholars now assert is that the translators intentionally departed from the Hebrew.

---

[98] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 112.
[99] Ottley, *A Handbook*, 166.
[100] Albert Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint" *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (1998): 219.

Others state that the translators' divergences were by accident or because of confusion. Scholars question whether perhaps the differences in text result from the inability to translate the Hebrew thought into "intelligible Greek."[101] One scholar writes, "The majority of the differences[102] between the Greek MSS were caused by scribes and learned readers of the LXX, who presumably inserted several alterations in their copies."[103] Beck explains in his text, "Hebrew has a more fixed word order than Greek…The preservation of the parent text's word order[104] is viewed as a key indicator of literalness so long as the target language has the capacity to accept the word order of the parent text."[105] Oloffson agrees with Beck: "A random sample showed a distinct preference for the Hebrew word order in the translated books of the LXX as against the variety that characterizes original Greek compositions."[106]

When discussing the translational value of the LXX, the predominant characteristic by which the text becomes evaluated is literalness. In fact, LXX scholar Emanuel Tov states,

> The most important factor of all is the recognition of the overall character of the translation, that is, whether it should be considered (very) literal, (very) free, or somewhere in between. When analyzing translation techniques from the point of view of the translators' attitudes towards the Hebrew text, it is probably best to start from the criteria for literalness, not because literalness formed the basis of most translations, but rather because these criteria can be defined more easily than those for free renderings.[107]

---

[101] Ottley, *A Handbook*, 168.

[102] Another aspect of study is the transmission of the text and possible graphic confusion:There are a number of cases where the misreading of a single letter may explain the LXX reading. It is well known that the ב and מ were often confused in an early form of the square script, and an instance of this may be seen in Ex. 16. Other possible cases of the misreading of single letters are ג and ר in Ex. 9, 9, י and ו in Ex. 11, ג and ס in Ex. 18, פ and ל in Ex. 20 and 21, and י and ו in Ex. 22 A. Gelston, "Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos" *Vetus Testamentum* 52:04 (2002): 494.

[103] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 44.

[104] For further studies on the word order of the LXX as compared to its Hebrew parent text, see Olofsson's article "Studying the Word Order of the Septuagint: Questions and Possibilities."

[105] Beck, *Translators as Storytellers*, 20.

[106] Staffan Olofsson, "Studying the Word Order of the Septuagint: Questions and Possibilities" *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10:02 (1996): 220.

[107] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 53.

Also according to Tov, there are five common characteristics that one should use when determining whether a translator utilized a literal or free translation technique: consistency, stereotyping (the representation of the constituents of Hebrew words by Greek equivalents), word order, quantitative representation, and linguistic adequacy of lexical choices.[108] Likewise, according to other specific translation criteria, some assert that the LXX was intentionally seeking to capture a Hebraic nature to the Greek text.[109] Olofsson writes, "Some of the most common fixed sequences of the Semitic word order, which do not correspond to the word order of the Greek language in original Greek texts, are described by Rife…He found through a selective investigation that there are significant differences between original Greek and the LXX Greek according to most of these criteria."[110] However, it is critical to be aware that the LXX is not monolithic; translation styles, preferences, and quality vary from section to section, book to book.

The vocabulary of the LXX in comparison to the Hebrew text is an interesting study for students of the Septuagint. There are several key features involved in LXX translation. For instance, the LXX has immense "lexical leveling" within its text.[111] Lexical leveling is the utilization of one word in order to represent two or more words from the original source. According to Pietersma, there is the presence of "isolates"[112] in the LXX, which are Greek words chosen because of their relationship to Hebrew morphemes.[113] Likewise, the presence of

---

[108] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 55-59
[109] See Olofsson discussion on these criteria: 1)No word comes between the article and its noun; 2) An adjective always immediately follows its substantive; 3) Postpositive conjunctions are not employed; 4) A genitive always immediately follows its construct; 5) A direct, personal, pronominal object always follows its governing verb; and 6) A demonstrative pronoun always follows its substantive.
[110] Olofsson, "Studying the Word Order," 219.
[111] McLay, *The Use*, 20.
[112] See e.g. *bi* "Oh please!" = εν εμοι = "in/with me" In 1 Rgns 1:26.
[113] Pietersma, "A New English," 226.

"calques,"[114] or Greek words that clothe themselves anew with Hebrew meaning, can be found within the LXX's vocabulary. Because experts observe both isolates and calques in the LXX, the translation's reliance upon its Semitic source is emphasized.

The LXX and the Masoretic Text

The Masoretic Text is a help regarding the nature of LXX Greek. Should it be considered translational or interpretational? As Dines writes,

> Comparison between the LXX and the MT, as at least approximate equivalents, can show whether the translator sticks closely to his presumed source, or renders it periphrastically; how he habitually handles Hebrew grammar and syntax; what competence (or not) he has in either Hebrew or Greek (or both); what kind of lexical preferences he shows, and so on.[115]

Emanuel Tov states it this way: "When comparing the LXX evidence with that of other sources, we found that beyond MT, the LXX is the single most important source preserving redactionally different material relevant to the literary analysis of the Bible."[116] Although very different, the LXX and the MT do share some common characteristics. Expert in LXX studies, Henry S. Gehman states, "A study of the methods of the translators and theological tendencies reflected in the LXX has led the writer to the conclusion that in many passages the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was closer to the MT than has generally been supposed."[117] Certainly, the MT should be read alongside the LXX to interpret properly:

> What this Septuagint says, and how it says it, can only be understood in its entirety with the help of the Hebrew, even though the precise nature of dependence on the Hebrew may vary from book to book, chapter to chapter, verse by verse. This

---

[114] See e.g. *berit* = διαθηκη = "covenant" throughout the LXX, but "will, testament" in extra-biblical Greek.
[115] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 118.
[116] Emanuel Tov, "The Nature of the Large-scale Differences between the LXX and MT, S, T, V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources" In *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible*, Edited by Adrian Schneker (The Netherlands: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 121.
[117] Henry S. Gehman, "Short Notes: Some Types of Errors of Transmission in the LXX" *Vetus testamentum* 3:01 (1953): 400.

> interlinearity with and dependence on the Hebrew may be termed the *Sitz im Leben* of the Septuagint.[118]

However, the two texts cannot be married too closely as to obscure the individual nature of both. As Dines argues, "The LXX should not be read simply as the MT with aberrations; a sense different from that of the MT, in style and nuance if not in radical differences of thought, emerges from reading the Greek text as a whole, with all its minor variations."[119] It is also important to note that the LXX may be following a variant Hebrew text other than the MT (e.g. Samuel and Jeremiah). Perhaps the textual tradition is closer to the original than the MT or at best prior to the standardization of the Hebrew text with the MT. As in all things, balance should be the goal when comparing the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text.

The LXX and Mishnah

When comparing the LXX to the Mishnah, one must consider the New Testament. For instance, one might consider a comparison of quotation formulas found within the Mishnah and the New Testament, both quoting from the Old Testament but utilizing differing original texts. Metzger comments, "Both the Mishnah and the NT recognize the instrumentality of human authors in the production of the Scriptures which each quotes."[120] As Metzger writes, "It is reasonable to assume, given the widespread use of Aramaic in Palestine and the interpretive tradition of the rabbis, that some quotations and/or use of Scripture in the NT reflect influence from Aramaic and Jewish sources.[121] This issue will be further discussed in the final section of this thesis.

---

[118] Pietersma, "A New English," 220.
[119] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 135.
[120] Bruce M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 70:04 (1951): 306.
[121] McLay, *The Use*, 32.

The LXX and the Qumran scrolls

Tov explains regarding Qumran's comparison to the LXX, "The other biblical translations preserve [redactionally different material], while a limited amount of redactionally different material has been preserved in some Hebrew biblical texts from Qumran, especially in early texts.[122] In fact, the discovery of the Qumran scrolls enhanced the validity of the LXX as a translation of the original Hebrew scripture: "The understanding and use of the LXX as a tool in biblical criticism were significantly advanced by the finds at Qumran."[123]

The LXX and the Targumim

While the LXX continues to be the source of choice for quotations by the New Testament writers, the Targumim is sure to have had an influence on the New Testament writers. Like the LXX, the Targumim is also a translation of the Old Testament, with the daughter language being Aramaic. Noting the usefulness of both translations, Klein writes, "In general the Targums are probably of more value for the history of exegesis[124] and for the background to the New Testament than they are for strictly text critical study."[125]

The LXX and the Peshitta

Scholars debate whether the Syriac translation of the Old Testament, known as the Peshitta, was created by Jews or Christians. Ralph Klein's *Textual Criticism* provides more information on some discussion concerning the Peshitta. The study of pesher translational

---

[122] Tov, "The Nature," 121.
[123] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 72.
[124] See Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1972).
[125] Klein, *Textual Criticism*, 60.

technique is based off this version of the Old Testament (using predominantly the Masoretic Text), which will be further discussed as we introduce the issue of Old Testament quotations within the New Testament. However, the LXX itself has affected the creation of the Peshitta. This Syriac document contains emendations from the LXX within its text, most noticeably in Isaiah and the Psalms.[126]

[126] Klein, *Textual Criticism*, 61.

CHAPTER 4

INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The potential power of the written word cannot be overstated. In essence, its power and worthiness of contemplation is the focus of the present thesis. The written language becomes even more important when it conveys timeless truths, truths important to the soul. Thus, the language predestined by God to be the vehicle upon which his principles could be displayed is incredibly essential to the study by the church. Metzger states correctly, "With the advent of Christianity there was let loose in the world a transforming energy which made itself felt in all domains, including that of language."[127]

While the LXX is important, many wonder at its relevance for the contemporary believer. Many are unaware that scripture from which the New Testament authors are (often) quoting from is the Greek Old Testament, not the Hebrew scripture. Dines summarizes its importance to the believing community:

> There are far-reaching implications, to the realization that foundational Christian experience was articulated mainly in terms of the Greek biblical texts, and not directly the Hebrew ones. It is still normal to approach key theological ideas, such as covenant and redemption, by analyzing the use of such terms in the MT. But it would be methodologically preferable to examining the LXX and writings dependent on it.[128]

Likewise, the LXX was considered "life-changing" and "transformational" to the text of the New Testament: "The [LXX] influenced the NT writers in such a way that their writings were different as a result. In other words, the content of the NT is substantially different than what it

---

[127] Metzger, B. M., "The Language of the New Testament', *The Interpreter's Bible* vii. 56. Quoted in Barr, *The Semantics*, 247.
[128] Dines, *The Septuagint*, 143.

would have been if the Greek translations of the Hebrew books had not existed."[129] Steyn, an expert in LXX studies, explains it perfectly in his well-known text:

> The LXX provided the NT writers (who wrote about three centuries after its first translations) with a kind of praeparatio evangelica, and were used by them as a 'vehicle' which could help them in the creation of their documents to refer to these 'Scriptures.' They could easily make use of the already translated terminology which was to be found in these documents.[130]

Another angle from which to study the influence of the LXX is the issue of inspiration. Is the LXX an inspired text? While that question cannot be answered in this text, a more answerable question might be offered: Is the LXX an authoritative text? Because it was used in the Jewish synagogue and the early Christian Church, experts today can be partially confident of its authority. The quotation the New Testament author is using from the LXX is authoritative, but his choice of the LXX may not be due to the fact that it is more inspired or more original than the MT. The wide usage of the LXX is testimony to the mission mindset of the New Testament church. The vast majority of Paul's audience was Greek-speaking; thus, Paul "became all things to all men" and chose to utilize the Greek Old Testament. The usage of the LXX within the New Testament, not only in vocabulary and style, but also in a multitude of direct and indirect quotations, shows that the New Testament church considered the LXX as authoritative for use. McLay states, "The LXX text was cited in the NT, in contrast to the Hebrew Scriptures…The Greek Jewish Scriptures as witnessed to by the LXX were deemed to be Scripture for the Early Church; therefore, these texts were regarded as normative for life, belief, and practice."[131] Scholars have noted that Paul's usage of the Septuagint text was prolific.[132]

---

[129] McLay, *The Use*, 144.
[130] Gert Jacobus Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acts Apostolorum* (The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995), 2.
[131] McLay, *The Use*, 144.
[132] A century ago, many scholars converged in their analysis of Paul's utilization of the LXX. E. Ellis writes in his text: "Roepe concludes that the apostle quotes almost without exception from the LXX, and this is often from memory. The valuable Leipzig dissertation of Kautzsch arrived at similar results: Paul always uses the Alexandrian

Likewise, it is vital to this study to recall many experts' assertion of Christ's usage of the Greek Old Testament, lending credibility again as an authoritative text according to New Testament believers.

The vast number of potential Septuagint references within the New Testament is astounding. Shires provides helpful statistics to illustrate this point:

> Of the twenty-seven books of the NT only the one-chapter letter to Philemon shows no direct relationship to the OT. The remaining twenty-six contain some acknowledged OT quotation. Acknowledged quotations, always introduced by some kind of formula, are found in 239 instances in the NT and are drawn from 185 passages in the OT. 944 OT passages are reworded or referred to in 1167 NT citations.[133]

It is important to note that there are various calculations of these statistics, depending upon one's definition of an Old Testament allusion.

Style

The impact of the LXX on the New Testament is virtually uncontested, although experts debate its precise scope. While obvious differences remain, there is a beautiful unity described by a Septuagint expert of a past generation: "The daughter belongs of right to the mother; the Greek Old and New Testaments form by their contexts and by their fortunes an inseparable unity. The oldest manuscript Bibles that we possess are complete Bibles in Greek."[134] Likewise, the elements of similarity are particularly strong to those who have studied the Old Testament and already recognize its influence upon the New. Harrison writes, "A reader of the New Testament who approached it by way of familiarity with the Old Testament is likely to recognize

---

version with the exception of the two Job citations (Rom. 11:25; 1 Cor. 3:19); in these, and perhaps a few others, Paul's text reflects the Hebrew because no LXX translation was available to him. Monnet and Vollmer generally follow Kautzsch in this regard." See Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 4 for further bibliographic information concerning these early twentieth-century scholars.

[133] Henry M. Shires, *Finding the Old Testament in the New* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974), 15.

[134] Deissman, *Philology of the Greek Bible,* pp. 11. Quoted in Harrison, "The Importance," 143.

a certain similarity of structure and idiom…The New Testament possesses constructions and meanings of words for which classical Greek provides no preparation."[135]

According to McLay, there are three persuasions that will prove the LXX's influence on the New Testament: 1) the LXX's influence on the New Testament's vocabulary, 2) quotations from the LXX by New Testament authors, and 3) the usage (and familiarity) of the LXX impacted New Testament theology.[136] There are extensive studies that delve into the issue of New Testament vocabulary and how it has been shaped by the LXX. According to one study, the sharing of vocabulary between the texts is astounding:

> Out of a total vocabulary of over 4800 words in the New Testament (excluding all proper names and their derivatives) there are about 950 which are post-Aristotelian; of these, over 300 are found also in the LXX…There are about 150 words in all which are strictly peculiar to the LXX and the New Testament.[137]

In other words, there are about 550 words found in the New Testament that could be called 'biblical'; that is, occurring only in the New Testament or in the New Testament and the LXX. Thus, twelve percent of the New Testament's vocabulary is 'biblical.'[138] Within such a group one can find nouns, adjectives, and verbs such as a[ggelo", e[qno", saVrx, ejklektov", and doxavzw. Likewise, familiar words to all believers that derive special meaning from the LXX are dovxa, kuvrio", and eujaggevlion.[139] Moises Silva, renowned linguist and biblical scholar writes, "LXX words that appear to stand for cultural entities or theological reflection belong to a special class…with reference to *this* class, the influence of the LXX on the New Testament vocabulary

---

[135] Harrison, "The Importance," 37.
[136] McLay, *The Use*, 144.
[137] H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1895), 88.
[138] Ibid., 93.
[139] McLay, *The Use*, 148,

is very strong indeed."[140] However, one should be careful not to read too much Hellenic (or Septuagintal, for that matter) influence on the New Testament. Barr cautions,

> [There] is the reaction specifically in the New Testament sphere against the 'Hellenistic' interpretation of large parts of the New Testament, with its emphasis on the Greek environment, on the normal koinhv character of NT language, and on the influence on the Gentile church of mystery religions, of Hellenic philosophy, and of the more emphatically Hellenized forms of Judaism. This reaction tried to show that the NT did not necessarily share the typical forms of Greek thought just because it was written in Greek.[141]

While the LXX and the New Testament share common similarities, there are a few linguistic differences. Ottley, obviously not a literary proponent of biblical literature, writes, "The New Testament seems to me to suffer less than the LXX from [a] lack of power and grace in language."[142]

Authors

The authors of the New Testament, specifically Luke and Paul, show familiarity in their writings with the Greek Old Testament and its usefulness to their respective ministries. It is clear from linguistic studies of the Greek Old and New Testaments that they share some key vocabulary, which was not unintentional to the New Testament author. For example, the prayers in Luke's Acts of the Apostles share many resemblances to the prayer formula in the LXX.[143] McLay writes,

> Interpretation of the Scriptures by the NT writers assumes both that they were knowledgeable of the Scriptures and that there was a fundamental continuity between the Jewish Scriptures and how they were being repeated…The essential continuity with Jewish expectation is proclaimed by the NT writers because of what God had accomplished through Christ was according to the Scriptures.[144]

---

[140] Silva, *Biblical Words*, p. 68. Quoted in McLay, *The Use*, 148.
[141] Barr, *The Semantics*, 9.
[142] Ottley, *A Handbook*, 176.
[143] Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 83.
[144] McLay, *The Use*, 35.

Likewise, frequency among certain texts that are quoted from the LXX shows that the particular New Testament writers may have had favorite passages written down (or committed to memory) for quick access.[145] Although written in different contexts, even the books of the New Testament specifically addressed to the Jewish community (Matthew, Hebrews) include references to the LXX.[146] Among Luke's writings, the LXX is ubiquitous. Even within the introduction to his gospel, Luke mentions the use of other sources to aid his records.[147] The quotations in Acts are entirely from the LXX, and Luke's account of the gospel shows little usage of the Hebrew Old Testament.[148] Litke states, "Luke preferred the LXX and he only departed from the LXX when he had to."[149] The inaccessibility of certain Septuagint texts required the usage of other sources for Old Testament citations. Likewise, there is even evidence within Luke's writings that he held as authoritative the *Letter of Aristeas*, modeling specific narrative passages[150] after the pseudo-author.[151]

However, another issue raised by scholars revolves around the speeches found in Acts. In recording history, was Luke quoting Paul's usage of the LXX, or was it Luke himself who inserted quotations from the Greek Old Testament? Tasker writes,

> It has often been debated whether the all-important speeches found in these chapters are the free compositions of the author himself, or whether they are based upon reliable reports of what was actually spoken. A strong argument for believing the latter to be true is the fact that the very Hebraic style of the Greek found in these passages, in

---

[145] McLay, *The Use*, 30-31.
[146] Gleason L. Archer and G. C. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), ix.
[147] See Luke 1:1-14
[148] Shires, *Finding the Old Testament*, 82.
[149] Wayne Douglas Litke, *Luke's Knowledge of the Septuagint: A Study of the Citations in Luke-Acts*, Thesis (McMaster University, September 1993), 25.
[150] See Luke's treatment of the Mission of the Seventy, as well as his "letter-like" emphasis on prayer and hospitality. This issue is adequately discussed in Sidney Jellicoe's article, "St. Luke and the Letter of Aristeas."
[151] Sidney Jellicoe, "St. Luke and the Letter of Aristeas" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 80:02 (1961): 149.

> which there are many quotations from the Septuagint, is inferior to the more elegant Greek of which we know the author to have been capable.[152]

Likewise, scholars know from the Pauline Epistles that the apostle consistently quoted from the Septuagint. As students of the LXX, the church should read the letters and speeches of Paul as though he were "a Christian interpreter whose Bible was Israel's Scripture."[153] Shires summarizes Paul's usage this way: "Among all the NT writers the most extensive use of the OT is made by Paul. In the ten epistles traditionally ascribed to him there are approximately 78 direct quotations from the OT."[154] However, it cannot be denied that the apostle Paul saw the LXX as more appropriate for his audience than its Hebrew counterpart: "fifty-one of Paul's citations are in absolute or virtual agreement with the LXX, twenty-two of these at variance with the Hebrew."[155] H. B. Swete concludes from his studies, "The careful student of the Gospels and St. Paul is met at every turn by words and phrases which cannot be fully understood without reference to their earlier use in the Greek Old Testament."[156]

Citation Difficulties

The formulaic usage of the LXX in the New Testament is a vast and complex study. Steyn states, "The debate on the use (*Verwendung)* and interpretation (*Verstandnis)* of the Jewish Scriptures by early Christianity is as old as Christianity itself."[157] Why did the authors choose a divergent Greek translation of a particular verse rather than the Hebrew translation? Muller

---

[152] R. V. G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), 64.
[153] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989), 5.
[154] Shires, *Finding the Old Testament*, 53.
[155] Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 12.
[156] H. B. Swete, *Introduction*, p. 404. Qtd. in Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 13.
[157] Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 2.

explains, "The New Testament authors probably never imagined that there might be any substantial difference between the Hebrew original and the Greek translation." [158]

However, if the authors did know of the differences between the two texts, it would be an important undertaking to discover their purpose. Muller explains, "When it is remembered that the writers are almost all Jews, and that the Jewish reverence for the actual letters of the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is unparalleled, the point attracts attention."[159] Likewise, Harrison states, "The general fact is undisputed that the large use of the Septuagint in the quotations shows its dominant position in the early church and the high regard in which it was held."[160]

Many theories exist to explain the often peculiar usage of the Greek Old Testament to prove a theological principle being introduced by a New Testament author. One such theory rests in the midrashic (or rabbinic) interpretation method.[161] The usage of this interpretational method is quite extensive among the early church age. According to tradition, there are seven distinctive principles that rule midrashic exegesis and scriptural interpretation, many of which are evidenced within the New Testament.[162] For instance, Fitzmyer writes,

> Paul, writing frequently in the rhetorical style of a preacher, often fails to take into consideration the original context of the Old Testament and twists the quotation which he uses to his own purpose. For instance, in Rom 2:23-24 he says to the Jew 'Will you boast of the law and yet dishonor God by breaking it? For, as the Scripture says, 'The very name of God is abused among the heathen because of you'[163]' Paul is here quoting the fuller text of the Septuagint; but in any case the meaning of the original is that at the time of the Babylonian captivity God's name was despised among the Gentiles because fortune had turned against the Israelites, and it looked as though Israel's God was impotent to help…In Paul's context, however, the name of Yahweh is an object of blasphemy among the Gentiles who see that the Jews boast of the Law but do not observe

[158] Muller, *the First Bible*, 130.
[159] Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, 85.
[160] Harrison, "The Importance," 152.
[161] McLay, 17
[162] See McLay, *The Use*, 33 for further detail on the Seven Rules of Rabbinic Interpretation
[163] See Isaiah 52:5.

> it and hence spurn the will of God. This is obviously a free adaptation of the text of Isaiah, which goes beyond the original sense of it.[164]

Likewise, divergence from the source text as a rabbinic method is best seen in the teaching ministry of Jesus Christ. As Shires explains, "Jesus upheld the OT; but he also became its first radical interpreter…He made use of the methods of interpretation that were currently employed by the scribes and Pharisees. At times, both the form and the content of Jesus' teaching suggest contemporary Jewish instruction."[165]

However, not all divergences can be explained by midrashic interpretational technique. For instance, the apostle Paul readily uses the divergent LXX text to support the universality of the new gospel: "The message Paul finds in the Old Testament is the gospel of Jesus Christ proleptically figured, a gospel proclaiming the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God; his exegesis of Scripture hammers relentlessly on this theme, a theme hardly central in rabbinic hermeneutics."[166] To oversimplify and label the license Paul takes with the text as midrashic interpretation would be a facile and faulty assumption.

Another theory is explained by McLay: "Quoting from memory would be one way to explain the way in which the NT authors sometimes blended several Scriptures together."[167] It is wise to recall that authors using classical Greek often deviated slightly from original quotations; it seems simply to be an appropriate usage of original texts during the New Testament time period.[168] Likewise, for a student of scripture such as Paul, familiarity with the text would explain many divergences: "From a psychological viewpoint it might be expected that one who knew the Scripture in several languages and had a thorough knowledge of the sense of Scripture

---

[164] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), 44.
[165] Shires, *Finding the Old Testament*, 90.
[166] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 13.
[167] McLay, *The Use*, 26.
[168] Shires, *Finding the Old Testament*, 17. Likewise, see the section in this thesis covering Acts 13 for specific examples of this.

would be less tied to any text form."[169] As a Gentile whose first language was Greek, Luke would have been familiar with such usages. Luke was a "writer influenced by the literary conventions of ancient Greek historiography."[170] Yet, of all the gospel writers, he best preserved the original Semitic context in Acts and Luke.

The LXX was used by the New Testament writers to prove the authority of Jesus as Messiah. McLay writes, "The Jewish Scriptures in Greek provided the principal cultural, liturgical, theological, and literary context for the NT writers as they reflected on the way in which Jesus had fulfilled the expectations of God's covenant people according to the Scriptures."[171] Likewise, Archer agrees,

> The very reason for using the LXX was rooted in the missionary outreach of the evangelists and apostles of the early church…Their audience throughout the Near East and Mediterranean world were told that they had only to consult their Old Testament to verify the truth of the apostolic claims that Jesus in his person and by his work had fulfilled the promises of God.[172]

The LXX was a tool in the apostles' hands for aiding their changing perspective on Messiah and kingdom theology:

> The disciples' interpretation of their scriptures was forged in their need to understand the shattering event of the crucifixion of Jesus as rex iudaeorum. As the Jewish bible is Israel's scriptures interpreted out of the further experience of the Jewish people (wars with Rome, the destruction of the Temple, and of Jerusalem), so the church's Old Testament is those same scriptures interpreted out of the church's particular experience.[173]

The book of Acts, especially, is an extremely rewarding study of the LXX's use and influence in the New Testament. Scholars use the term *septuagintalism* much like they use the

---

[169] Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 14.
[170] Benjamin J. Hubbard, "Luke, Josephus and Rome: A Comparative Approach to the Lukan *Sitz im Leben*" In *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers, Volume 1*, Edited by Paul J. Achtemeier (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 59.
[171] McLay, *The Use*, 138.
[172] Archer, *Old Testament Quotations*, ix.
[173] Paul M. Van Buren, *The Origins of the Gospel and the Church's Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 87.

terms *hebraicism* and *aramaism*; basically, the term *septuagintalism* refers to "expressions typical of the Septuagint [that] may have become part of the language of Acts: e.g. the recurrent ejn tw'/ with infinitive."[174] In fact, it is noteworthy to mention that Matthew and Mark use this construction once each, and that John never uses it, but Luke includes ejn tw'/ with the infinitive twenty-five times.[175] In fact, there are seven clear cases of septugaintalism syntax within the book of Acts: ejn tw'/ with infinitive, pa'" (a{pa"), oJ laoV", ajnoivgein toV stovma, ceivr tinov" ejpi tina, and koiliva, to name a few. Most comments that apodotic kaiV is of great import in comparison studies: "It is commonly ascribed to conscious imitation of the LXX, or to translation from a document that imitated the LXX…The purpose of such an imitation would be to give a Biblical flavor, such as we would give by injected thee and thou and similar forms."[176] It should also be noted that the narratives of Acts are paralleled with narrative writing from the LXX: Luke is known as "an imitator of OT history in his narrative."[177] Max Wilcox explains these parallel phrasings in this way: "They entered the diction of Acts by way of those portions of scripture employed in the Church of Luke's time in worship and apology."[178]

However, to attempt to impose any one theory on a particular New Testament author would be a mistake. In fact, several scholars have concluded that the only sure system of quotation found within the New Testament is no system at all. Barr writes, "The most serious arbitrariness appears when a particular interpretive principle or method is rationalized…This type of arbitrariness, the arbitrariness of a reasoned or fixed method steadily used, is absent from the New Testament situation…It is the arbitrariness of creativity in departure from a defined

---

[174] Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, 57.
[175] William G. Most, "Did St. Luke Imitate the Septuagint?" *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 15:01 (1982): 32.
[176] Most, "Did St. Luke," 32-33.
[177] Litke, *Luke's Knowledge*, 28.
[178] Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, 83.

tradition."[179] Hays describes Paul's 'methods' as "helter skelter intuitive readings, unpredictable, ungeneralizable."[180] In short, there is no discernible final or authoritative method of Old Testament citation unearthed by leading scholars.

Specific Passages

Luke records the first Pauline speech in Acts 13, which is widely noted to be the first and longest missionary speech by Paul to a Jewish audience in Antioch of Pisidia.[181] According to Riesner, Pisidian Antioch "was economically important" and "had a significant Jewish community probably composed mainly of merchants (Acts 13:14) and with extensive influence over Gentiles (Acts 13:16, 26)."[182] Doble states,

> Like Peter's speeches, Paul's sermon is essentially comparative biography interwoven with, and building on earlier exploration of, psalms. Unlike them, it is 'sermonic' in construction. In so condensed a report of Paul's address at Pisidian Antioch its density of reference to scripture is remarkable, confirming readers' impression of the intensely scripture-based nature of apostolic activity in the community's earliest years.[183]

With the "trilogy of quotations" taken from the LXX, this Lukan recording of Paul's sermon has caused great speculation among scholars.[184] Tasker writes in his text, "[The speech] is an interesting specimen of the manner in which Paul presented the gospel to a Jewish audience, and especially of the way in which he and other evangelists of the early Church regarded the Old Testament."[185] Luke uses Paul's methodology in Acts 13 as a pattern for his further missionary travels: "The story of Paul's visit here is told at length so as to serve as an implicit pattern for subsequent towns. Consequently, when Paul follows the same pattern in Iconium, it can be

---

[179] Barr, James. Quoted in Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 160.
[180] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 160 .
[181] John MacArthur, *Acts 13-28* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1996), 15.
[182] Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 276.
[183] Peter Doble, "The Psalms in Luke-Acts," In *The Psalms in the New Testament*, Edited by Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 105.
[184] Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 159.
[185] Tasker, *The Old Testasment*, 75.

qualified by the phrase 'as usual' (Acts 14:1). The pattern is expressly repeated at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth and Ephesus."[186] According to Weiser and others, this is Paul's only speech directed to a Hellenized Jewish audience, brought to the area during the Seleucid reign,[187] and thus deserves special attention among the speeches.[188] As Mauck observes, "Luke continues to assert that the ministry of Paul and Barnabas in Pisidian Antioch was emphatically Jewish in several ways: It begins on a Sabbath, takes place in the synagogue, and synagogue rulers invite Paul and Barnabas to speak."[189] In verse 15, Luke records that Paul's preaching occurs in the synagogue after the reading of the Law and the Prophets.[190] Steyn notes, "Paul is seen here as a rhetor, but in contrast to the Jewish tradition of sitting in the synagogue, he stood up and began his speech like the Greek orators did."[191] There has been criticism of Luke's recording of Paul's first speech. Goldsworthy writes,

> Some scholars are reticent to accept Luke's version of Paul's preaching and teaching, but it is difficult to see why this hermeneutic of suspicion should be adopted. In fact, Luke's testimony is an important witness to the matter of Paul's theology and his mission. Although some may dismiss this sermon in the synagogue in Antioch of Pisidia as Luke's reinterpretation of Paul, there is no reason why it cannot be accepted at face value as an accurate summary of Paul's sermon.[192]

Paul's speech includes all of the features that have been cited in previous missionary speeches directed to a Jewish audience (See Acts 2:38-40; 3:19; and 3:26).[193] Witherington writes, "Since this speech is carefully carted to be persuasive to a Diaspora Jewish audience, it

---

[186] I. Howard Marshall, "Luke's Portrait of the Pauline Mission," In *The Gospel to the Nations*, Edited by Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000), 107.
[187] Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 405.
[188] See A. Weiser, *Apg II*, 323. Weiser has done a comprehensive work on this particular Pauline speech and should be referred to for further information.
[189] John W. Mauck, *Paul on Trial* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 107.
[190] Witherington states in his text, "The regular procedure seems to have been that first the Shema would be recited, then the saying of the prayer (in later times the eighteen benedictions), then the reading of Torah often accompanied by a translation in the Diaspora, especially if the LXX was not used, then an exposition or homily would follow," (406).
[191] Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 160.
[192] Graeme Goldsworthy, "Biblical Theology and the Shape of Paul's Mission," In *The Gospel to the Nations*, Edited by Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000), 13.
[193] Ibid., 162.

not only has the form of deliberative rhetoric but it reflects the patterns of early Jewish argumentation. In particular it has been argued that Paul is following the Yelammedenu form with Deut. 4:25-26 as the seder text." [194] Likewise, according to Mauck, this speech serves as a "bookend" to another portion of Acts:

> Luke obviously does not give his readers Paul's entire sermon, just an edited portion. Why then does he select the portion which gives a synopsis of Exodus, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, and the rule of Saul and David? Evidently, this historical digression is chosen as a 'Chapter Two' to supply background which a Gentile lacks about Israel. It complements Acts 7 where Luke gives a 'Chapter One' introduction to the history of Israel focusing on Moses.[195]

Steyn also asserts in his text, "The explicit appeal to the hearers to 'listen' follows the naming of the hearers: ajkouvsate (v.16). This probably resembles the element of the *shema* in the synagogue service.[196] However, here this element follows after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and not before it, as in the order described in the Mishnah."[197] After the reading of Torah, the synagogue ruler requests from Paul a lovgo" paraklhvsew", which refers to a message of exhortation addressed to the hearers (cf. Heb. 13:22).[198] Witherington notes, "This phrase is important in understanding how Luke is characterizing this address—it is a piece of deliberative, not epideictic, rhetoric meant to urge a change not just in belief but also in behavior, as vv. 40-42 makes clear."[199]

Paul addresses his audience at three separate junctures in his speech, which both identifies the audience as Jewish and clarifies the organization of the speech: "The three distinct addresses signal new divisions in the speech: (1) men Israelites at v. 16, (2) men brothers at v.

---

[194] See Witherington's discussion on possible options for the seder text used prior to Paul's exhortation, 408-409.
[195] Mauck, *Paul on Trial*.
[196] See Deut. 6:4: "a[koue lsrahl…"
[197] Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 164.
[198] Witherington, *The Acts*, 406.
[199] Witherington, *The Acts*, 407.

26, and (3) men brothers at v.38."[200] In verse 16, Paul begins his speech by differentiating between the two distinct audiences before him—"Men of Israel" (uiJoiV gevnou" jAbraaVm) and "you who fear God" (oiJ ejn uJmi'n fobouvmenoi toVn qeovn). This dual address, "while perhaps primarily for Jews, is nonetheless targeting those on the fringes of the synagogue as well from the outset."[201] Verses 17 and 18 begin Paul's exposition of the Israelite salvation history, largely ignoring the role of Moses. Verse 18 represents the speech's first textual difficulty surrounding the word ejtropofovrhsen: Is Luke writing that God put up with his people or that he took care of them in the wilderness of Exodus? Witherington writes, "Both readings are well attested, and it is clear enough that our text is alluding to Deuteronomy 1:31 (LXX), where we find the same variants. The positive context favors the reading "cared for," and this is in fact the better-attested reading for Deut. 1:31."[202] Lenski's observations agree with Witherington: "All those years God tenderly cared for Israel like a father nursing his son. He fed the people with manna and kept them so that they did not perish. The fact that their own unbelief extended the journey to forty years is not the point here; God kept them in spite of their unbelief."[203]

Verses 19 through 21 continue the historical systematization of Israel, going from the emptying of Canaan to the line of David. It is in verse 22 that Acts 13 has its first direct quotation of the Old Testament regarding the Davidic reign:

> Verse 22 includes a partial quotation of three different texts: (1) 'I have found David' (Ps. 89:20), (2) 'a man after my own heart' (1 Sam. 13:14), (3) who will do all I want him to do' (Isa. 44:28). It is probably not coincidental that David is said to be raised up by God (egeirw) for Israel, for this is the same language about to be used of Jesus in v. 30, with a different meaning.[204]

---

[200] Ibid., 408.
[201] Ibid., 409.
[202] Witherington, *The Acts*, 410.
[203] R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934), 518.
[204] Ibid.

Balch observes, "Luke radically revises the historical approach when retelling the story of David. David is not a warrior fighting with foreigners such as Goliath but rather a prophet who foresees his descendant's deliverance from the corruption of death and his subsequent ascension (see LXX Ps. 15, cited in Acts 13:35)."[205] Peter Doble asserts that Psalm 88 is alluded to in both verses 22 and 23:

> At 13:22 are two words unique to Ps. 88:21, euron Danid (I have found David). The following verse (13:23) relates Jesus to God's *promise* to give Israel a Saviour from among David's descendants. Psalm 88 is a psalmist's passionate reflection on God's *promise* to David. Together, Acts 13:22-23 strongly suggest that Psalm 88 is in view, so these two words, uniquely combined, do not stand alone. It would be hard to find a more radical reflection on David's story than Psalm 88, a psalm available to Luke, central to his major theme—rebuilding David's house—and the concluding psalm of Book III of the Greek Psalter.[206]

Beginning in verse 23 and carrying through to the end of the speech (verse 41), the critical transition from Israel to the coming Messiah is introduced. The seed of David and the role of John the Baptizer make inevitable the entrance of Jesus Christ. According to Pao, Luke uses the Isaianic references uniquely when referring to John: "It is unjustifiable to understand Isaiah 40:3-5 simply as a "proof-text" that the ministry of John the Baptist 'fulfills.' In Luke, John is not portrayed primarily as a messenger of salvation."[207] As Goldsworthy notes, "In the Antioch sermon the reasoning of the apostle is clear. The resurrection of Jesus is the grand climax of salvation history."[208]

Verse 26 makes it clear that "the message of salvation was for both the descendants of Abraham and for those in Israel's midst who feared God, that is, for God-fearing listeners."[209] The assertion that the gospel is available to not only the Jews but to the entire world sets up the

---

[205] David L. Balch, "METABOLH POLITEIWN," In *Contextualizing Acts*, Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004), 182.
[206] Doble, "The Psalms," 105.
[207] David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academics, 2000), 40.
[208] Goldsworthy, "Biblical Theology," 14.
[209] Witherington, *The Acts*, 411.

audience of the next Sabbath for his use of Isaiah 42:6 and 49:6 in Acts 13:47. However, before reaching this conclusion, Paul provides a citation, Psalm 2:7, connecting coronation with the resurrection of Christ. Paul uses two passages "meant to support the notion of the risen Jesus never returning again to the corruption of human decay, a partial quote of Isa. 55:3 (LXX) followed quickly in v. 35 by a citation of Ps. 16:10…The linkage between the two texts seems to be the term "holy" in variant forms (ta osia in v.34b and ton osion sou in v. 35).[210] In verse 34, Paul quotes from Isaiah 55:3, proclaiming to the listeners "the David mercies." Lenski writes regarding the choice of using the LXX, which diverges slightly from the Hebrew text, "Paul follows the LXX because the point is taV pistav, 'the things trustworthy,' <yn]m*a$N\h, that can never be broken or abrogated. They are 'the holy things of David,' Hebrew 'the David mercies,' a standard term for the covenant promises as made to David by God in 2 Sam. 7, Ps. 89:36-27."[211] Tyson notes that it is in verse 39 that Paul represents the author of the epistles more than any other Pauline speech:

> In Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch, he announces that forgiveness of sins is available through Jesus Christ and that 'everyone who believes is set free from all those sins from which you could not be freed by the law of Moses.' Here Paul sounds like the author of Romans and Galatians. Elsewhere in Acts, however, the themes of the Lukan Paul are fundamentally Jewish, more specifically Pharisaic.[212]

Verses 40 and 41 serve as a strict warning to the listeners of Paul's message. Using Habakkuk 1:5, where Israel was cautioned concerning the coming of Nebuchadnezzar and foreign invasion, Paul beseeches his audience in a like manner to escape the wrath of those who do not "take heed." Doble asserts another allusion from the Psalms along with the Habakkuk citation:

> One intertextual echo completes this sermon's texturing. Although slightly abbreviated and with its word 'work' repeated, this quotation is 'Septuagintal.' As a congregation

---

[210] Ibid., 412.
[211] Lenski, *Interpretation*, 538.
[212] Joseph B. Tyson, "From History to Rhetoric and Back," In *Contextualizing Acts*, Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004), 26.

> might expect from a concluding prophetic quotation, this verse ties together the sermon's threads—while interacting with Psalm 117, one of Luke's core psalms.[213]

Although verse 47 represents a different address, this paper would be amiss not to include the subsequent citing of the Isaiah passages in Acts 13. Witherington writes,

> Verse 47 presents a scriptural rationale for turning to the Gentiles. Here part of Isaiah 49:6b (cf. Isa. 42:6 and 9:2) is used, a saying also drawn on the Jesus saying in Acts 1:8b. Interestingly this saying is an aid to be a command of the Lord for Paul and Barnabas. They are assuming the role and tasks of the Servant in the Servants Songs, which is to say the tasks of Israel.[214]

This quotation from Isaiah is undoubtedly from the LXX with two divergences. Pao writes,

> First, the omission of ijdouV in the Lukan text is probably the result of a stylistic change to situate the text better in the Lukan context. Given the appearance of the same word in Acts 13:46, the omission in 13:47 may also simply reflect an attempt to avoid using the same word twice in such proximity…While the omission of eij" diaqhvkhn gevnou" may be due to the Lukan interest in the Gentile mission, it is also possible that Luke is aware of the Hebrew text of Isa. 49:6 that has no equivalent of [the phrase]. More importantly, however, the phrase is also omitted in the Alexandrian group of the LXX.[215]

Paul's speech before Agrippa in Acts 26 also speaks of the role of the Jewish nation, subsequently through Christ's work, as a light:

> Therefore, having obtained help from God, to this day I stand, witnessing both to small and great, saying no other things than those which the prophets and Moses said would come—that the Christ would suffer, that He would be the first to rise from the dead, and would proclaim light to the Jewish people and to the Gentiles.[216]

Some scholars, such as Gert Jacobus Steyn, assert that each of the Old Testament quotations found in Acts 13 can be traced back to various sources of the Septuagint text, in some cases with minor variations (omissions and substitutions). The choice of citations in the Acts 13 speech is purposeful: "Luke's intention is to summarize the message, the 'good news.'" [217] For instance, the citation from Psalm 2:7 is inserted to give credence to Paul's statement "that God

---

[213] Doble, "The Psalms in Luke-Acts," 105.
[214] Witherington, *The Acts*, 416.
[215] Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 97.
[216] Acts 26:22-23
[217] Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 168.

has fulfilled this" (o{ti tauvthn oJ qeoV" ejkpeplhvrwken) "to us, to their children" (toi'" tevknoi" (aujtw'n) hJmi'n) "by raising Jesus" (ajnasthvsa" jIhsou'n).[218] Likewise, Luke's quotation of Habakkuk 1:5 serves as an interesting study both into his purpose for the speech, as well as into his citation formula. Styen writes, "This quotation functions as a warning to the Diaspora Jews and the God-fearers of Antioch in Pisidia not to repeat the mistake made by the Jerusalemites and their leaders."[219] In fact, Luke uses the LXX, which diverges slightly from the Masoretic Text, by addressing the disobedient Jews as "the scoffers" (which the MT does not include).[220] The Lucan text reads: i[dete, oiJ katafronhtaiv, kaiV qaumavsate kaiV ajfanivsqhte, o{ti e[rgon ejrgavzomai ejgwV ejn tai'" hJmevrai" uJmw'n, e[rgon o} ouj mhV pisteuvshte ejavn ti" ejkdihgh'tai uJmi'n. Fitzmyer writes,

> In this case every word in the Lucan text corresponds to a word in the LXX version, except for the repeated e[rgon before the relative pronoun o}, which Luke has added. It omits some words that are in the Greek text of the LXX; but, more importantly, the Lucan text reads, i[dete, oiJ katafronhtaiv, 'Look, you scoffers,' as does the LXX. This reading, however, does not translate the Hebrew of the MT, <y]oGb^ War+,'Look at the nations.' In this case the Lucan text preserves a better translation of Habakkuk 1:5, one that is the same as that of the LXX and reflects that of the Peshitta, but also a Hebrew *Vorlage* previously not known to have existed.[221]

The Hebrew text underlying this variant reads:

.rP*s%y+ yK! Wnym!a&t^ aO <k#ym@yB! Iu@P) Iu^p)-yK! Whm*T= WhM=T^h!w+ WfyB!h^w+ <y]oGb^ War+

As Litke agrees in his text, "We have here a LXX quotation which has been altered for stylistic reasons. The passage is clearly from the LXX. While in the Hebrew text the passage directs attention to the 'pagan nations,' in the LXX this is not the case, thus allowing Paul (and Luke) to

---

[218] Ibid., 172.
[219] Styen, *Septuagint Quotations*, 193.
[220] Some experts have argued that this divergence should not be attributed to the LXX text but to the corresponding Qumran document of Habakkuk, 1QpHab. See Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 190ff.
[221] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *To Advance the Gospel* Second Edition (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 306.

apply these words to the Jews,"[222] and to use a rather negative label for them. While some of Paul's hearers gladly accepted the message of the apostle, others were aroused to anger. Mauck observes, "The opposition to Paul is not based upon the non-Jewishness of his teaching but upon the resistance of some Jews to the repeated message of the Prophets that Gentiles would be included into their religion.[223] Put another way, the opponents in Pisidian Antioch are saying that Paul has no authority to admit people into the faith. Luke is saying that Paul's authority comes from Scripture, the Resurrection, and the Holy Spirit."[224] In Acts 13 alone, the preaching of Paul is referred to as either "the word of God" or "the word of the Lord" five times,[225] showing Paul's authority to preach in this manner.[226]

However, it should be kept in mind that while Paul was, indeed, speaking to a Jewish audience, this particular group of Jews should be considered a part of the Diaspora. The fact that Luke records Paul's Old Testament citations from Septuagint sources is not surprising.[227] Paul

---

[222] Litke, *Luke's Knowledge*, 81.
[223] See the LXX rendering of Isaiah 49:6 quoted in Acts 13:47.
[224] Mauck, *Paul on Trial*, 109.
[225] Acts 13:5, 7, 44, 46, 49
[226] Roy B. Zuck, *Teaching as Paul Taught* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), 69.
[227] Luke's recording of Septuagint quotations in Acts 13 is fairly typical of his writings. However, one of the more notable of the controversial Old Testament quotations found in the New Testament deals not with Paul's use of the divergent LXX, but James' dialogue found within the Acts 15 usage of Amos 9:12. The LXX text (which is used here) differs from the Hebrew scripture. The passage from Amos 9 is also noteworthy in that it is not only quoted in its divergent form within the New Testament, it is also quoted twice in the Qumran scrolls (Tasker, *The Old Testament*, 51).

When comparing the Old Greek of Amos 9:12 to the Masoretic Text, one can find more similarities than differences. For example, the Greek word skhnh or 'dwelling' is a faithful rendering of the Hebrew *sukat* (McLay, *The Use*, 19). However, even with the similarities inherent in the two texts, vast differences completely change the tone and meaning of the entire text. Two key differences revolve around the reading 'seek' for 'possess' (vr~D` for vr~y`) and 'people' for 'Edom' (*adam* for *Edom*). Three options have been proposed to explain why this particular LXX translator would have made the decision to change the text. First, it was a completely unintentional decision. The writer misread the two difficult words (without vowels) and simply assumed their translation, otherwise known as graphic confusion. The second option is that there was a conscious choice to render the text in a different way that would suit the writer's agenda. The third choice represents the middle ground. As McLay writes, "Perhaps the translator did not completely understand the meaning of the text and, based on reading 'humanity' for 'Edom,' assumed that the scribe who had copied the Hebrew text had made an error. Thus, he introduced a change that made sense to him" (McLay, *The Use*, 21). Assuming that early Christians had reliable textual witnesses, then the difference between the LXX and the Hebrew MT can be attributed to faulty memory, a simplification of the idea or the conscious decision to "tweak" the text to complement the theology (See McLay's text *The Use of Scripture in*

was preaching to a Greek-speaking audience, and the Lukan text was aimed towards a predominantly Greek-speaking church. One must be careful not to use Paul's speeches from Acts to apply more than is appropriate regarding Paul's preference for the LXX.

Muller writes in his text, "The Jewish Bible is permeated by a duplicity or openness which the New Testament or Early Church interpretation both accentuates and exploits. Opposite the concept of Israel as God's chosen people is the concept of the holy remnant."[228] Likewise, Hays agrees: "Paul's readings of Scripture are transformative: by correlating God's word to Israel with the new circumstances of his churches and the content of his kerygma, he generates novel interpretations that nonetheless claim to be the true, eschatologically disclosed sense of the ancient texts."[229] Augustine notes in *City of God*,

> If then, as our duty is, we discern in those Scriptures nothing but what the Spirit of God has spoken through the agency of men, it follows that whatever is found in the Hebrew manuscripts and not in the translation of the Seventy, is something which the Spirit of God chose to say, not through the Seventy but through the prophets themselves; but whatever is found in the Septuagint and not in the Hebrew manuscripts, the one and the same Spirit chose to say it through the Seventy rather than through the Hebrew manuscripts; and He showed thereby the prophetic character of both.[230]

New Testament Research for an excellent and comprehensive treatment with all issues revolving around Acts 15 and Amos 9).

[228] Muller, *The First Bible*, 137.

[229] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 155.

[230] St. Augustine, *The City of God*, xvii, 43. Qtd. In Tasker, *The Old Testament*, 78.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The issues revolving around the Greek Old Testament are vast. After a two-year study of the Septuagint, the present author cannot help but feel that its depths have hardly been plumbed, by myself or scholars within the field. However, this thesis serves as an introduction to several of the key features within the Septuagint. Likewise, it seeks to answer (according to the leading scholars) some of the questions that are inherent within Septuagint research.

As a novice student of the Septuagint text, my research has personally impacted my scholarship. As a hopeful biblical linguist, the concept of Hebrew and Greek converging in one text is exciting—and challenging. Even beyond this combination, the fact that the LXX is the predominant text from which the New Testament writers read and quoted ascribes to it a unique universality. Perhaps the LXX was even a document that was read and explored by the Lord Jesus Christ. Because of these characteristics, the LXX has come to be a beautiful and sometimes mysterious book to examine.

My academic as well as personal goal is to become a specialized expert in the issues surrounding the Septuagint, especially the areas of linguistic research and its impact upon the New Testament. Likewise, I desire that my exploration of the text would aid in my understanding of an appropriate hermeneutic of scripture, and how the New Testament writers deviated from this hermeneutic. I did not expect to become passionate about this ancient text; and yet somehow, passion is what I feel when I study and describe it to fellow students. I aim to expound upon this foundational study, in the hopes that I may one day instruct and guide others in their pursuit of the Septuagint.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archer, Gleason L. and G.C. Chirichigno. *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1983.

Arieti, James A. "The Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93:03 (1974): 338-347.

Balch, David L. "METABOLH POLITEIWN Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function." In *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. Leiden, The Netherlands: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004: 139-188.

Barr, James. *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Beck, John A. *Translators as Storytellers: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2000.

Blank, Sheldon. "The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 7:01 (1930): 259-283.

Clancy, Frank. "The Date of LXX." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 16:02 (2002): 207-225.

Dines, Jennifer M. *The Septuagint*. Edited by Michael A. Knibb. London: T&T Clark Ltd., 2004.

Doble, Peter. "The Psalms in Luke-Acts." In *The Psalms in the New Testament*. Edited by Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken. London: T&T Clark International, 2004: 83-117.

Ellis, E. Earle. *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1981.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974.

---. *To Advance the Gospel*. Second Edition. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.

Gehman, Henry S. "Short Notes: Some Types of Errors of Transmission in the LXX." *Vetus testamentum* 3:01 (1953): 397-400.

Gelston, A. "Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos." *Vetus testamentum* 52:04 (2002): 493-500.

Goldsworthy, Graeme. “Biblical Theology and the Shape of Paul’s Mission.” In *The Gospel to the Nations*. Edited by Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000: 7-18.

Gooding, D. W. “Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies.” *Vetus testamentum* 13:04 (1963): 357-379.

Gough, Henry. *The New Testament Quotations*. London: Walton and Maberly, 1855.

Harrison, Everett F. “The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies.” In *Truth for Today: Bibliotheca Sacra Reader*. Edited by John F. Walvoord. Chicago: Moody Press, 1963: 137-45.

Hays, Richard B. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Hengel, Martin. *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002.

Hubbard, Benjamin J. “Luke, Josephus and Rome: A Comparative Approach to the Lukan *Sitz im Leben*.” In *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers, Volume 1*. Edited by Paul J. Achtemeier. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979. Pp. 59-67.

Jellicoe, Sidney. *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Ann Arbor: Eisenbrauns, 1968.

---. “St. Luke and the Letter of Aristeas.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 80:02 (1961): 149-155.

Jobes, Karen H. and Moises Silva. *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000.

Kennedy, H. A. A. *Sources of New Testament Greek*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1895.

Klein, Ralph W. *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974.

Lenski, R. C. H. *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934.

Litke, Wayne Douglas. *Luke’s Knowledge of the Septuagint: A Study of the Citations in Luke-Acts*. Thesis: McMaster University, September 1993.

MacArthur, John. *The MacArthur New Testament Commentary: Acts 13-28*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1996.

Marshall, I. Howard. “Luke’s Portrait of the Pauline Mission.” In *The Gospel to the Nations*. Edited by Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000: 99-113.

Mauck, John W. *Paul on Trial: The Book of Acts as a Defense of Christianity*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001.

McLay, R. Timothy. *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003.

Metzger, Bruce M. “The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 70:04 (1951): 297-307.

Most, William G. “Did St. Luke Imitate the Septuagint?” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 15:01 (1982): 30-41.

Muller, Mogens. *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.

Olofsson, Staffan. “Studying the Word Order of the Septuagint: Questions and Possibilities.” *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10:02 (1996): 217-237.

Ottley, R. R. *A Handbook to the Septuagint*. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1920.

Pao, David W. *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus.* Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000.

Pietersma, Albert. “A New English Translation of the Septuagint.” *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 1998: 217-228.

Riesner, Rainer. *Paul’s Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*. Translated by Doug Stott. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.

Shires, Henry M. *Finding the Old Testament in the New*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974.

Simonetti, Manlio. *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*. Translated by John A. Hughes. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, Ltd., 1994.

Steyn, Gert Jacobus. *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acts Apostolorum*. The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995.

Tasker, R. V. G. *The Old Testament in the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954.

Tov, Emanuel. "The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and MT, S, T, V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources." In *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible*. Edited by Adrian Schenker. The Netherlands: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003. Pp. 121-144.

---. *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research.* Jerusalem: Yuval Press, 1981.

Tyson, Joseph B. "From History to Rhetoric and Back: Assessing New Trends in Acts Studies." In *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*. Edited by Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. Leiden, The Netherlands: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004: 23-42.

Van Buren, Paul M. *The Origins of the Gospel and of the Church's Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.

Walters, Peter. *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendations*. Edited by D. W. Gooding. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Wilcox, Max. *The Semitisms of Acts*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Witherington, Ben, III. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.

Yoder, J. Otis. *New Testament Synonyms in the Septuagint*. Dissertation. Chicago: Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954.

Zuck, Roy B. *Teaching as Paul Taught*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998.