

“Have You Seen, Son of Man?”

A Study in the Translation
and *Vorlage* of LXX Ezekiel 40–48

Daniel M. O'Hare

LXX

Septuagint and Cognate Studies

“HAVE YOU SEEN, SON OF MAN?”

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BY
DANIEL M. O’HARE

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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To Jamie
For her love and constant support

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those given in P. H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| √ | Denotes a Semitic root |
| 1° | First instance of a word or phrase in a given verse |
| 2° | Second instance of a word or phrase in a given verse |
| A | Codex Alexandrinus; 5 th century uncial manuscript |
| B | Codex Vaticanus; 4 th century uncial manuscript often containing a very early text of LXX Ezekiel; this and Papyrus 967 are the most important witnesses to LXX Ezek |
| Ezek α' | Ezek 1–25 (alternately, 1–27) |
| Ezek β' | Ezek 26–39 (alternately, 28–39) |
| Ezek γ' | Ezek 40–48 |
| GELS | Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Revised edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003. |
| <i>Italic</i> | Translated term implied but not present in the original language |
| <i>JSJSup</i> | Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods |
| LXX | Septuagint (Old Greek): the oldest recoverable translation of Ezekiel into Greek |
| LXX ^{ed} | The Göttingen critical edition of LXX Ezekiel. Joseph Ziegler, ed. <i>Ezechiel</i> . Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum XVI, 1. 3d. ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006. |
| LXX ^V | Reconstructed <i>Vorlage</i> of the Septuagint |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| LXX ^{v?} | Reconstructed <i>Vorlage</i> of the Septuagint (questionable) |
| MT | Masoretic Text. For Ezekiel, the edition of MT used is Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds. <i>The Book of Ezekiel</i> . The Hebrew University Bible Project. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004. Elsewhere, MT is cited according to <i>BHS</i> . |
| MT ^K | <i>Kethib</i> Reading of the Masoretic Text |
| MT ^Q | <i>Qere</i> Reading of the Masoretic Text |
| NAB | New American Bible |
| NETS | Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title</i> . New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. |
| NJPS | New Jewish Publication Society translation of the Tanakh (Old Testament) |
| OL | Old Latin |
| OL ^S | Fragmenta Sangallensia (9 th century Old Latin witness) |
| OL ^W | Wirceburgensis; a 6 th century Old Latin manuscript |
| Par | Paraleipomena, the name for Chronicles in Greek translation |
| Tg | Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Ezekiel. The edition used is A. Sperber, ed. <i>The Bible in Aramaic. Volume 3: The Latter Prophets</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1962. |
| Vul | Vulgate. This is cited according to the edition of Robert Weber, ed. <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem</i> . 4 th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994. |
| Syr | Peshitta. The edition used is M. J. Mulder. <i>The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version. Part 3, fasc. 3: Ezekiel</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1985. |

CHAPTER 1: PROLEGOMENA

INTRODUCTION

As represented in his book, Ezekiel is a polymath. The book of Ezekiel combines a priestly outlook with prophetic inspiration, law with rhetoric, and tendentious accounts of the past with no less clearly delineated hopes for the future. Mystical visions commingle with strident moralism. Almost every perspective (including the scribal/ sapiential) from which the deeper questions of meaning are addressed in the Hebrew Bible is represented in this fascinating book. Besides native Israelite and Judean traditions, some scholars have also posited Mesopotamian influences on Ezekiel's prophecy.¹ No doubt, such a range of influences explains, at least partially, the generous share of scholarly attention the book has received.²

Another characteristic of Ezekiel that has catalyzed scholarly interest in this book is its somewhat discordant textual state. As is increasingly recognized, major textual differences in extant witnesses provide an important point of departure in understanding how

¹ Daniel Bodi, *The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra* (OBO 104; Freiburg/ Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/ Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), argued that Ezekiel was inspired, at least in part, by the Babylonian Poem of Erra.

² The most up-to-date survey of research on Ezekiel available is Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Ezechiel: Der Stand der theologischen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008). In addition to this, see R. L. Kohn, "Ezekiel at the Turn of the Century," *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies* 2 (2003): 9–31 and the selective survey in Daniel M. O'Hare and D. Brent Sandy, *Prophecy and Apocalyptic: An Annotated Bibliography* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 131–37.

biblical books came to be.³ In the book of Ezekiel in particular, differences between the Septuagint (LXX) and Masoretic Text (MT) are persistent and occasionally striking. Moreover, such differences furnish evidence for the continued redaction of the book of Ezekiel during the period when the Jewish Scriptures were being translated into Greek. Contemporary research on the Septuagint has thus advanced beyond the point where specific readings can be mined for their contributions toward recovering an “original text,” as if these readings could be understood independently of the larger issues surrounding the translation and transmission of any given book or pericope. Consequently, the purpose throughout what follows is twofold: 1) to identify and illustrate the goals of the translation of LXX Ezek 40–48; and 2) to distinguish the translator’s *Vorlage* from his own contributions to the extent possible. It will quickly become apparent that both goals are deeply intertwined.

After a brief overview of Ezek 40–48, the balance of this chapter will introduce the state of scholarship on LXX Ezekiel. Two major issues serve as a convenient entrée into this scholarship: 1) the debate over the number of translators for LXX Ezekiel, which in the first half of the twentieth century was linked strongly to the uneven distribution of the doubled divine name (אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה) in MT Ezekiel; and 2) the alternative order preserved in one very early witness to Greek Ezekiel (Papyrus 967). After this review of scholarship, a brief introduction to one functional theory of translation (*Skopostheorie*) will provide the theoretical grounding for the approach in this study. A sketch of the plan for the rest of the work will follow thereafter.

³ For an excellent illustration and development of this idea, see Kristin De Troyer, *Die Septuaginta und die Endgestalt des Alten Testaments* (trans. G. S. Robinson; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005). See also Adrian Schenker’s studies comparing the books of Kings in MT and LXX: *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Fribourg/ Göttingen: Academic Press/ Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); idem, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l’histoire la plus ancienne du text de 1 Rois 2–14* (CahRB 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000). A collaborative effort is found in Dominique Barthélemy et al., eds., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism: Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1986).

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF EZEKIEL 40–48

For the uninitiated, Ezek 40–48 is forbidding territory, even though this strange vision was received enthusiastically in various currents of Second Temple Judaism.⁴ Despite disagreements as to the boundaries between one section and the next, scholars are in general agreement about the three major sections contained in these chapters. Each of these three sections is bordered by a transitional unit as given below.

- The Visionary Temple and Its Measurements (40:1–42:20)
 Transitional Unit: The Return of the Glory (כבוד; 43:1–12)
 The Temple Law (43:13–46:24)
 Transitional Unit: The Life-Giving River (47:1–12)
 Boundaries of the Land and City (47:13–48:35)⁵

⁴ Devorah Dimant, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran,” in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (ed. I. Gruenwald et al.; TSAJ 32; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992), 31–51; Florentino García Martínez, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 163–76; Beate Kowalski, *Die Rezeption des Propheten Ezechiel in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2004); Albert Vanhoye, “L’utilisation du livre d’Ézéchiél dans l’Apocalypse,” *Bib* 43 (1962): 436–76; Johan Lust, “The Order of Final Events in Revelation and in Ezekiel,” in *L’apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1980), 179–83; Lorenzo Di Tomasso, *The Dead Sea New Jerusalem Text: Contents and Contexts* (TSAJ 110; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2005).

⁵ See the similar structure in Rimon Kasher, *Ezekiel: Introduction and Commentary* (2 vols.; Mikra Leyisra’el; Tel Aviv/ Jerusalem: Am Oved/ Magnes, 2004), 770 [Hebrew]. Kasher sees the description of the altar and its consecration in Ezek 43:13–27 as the transition between the first unit and the second, but in formal terms, the description of the altar is properly the first part of biblical law-codes and not a distinct entity (Shalom Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law* [VTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1980], 34). In the above outline, the transitional units are more analogous in that they both reflect the positive effects of the divine presence. This is not to deny that the return of the glory in Ezek 43:1–12 is an essential part of the temple vision, which would be incomplete without it: Steven Tuell, *The Law of the Temple in Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 49; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 46–51. However, the divine presence also provides the rationale for strict adherence to the halakot that follow: God resides in the Temple now, and breaches of observance will presumably be

In his description of the temple, the prophet proceeds from the exterior walls (40:5) into the heart of the holy of holies (41:3–4), after which the guiding figure again leads the prophet to the exterior of the temple complex (42:15–20). At the conclusion, when he has measured the extent of the exterior walls, the prophet is led from the last exterior gate⁶ around the outside of the complex to the eastern exterior gate, where he is a witness to the return of the Deity's glory (כבוד) to inhabit his temple (43:1–12). The return of the divine glory is important for two reasons. First, it serves as the natural conclusion for the building of a temple according to divinely given guidelines in the ancient Near East.⁷ Second, it reverses the departure of the divine glory from the temple in stages, as seen in the prophet's earlier vision (10:4; 11:22–23). The return of the glory thus serves as one of the more important ways in which Ezek 40–48 is anchored into the rest of the book.⁸ Ezekiel's description of the returned glory is concluded by his tour guide's encouragement to perceive correctly (43:10–11), just as he was encouraged before the temple vision itself (40:4), forming a frame around the temple vision (40:5–42:20) and the transition to the Temple Law (43:1–12).

Following this, the law operative in the new temple is detailed. As with other biblical collections of law, instructions for making an acceptable altar and its consecration are listed first (43:13–27; cf. Exod 20:22–26; Lev 17:1–9; Deut 12:1–27). These instructions seem to be intended as continuing the speech of the divine glory. Next, the prophet is led again toward the east exterior gate (at which he is already supposed to be standing!) and instructed that only the prince (נשיא) may open the gate to eat before the Lord (44:1–3). The rights and responsibilities of the prince recur in 45:9–46:18, in which he is

punished severely (cf. Lev 10). For the transitional nature of Ezek 43:1–12, see Michael Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen: Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels (Kap. 40–48)* (BBB 129; Berlin: Philo, 2001), 25.

⁶ The gate is identified differently in the MT and LXX. In the MT, the exterior western gate is mentioned last, while in the LXX, the southern exterior gate is the final one visited by the prophet (Ezek 42:19). See p. 102 n. 86 below.

⁷ Tuell, *Law of the Temple*, 46–51; Diane M. Sharon, "A Biblical Parallel to a Sumerian Temple Hymn? Ezekiel 40–48 and Gudea," *JANES* 24 (1996): 99–109.

⁸ For a discussion of how Ezek 40–48 relates to the promises of salvation elsewhere in Ezekiel, see Thilo Alexander Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan: Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48* (BZAW 287; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 58–64.

assigned a more limited role than that enjoyed by the kings in the pre-exilic era.⁹ Within the brackets imposed by the discussion of the prince's role (44:1–3; 45:9–46:18), the temple law distinguishes clearly between Zadokites and Levites, awarding the former the pre-eminent task of serving at the altar and demoting the latter to more servile tasks. Next comes an extract from the division of the land (45:1–8), which anticipates the third major section of Ezekiel (47:13–48:35). The fact that no guiding formula appears between 44:4 and 46:19 may imply that this entire section is intended as a divine address similar to that in which law codes are often given in the Pentateuch.¹⁰ Finally, two related appendices describe the sacred cooking that takes place in the inner court (46:19–20) and the outer court (46:21–24). The theme of consumption of sacred food may serve to connect these appendices with the pericope describing the prince's right to eat in the eastern gate (44:1–3), thus forming a kind of thematic *inclusio*.¹¹ Despite the attempts at unifying the disparate elements contained in the Temple Law, the imprints of a number of strata and editorial hands are clearly visible in the second major section.

The final transitional section consists of a vision of a river flowing from underneath the threshold¹² of the temple and fructifying previously barren areas. In its mention of the temple and of a process of measurement, this section recalls chapters 40–42. Similarly, in its concern with the region between the temple and the Dead Sea, it prepares the way for the discussion of tribal domains, thus illustrating its transitional nature.¹³ After this transitional section, the point of view enlarges enough to focus on the land as a whole. Description of the idealized boundaries of the land (47:13–23), and the detailing of how this land is to be divided up between the tribes

⁹ Jon Levenson understood the משיח as an “apolitical Messiah” (*Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* [HSM 10; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1976], 57–107), while Tuell, *Law of the Temple*, 115–20 argued that he was the governor of the Persian province of Yehud. For discussion of the leadership of Israel in the book of Ezekiel in general, see Iain M. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel* (VTSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

¹⁰ Konkel, *Architektur des Heiligen*, 25. The mention of divine address in 46:1 may be intended to strengthen this impression.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹² Or “platform,” with NJPS (see note at Ezek 9:3).

¹³ Kasher, *Ezekiel*, 905.

(48:1–29) follow. Each of the tribes possesses the same area, regardless of its population (47:13–14). However, the relative holiness of the tribes, according to their birth order and whether they were born of a wife of Jacob or his concubine, determines how close they are to the sacred area in the middle of the tribes. The central concern of Ezek 48, both quantitatively and thematically, is with the temple complex and the city (vv. 8–22), which are described at length. Finally, the city's gates and new name are described (48:30–35), which clarifies that this city is not seen to be simply a rebuilding of Jerusalem, but an entirely new city.

As a whole, the point of view in Ezek 40–48 enlarges during the course of the vision: from the temple itself, to the temple laws, and finally the land, which is dependent on the temple for its wellbeing. The prominence of the temple underscores its centrality to the restoration in the minds of the book's compilers. Indeed, Ezek 40–48 reflects the same structure that underlines the priestly narrative of the Pentateuch, which proceeds from the erection of the tabernacle (Exod 25–40) to teaching about sacrifices (Lev 1–Num 29) and concludes with idealized borders of the land (Num 34–35).¹⁴ Although scholars continue to debate the relationship of Ezekiel's final vision to the Pentateuch,¹⁵ what is clear is that because both corpora dealt with the same subjects, Ezekiel's vision would have seemed highly relevant to ancient scholars and translators. As a result, an understanding of how translators approached these difficult chapters could yield interesting clues to how they worked

¹⁴ Ibid., 770.

¹⁵ Almost every conceivable position has found a defender at some point. For example, Kasher (ibid.) sees Ezekiel as attempting to replace the Pentateuch with a new law, while Konkel, *Architektur des Heiligen*, 355, argues that Ezek 40–48 was an "actualizing" (*Aktualisierung*) and "supplement" (*Ergänzung*) to the Pentateuch meant to bolster the exclusive claims of the Zadokites to serve as priests. Wellhausen argued that Ezek 40–48 was a prelude to the priestly code of the Pentateuch written by a priest who did not want the law of sacrifice to fall into oblivion during the exile (Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* [Scholars Press Reprints and Translations Series; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994], 59–60). Menahem Haran argued that "Ezekiel's code is merely a late and epigonic outgrowth of that same school, the exemplary manifestation of which is exhibited by P" ("The Law Code of Ezekiel XL–LXVIII and its Relation to the Priestly School," *HUCA* 50 [1979]: 63).

and, more basically, how they understood what they were translating.

GREEK EZEKIEL IN SCHOLARLY PERSPECTIVE

The Distribution of Divine Names

H. St. J. Thackeray pioneered a new trail in the investigation of LXX Ezekiel. His conclusion that most of the Septuagint of Jeremiah (with the exception of the final chapter) could be attributed to two translators (one who rendered chaps. 1–28 and a second who rendered 29–51)¹⁶ led him to examine the Septuagint of Ezekiel. Here he arrived at similar results.¹⁷ Comparison of the rendering of words and phrases in LXX Ezekiel convinced him that two translators were operative throughout the book, but he nevertheless separated the book into three sections, as illustrated below.

TABLE 1:
THACKERAY'S VIEW OF TRANSLATORS IN LXX EZEKIEL

| <i>Chapter Division</i> | <i>Translator</i> |
|--|-------------------|
| Section α' (chaps. 1–27) | Leader |
| Section β' (chaps. 28–39) | Follower |
| Section γ' (chaps. 40–48) | Leader |

Although Thackeray brought many arguments to justify this division of Ezekiel among the translators, two have proven especially compelling. First is the translation of the city-name of Tyre: this proper noun is rendered with a native Greek term (Tύρος) in 28:2, 12; 29:18, 20 and as a transliteration from the Hebrew (Σορ) in Section β' .¹⁸ Thackeray explained the overlap between the end of Section α' and Section β' as representing co-operation between the two

¹⁶ Henry St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah," *JTS* 4 o.s. (1903): 245–66.

¹⁷ Henry St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 4 o.s. (1903): 398–411.

¹⁸ Ezek 26:3, 4, 7, 15; 27:2, 3, 8.

translators.¹⁹ A second major argument supporting Thackeray's case comes from the divergent rendering of the common phrase וידעו כי אני יהוה, which is rendered ἐπιγνώσκονται διότι ἐγὼ Κύριος up to 26:6 with minor variations but with a characteristic lack of εἶμι. From 28:23 to 39:28, however, the rendering of the formula changes to γνῶσκονται ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι Κύριος, again with minor variations but with the distinctive presence of the copulative verb.

Thackeray's portrait of the translators is also worth noting. As in Jeremiah, the translator of Sections α' and γ' in Ezekiel is seen being in charge of the process of translation. "The translator who undertook the earlier part of each book [i.e. Jeremiah and Ezekiel] appears to have been the recognized leader and the more competent of the two."²⁰ The fact that he took for himself the harder sections of the book, the inaugural chariot vision and the vision of restoration, speaks to his superior ability.

Thackeray's contribution situates Ezekiel within a larger translational corpus. He recognized that the second translator of Jeremiah could not have been responsible for Ezek β' . Nevertheless, the Septuagint of Jeremiah α' (chaps. 1–28), Ezek α' and γ' , and the Minor Prophets exhibited such a similarity in vocabulary that they were likely to have been produced around the same time, if not actually by the same translator.²¹ If one translator could not be seen behind the translation, Thackeray was ready to see a "small group of *collaborateurs*"²² at work.

One problem for Thackeray's delineation of the translators in Ezekiel concerned the distribution of divine names in the book. The divine epithet יהוה אדני is very frequent throughout MT Ezekiel, but is treated differently in Sections α' and γ' and in different Greek

¹⁹ "The second translator, before beginning his own work, read over the last portion of the work of his predecessor, starting not unnaturally at the opening of the denunciation upon Tyre, the translation of which had been left for him to complete. While reading over these pages, he introduced some corrections of his own; in particular, he was something of a stylist with a nice ear for order of words, and objected to the too frequent conclusion of a clause with a genitive pronoun" (Ibid., 406). Thackeray of course provided more examples to substantiate his case.

²⁰ Ibid., 410.

²¹ Henry St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books," *JTS* 4 o.s. (1903): 578–85.

²² Thackeray, "Prophetic Books," 579.

manuscripts. In B, Section α 's usual rendering for the epithet is $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but it also renders the epithet as $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ about fifteen times, as well as $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ in 20:5; 21:24, 26. Section γ agreed with α in rendering the epithet as $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but also added the unique rendering $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ about 16 times.²³ Here Thackeray followed Cornill, who had already noted this problem and hypothesized that $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in section γ rendered not יהוה אדני but יהוה אלהים, thereby intending to recall Gen 2–3, in which the same distinctive combination of names appeared.²⁴ Thackeray's delineation of the translators in Ezekiel is still the foundation upon which critical work on LXX Ezekiel is based, though it by no means represents the last word on the subject. Within a few years his tidy analysis would be called into serious question.

In two articles, Herrmann argued that LXX Ezekiel in fact was the work of three translators, based on the distribution of the divine name, though he maintained the divisions suggested by Thackeray.²⁵ Herrmann argued that the use of the combined divine name אדני יהוה and the tetragrammaton alone were limited to certain carefully prescribed situations, and that these limitations suggested that the distribution of divine names in MT Ezekiel was original.²⁶ His later

²³ See the chart in Thackeray, "Translators of Ezekiel," 405. Note that the scholars of this time tended to assume that the text of Ezekiel before the translator was more or less identical with the Masoretic Text.

²⁴ Carl Heinrich Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1886), 174; Thackeray, "Translators of Ezekiel," 405.

²⁵ Johannes Herrmann, "Die Gottesnamen im Ezechieltexte. Eine Studie zur Ezechielkritik und zur Septuagintawertung," in *Alttestamentliche Studien für R. Kittel* (BWAT 13; Leipzig: J. C. Heinrich, 1913), 70–87; idem, "Die Septuaginta zu Ezechiel das Werk dreier Übersetzer," in *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta* (ed. Johannes Herrmann and Friedrich Baumgärtel; Berlin/ Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1923), 1–19. Previously, J. Schäfers had suggested on the same basis that three different translators were responsible for chaps. 1–11; 13–39; 40–48 ("Ist das Buch Ezechiel in der Septuaginta von einem oder mehreren Dolmetschern übersetzt?" *TGl* 1 [1909]: 289–91).

²⁶ Herrmann, "Gottesnamen," 76–80. With a few exceptions, Herrmann finds that Ezekiel used the double name in three situations characteristic of his prophecy: 1) in the introductory formula יהוה אדני אמר; 2) in the concluding formula אדני יהוה נאם; and 3) in addresses to the Deity by name. 1) Of the 122 times where the introductory formula appears, only in four counter-examples does it occur with the formula אמר יהוה (11:5; 21:8; 21:14; 30:6). Of the eighty-one times in which the concluding formula

article argued the case more completely by adducing examples of different translations of Hebrew terms in the different sections he found in Ezekiel. Of course, Herrmann’s observations about the situations in which אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה appears in the MT can be perfectly valid without implying anything about originality. Nonetheless, his conclusions found acceptance by scholars of his time, sometimes with modifications.²⁷

The discovery of Papyrus 967 (for the results of which, see below) made Herrmann’s endorsement of the originality of the double divine name in MT problematic. Out of eighty-two times where Papyrus 967 is extant and MT reads אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, Papyrus 967 witnesses a similar use of a doubled divine name (ΚC O ΘC) only six times. “The almost total absence of double divine name forms in the earliest, apparently most reliable, Greek manuscript strongly suggested that the double readings in other manuscripts were later expansions, added to bring the LXX into line with a Hebrew text similar to the MT.”²⁸ As a result, the criterion of renderings of the double divine name for establishing the number of translators of LXX Ezekiel was apparently invalidated. However, discussion of the originality of the doubled divine name was to continue unabated.

appears, only in four counter-examples does it occur with the formula נָאִם יְהוִה (13:6, 7; 16:58; 37:14).

The use of the tetragrammaton alone, too, is limited to specific situations. 1) Eighty-seven times the formula appears in the self-designation אֲנִי יְהוִה, and sixty-six of these occur in the statement וַיֹּדַע כִּי אֲנִי יְהוִה (the second person can be singular or plural); only five times does the statement אֲנִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה occur (13:9; 23:49; 24:24; 28:24; 29:16). 2) The single tetragrammaton appears frequently following a noun in the construct state, fifty-seven times with דְּבַר-יְהוִה and thirty-seven times elsewhere. Four counter-examples with both divine names used in a dependent construction can be found (6:3; 8:1; 25:3; 36:4), as well as four cases in which the construct is used with אֲדֹנָי (18:25, 29; 33:17, 20), the only instances in which this divine name appears alone in Ezekiel. 3) The tetragrammaton appears alone in thirty-seven cases as either the subject or object of a sentence.

²⁷ W. Daniëlmeyer, “Neue Untersuchungen zur Ezechiel-Septuaginta,” (Ph.D. diss., Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, 1936). The division of the task of translation into chaps. 1–20, 21–39, 40–48 is preferred by John B. Harford, *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935).

²⁸ Leslie John McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of its Homogeneity* (SBLSCS 18; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 11.

Though Papyrus 967 undoubtedly furnishes crucial testimony concerning the earliest text of LXX Ezekiel, it cannot be read simply as if it preserved the earliest recoverable Greek translation of the book. Ziegler drew attention to the fact that in many instances, Papyrus 967 witnesses a closer connection to the proto-MT text than do other manuscripts (esp. B). This shows that from the earliest times, the Greek translations of Ezekiel were being corrected according to Hebrew texts then in use. In the case of Papyrus 967, the Hebrew text against which it was corrected seems to have had strong affinities with the proto-MT of Ezekiel. Papyrus 967 demonstrates that all of the Greek witnesses have been subjected to a lengthy process of correction and cross-contamination.²⁹

Ziegler also introduced a further methodological consideration. He argued that the fact that the same Hebrew word was rendered with different Greek equivalents did not prove that there were different translators at work.³⁰ He provided examples of terms that

²⁹ Joseph Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Scheide Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *ZAW* 61 (1945/48): 94, wrote:

3. Die größte Bedeutung hat der Pap. 967 deshalb, weil er deutlich zeigt, daß bereits in vorhexaplarischer Zeit (vielleicht schon im 1. Jahrh. nach Chr.) die Ez.-LXX nach dem hebr. Text korrigiert wurde.... 4. Der Wortschatz des Pap. 967 zeigt, daß schon frühzeitig der Ez.-Text eine Überarbeitung erfuhr, die in alle Handschriften Eingang fand und so kaum bemerkbar wurde. Bei der Wiedergabe der hebr. Vorlage war der Übersetzer viel konsequenter, als es bisher schien.... Auch die Wiedergabe des Gottesnamens mit *κύριος* scheint einheitlich gewesen zu sein. Damit ist die Grundlage der Zuteilung an mehrere (drei) Übersetzer wankend geworden.

³⁰ Idem, "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *Bib* 31 (1953): 440, observed:

Wichtig für die Textgestaltung ist eine gründliche Einsicht in die Art und Weise der Ez.-Übersetzung. Man muss untersuchen, ob der Übersetzer gebunden oder frei übersetzt. Von vorneherein ist anzunehmen, dass er keine starre Konsequenz in der Wiedergabe der gleichen Wörter und Wendungen zeigt; diese ist ein Kennzeichen des Aquila. Bei Ez. wird die Untersuchung der Übersetzungsmanier dadurch erschwert, dass manche Wiedergaben auf verschiedene Übersetzer hinweisen.... Trotzdem kann die These von drei Übersetzern nicht aufrecht erhalten werden, wie vor allem die Untersuchungen zum Pap. 967 zeigen...

were rendered differently in the course of a few verses, calling into question the assumption that a translator would always or even usually represent a certain Hebrew term with one Greek equivalent.³¹ Katz accepted Ziegler's methodology as more persuasive than that of Thackeray.³² Ziegler's insight did not stop Turner from proposing a new variation of the three translator theory, in which the division between the first and second translator occurs between Ezek 25 and 26,³³ but it did pose serious problems for the mechanical process he and others had used to determine such questions.

In his groundbreaking work on Greek translations of the Scriptures, Barthélemy suggested that Ezek β' , along with a portion of Psalms and all of 2 Paraleipomena (Chronicles), could be understood as a recension that occurred before the Kaige.³⁴ Unfortunately for scholars of Greek Ezekiel, he did not argue his suggestion at length. Another recensional view of the translation of Ezekiel was suggested by Emanuel Tov. Tov argued that Jeremiah α' represented the Old Greek translation of Jeremiah, while Jeremiah β' represented a revision of the Old Greek. Further, he noted that similarities with Jeremiah α' and the Minor Prophets were concentrated in Ezek α' . As a result, Tov postulated that Ezek α' contained the Old Greek text of Ezekiel, while Ezek β' and γ' were of another text type, possibly recensional.³⁵

³¹ We will have occasion to furnish many such examples of this phenomenon in Appendix C below.

³² P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies at Mid-Century: Their Links with the Past and their Present Tendencies," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (C. H. Dodd FS) (ed. W. D. Davies; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 196–97.

³³ Nigel Turner, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 7 n.s. (1956): 12–24.

³⁴ Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 42, 47.

³⁵ Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (HSM 8; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1976), 150. I find this view unpersuasive because of the many syntactic commonalities between the renderings of Ezek α' and γ' . For example, the historical present ($\pi\lambda\pi\omega$) is used to render the Hebrew phrase $\text{וַאֲפֹל עַל-פָּנָי}$ in Ezek 1:28; 3:23; 9:8; 11:13; 43:3; 44:4. Note that Papyrus 967 renders וַאֲפֹל with an aorist ($\xi\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$) instead of a historical present. This is further evidence that the tradents were concerned with correcting Greek translations in accordance with what they perceived as the meaning of the Hebrew text. The rendering of the infinitive construct with *beth* in Ezekiel is

More recently, Leslie McGregor took up the question of the number of translators in LXX Ezekiel and subjected it to more rigorous methodology.³⁶ He isolated six factors that could account for a “deviation from the ‘normal’ rendering of a given term”³⁷: 1) the *Vorlage*; 2) contextual considerations; 3) textual integrity; 4) distribution and frequency of the terms; 5) the translator’s vocabulary; and 6) the progression of the translation (i.e. arbitrary change by the translator in the midst of his/her task). Elimination of these characteristics as causing variation is called *filtration*, and the process of detecting a pattern formed by the filtered examples is called *correlation*. McGregor begins with the assumption that a single translator is responsible for all of LXX Ezekiel, and then proceeds to accumulate examples that prove otherwise. To disprove the assumption of a single translator, “we must first provide sufficient counter-examples which agree in pointing to a discontinuity in the Greek text of Ezekiel as we now have it.”³⁸ He does not define the standard that constitutes “sufficient” counter-examples.

By examining what is universally acknowledged as a homogeneous section, McGregor was able to quantify the following kinds of lexical renderings: 1) those which are stereotyped; 2) those which are generally stereotyped but subject to contextual influence; 3) change without apparent cause between two or more renderings; 4) change between two or more renderings but with a preference for one of them; 5) renderings that change little by little from one equivalent to another; 6) renderings that change suddenly from one equivalent to another; and 7) renderings that fluctuate according to contextual needs.³⁹ This variation within one homogeneous section means for McGregor “that a multiple translator hypothesis cannot be dismissed just by citing several examples showing inconsistencies in the renderings of certain terms and then inferring, as did Ziegler

also unlike the usual rendering of the infinitive construct in Jeremiah (see p. 48 below).

³⁶ McGregor, *Greek Text of Ezekiel*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 194.

(1953), that any other cases of translation change in the text must be the result of inconsistency in the 'translator.'"⁴⁰

Based on this methodology, McGregor is able to confirm Thackeray's two-translator hypothesis, albeit with some hesitation. Unlike Thackeray, however, McGregor follows Turner in seeing the break from the first to the second translators as occurring after Ezek 25, not after Ezek 27. That Ezek 40–48 was translated by the same individual as Ezek 1–25 is likely, although it is difficult to be certain due to the limited vocabulary in Ezek 40–48, as well as its change in subject-matter.⁴¹ McGregor thus accepted a modified version of Thackeray's division of translation work in Ezekiel.

In his treatment of the doubled divine name (אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה) in Ezekiel, McGregor argued that given the specific situations in which it occurred, the translator must have encountered it in something like its present distribution in the MT.⁴² However, McGregor also argues that the form by which the translator rendered this doubled divine name can no longer be recovered. The evidence preserved in the LXX manuscripts is all reflective of early scribal activity, and not the original translation of the LXX.

Following up on McGregor's work, Johan Lust presented fresh arguments in support of the originality of the doubled divine name as witnessed by the MT, a position he had maintained earlier.⁴³ Lust seconded McGregor's argument for the originality of the doubled divine name by drawing on the fragments of Ezekiel found at Masada (late first century B.C.E. to early first century C.E.), which generally support the MT witness to the reading אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה.⁴⁴ Lust

⁴⁰ Ibid., 194–95.

⁴¹ Ibid., 197–99.

⁴² Ibid., 75–93.

⁴³ Johan Lust, "אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה in Ezekiel and its Counterpart in the Old Greek," *ETL* 72 (1996): 138–45. His previous article was "'Mon Seigneur Jahweh' dans le texte hébreu d'Ézéchiél," *ETL* 44 (1968): 482–88.

⁴⁴ These fragments were discovered during the excavations of Yigael Yadin at Masada and finally published by Shemaryahu Talmon, "Fragments of a Scroll of the Book of Ezekiel from Masada (Ezek 35:11–38:14)," in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (ed. M. Cogan, B. Eichler and J. Tigay; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), *53–*69 [Hebrew]. Traces of the doubled divine name are clearly present in column 1, line 5 (Ezek 35:14), line 11 (36:2), lines 16 and 17 (36:4), and elsewhere.

argues that this supports the possibility that the translator encountered אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה in his *Vorlage*. He further asserts that since B and Papyrus 967 are Christian manuscripts, and Christian manuscripts prefer the simple κύριος for the divine name, these two witnesses may not reflect the earliest translation of the tetragrammaton into Greek. Arguing from the pre-Christian witnesses to the translation of the divine name, Lust notes that Papyrus 943 and Papyrus 848 indicated the tetragrammaton in their translation by leaving a blank space, which a second scribe filled in with the Hebrew letters of the tetragrammaton.⁴⁵ The Hebrew text from which the translator worked may have indicated the tetragrammaton with four dots or some other symbol or a blank. Thus, while it cannot be proven that no pre-Christian Greek translation used the simple κύριος as a translation for the tetragrammaton, the pre-Christian witnesses do not have any examples of this. They suggest, rather, that scribes left a blank to indicate the unique divine name. While Lust's argument is plausible and is supported by the evidence available, however, there are probably not enough data with which to make a final determination of the original translation of the tetragrammaton in LXX Ezekiel.

Papyrus 967 and Variant Literary Editions of Ezekiel

While Papyrus 967 may not hold the key to solving the problem of the originality of אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה in Ezekiel, it remains a witness of paramount importance for the Greek text of Ezekiel, Daniel, and other books. Discovered in the 1930s, Papyrus 967 dates to the late second or early third century C.E. and is of Egyptian provenance. As such, it is the earliest extant witness to the Septuagint of Ezekiel. It originally contained Ezekiel, Daniel, Susanna and Bel, and finally Esther.⁴⁶ The manuscript is housed in different places, among them the John H. Scheide collection at Princeton University, which preserves twenty-one leaves (forty-two sides) covering the majority

⁴⁵ Lust, "אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה in Ezekiel," 141.

⁴⁶ A. C. Johnson, H. S. Gehman, and J. E. H. Kase, eds., *The John Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology 3; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 3–5.

of Ezek 19–39.⁴⁷ A comparable portion comprising eight leaves (sixteen sides), from the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin, preserves most of Ezek 11:25–17:21.⁴⁸ Both of these collections were at the disposal of Joseph Ziegler in his editing of the Göttingen edition.

Fragments of Papyrus 967 housed at Cologne were published by Jahn;⁴⁹ they preserve the readings of the manuscript from Ezek 43:9 to the end of the book. Other fragments of the manuscript, including Ezek 40:1–43:9, are located in Madrid and were published by M. Fernández Galiano.⁵⁰ Variants from both of these publications were not available to Ziegler and were collated by Detlef Fraenkel in a supplement to Ziegler's critical edition. This collation will be of critical importance for the rest of this study.

Besides its obvious importance due to its early date, Papyrus 967 has attracted attention for another reason: it preserves a different order in Ezek 36–40, in which Ezek 37 follows Ezek 39 and Ezek 36:23c–38 is lacking (making the order Ezek 36:1–23b; 38–39; 37; 40). In both of these respects, Papyrus 967 is unique among all extant Hebrew and Greek witnesses. A sixth century C.E. Old Latin manuscript called *Wirceburgensis* (OL^W), which "represents, together with Tyconius, the earliest and best preserved form of the Vetus Latina text of Ezekiel,"⁵¹ does witness the unique order in Papyrus 967. Since OL^W does not follow Papyrus 967 in its many errors of *parablepsis*, it can be considered an independent witness to the order preserved in Papyrus 967.⁵² These two witnesses raise the possibility

⁴⁷ For details, see Joseph Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 16.1; 3d. ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 10.

⁴⁸ F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. Fasc. 7: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther [Plates]* (London: Emery Walker, 1937).

⁴⁹ L. G. Jahn, *Der Griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 15; Bonn: Habelt, 1972). For the rest of the contents of Papyrus 967 from the Cologne fragments, see Detlef Fraenkel's "Nachtrag" in Ziegler's *Ezechiel*, 332–33.

⁵⁰ M. Fernández Galiano, "Notes on the Madrid Ezekiel Papyrus," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (ASP 7; Toronto: Hakkert, 1970), 133–38; idem, "Nuevas Páginas del Códice 967 del A. T. Griego (Ez 28,19–43,9) (P. Matr. Bibl. 1)," *SPap* 10 (1976): 9–76.

⁵¹ Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 518.

⁵² Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40," 518; Daniel I. Block, *Ezekiel 25–48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 338. For discussion of the lack of Ezek 36:23c–38 and the placing of

that Ezekiel, like other biblical books, can be identified as existing in different versions that grew over time.

Eugene Ulrich has persuasively made the case that many Scriptural books existed in variant literary editions in antiquity.⁵³ Tov has identified Ezekiel as one of these books, given that LXX Ezekiel is 4–5% shorter than MT Ezekiel and preserves an apparently earlier version of Ezek 7.⁵⁴ Recent studies have argued convincingly that the sequence witnessed by Papyrus 967 and OL^w in Ezek 36–40 is more original than the order preserved in the MT.⁵⁵ Given the differences in sequence between Papyrus 967 and the MT in Ezek 36–40, as well as other differences that may reflect additions in the MT,⁵⁶ many scholars see the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek of Ezekiel as preserving a shorter and presumably earlier version of the book than that preserved in the MT. This state of affairs has resulted in a renewed

Ezek 37 after Ezek 39 in Papyrus 967, see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante: Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Bib* 59 (1978): 384–95.

⁵³ *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids/ Leiden: Eerdmans/ Brill, 1999).

⁵⁴ Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d. ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 250; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 333–34; idem, "Recensional Differences between the MT and LXX of Ezekiel," *ETL* 62 (1986): 89–101; repr. in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 397–410. For discussion of the earlier text of LXX Ezek 7, see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Les deux redactions conservées (LXX et TM) d'Ézéchiel 7," in *Ezekiel and his Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation* (ed. Johan Lust; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 21–47; Johan Lust, "The Use of Textual Witnesses for the Establishment of the Text—The Longer and Shorter Texts of Ezekiel, An Example: Ez 7," in *Ezekiel and his Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation* (ed. Johan Lust; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 7–20.

⁵⁵ Peter Schwagmeier, "Untersuchungen zu Textgeschichte und Entstehung des Ezechielbuches in masoretischer und griechischer Überlieferung" (Dr.Theol. diss., University of Zurich, 2004); Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40"; idem, "The Spirit of the Lord, or the Wrath of the Lord? Ezekiel 39, 29," *ETL* 78 (2002): 148–55; Ka Leung Wong, "The Masoretic and Septuagint Texts of Ezekiel 39,21–29," *ETL* 78 (2002): 130–47; Tov, "Recensional Differences."

⁵⁶ For this possibility, see Johan Lust, "Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (SBLSCS 52; ed. Adrian Schenker; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 83–92.

appreciation for the importance of the Greek evidence for understanding the literary growth of the book of Ezekiel.

MT and LXX Ezekiel in Recent Study

Building on the renewed appreciation of the Greek manuscript evidence for the book of Ezekiel, Crane advocated an approach to comparing the Greek and Hebrew versions of Ezekiel that did not privilege the older readings but sought to understand the interpretive trajectory of individual witnesses.⁵⁷ He proposes a two-fold methodology. Crane begins with the MT, and then proceeds to compare three Septuagint manuscripts (A, B, and Papyrus 967) simultaneously with the MT and with each other.⁵⁸ The selection of these manuscripts qualifies to some extent Crane's insistence on the equal validity of the readings in all witnesses, since he chooses to explore the oldest manuscripts of Greek Ezekiel. Those variants without discernible interpretive intent are attributed to scribal error, while the ones demonstrating such intent are explored for their contributions. Especially important for Crane are the different indications of "sense-division breaks" in the different manuscripts, which itself is the subject of early Jewish interpretation. Crane calls this the *textual-comparative* methodology, and envisions it as complementary to the establishment of the more original reading, as in traditional textual criticism. "The purpose of this methodology is to give each textual witness equal status, with none considered 'superior' to the others. It accords each textual witness the ability to be 'heard' in its own right (Hebrew and/ or Greek)."⁵⁹ Crane hopes through this methodology to gain insight into early Jewish interpretations of Ezekiel concerning the restoration of Israel which are preserved in different manuscripts.

Crane's examples of early Jewish interpretations are not always convincing, since it is often difficult to leave the realm of the subjective in evaluating individual readings. For example, A Ezek 36:2 reads εὖγε εὖγε, where Papyrus 967 and B read a single εὖγε. The

⁵⁷ Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39* (VTSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

extra εὖγε in A may indeed “emphasize the ‘snort’ of the enemy against the mountains of Israel,”⁶⁰ but this remains only a suggestion. More interesting are the larger trends Crane isolates in the Greek witnesses: they interpret the action of MT,⁶¹ interpret MT’s metaphors,⁶² clarify MT,⁶³ change MT in light of cultural attitudes,⁶⁴ and use the passive to draw attention to feelings of being abused by surrounding nations.⁶⁵ Crane concludes that frequently Papyrus 967 is closer to MT in thought or syntax than B and A, and that paragraphs are more firmly fixed in the Masoretic tradition than in the Septuagint manuscripts.

Quite recently, Jake Stromberg examined pluses in MT Ezek from the perspective of their canonical influence on this version of Ezekiel.⁶⁶ He discussed the influence of the Pentateuch, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant on the addition of secondary pluses in MT Ezek 1–39. Among other insights, Stromberg emphasizes that MT Ezekiel was redacted with an eye toward its place in the larger canon, and that even where evidence of multiple literary editions is not extant, other books may have been subject to the same kind of editing under canonical pressures (e.g. the end of Malachi and Deut 34).⁶⁷ He also contends that the influence of Scripture itself may have been a primary factor in bringing about the editorial manipulation of sacred texts. “In short, Scripture was not only adapted to the changing world of the community, but also to Scripture itself, because in large part it created that world (i.e. world view).”⁶⁸

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁶¹ Ezek 36:3; 37:8; 39:4, 11, 23.

⁶² Ezek 36:13–16; 37:19; 38:4, 12.

⁶³ Ezek 36:3, 8; 37:1; 39:11.

⁶⁴ Ezek 36:17.

⁶⁵ Ezek 36:1–15. The previous examples are given in *ibid.*, 266.

⁶⁶ Jake Stromberg, “Observations on Inner-Scriptural Scribal Expansion in MT Ezekiel,” *VT* 58 (2008): 68–86.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

The Need for the Present Work

Commentaries and monographs treating Ezek 40–48 have generally not availed themselves of recent advances in Septuagint studies. The usual text-critical employment of the Septuagint by both holistic and redaction-critical scholars generally mines it and the other versions for readings when MT is felt to be inadequate. Such a piecemeal approach to the LXX falters for several reasons. Most basically, recent research on the LXX has emphasized that close acquaintance with a specific translator’s general approach to his task (*Übersetzungsweise*)⁶⁹ is an indispensable prerequisite for textual criticism.⁷⁰ Some reflexively assert that the translator is misunderstanding the proto-MT without understanding the translator’s normal course of action or acknowledging the possibility that his *Vorlage* is different.⁷¹ A further reason why this project is valuable to all students of Ezek 40–48 is the insight it lends into the theological and literary concerns expressed by both the translator and his *Vorlage*, which allow divergences to be seen as part of a pattern and not in isolation. Once again, the old model of independent readings preserved in sources (along with a not-too-carefully concealed predisposition toward MT) still predominates in exegetical analysis.

On the other hand, those who have analyzed LXX Ezekiel with appropriate methodologies have generally avoided its final chapters.⁷² They have often noted the unique character of Ezek 40–48, which presents a stiff challenge to the translator based on the

⁶⁹ Translation technique is best understood as “a collective name for all the different renderings used by a translator” (Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Translation Technique and the Intention of the Author,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993], 65–76 [69]). In this essay, Aejmelaeus emphasizes the intuition and lack of system characteristic of Septuagint translators as a whole.

⁷⁰ “[T]he text-critical use of data in the LXX can proceed profitably only if *the analysis of the translation technique of each individual translation unit is taken into account*” (Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 18 [italics in original]).

⁷¹ Most prominent in this approach is the foundational study of Hartmut Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (BHT 25; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1957).

⁷² I am not aware of any study specifically dedicated to the *Übersetzungsweise* of LXX Ezek 40–48.

somewhat pedantic style and the technical vocabulary of his source text. Galen Marquis is representative, noting that LXX Ezek 40–48 possesses a “special character” and evidences a “possibly different approach of the translator (not necessarily a different one)” to his task in these chapters.⁷³ Given the disagreement as to the number of translators in LXX Ezekiel, which will probably not be superseded until major refinements in methodology present themselves, it seems prudent to investigate the translation of chapters 40–48 independently of the wider context in LXX Ezekiel. Any such investigation must take into account the *Vorlage* rendered by the translator, as well as his purpose in making such a rendering available. Questions of the translator’s transformation of his source text must be subjected to thorough inquiry to distinguish his contribution from that of his *Vorlage* and later vagaries of transmission.⁷⁴

SKOPOSTHEORIE AND EVALUATION OF TRANSLATION

The proposed investigation requires not only familiarity with past scholarship on Ezekiel, but also a basic understanding of how the investigation of LXX Ezek 40–48 fits into the larger theories of the nature of translation. In what follows I will argue that *Skopostheorie*, a functional theory of translation, is especially helpful for understanding the translator’s work in Ezek 40–48.

⁷³ “Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel,” *Textus* 13 (1986): 63 n. 16.

⁷⁴ Eugene Ulrich’s warning should be kept in mind:

With regard to the question of “theological *Tendenz*” or “actualizing exegesis” on the part of the LXX translators, I have yet to examine an allegation of a major interpretive translation by an Old Greek translator and be convinced that the Old Greek translator was responsible for a substantively innovative translation. Most who make such allegations have failed to distinguish the three stages of (a) the Hebrew *Vorlage* which is being translated into Greek, (b) the results of the transformational process by the original Greek translator, and (c) the subsequent transmission history within the Greek manuscript tradition.

A Brief Description of the Theory

Skopostheorie is a functional theory of translation that takes its point of departure from the idea that translation is bound up inextricably with the transfer of culture from the source text (*Ausgangstext*) to the receptor text (*Zieltext*) and its readers (*Zielrezipienten*).⁷⁵ As is evident from the theory's name, *Skopostheorie* (from *σκοπός*, “goal”) is based on the recognition that the purpose of the translation determines the manner in which it will be carried out. Thus, *Skopostheorie* understands translation as a sub-set of the more general theory of action, which it understands in dynamic terms.⁷⁶

Since it is impossible to retain all of the information present in the source text, the goal of the translator is to mediate those facets of the text to his intended readers that coincide with his actual purpose.⁷⁷ Translation is not simple decoding and recoding of the meaning of a text, but instead presupposes decoding and recoding in a specific situation.⁷⁸

A key facet of *Skopostheorie* is that translations are generally made for situations and recipients that differ at least in some respects, and occasionally to a great extent, from the situation for which the source text was composed. All kinds of translation, despite their function or

(Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 72).

⁷⁵ For a convenient overview of *Skopostheorie* in the light of other approaches to understanding translation, see Radegundis Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien: Eine Einführung* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1994), esp. 155–68.

⁷⁶ Katharina Reiß and Hans J. Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationsstheorie* (Linguistische Arbeiten 147; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1984), 95. In quotations that follow, I will not attempt to reproduce the emphases in the type face of the original work.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 96: “Die Dominante aller Translation ist deren Zweck.”

⁷⁸ Reiß and Vermeer write (*ibid.*, 58):

Es ist nicht möglich, Translation als Transkodierung toute simple der/ einer Bedeutung... eines Textes zu verstehen. Translation setzt Verstehen eines Textes, damit Interpretation des Gegenstandes “Text” in einer Situation voraus. Damit ist Translation nicht nur an Bedeutung, sondern an Sinn/ Gemeintes..., also in Textsinn-in-Situation, gebunden.

intent, represent a set of information in a target language and culture about a set of information contained in a source text, in the source text's original language and culture.⁷⁹

As a result of his mediation between two cultures, the translator must be bi-cultural. When differences between two cultures prove too great, the translator is obliged to bridge the distance by changing his source text in a way that suggests an analogous situation in the recipients' culture. Thus, information in the translation is not coextensive with the information in the source text, but contains instead a set of information that is culturally relevant to the intended audience and is also in harmony with the translator's goals. Reiß and Vermeer adduce the example of battle-literature, which in modern European cultures usually involves a description of the situation that led to conflict. In the Middle Ages and among Semitic peoples, on the other hand, such descriptions are less common. In such situations, simply retaining the form of the source text changes the status of the text and thus its effect in the target culture.⁸⁰

Skopostheorie also contributes toward the definition of two slippery terms in translation theory: equivalence and appropriateness. Reiß and Vermeer understand the *appropriateness* of a translation in terms of its overall purpose: "Every time a translator takes a decision, the dominant factor is the purpose of the translation, so translational decisions must be appropriate for this purpose."⁸¹ *Equivalence* is based on two criteria: 1) the principle of selection, and 2) the hierarchical principle.

⁷⁹ The authors write (*ibid.*, 76):

Entscheidend für unsere Theorie als einheitlicher Translationstheorie ist, daß jedes Translat (Übersetzung und Verdolmetschung) unabhängig von seiner Funktion ... und Textsorte als Informationsangebot in einer Zielsprache und deren -kultur (IA_Z) über ein Informationsangebot aus einer Ausgangssprache und deren -kultur (IA_A) gefaßt wird. Der Translator...bietet eine Information über den Ausgangstext, der seinerseits als Informationsangebot verstanden wird.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 28: "Beibehaltung der Ausgangsform ändert also den Stellenwert und damit die Wirkung in der Zielkultur."

⁸¹ Katharina Reiß, "Adequacy and Equivalence in Translation," *BT* 34 (1983): 301; see also Reiß and Vermeer, *Grundlegung*, 139.

Selection is made by the translator when he elicits, by analysis of the source text, the characteristic elements of a particular text. These are then set in a hierarchy, in which priority is given to certain elements which are to be kept at the expense of others in the receptor language. What matters here is the function of the individual text elements in what they contribute to the meaning of the text as a whole, and the function of the text itself in the communicative event.⁸²

Equivalence is thus a dynamic process that can be judged on the basis of the extent to which the translator realizes his or her goals overall in his rendering of the text, as well as in specific instances. The translator's hierarchical set of rules will determine that in each particular instance the major purpose for translation will be achieved, along with as many sub-goals as possible. Choices made by the translator are always guided by the signs present in the source text, so that the translator's choices may not be regarded as totally arbitrary. Thus equivalence is an elastic concept, which is defined by the functional equivalence of the source and receptor texts.⁸³

As developed by Reiß and Vermeer, *Skopostheorie* recognizes four major forms of translation.⁸⁴ *Interlinear* (word-for-word) translations operate on the basis of individual words, and thus are far from achieving the same effect in the target language as the original text had in the source language. *Literal* translations reproduce appropriate words and grammatical formations from the source text in the translation. The major focus of literal translations is on the sentence level, not on the individual words as in interlinear translations. However, such translations are far from producing a text equivalent to the source text in the target language, since texts do not consist of a disconnected series of sentences. Literal translations are generally produced by students in the beginning stages of learning a foreign language. "For a *philological translation*, the translator chooses the

⁸² Reiss, "Adequacy and Equivalence," 306. Cf. Reiß and Vermeer, *Grundlegung*, 170.

⁸³ "Equivalence between source and receptor language texts, in any particular case, consists in setting up functionally relevant equivalent relations of text content(s) and form(s), in their functions of contributing to and understanding the meaning of the text" (Ibid., 308).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 302; Reiß and Vermeer, *Grundlegung*, 133–36.

appropriate words, the appropriate grammatical structures, and the appropriate stylistic level in the receptor language."⁸⁵ Philological translations thus have two characteristics: 1) they enable "the reader to recognize in the receptor language text the linguistic and thought structures of the original author"⁸⁶ and 2) they choose a level of diction appropriate for the purpose of the translation. Such a categorization is appropriate for LXX Ezek 40–48, in which the translator adopts a faithful approach to his source text to reproduce the thought structures of the original text as closely as possible. Philological translations help someone whose understanding of the source language is inadequate to comprehend the subtleties of the source text more fully. It is not equivalent to a text freely composed in the target language, and thus would not appear "natural" to a native reader. Finally, *communicative* translations are immediately comprehensible in the target language, and though not exactly the same as the source text, they serve as a functional equivalent to it on as many levels (syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic) as possible. According to Reiß and Vermeer, only communicative translations are equivalent to the original in terms of the whole text.

In addition to the four major types of translation, Reiß and Vermeer isolate three types of global classifications of text (*Texttyp*): the informative, the expressive, and the operative.⁸⁷ As might be inferred, in *informative* texts, the communication of information engenders the most concern as far as questions of equivalence between the source and receptor texts are concerned. Such texts might include tax documents, law collections, or boundary-lists. *Expressive* texts emphasize equivalence to the source text primarily on the level of artistic form and meter. Poetry serves as a good example of an expressive text. Finally, *operative* texts highlight the persuasive elements in the language and formation of the source text. In operative texts, connotative and associative elements are more

⁸⁵ Reiß, "Adequacy and Equivalence," 302.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ For these definitions, see Reiß and Vermeer, *Grundlegung*, 157. For the differentiation of *Texttyp* from other classifications of texts in *Skopostheorie*, see *ibid.*, 172–73.

important than ones that refer to an external reality.⁸⁸ Election speeches serve as a handy example of an operative text.

Skopostheorie and Greek Ezekiel

How, then, does *Skopostheorie* help with the investigation of the translation of Ezek 40–48 in the Septuagint? *Skopostheorie* can help to understand the translation of LXX Ezek 40–48 in three interrelated ways.

Most generally, *Skopostheorie* helps to draw together the two complementary approaches toward current academic study of the Septuagint. The first approach is concerned with reconstructing how the translator understood and rendered his source text (e.g. *NETS*) while the second places more emphasis on the reception of the Septuagint translation as a work in itself by its early readers (e.g. *La Bible d'Alexandrie*).⁸⁹ Carsten Ziegert has drawn attention to how *Skopostheorie* can serve as a mediating approach between these two goals. Ziegert suggests that concentrating on the translator's purpose enables one to discern the translator's understanding of his source text as well as grasping his translation as an act of communication with his recipients. Both aspects, the act of translation and the act of communication between the translator and his readers, thus come into view through the use of *Skopostheorie*.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ “Konnative und assoziative Elemente sind ranghöher anzusetzen als denotativ-referentielle Textelemente” (ibid.).

⁸⁹ H. Utzschneider, “Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text. Überlegungen zum wissenschaftlichen Standort einer Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Deutsche,” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel 1; BWANT 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 14–15. The Septuaginta Deutsch approach attempts to mediate between these two approaches (Utzschneider, “Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text,” 20).

⁹⁰ Carsten Ziegert, “Das Buch Ruth in der Septuaginta als Modell für eine integrative Übersetzungstechnik,” *Bib* 89 (2008): 251, writes:

Die Konzentration auf den Zweck der Übersetzung ermöglicht darüber hinaus, die Intention des Übersetzers zu ermitteln....Auf der anderen Seite ist es verfehlt, nur den Übersetzer und sein Verständnis der Vorlage zu betrachten (“amont’”), da schließlich auch eine Kommunikation zwischen Übersetzer und Rezipient geschieht. Die Skopostheorie vereint nicht die

Focusing on the translator's purpose in his rendering the set of data in his source text into a set of data comprehensible for his readership helps to unify both of these links in the chain by focusing on their mutual connection in the person of the translator. By privileging the translator's intention in this way, the Septuagint texts do not depend on their source texts for their value, but can be evaluated on their own terms for how well they achieve their apparent goals in translation. Contemporary scholars also benefit in attempting their own modern translations of the Septuagint by recognizing the purpose for the original translation of each specific book or translational unit.⁹¹

Secondly, *Skopostheorie* helps to clarify the relationship between the Greek and Hebrew texts of Ezekiel, as well as the relationship of Greek Ezekiel to the translations of other units in the Septuagint. By this I mean that by identifying the type of translation represented by LXX Ezek 40–48, we may suggest something about its goals and, by extension, its intended readership relative to the other translational units in the Septuagint. As intimated, I will argue that LXX Ezek 40–48 can be classified as a *philological translation*. Through the generous use of transliterations and relatively faithful rendering of terms and grammatical structures, the translator tried to maintain the essence of the original as closely as possible and to draw readers back to the original. No doubt this faithfulness stemmed in part from what Barr has called "easy technique."⁹² On the other hand, by close adherence to the prophecy as it was preserved in his source text, the translator produced a text whose style and diction were immediately recognizable as Scriptural, and thus authoritative and persuasive. This translational idiom is naturally most visible at the level of individual sentences and words. As we will see, however, the translator's concern to transmit the text to his readers supersedes the level of individual words and grammatical constructions.⁹³ Such freer

beiden konkurrierenden Ansätze, sondern betrachtet diejenigen Faktoren, die in beiden Ansätzen in den Blick genommen werden.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 26; see also p. 50.

⁹³ There is a small number of relatively free renderings of certain phrases, as discussed on pp. 57–58 below. These non-literal renderings, though rare, suggest that the

translations, while relatively uncommon, still indicate that the translator’s faithful rendering was deliberate, rather than imposed by ignorance. Other evidence to be discussed in Chapter 5 suggests that the translator is concerned for meaning that transcends the sentence level.⁹⁴ All of this evidence is consistent with what *Skopostheorie* terms a *philological* translation. In this particular philological translation, the translator reproduces the thought of the original faithfully and so chooses a level of diction whose effect is to stress the divine origin of the sacred text.

Thirdly, *Skopostheorie* helps us to judge individual translations in light of the translator’s larger purpose in the work. These purposes vary considerably among the library of translations contained in the Septuagint. Like many prophetic texts, the primary intention of the book of Ezekiel is not to disclose information (*informative* texts) or to mediate poetry (*expressive* texts), although Ezekiel contains a good deal of both information and artistic expression. Instead, Ezekiel as a whole, and chapters 40–48 in particular, should be understood as an *operative* text, because the primary purpose of this prophetic text is to persuade the audience of the relevance of hearing and obeying a specific divine word or collection of divine words.⁹⁵ According to *Skopostheorie*, this determination should lead us to expect the translator to highlight the persuasive aspects of his source text. As the forms and methods of persuasion are deeply cultural, we should expect that the methods of persuasion in the translation may differ

translator was not completely incapable of a more idiomatic translation had that been his goal.

⁹⁴ Specifically, this evidence includes the rendering of Ezek 47:13, 21–23 (יוסף חבלים // πρόσθεσις σχοιρίσματος; pp. 178–85) and the creation of an *inclusio* between Ezek 40:5 and 42:20 (pp. 163–67).

⁹⁵ As properly recognized by the diverse proponents of applying rhetorical criticism to the study of prophetic books: Ellen F. Davis, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel’s Prophecy* (JSOTSup 78; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989); Michael V. Fox, “The Rhetoric of Ezekiel’s Vision of the Valley of the Bones,” *HUCA* 51 (1980): 1–15; D. J. A. Clines, *I, He, We, and They: A Literary Approach to Isaiah 53* (JSOTSup 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1976), 53–56, 59–65; J. R. Lundblom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (SBLDS 18; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1975); idem, “Poetic Structure and Prophetic Rhetoric in Hosea,” *VT* 29 (1979): 300–08; idem, “Rhetorical Structures in Jeremiah 1,” *ZAW* 103 (1998): 193–210; Yehoshua Gitay, *Prophecy and Persuasion: A Study of Isaiah 40–48* (Forschung zur Theologie und Literatur 14; Bonn: Linguistica Biblica, 1981).

with respect to the culture of the intended recipients of the translation, and in this expectation we will not be disappointed. One of the goals of the translation of Ezek 40–48 in the Septuagint is to transform certain aspects of Ezekiel’s vision to resonate with Hellenistic tastes. The translator resorts to several means, which can prove surprising occasionally from the perspective of modern readers, in order to accomplish this goal.

The chart below summarizes the goals for the translation of LXX Ezek 40–48 as I understand them, in descending order of importance. Each one of the goals contributes toward the persuasive effect of the translation. It bears repeating at this point that while we may delineate the translator’s goals in this way, we cannot expect him to have executed his purpose using a completely logical or deductive methodology, but rather an intuitive one. Nevertheless, the value in identifying these goals and describing them using *Skopostheorie* inheres in their contribution toward understanding LXX Ezek 40–48 as an operative text. While the translator’s first and second goals lead his readers back towards the Hebrew source text and elucidate it, his third goal assists him in the opposite endeavor, namely bringing Ezekiel’s source text closer toward his intended readership. As suggested by *Skopostheorie*, both movements are complementary and facilitate the persuasion which informed the translator in his endeavor.

TABLE 2:
GOALS OF THE TRANSLATION OF LXX EZEK 40–48

1. Accurately and comprehensibly render Ezek 40–48 into Greek.
2. Convey the substance of Ezekiel’s prophecy using a style and diction that signal the translator is transmitting an authoritative divine word (philological translation).
3. Accommodate certain cultural aspects of Ezekiel’s vision to the Hellenistic tastes of his target readership.

THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

The following study is grounded in two important questions. 1) How is the *Vorlage* of LXX Ezek 40–48 different from MT Ezek 40–48, and to what degree can such differences be reconstructed? 2) How

does the translator implement his goals in translation? In other words, the present analysis of LXX Ezek 40–48 must deal seriously with the reality that Ezekiel existed in variant literary editions in antiquity, with the result that that divergences between MT and LXX Ezek 40–48 do not necessarily contribute to the knowledge of the translator or his purpose. Acknowledging this state of affairs allows scholars to gauge the extent to which the translator's objectives in translation tally with those of the scribes who supplemented Ezekiel's text.⁹⁶

The first task is to provide an overview of the translator's relatively faithful way of translation (*Übersetzungsweise*), which is illustrated on several fronts: etymological analysis, adherence to Hebrew word-order, and quantitative representation (chapter two). The choice of lexical equivalents is harder to quantify as literal, but here more of the translator's contextual reasoning can be isolated and analyzed. Even on the level of lexical choice, the translator reproduces many Hebrew terms in Greek (transliterations), evidence of his desire to preserve the source text precisely. The translator's concern to adhere closely to his source text, which somewhat paradoxically creates rhetorical distance, marks LXX Ezek 40–48 as a philological translation. As such, LXX Ezek 40–48 highlights the source text's authority and persuasiveness in its translation (goal 2). This aspect of the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* makes it problematic to assume that he would have added to his source text in the absence of compelling evidence.

Yet it is possible to judge how the translator achieved his goals only when we can be relatively convinced of what was present in his *Vorlage*. To this end, chapter three will focus on pluses in the LXX *Vorlage* that will be grouped according to their nature into three categories: simple transfer of wording, supplementation with "new" material, and the use of pastiche. Simple transfer of wording describes pluses that import wording from elsewhere in Scripture into a particular passage, usually in order to ameliorate exegetical difficulties. Examples of simple transfer of wording from both within

⁹⁶ The existence of such scribes can be inferred from the additions they made in the text of Ezekiel that was eventually translated in the Septuagint, as will be shown in Chapter 3.

Ezekiel and from the rest of Jewish Scripture will illustrate that, although there is likely influence on the text of the LXX *Vorlage* from the Pentateuch and possibly elsewhere in the canon, the primary object was to explain the text of Ezekiel and not to assimilate it to other texts. Consideration of secondary pluses that do not consist of Scriptural locutions, but aim to elucidate difficult texts, will be considered under the rubric of “new” material. Finally, a cluster of related pluses in Ezek 43:2–3 will be examined under the final heading of pastiche, since all of the pluses share a similar background. Underlying all of these pluses is the conviction that to understand the development of the book of Ezekiel, one must be careful to separate the contributions of the translator from the unique features of the text he was translating.

Following this analysis, I will illustrate the translator’s conception of accuracy and its importance (goal 1) in light of pressures from the literary context of Ezekiel and beyond (chapter 4). The translator interprets several problematic terms in Ezekiel’s temple description in light of the overarching theme of maintaining appropriate ritual separation and distance. Clarification can also be observed in the translator’s rendering of sacrificial terminology. While the translator is familiar with the terminology of the Greek Pentateuch and employs such terminology without variation in some instances, more frequently he begins with pentateuchal vocabulary but varies it in line with his own understanding of individual passages and offerings.

Finally, chapter five deals with to the translator’s attempts to target specific aspects of Ezekiel’s vision to his intended readership (goal 3). The translator’s updating of select cultural aspects that proved problematic in his source text, especially concerning architecture and the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. In his rendering of Ezekiel’s tour of the temple, the translator brings to the fore numerous elements of Hellenistic temples, such as stoas and peristyles. This inclusion of many of the elements of Hellenistic temples represents one of the significant ways in which the translator takes account of the artistic and architectural tastes of his time. Guests receive a share within the land of promise itself (Ezek 47:21–23), though their origins are not undone, in line with the larger ideas inherent in Ezekiel’s utopian delineation of the tribal allotments.

CHAPTER 2: TOWARD THE ÜBERSETZUNGSWEISE OF THE TRANSLATOR

In his description of the manner of translation of the various books of the Septuagint a century ago, Henry St. James Thackeray classified LXX Ezekiel as “indifferent Greek” along with portions of Kingdoms, Paraleipomena, Jeremiah *α'* (chaps. 1–28), Psalms, Sirach and Judith.¹ More recently, Tov characterized the translation of Ezekiel as follows: “The Greek translation of Ezekiel is relatively literal, so that it is reasonable to assume that its minuses vis-à-vis [MT Tg Syr Vul] reflect a shorter Hebrew parent text.”² While Tov’s comments represent an improvement upon those of his predecessor, he intends only to give a general overall estimate of the manner of translation represented by LXX Ezekiel, not a detailed assessment. The present investigation represents the beginning of such an assessment.

Before beginning, it is imperative to consider a few terminological questions. *Translation technique* is a commonly used catch-all term to describe the translator’s approach to his *Vorlage*. One misleading aspect of this term is that it fails to consider the different levels of contextual and linguistic interpretation operative in

¹ *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint, Vol. 1: Introduction, Orthography and Accidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 13.

² Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 333. A similar characterization is given in idem, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 250.

translation, flattening them instead.³ Another major reservation with this term is that it implies that Septuagint translators had a specific methodology in translation, whereas their actual practice was much less reflective. "But in fact, these translators never paused to consider their aims any more than the methods by which best to attain them. Their work is characterized by intuition and spontaneity more than conscious deliberation and technique."⁴ Aejmelaeus notes that the juxtaposition of periphrastic and "helplessly literal, Hebraistic renderings of one and the same Hebrew expression"⁵ demonstrates that the translators approached their task with no fixed methodology in mind. An alternative to "translation technique" can be found in the more neutral German term *Übersetzungsweise* (manner of translation), which does not imply a fixed system or program.⁶

Barr's excellent observation that literalism in the Septuagint is only an "easy technique,"⁷ and that it becomes a conscious goal only in the later contributions of Aquila and Theodotion, deserves to be repeated. Also worthy of repetition is his insight that translations can be both free and literal on different levels at the same time, and that literal renderings, even when they are clearly inadequate by modern standards, frequently show a tight and comprehensible relation to their source text.⁸ With these points in mind, a more fruitful analysis of the *Übersetzungsweise* of LXX Ezek 40–48 is possible. The goal is not an exhaustive analysis but an acquaintance with the translator's tendencies that will enable us to explore both his source text and his own proclivities more knowledgeably.

Ezekiel 40–48 is in many respects a problematic corpus for investigating the *Übersetzungsweise* of any translator, and its

³ For translation as involving linguistic and contextual exegesis, see Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 45; Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 17; Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 73.

⁴ Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique," 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 67. Compare also Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 7: "Rather than follow a definite policy, translators often seem to have worked in an *ad hoc* manner and at any particular point to have opted for a literal or free rendering, whichever seemed to work out according to the character of the original text and its immediate context."

⁶ Adopted by Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*.

⁷ Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 26; see also p. 50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

peculiarities should be borne in mind throughout the following discussion. Most obviously, it is a very small corpus with which to work. However, the lack of agreement over the number of translators for Ezekiel as a whole, coupled with the lack of a comprehensive investigation of the *Übersetzungsweise* of Ezekiel,⁹ makes it desirable to begin with this relatively restricted corpus. In my judgment, it is better to begin with the ground up and risk an incomplete picture of the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* than to skew the evidence by introducing irrelevant data. A second reason why Ezek 40–48 is problematic is because of its unique subject-matter, which requires the translator to navigate a puzzling architectural plan, a law-code and a cartographic representation of the restored land within the course of nine chapters. Readers should remember that the translator might take measures here that he would not consider elsewhere. On the other hand, precisely because of such challenges, the translator is forced to call on the full scope of his virtuosity.

NON-PROBATIVE DIVERGENCES IN LXX^V

*Ambiguities in Reconstructing the Vorlage*¹⁰

“All we know about the *Vorlage* is thus in fact second-hand knowledge, and that is the problem.”¹¹ With this succinct statement, Aejmelaeus sums up the challenges inherent in a coherent investigation of the *Vorlage* of Ezek 40–48. Knowledge of the *Vorlage* of any Septuagint translator, even that of the most doggedly literalistic one, is only partial. Many of the areas in which ambiguity concerning the translator's *Vorlage* cannot be eliminated concern small points of grammar and syntax. For example, in certain cases it is impossible to be certain whether the translator omitted the connective *waw* deliberately or accidentally, or whether it was simply

⁹ Galen Marquis devoted an M.A. thesis written at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem under Emanuel Tov to the study of LXX Ezekiel, but I have not seen his study.

¹⁰ The structure of this section is indebted to the discussion in Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 154–62.

¹¹ Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translator* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 77.

not present in his source text.¹² On other occasions, LXX witnesses a *waw* where MT does not, especially in date formulae.¹³ The following are representative examples.¹⁴

- Ezek 41:19 דָּם וַפְּנֵי אָדָם // πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου
 Ezek 42:20 סָבִיב לֹא סָבִיב חוּמָה // καὶ περιβόλον αὐτῶ κύκλω
 Ezek 43:10 אֶתְּהָ בֶן-אָדָם // καὶ σὺ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου
 Ezek 45:13 זֹאת הַתְּרוּמָה // καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀπαρχή
 Ezek 45:21 בְּרֵאשׁוֹן // καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μῆνι
 Ezek 45:25 בְּשַׁבְּעֵי // καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μῆνι

Relatively frequently, especially in Ezekiel’s law code, verbs differ in person and number in MT and LXX.¹⁵ It is generally difficult to determine whether the changes originate in the MT, the LXX *Vorlage*, or from the hand of the translator. Sometimes, however, reasons for such changes can be suggested when the priority of one version is clear.¹⁶ Ziegler noted that LXX Ezekiel could sometimes be seen to make a particular reading agree with a preceding or following verse in its use of person in order to smooth out its text. He also cautioned, however, that it is possible that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint translator could have differed from the MT.¹⁷

¹² Anneli Aejmelaesus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASF Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 83–87; Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 157–58. Aejmelaesus, “What Can We Know,” 88, notes that the Samaritan Pentateuch witnesses the increased omission of the conjunction *waw*.

¹³ The date formulae in LXX are much fuller than in MT and are generally secondary; see Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 8 n. 1.

¹⁴ Unless noted otherwise, all lists of syntactic features should be considered representative and not exhaustive.

¹⁵ Also noticed by Ziegler, “Zur Textgestaltung,” 440.

¹⁶ E.g. Ezek 43:18–27; see the commentaries.

¹⁷ Ziegler, “Zur Textgestaltung,” 438, wrote:

Man könnte gewiss in der LXX nachträgliche Angleichung an die gleiche Person in nämlichen oder vorausgehenden Vers annehmen, aber man muss sich auch fragen, ob nicht bereits die Vorlage von LXX bereits [*sic*] anders gelesen hat als unser M [MT].

- Ezek 43:20 ולקחת מדמו ונתתה על-ארבע קרנתיו // και λήμψονται ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ και ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
- Ezek 44:26 לֹא יִסְפְּרוּ לוֹ // ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐξαριθμηθήσεται αὐτῶ
- Ezek 45:6a וַתֵּן תַּנּוּן ואחות העיר // και τὴν κατάσχεσιν τῆς πόλεως δώσεις
- Ezek 45:6b יהיה בית ישראל לכל // παντὶ οἴκῳ Ἰσραηλ ἔσονται
- Ezek 45:18 תקח פר-בן-בקר תמים // λήμψεσθε μόσχον ἐκ βοῶν ἄμμωμον
- Ezek 46:3 והשתחוּ עם-הארץ // και προσκυνήσεται ὁ λαὸς τῆς γῆς

In LXX Ezek 43:20, the use of the plural reflects the mention of the Zadokite priests in the previous verse. The MT, which witnesses a singular verb here, reflects the fact that this series of commands occurs in a speech by the Deity to Ezekiel.¹⁸ In Ezek 44:26, the use of the plural in the MT (יספרו) may represent an assimilation to the preceding verses, where the reference is to the Zadokite priests in the plural. Some scholars thus prefer the singular person of the LXX, which refers to the individual Zadokite.¹⁹ The difference in number in MT and LXX Ezek 46:3 is due to the use of a collective noun. But in each of these cases, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether these changes occurred during the process of translation or were effected in the translator's source text or the proto-MT.

Likewise, differences in pronouns can be attributable to a difference in *Vorlage* or to the translator's activity.

- Ezek 43:8 אצל מוזותי אצל מוזותם אח-ספי ספם בתתם // ἐν τῶ τιθέναι αὐτοὺς τὸ πρόθυρόν μου ἐν τοῖς προθύροις αὐτῶν και τὰς φλιάς μου ἐχομένας τῶν φλιῶν αὐτῶν
- Ezek 44:7 את-לחמי // ἐν τῶ προσφέρειν ὑμᾶς ἄρτους

¹⁸ Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48* (Hermeneia; trans. J. D. Martin; ed. P. D. Hanson with L. J. Greenspoon; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 429; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC 29; Dallas: Word, 1990), 244; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 594 n. 33.

¹⁹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 451; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 246; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 638 n. 126.

Ezek 44:30 וּרְאִישֵׁי עֲרֹסוֹתֵיכֶם תִּתְּנוּ לָהֶן לְהַנִּיחַ בְּרֹכָה אֶל-בֵּיתְךָ // και τὰ πρωτογενήματα ὑμῶν δώσετε τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ θεῖναι εὐλογίας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ὑμῶν

Ezek 47:21 וְלִקְחֶם אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְכֶם לְשִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל // και διαμεριεῖτε τὴν γῆν ταύτην αὐτοῖς, ταῖς φυλαῖς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ

In Ezek 43:8, the LXX transposes the order in the MT so that what belongs to the Deity is mentioned first, and next the structures that belonged to the kings. This is probably done out of concern to mention the Deity in the first place before human monarchs. In Ezek 44:30, the peculiar singular of the MT (בֵּיתְךָ) is conformed to the expected plural reading in the LXX and Syr.²⁰ In 47:21, the LXX makes the pronoun conform to the following phrase, but it is difficult to know if the translator or his source text made this adjustment.

Similarly, prepositions can be the cause for confusion, since they cover different semantic ground in the source and receptor languages. The inseparable prepositions *beth* and *kaph* could be liable to interchange through misreading (as could be the case in Ezek 42:10).

Ezek 42:10 בְּרֹחַב גֹּדֵר הַחֹרֵץ // κατὰ τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ περιπάτου

Ezek 44:5 וְלִכְל-תּוֹרֹתַי²¹ // και κατὰ πάντα τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ

Ezek 44:24 בְּמִשְׁפְּטֵי יִשְׁפֹּטוּהוּ²¹ // τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι

Ezek 44:28 אֲנִי אֲחֻזֶתּוֹם // ὅτι ἐγὼ κατὰσχεσις αὐτῶν²²

Ezek 45:8 לְשִׁבְטֵיהֶם // κατὰ φυλὰς αὐτῶν

Variations in rendering the article may reflect the translator's preference in a given situation or his *Vorlage*.

Ezek 40:43 וְהַשְּׁפִתִים טַפַּח אֶחָד // και παλαιστήν ἔξουσι γείσος

Ezek 41:21–22 כְּמִרְאֵה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַץ // ὡς ὄψις θυσιαστηρίου ξυλίνου

²⁰ Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 246. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 452 thinks the singular reading reflects a gloss that was incompletely incorporated into some of the versions.

²¹ Reading with MT^q.

²² Perhaps LXX's reading shows the influence of Lev 25:33–34 on the part of the translator or his *Vorlage*. In Leviticus, however, the discussion concerns redemption (גא) of the ancestral property assigned to the Levites, and not the Deity as the Levites' portion, as in Ezekiel, and so the possibility of influence is slight.

Ezek 47:13 גה גבול // Ταῦτα (=זה) τὰ ὄρια

Despite these limits to our access of the Hebrew text used by the translator, the situation is not especially grave. While such ambiguities are inevitable and widespread, they concern mainly minor divergences, while the target of most scholars' interests is more substantive variation between the versions. Before such issues can be addressed, however, it is necessary to take up the pressing issue of mechanical and accidental divergences.

Mechanical and Accidental Divergences

The manuscripts from Qumran offer a starting point for envisioning the scrolls from which the translator worked.²³ Such manuscripts offer well-known examples of misreading, confusion of similar letters and other occasions of accidental divergence between MT and LXX.²⁴ Difficulty in reading and transmission seems to have been especially pervasive in Ezek 47:13–48:35.

Confusion of Similar Letters. The term on the left represents the reading in MT, while the term on the right is what the translator read. As can be seen from the lists, both the transmitters of the proto-MT and the source text of the LXX were susceptible to such misreading.

ו / י

See the discussion of the transliteration *αίλαμ* below (pp. 64–65).

ג / ז

Ezek 47:13 גה גבול // Ταῦτα (=זה) τὰ ὄρια

ז / ו

Ezek 43:12 תורת הבית זאת // καὶ τῆν (=ואת) διαγραφῆν τοῦ οἴκου²⁵

ב / מ

Ezek 48:28 מי מריבת קדש // καὶ ὕδατος Μαριμωθ Καδης (see also 47:19)

²³ Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know," 77.

²⁴ For an analysis of misreadings in Amos, see A. Gelston, "Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 52 (2002): 493–500.

²⁵ Cf. MT Ezek 47:18–19, where זאת is a scribal error for זאת.

פ / כ

Ezek 47:22 יפלו בנחלה // אתכם μεθ' ὑμῶν φάγονται (=י[א]כלו) ἐν κληρονομία

ר / ד

Ezek 42:11 כמראה // κατὰ τὰ μέτρα (= כמדדה)

Ezek 48:14 ימר ולא ימד // οὐδὲ καταμετρηθήσεται (=ימד)

ר / נ

Ezek 40:44 שרים לשכות // δύο (=שנים) ἐξέδραι

ת / צ

Ezek 43:12 זאת תורת הבית // καὶ τὴν διαγραφὴν (=צורת) τοῦ οἴκου

Examples of confusion of more than one letter include the following.

Ezek 43:7 במותם // ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν (=בתוכם)

Ezek 47:15 הדרך חתלן לבוא צדדה // τῆς καταβαινούσης (=הירד) καὶ περισχιζούσης τῆς εἰσόδου Ημαθ Σεδδαδα.²⁶

Ezek 48:21 אל-פני חמשה ועשרים אלף // ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας μῆκος (=ארך).

Different Word Division

Ezek 48:11 המקדש מבני צדוק // τοῖς ἁγιασμένοις (=מקדש[י]) υἱοῖς Σαδδουκ (cf. 45:4)

Metathesis

Ezek 42:3 העשרים // αἱ πύλαι (=השערים)

Ezek 43:11 צורת // καὶ διαγράψεις (=וצרת)

LXX EZEKIEL 40–48 AS A PHILOLOGICAL TRANSLATION

In his discussion of the differences between “free” and “literal” translations preserved in the Septuagint, Troxel distinguishes four characteristics of literal translations:²⁷ 1) consistent representation of one term in the Hebrew with a corresponding term in the Greek, with relatively little concern for context (stereotyped lexical equivalents); 2) etymological analysis, or the preservation of each significant

²⁶ Περισχιζέω is only used here and at 48:1, where it is also used to render חתלן.

²⁷ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 87.

element in a Hebrew word with a corresponding Greek term, as in Ezek 44:19 בצאנב // ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι αὐτούς; 3) adherence to the word-order of the Hebrew; and 4) preservation of each distinct lexeme in the source text with one word in the translated text (quantitative representation), except in such cases as etymological analysis proves necessary. In what follows, etymological analysis, concern with Hebrew word-order and quantitative representation will all prove significant for the attempt to flesh out Tov's qualification of Ezekiel's translator as "relatively literal." I will argue that the close fidelity in grammatical and semantic matters that characterizes of the translator of Ezek 40–48 stands in contrast to his less restricted approach to lexical issues.

In this choice of fidelity in his translation, the translator chooses the appropriate terms, grammatical structures, and stylistic level congruent with a *philological* translation. The intent of this type of a translation is to move the readers toward the source text by reproducing its linguistic structures, thus laying bare in important respects the organization of the source text in the target language. This section is geared toward examination of significant text-linguistic, grammatical and syntactical indications of the nature of the translation of LXX Ezek 40–48. This examination will highlight the translator's close attention to reproducing his source text. After demonstrating this fidelity, I will produce counter-examples in which the translator exhibits a somewhat freer approach to his source text, revealing that the translator's generally faithful approach to his source text was not the only possible approach of which he was capable. Finally, I will highlight the translator's characteristic freedom in lexical selection. As will be demonstrated below, this lexical freedom constitutes the primary, but not the only, avenue for the translator to interpret his source text.

Grammatical and Syntactical Concerns

Many examples of the translator's fidelity to grammar and syntax of his source text could be highlighted, but in what follows I will limit myself to five: use of the *participium coniunctum*, infinitives, the rendering of the pleonastic use of the pronoun in relative clauses, postpositive particles and genitives absolute. In addition to these strictly grammatical and syntactical concerns, word order may be treated here briefly in view of the fact that in large part, the translator

has chosen to reproduce the grammatical and syntactical structures of his source text rather than adapt them to the requirements of his target language. Such considerations support viewing LXX Ezek 40–48 as a philological translation, which takes the reader back toward the source text.

Participium Coniunctum. The *participium coniunctum* may be understood as a participle that agrees with its antecedent in case, number, and gender, thus including most participles. Aejmelaeus has speculated on the reasons for the relative neglect of the Greek participle by the Septuagint translators as follows: “That the *part. coni.* [=participium coniunctum] is relatively uncommon in the Septuagint is due precisely to the fact that no common Hebrew structure could easily and appropriately be rendered by it.”²⁸ She distinguishes five uses, focusing primarily on the Greek Pentateuch:²⁹ 1) use of a participle as the rendering of the infinitive absolute with a main verb; 2) as λέγων corresponding to לאמר; 3) in rendering asyndetic pairs of verbs; 4) as an equivalent to the Hebrew participle; and 5) as the rendering of the Hebrew construction ב + infinitive construct.

Contrary to Aejmelaeus’s suggestion of its rarity, the *participium coniunctum* is rather common in LXX Ezek 40–48. By far, the most frequent use for the *participium coniunctum* in LXX Ezek 40–48 is as a rendering for Hebrew participles. The following are representative examples.

- Ezek 40:45 שמרי משמרת הבית // τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς φυλάσσοσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ οἴκου³⁰
 Ezek 41:18 ועשי כרובים // γεγλυμμένα χερουβιν
 Ezek 41:19 עשי אל-כל-הבית סביב סביב // διαγεγλυμμένος ὄλος ὁ οἶκος κυκλόθεν
 Ezek 41:20 ועשי והתמרים // καὶ οἱ φοίνικες διαγεγλυμμένοι

²⁸ Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Participium coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” *VT* 32 (1982): 385–93; repr. in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 7–16 (quotation on pp. 7–8).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8–11.

³⁰ Another interesting indication of a relatively literalistic translation is the translator’s retention of the cognate accusative in his target language.

- Ezek 44:2 היה...יהיה סגור הזה השער // Ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται ... καὶ ἔσται κεκλεισμένη
- Ezek 44:22 ואלמנה וגרושה לא-יקחו להם // καὶ χήραν καὶ ἐκβεβλημένην οὐ λήμψονται ἑαυτοῖς
- Ezek 46:23 ומבשלות עשי מתחת הטרות סביב // καὶ μαγειρεῖα γεγονότα ὑποκάτω τῶν ἐξεδρῶν κύκλω
- Ezek 46:24 אשר יבשלו-שם משרתי הבית את-זבח העם // οὗ ἐψήσουσιν ἐκεῖ οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ οἴκῳ τὰ θύματα τοῦ λαοῦ
- Ezek 47:8 אל-הגלילה הקדמונה יוצאים האלה // Τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς

The *participium coniunctum* in Greek is used to render both active (40:45; 46:24; 47:8) and passive (41:18, 19, 20; 44:2) Hebrew participles. In Ezek 40:45, the translator reproduces a cognate accusative from his source text in his translation. Similarly, in Ezek 44:22, he reproduces the periphrastic structure of the source text (G passive participle plus imperfect) with an equivalent Greek structure (a future tense plus a perfect passive participle). On the other hand, the translator did not always render a Hebrew participle with a Greek one. From time to time the translator understood the Hebrew participle as denoting a present tense verb, and translated accordingly.³¹

- Ezek 40:4a אני מראה אותך // καὶ τάξον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου πάντα, ὅσα ἐγὼ δεικνύω σοι
- Ezek 44:5 אתך מדבר אני כל-אשר שמע את // ἄκουε πάντα, ὅσα ἐγὼ λαλῶ μετὰ σοῦ

Occasionally a *participium coniunctum* in LXX Ezek 40–48 reflects the verbal idea inherent in a noun. In the following example, it is possible that the translator interpreted יית as an Aramaic G passive participle.³²

³¹ At Ezek 40:3 עמד בשער והוא // καὶ αὐτὸς εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης, the translator understood the unpointed Hebrew as a perfect where the Masoretic tradition pointed it as a participle, and so it is not counted among our examples.

³² Suggested to me by Brandon Bruning, personal communication. For an example of a passive participle that does not agree with its antecedent and is still rendered as a participle by the translator, see Ezek 41:18 above. However, the situation differs slightly in Ezek 41:18, since the participle precedes its antecedent and thus does not need to agree with it in number and gender.

Ezek 40:42 תַּיִת אבני גִּי // λίθιναι λελαξέμεναι

The *participium coniunctum* is used for the only occurrence of an infinitive absolute.

Ezek 44:20 את-ראשיכם כסום כסום // καλύπτοντες³³ καλύψουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν

The use of the *participium coniunctum* in LXX Ezek 40–48 thus does not reflect the range of its usage in the Greek Pentateuch, as might be expected given the limited range of the corpus. A wider variety of usages of the Greek participle is visible when Ezek *α'* and *β'* are taken into account.³⁴ What is instructive about the *participium coniunctum* in LXX Ezek 40–48 is the close correspondence between Hebrew participles and the translator's use of Greek participles. Although contextual considerations remain paramount in each case, it seems in general the translator rendered a Hebrew participle with a Greek *participium coniunctum*, a feature of relative fidelity.

*Infinitives.*³⁵ Like participles, infinitives in LXX Ezek 40–48 generally correspond to infinitives in the MT. Where the infinitive construct is used with an introductory *lamed*, the translator often reproduces this by prefacing the Greek infinitive with a genitive article (τοῦ) that gives the infinitive a purposive significance. This tendency is a clear example of etymological analysis, where the Greek τοῦ replaces Hebrew לְ, though the lack of this article at Ezek 40:46b; 43:18b; 46:9 and elsewhere marks this technique as a general principle, not a hard and fast rule.

³³ Apparently the translator read כסה (so G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1936], 492).

³⁴ Examples for three of the five categories Aejmelaeus gives for the use of the *participium coniunctum* in the LXX Pentateuch can be found in LXX Ezekiel. Participles rendering the infinitive absolute when it is used with a main verb can be seen in Ezek 44:20 as well as in 14:3; 24:5; 28:9. The use of λέγων to render לְאמר occurs in 9:1; 12:1, 8, 17 *et passim*. The *participium coniunctum* is not used to render כּ with the infinitive construct or asyndetic verbs in LXX Ezekiel, as far as I am aware.

³⁵ For a treatment of infinitives in LXX broadly, see Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (AASF; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965).

- Ezek 40:46b להוה אל-יהוה לשרתו // ἐκεῖνοι εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Σαδδουκ οἱ ἐγγίζοντες ἐκ τοῦ Λευι πρὸς κύριον λειτουργεῖν αὐτῷ
- Ezek 42:20 להבדיל בין הקדש לחל // τοῦ διαστέλλειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ προτειχίσματος
- Ezek 43:18 עליו עולה ולזרק עליו דם // τοῦ ἀναφέρειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὄλοκαυτώματα καὶ προσχέειν πρὸς αὐτό αἷμα
- Ezek 44:3 הוא ישב-בו לאכל-לחם³⁶ // οὗτος καθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ φαγεῖν ἄρτον
- Ezek 44:7 לחלל את-ביתי // τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις μου, καὶ ἐβεβήλουν³⁷ αὐτά
- Ezek 44:11 ועמדו לפניו לשרתם // καὶ οὗτοι στήσονται ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ λειτουργεῖν αὐτοῖς
- Ezek 45:17 לכפר בעד בית-ישראל // τοῦ ἐξιλάσκεσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ
- Ezek 46:18 ולא-יקח הנשיא מנחלת העם להונתם // καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβῃ ὁ ἀφηγούμενος ἐκ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ λαοῦ καταδυναστεύσαι αὐτούς·
- Ezek 46:20 לבלתי הוציא אל-החצר החיצונה לקדש את-העם // τοῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐξωτέραν τοῦ ἀγιάζειν τὸν λαόν
- Ezek 47:5 לא-אוכל לעבר // καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο διελθεῖν

Commonly, Hebrew infinitives construct are broken down into their component parts, and each component is rendered with its usual Greek hyponym (etymological analysis). Word order in Greek remains the same as in LXX^v.

ב + Infinitive Construct rendered as ἐν τῷ + infinitive

- Ezek 43:8 בתחם // ἐν τῷ τιθέναι αὐτούς
- Ezek 44:7 בהקריבכם // ἐν τῷ προσφέρειν ὑμᾶς
- Ezek 44:10 בתעות ישראל // ἐν τῷ πλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἰσραηλ
- Ezek 45:1 ובהפילכם // καὶ ἐν τῷ καταμετρεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς
- Ezek 46:10 בבואם...ובצאתם // ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι αὐτούς ... καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι αὐτούς

³⁶ Reading with MT^Q.

³⁷ The translator apparently interpreted the proleptic suffix as an indication this was an indicative form (a perfect) instead of an infinitive, despite the presence of the *lamed* marking the form as an infinitive construct.

ב + Infinitive Construct with other renderings

Ezek 42:12 כפתחי הלשכות אשר דרך הדרום פתח בראש דרך³⁸ בפני בואן // τῶν ἐξεδρών τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὰ θυρώματα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τοῦ περιπάτου ὡς ἐπὶ φῶς διαστήματος καλάμου καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν

Ezek 43:23 בכלותך מחטא // καὶ μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι σε τὸν ἐξίλασμόν

In the context of the rooms discussed in Ezek 42:12, the addition of the preposition *διὰ* clarifies that one enters the room through the openings (*θυρώματα*) mentioned earlier in the verse. In this example, the *beth* is equivalent to the purposive *τοῦ* of the Greek infinitive, as in the preceding examples with *lamedh*. In Ezek 43:23, the translation of the infinitive construct with ב nicely captures the temporal nuance of the original.

למען + Infinitive Construct

Ezek 40:4 למען הראותכה // ἕνεκα τοῦ δεῖξαι σοι

אחר + Infinitive Construct

Ezek 46:12 אחרי צאתו // μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτόν

Infinitives construct in Hebrew are sometimes converted into adverbial phrases introduced with a Greek particle.

Ezek 40:39 לשחוט אליהם // ὅπως σφάζωσιν ἐν αὐτῇ

Ezek 43:3 בבאי לשחח // ὅτε εἰσπορευόμεν τοῦ χρίσαι

On occasion, infinitives construct are rendered with a participle or, more commonly, with a noun.

Ezek 43:17 פנות קדים // βλέποντες κατὰ ἀνατολὰς

Ezek 43:18 בעשותו ביום העשותו // ἐν ἡμέρα ποιήσεως αὐτοῦ

³⁸ One instance of דרך in the MT should be deleted as a dittography (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 396; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 227; BHS).

- Ezek 43:23 מחטא בכלותך // καὶ μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι σε τὸν ἐξίλασμόν
 Ezek 47:3 בצאת-האיש קדים // καθὼς ἕξοδος ἀνδρὸς ἐξ ἐναντίας
 Ezek 47:7 בשובני // ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ μου
 Ezek 48:11 בתעון בני ישראל // ἐν τῇ πλανήσει υἰῶν Ἰσραηλ

Very seldom, infinitives construct are treated as finite verbs.

- Ezek 42:14 בבאם הכהנים ולא-יצאו // οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται ἐκεῖ πάρεξ
 τῶν ἱερέων³⁹

The opposite situation, in which a finite verb in Hebrew is converted to an infinitive, also occurs rarely.

- Ezek 45:18 וחטאת את-המקדש // τοῦ ἐξίλασθαι τὸ ἅγιον

On occasion, circumstantial clauses are converted into infinitival phrases in Greek. The translator prefers to render adverbial clauses with אחר in this way.

- Ezek 40:1 אחר אשר הכתה העיר // μετὰ τὸ ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν
 Ezek 44:26 ואחרי טהרתו // καὶ μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθῆναι αὐτόν

Only one infinitive absolute seems to have appeared in LXX^V Ezek 40–48, where the translator renders it with a participle, a technique also present in Ezek α' and β'.⁴⁰

³⁹ In this example, the translation of the infinitive as a finite verb is probably due to the presence of the conjunction following the infinitive construct, which seems to have made the significance of the infinitive construct problematic for the translator.

⁴⁰ In Ezek α', infinitives absolute are ignored (Ezek 1:2; 17:10; 20:32; 25:12), rendered with a cognate noun (especially for iterations of מות תמות as θανάτω θανατωθήσῃ and similar cases: Ezek 3:18, 21; 16:4 [2x]; 18:9, 13, 17, 19, 21, 23, 28), rendered with a related participle (14:3; 24:5), rendered as a main verb (16:49; 21:20, 31; 23:30; 24:10) or imperative (23:46 [2x], 47; 24:2 [reading with MT^K]). At 21:24, the infinitive absolute ברא is read as בראש twice. In Ezek β', infinitives absolute are rendered with a related participle (28:9), ignored (31:11; 33:16), rendered with a cognate noun (33:8, 14, 15), or translated with an infinitive (36:3).

Ezek 44:20 כסוּם יִכְסוּם וְתִשְׂכַּחְךָ // καλύπτοντες καλύψουσιν
τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν⁴¹

In Ezekiel as a whole, Soisalon-Soininen counts 127 instances of the use of כ + infinitive construct, of which eighty-eight are translated with ἐν τῷ + infinitive, the most of any book in the LXX.⁴² By way of comparison, he cites only three instances of ἐν τῷ + infinitive rendering the same construction in Jeremiah, and only one in Isaiah. This rendering of כ + infinitive construct places Ezekiel in the same category of books as 1 and 2 Paraleipomena, 3 Kingdoms, 4 Kingdoms and Psalms. LXX Ezek 40–48 shows two of the three characteristics of expressions with the infinitive in translation Greek that Soisalon-Soininen identified: ἐν τῷ + infinitive and τοῦ + infinitive (omitting ὥστε + infinitive). These constructions are relatively uncommon in native Greek works such as 2–4 Maccabees, the Odes of Solomon, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Epistle of Jeremiah, and Susanna.⁴³ The constructions ἐν τῷ + infinitive and τοῦ + infinitive thus provide LXX Ezek 40–48 with one of the characteristically literal elements of translation Greek.

Pleonastic Uses of the Pronoun in Relative Clauses. The translator of LXX Ezek 40–48 reproduced pleonastic uses of the pronoun in relative clauses in the majority of such instances where they occurred in LXX.⁴⁴ This corresponds to what Soisalon-Soininen has observed as the natural inclination of translators to render word for word, but

⁴¹ See n. 33 above.

⁴² Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, 188. Nine are translated by ἐν with a substantive, three with an infinitive with another preposition, and three by an infinitive alone. Ὅτε clauses render 12 cases, and ἡνίκα clauses render two. Genitive absolutes, adverbial participles and other translations make up the rest of the cases.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴⁴ In addition, there are two instances where the translator understood the pleonastic pronoun differently than the MT. Ezek 43:7 contains a relative clause with a word which is pointed in MT as a pleonastic particle (סָ), but which is interpreted by the Septuagint translator as the word שָׁ. In Ezek 40:49, the translator understood what the MT points as the relative pronoun (רָשָׁ) as the numeral ten (עָשָׂר): יְעֹלֹ בַמַּעֲלוֹת אֶשְׁרַע יְעֹלֹ // ἐπὶ δέκα ἀναβαθμῶν ἀνέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτό.

was probably a feature of the spoken language of Greek even outside translated texts.⁴⁵

- Ezek 40:42 בב אשר ישחטו את-העולה // ἐν οἷς σφάξουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα
- Ezek 42:13 אשר יאכלו-שם הכהנים // ἐν αἷς φάγονται ἐκεῖ οἱ ἱερεῖς
- Ezek 42:14 אשר-ישרתו בהן // ἐν οἷς λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς
- Ezek 44:19 אשר-המה משרתם בב // ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς
- Ezek 46:20 אשר יבשלו-שם הכהנים את-האשם // οὗ ἐψήσουσιν ἐκεῖ οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας
- Ezek 46:24 אשר יבשלו-שם משרתי הבית את-זבח העם // οὗ ἐψήσουσιν ἐκεῖ οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ οἴκῳ τὰ θύματα τοῦ λαοῦ
- Ezek 47:9 אל כל-אשר יבוא שם נחלים יחיה // ἐφ' ἃ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐκεῖ ὁ ποταμός, ζήσεται

In two instances, the translator did not preserve the pleonastic use of the Hebrew pronoun.

- Ezek 44:14 ולכל אשר יעשה בו // καὶ εἰς πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιήσωσιν
- Ezek 46:9 לא ישוב דרך השער אשר-בא בו // οὐκ ἀναστρέψει κατὰ τὴν πύλῃν, ἣν εἰσελήλυθεν

The omission of the pleonastic pronoun in Ezek 44:14 may be due to the translator's understanding of *יעשה* not as a passive (N stem), as in the Masoretic tradition, but as an active G stem. Soisalon-Soininen remarks: "The use of the pleonastic pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch varies so extensively from book to book that this variation may be considered significant," giving the ratio of omissions of the pleonastic pronoun to examples of its retention as follows.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch," in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 60.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

TABLE 3:
OMISSION/ RETENTION OF PLEONASTIC PRONOUNS
IN THE LXX PENTATEUCH AND EZEKIEL

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Genesis: 18 omissions/ 22 retentions | 55% retained |
| Exodus: 16 omissions/ 28 retentions..... | 63.7% retained |
| Leviticus: 16 omissions/ 49 retentions..... | 75.4% retained |
| Numbers: 5 omissions/ 34 retentions | 87.2 % retained |
| Deuteronomy: 14 omissions/ 61 retentions | 81.3% retained |
| Ezek γ' : 2 omissions/ 7 retentions..... | 77.7% retained |
| Ezekiel: 5 omissions/ 29 retentions | 85.3% retained |

LXX Ezek 40–48 retains the pleonastic pronoun 77.7% of the time, compared with 81.3% in Ezek α' (chaps. 1–27) and 100% in Ezek β' (chaps. 28–39).⁴⁷ Altogether the translator(s) of Ezekiel retain twenty-nine of thirty-four instances of the pleonastic pronoun (85.3%). Such considerations support the faithful approach of the translators of Ezekiel to their source text.

Postpositive Particles and Genitives Absolute. Postpositive particles occur infrequently in LXX Ezekiel as a whole. $\Gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is used only three times in the book (at 12:19; 31:17; 39:16) and is absent from chapters 40–48. This is comparable with the use of this particle in 1 Paraleipomena, Jeremiah, 1–3 Kingdoms, Ecclesiastes and Zechariah, against freer uses in Isaiah and the Pentateuch.⁴⁸ Nor does the

⁴⁷ Ezekiel α' : the pleonastic pronoun is retained in Ezek 5:9; 6:9, 13; 11:16, 17; 12:16; 13:20; 14:22; 18:24; 20:34, 41, 43; 24:6; and omitted in 3:15; 8:3; 9:6 (retained in 81.3% of cases). In 18:31 the translator read הַב in place of בַּב. Ezekiel β' : the pleonastic pronoun is retained in 28:25; 29:13; 34:12; 36:20, 21, 22; 37:21 [all of which concern the Judeans' being scattered in foreign lands], as well as 37:23, 25 (retained in 100% of cases).

⁴⁸ In 1 Paraleipomena, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ makes up 0.006% of words in the book, in Jeremiah 0.007%, in 1 Kingdoms and Ezekiel 0.01%, in Zechariah 0.02%, in Ecclesiastes and 2 Kingdoms 0.022%, and in 2 Paraleipomena 0.042%. On the other end of the spectrum, in decreasing order, are Job (1.261% of words), Proverbs (0.914%), Isaiah (0.68%), Esther (0.428%), Exodus (0.375%), Genesis (0.322%), Leviticus (0.189%), Daniel (0.176%) and Deuteronomy (0.17%).

particle οὖν occur in the book.⁴⁹ Δέ is more frequent, commonly used following a personal pronoun, the article, or in accompaniment to ἐάν.⁵⁰ It appears thirty-six times in the book as a whole, at a rate comparable to Jeremiah, 2 Kingdoms, Amos and Zechariah.⁵¹ Similarly, LXX Ezekiel's single use of τε at 40:20 is comparable to the frequency of this term in other books.⁵² The use of these postpositive and conjunctive particles indicates that, with the exception of δέ, employment of postpositive particles occurred only sporadically, in keeping with the translators' relatively literalistic *Übersetzungsweise*.

Grammatically, in LXX Ezek 40–48 the particle δέ is always used to mark a contrast between elements that are distinguished in some way. Interestingly, in every instance in which it is used in LXX Ezek 40–48 with the exception of one (Ezek 40:44, below), the use of δέ provides an example of quantitative representation, since it furnishes a method by which to indicate the presence of the connecting *waw* in situations where the normal rendering by καί would be inappropriate or awkward. In these situations, then, the use of δέ could be considered evidence for literalistic translation.

Ezek 46:1 יפתח השבת יביום // ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων
ἀνοιχθήσεται

⁴⁹ This particle also does not occur in Jeremiah, 1 Paraleipomena, 3 Kingdoms or Zechariah. It is most common in Esther (0.188% of words), Genesis (0.129%), Exodus (0.117%), and Job (0.088%).

⁵⁰ Σὺ δέ: 3:21; 28:2, 9; 33:9; ἡμεῖς δέ: 11:3; ἐγὼ δέ: 21:22. It is used after the substantivizing use of the article (6:12; 7:15), and is common after an adjectival article as well (3:7; 10:13; 14:16; 18:5, 18, 20 [2x]; 30:25; 33:8; 34:8; 48:13, 15, 19, 21). It appears with ἐάν at 14:21; 16:27; 18:14; 22:13; 33:9; 46:12, 17. For analysis of δέ in LXX Ezek 40–48, see below.

⁵¹ Δέ is least common in 2 Paraleipomena (0.009% of words), Nehemiah (0.013%), 4 Kingdoms (0.048%), 1 Kingdoms (0.05%), Ezra (0.054%), 1 Paraleipomena (0.068%), Judges (0.077%), 3 Kingdoms and Zephaniah (0.082%), Lamentations (0.084%), Jeremiah (0.09%), 2 Kingdoms (0.106%), Ezekiel (0.121%), Amos (0.156%) and Zechariah (0.161%). It is most common in Job (5.457% of words), Proverbs (5.043%), Genesis (2.625%), Esther (1.78%), Exodus (1.62%), Ruth (1.062%) and Leviticus (0.66%).

⁵² Τε is least common in Ezekiel (0.003% of words), Isaiah (0.004%), 4 Kingdoms (0.005%), Psalms (0.006%), 1 Paraleipomena (0.006%) and Joshua (0.007%). It is most common in Esther (0.274% of words), Job (0.14%), Proverbs (0.116%), Ezra (0.072%), Leviticus (0.052%) and Genesis (0.049%).

- Ezek 46:12 וכי-יעשה הנשיא נדבה // ἐὰν δὲ ποιήσῃ ὁ ἀφηγούμενος
ὁμολογίαν
- Ezek 46:17 וכי-יתן מתנה מנחלתו // ἐὰν δὲ δῶ δόμα
- Ezek 48:13 והלויים לעמת גבול הכהנים // τοῖς δὲ Λευίταις τὰ
ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀρίων τῶν ἱερέων
- Ezek 48:15 וחמשת אלפים הנותר ברחב // τὰς δὲ πέντε χιλιάδας τὰς
περισσὰς ἐπὶ τῷ πλάτει
- Ezek 48:19 והעבד העיר יעבדוהו // οἱ δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν πόλιν
ἐργάζονται αὐτὴν
- Ezek 48:21 והנותר לנשיא מזה ומזה // τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τῷ
ἀφηγουμένῳ, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκ τούτου

In another instance, the translator inserts δέ where the MT has no corresponding *waw*. This could be evidence for the existence of a *waw* in the translator's source text (ופני), or it could simply reflect his desired rendering.

- Ezek 40:44 פני דרך הצפן // βλεπούσης δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν

The difficulty in determining with certainty whether the *waw* was present in LXX^v or not diminishes the significance of Ezek 40:44 as a counterexample to the translator's general tack of using δέ to render a connecting *waw*. In general, then, the employment of δέ in LXX Ezek 40–48 tends to support rather than undermine the contention that this section of Ezekiel is, by and large, a faithful one.

A similar situation results from the consideration of the presence of genitives absolute.⁵³ Soisalon-Soininen argues that even sporadic uses of the genitive absolute should be given weight, since appropriate circumstances for their use were present only under certain conditions.⁵⁴ The genitive absolute occurs only occasionally in LXX Ezek, and not at all in Ezek γ'.

- Ezek 9:5 באזני ולא לה אמר באזני // καὶ τούτοις εἶπεν ἀκούοντός μου
- Ezek 10:13 באזני // ἀκούοντός μου

⁵³ See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Der Gebrauch des *genetivus absolutus* in der Septuaginta,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (AASF; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 175–80.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

Ezek 15:5 הנה בהיותו תמים // οὐδὲ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὀλοκλήρου
 Ezek 26:10 בבאו בשעריך // εἰσπορευομένου αὐτοῦ τὰς πύλας σου

All four of the genitives absolute in LXX Ezekiel carry a temporal nuance, in keeping with their most common classification elsewhere in the Septuagint.⁵⁵ The proportion of genitives absolute in both Ezek γ' and LXX Ezek as a whole is rather low in comparison with other Septuagint books.⁵⁶ This offers more corroboration of the translator's faithful approach.

Word Order in LXX Ezekiel 40–48. Reproduction of the word order of the source text has generally been regarded a significant criterion, perhaps even the definitive criterion, of a literal translation.⁵⁷ Galen Marquis has provided a stimulating consideration of the fidelity of the translator of Ezek 1–39, though he leaves aside Ezek 40–48 due to their “special character and the possibly different approach of the translator (not necessarily a different one) to their translation.”⁵⁸ He finds 100 instances of deviation in word order in Ezek 1–39, making the translator dependent on the word-order of his source text in 90.1% of cases. The figure of 90.1% agreement in Ezek 1–39 compares with 89.8% agreement in word order in Jeremiah, 92.2% in 1 Kingdoms, and 97.3% for 4 Kingdoms.⁵⁹ This relatively high percentage in Ezekiel, compared to the 53.8% agreement in Job 1–30

⁵⁵ “Beinahe alle *gen. abs.* in der Septuaginta haben temporale Bedeutung...” (ibid., 177).

⁵⁶ There are three genitives absolute in 1 Paraleipomena (11:2; 12:1; 18:3); one in Zechariah (14:12); seven in 2 Paraleipomena (15:3; 18:34; 20:10, 25; 21:5; 23:7; 36:10); fourteen in Jeremiah (15:9, 11, 17; 33:8; 35:9; 38:32; 43:2, 13, 23; 48:4, 7; 49:18; 52:1, 31); eleven in 2 Kingdoms (3:13, 35; 5:2; 6:16; 8:3; 11:1; 12:21; 13:30; 18:5, 14; 19:18); and thirteen in 1 Kingdoms (3:11; 9:5, 11, 14, 27; 11:9; 13:15; 15:2; 20:14; 22:4; 25:7, 20; 30:1). When compared with the number of verses in each respective book (an arbitrary but accurate method of comparison), the following proportions result: 1 Paraleipomena and Ezek (0.3% of verses have a genitive absolute), Zechariah (0.5%), 2 Paraleipomena (0.9%), Jeremiah (1.1%), 2 Kingdoms (1.6%), 1 Kingdoms (1.7%).

⁵⁷ John M. Merle, “The Mechanics of Translation Greek,” *JBL* 52 (1933): 244–52; Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 97; Barr, “Typology of Literalism,” 26–27.

⁵⁸ Marquis, “Word Order,” 63 n. 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 64.

and 66.4% in Isa 1–30, substantiates the relatively literal character of Ezek $\alpha\beta'$.⁶⁰

When Ezek γ' is examined, it becomes clear that, like the preceding sections, many of the changes in word-order here can be attributed to a preference for Greek language and style.⁶¹ Appendix B cites fifty-two examples of divergence in word order in Ezek γ' , more than half the number of examples (one hundred) cited by Marquis for Ezek $\alpha\beta'$. Marquis contends that cases in which numbers are combined with nouns, such as those in the category "Numerals and Measurements" in Appendix B, provide a useful index for assessing the translator's "policy" about following the word-order of his source text, citing Ezek 29:17.⁶² A summary declaration that the translator of Ezek γ' is much less literal than those operative in the rest of the book would be hasty, however, given the differences in content provided by the detailed measurements in the temple description. If one eliminates the variation between the translator's preference for placing the unit of measurement before its numerical value, in contrast to LXX^V, there would be only ten examples of divergence in word order. This would represent a higher ratio of agreement with the source text than that preserved in Ezek $\alpha\beta'$ (96.3%). Including the incidences of the translator's preference for designating the unit before its value, one arrives at a lower percentage of agreement (80%), which is still much higher than the values Marquis gives for Job 1–30 (53.8%) and Isa 1–30 (66.4%). More than reliance on such statistics, one should remember that apart from a few select but rather common situations described above, the translator follows the word order of his source text, an index of his literalistic approach. On the other hand, the translator's consistency in varying the word order of his source text in favor of one more natural in Greek, especially when providing measurements, provides a small but suggestive example of the translator's third goal: accommodating his source text to his target readership in specific ways.

⁶⁰ See also the examples of deviation from the Hebrew in Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 97–98. As can be seen in comparison with the list in Appendix C, Cornill's list is incomplete.

⁶¹ My investigation of many of these terms is based on observations Marquis made in his article "Word Order."

⁶² *Ibid.*, 73–74. Of course, the translator is not likely to have had an explicit or perhaps even conscious "policy" that controlled his rendering.

Conclusion

The examination of the preceding aspects of the grammar and syntax of LXX Ezek 40–48 has put us in a position to agree heartily with Soisalon-Soininen’s sentiment about the quality of the Septuagint translation. He noted that the Septuagint was not a translation by Greeks for Greeks, but by Greek-speaking Jews for Jews.⁶³ Many features of the grammar and syntax of LXX Ezek 40–48 would have seemed barbaric or even incomprehensible to a non-Jewish Greek speaker, as the polemics against the Septuagint as a whole were quick to point out.⁶⁴ Yet these translators should not be dismissed as incompetent, especially in view of the fact that the Septuagint represents the first large-scale translation in the ancient world. In fact, the translator of LXX Ezek 40–48 is capable of several excellent free renderings that would meet modern standards of idiomatic translation, as we will see. Despite these occasionally inspired moments, however, it is beyond dispute that the translator for the most part kept solidly to the tenets of etymological analysis, concern with Hebrew word-order and quantitative representation, while lexical rendering was more fluid. It is equally beyond dispute that this was not a systematic process but an “easy technique.”

How should this tendency toward literal renderings be evaluated? I suggest that LXX Ezek 40–48 should be seen as a philological translation, in which the authoritative linguistic, grammatical and syntactical structures, not just the individual words, create a style immediately recognizable to the acculturated ear as possessing divine authority. If this suggestion is adopted, then the literalistic *Übersetzungsweise* itself encodes and expresses the distance between the original oracles and the translator’s circumstances. The probability of this suggestion increases when it becomes clear that the translator was capable on occasion of much freer renderings.

⁶³ “Die Septuaginta ist nicht eine Übersetzung eines Griechen für Griechen, sondern eines griechisch sprechenden Juden für Juden” (*Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, 176).

⁶⁴ For example, *Against Celsus* 1.42; see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–2.

ACCURACY AND COMPREHENSIBILITY IN LXX EZEKIEL 40–48

The Use of the Verb ἔχειν

The use of the verb ἔχειν poses problems of syntax and style for investigation of the *Übersetzungsweise* of the Septuagint translators, not to mention the verb's lexicographical difficulties. The root of the problem is the fact that Hebrew, like related Semitic languages, has no verb for possession, relying instead on the constructions -לִּיהֵ or -לִּישׁ. Greek could indicate ownership with the expression εἶναι τινι, which is analogous to the aforementioned Hebrew constructions, but may not be completely interchangeable for them in every instance.⁶⁵ Possession could also be indicated using the simple dative case where ישׁ or היה was not explicit, as the representative examples below show.

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ezek 40:25 | וּחְלוֹנִים לוֹ // καὶ θυρίδες αὐτῆς |
| Ezek 40:26 | וּתְמָרִים לוֹ // καὶ φοίνικες αὐτῆς |
| Ezek 42:20 | לוֹ חוֹמָה // καὶ περίβολον αὐτῶν |

While ἔχειν is common in Ezek α' and γ', it is used only once in Ezek β' (at 34:4, where τὸ κακῶς ἔχον renders ואת-החולה), perhaps in part due to the difference in subject-matter.⁶⁶

One significant use of ἔχειν in LXX Ezekiel is to indicate a direction opposite or next to the speaker, an idiomatic rendering of לעמַת, נגד, and אצל.⁶⁷

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Ezek 42:1 | וּיְבִאֵנִי אֶל-הַלְשֹׁכָה אֲשֶׁר נֹגַד הַגּוֹרָה וְאֲשֶׁר-נֹגַד הַבְּנִין אֶל- הַצִּפּוֹן // καὶ εἰσήγαγέ με, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξέδραι πέντε ⁶⁸ ἐχόμεναι τοῦ ἀπολοίπου καὶ ἐχόμεναι τοῦ διορίζοντος πρὸς βορρᾶν |
| Ezek 43:6 | וְאִישׁ הָיָה עִמָּד אֲצֵלִי // καὶ ὁ ἀνήρ εἰστήκει ἐχόμενός μου |

⁶⁵ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Der Gebrauch des Verbs ἔχειν in der Septuaginta,” *VT* 28 (1978): 92–99; repr. in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (AASF; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 181.

⁶⁶ Alternatively, the distribution of ἔχειν could be seen as supporting Thackeray's theory of different translators for these sections.

⁶⁷ See also Ezek 43:8; 48:18, 21. Ezek α' provides parallel uses in Ezek 1:15, 19; 3:13; 9:2; 10:6, 9 [2x], 16, 19; 11:22. For a native Greek use of ἔχειν in this sense, see Herodotus 1.64, 180, 191; 2.17; 5.81.

⁶⁸ So LXX^{ed}, following B. A Arab read δέκα here.

Ezek 48:13 והלויים לעמת גבול הכהנים // τοῖς δὲ Λευίταις τὰ ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀρίων τῶν ἱερέων

The use of ἔχειν in the directional sense identified above occurs in the Pentateuch in the description of the construction of the tabernacle and elsewhere in the priestly literature.⁶⁹ Like sacrificial terminology (for which, see below), the use of ἔχειν in this directional sense may reflect the translator's consultation of the Pentateuch as a kind of working manual for his own translational needs.

In other instances, ἔχειν corresponds to Hebrew constructions of possession.⁷⁰

Ezek 41:22 ומקצועותיו לו // καὶ κέρατα εἶχε
Ezek 42:6 ואין להן עמודים // καὶ στύλους οὐκ εἶχον

Occasionally, the translator will use ἔχειν in other instances where it seems appropriate.⁷¹

Ezek 44:18 פארי פשתים יהיו על-ראשם ומכנסי יהיו על- // και κιδάρεις λινᾶς ἔξουσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς αὐτῶν και מתניהם // και περισκελῆ λινᾶ ἔξουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ὀσφύας αὐτῶν

Suitable Free Renderings and the Historical Present

The following examples of free renderings in LXX Ezek 40–48 can be given. While such renderings abandon the general practice of quantitative representation, they prove most accurate and are the more noteworthy for their rarity.

Ezek 40:5 וישן תִּפְּסֵם כַּלָּמֶיךָ // ἴσον τῷ καλᾶμῳ

⁶⁹ Exod 26:3; Lev 6:10 [MT 6:3]; Num 2:2, 5, 7, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22, 27, 29, 34; 22:5, 11, 29; 34:3. Outside of P, this use of ἔχω occurs also at Gen 41:23 and Deut 11:30.

⁷⁰ See Ezek 17:3 אשר-לו הרקמה // ὅς ἔχει τὸ ἡγῆμα. For the impetus behind the translator's rendering in this verse, see Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 272–73 and G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel auf Grund der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1905), 116.

⁷¹ See Ezek 8:11 וישן תִּפְּסֵם כַּלָּמֶיךָ // ἴσον τῷ καλᾶμῳ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ; 9:1 ואיש כלי // και ἕκαστος εἶχε τὰ σκεύη τῆς ἐξολεθρεύσεως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ; 9:3 אשר קסת הספר // ὅς εἶχε ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ τὴν ζώνην.

| | |
|------------|---|
| Ezek 40:44 | דרך הדרום ⁷² ופניה // φέρουσα πρὸς νότον |
| Ezek 40:47 | מרבעת // ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη αὐτῆς |
| Ezek 41:8 | מלו הקנה // ἴσον τῷ καλάμῳ |
| Ezek 44:17 | ולא-יעלה עליהם צמר // καὶ οὐκ ἐνδύσονται ἐρεᾶ |

In addition to these more periphrastic renderings, the use of the historical present (καὶ πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου) as the rendering of the phrase ואפל על-פני should be mentioned (43:3; 44:4). The rendering of this phrase with the historical present tallies with the identical translation in Ezek α', where the same rendering appears in the prophet's visions.⁷³ The use of the historical present in the identical phrase provides a small clue that the same translator is at work in Ezek α' and γ'.

Conclusion

The preceding considerations demonstrate that, occasionally, the translator was capable of freer usages than was his general practice. These sporadic free usages suggest that where comprehensibility or accuracy was at stake, the translator could express his source text in idiomatic Greek. That the normal practice of literalistic translation was occasionally and briefly suspended suggests that comprehensibility was (in general) seen as more of a concern than maintaining a philological translation. It also suggests that the philological translation of the rest was the translator's choice on some level, and as such was not the only possible treatment of his source text. This validates the hierarchy of translational goals identified in Chapter One, in which comprehensibility and accuracy outrank philological translation as the most important of the translator's goals.

⁷² For the reading ופניה here, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 365; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 223; Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 451; and Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 535 n. 114.

⁷³ Ezek 1:28; 3:23; 9:8; 11:13. Note that Papyrus 967 corrects this toward its Hebrew source text by rendering ואפל as an aorist (ἔπεσεν).

LEXICAL INTERPRETATION

The Translator's Freedom in Rendering Vocabulary

The final criterion of literal translations identified above concerned the degree to which one Hebrew term is rendered by one Greek term irrespective of contextual requirements (stereotyped lexical equivalents). Unlike the features adduced to this point, lexical interpretation does not encompass simple grammatical or syntactical questions, but is bound up with larger contextual considerations, which are imperative in the evaluation of whether a particular Greek term suitably expresses the Hebrew original. Yet while stereotyped lexical equivalents may be a feature of extremely literal translation, variation in rendering a term cannot be construed as an *a priori* indication of free translation. More than one equivalent may be needed to express a Hebrew term, since the semantic range of no two words in the same language is coterminous, let alone the semantic range between two words in languages as different as Hebrew and Greek.

The category in which Ezekiel's translator(s) consistently shows the most freedom is in the selection of such equivalents, as Ziegler noted in the middle of the last century.⁷⁴ More recently, Galen Marquis articulated a methodology that takes into account the difference between consistency in lexical translation and literal translation.⁷⁵ For Marquis, consistency refers to any occasion in which a translator renders a Hebrew word with the same Greek term more than once. All such uses belong to a "glossary," which may have been either physical or (more likely) mental, and all are considered literal. Literal translations are those that reflect the source text. Renderings of a particular term which occur only once in a translator's corpus are called *singular translations*. Marquis supposes that the percentage of

⁷⁴ "Von vorneherein ist anzunehmen, dass er [der Übersetzer] keine starre Konsequenz in der Wiedergabe der gleichen Wörter und Wendungen zeigt; diese ist ein Kennzeichen des Aquila" (Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 440).

⁷⁵ Galen Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* (SBLSCS 23; ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 405-24.

these singular translations that reflect the source abstractly, as opposed to those which do not reflect the source at all, is roughly equivalent to the percentage of consistent translations. For example, in Ezekiel α' , עבר is rendered by the terms διέρχομαι, διοδεύω, πάροδος, ἐπάγω and διάγω more than once, and by διαπορεύομαι, πορεύομαι, ἀποτροπιάζομαι and ἀφορισμός once each.⁷⁶ The consistent translations (those that appear more than once) constitute thirteen of the seventeen total uses of עבר in Ezekiel α' , or 77%. By Marquis' reasoning, 77% of the singular readings should reflect the source text and thus be considered literal. Thus, 77% of the singular translations, or 18% of the total translations, are assumed to represent the source abstractly. As a result, only 5% of the renderings of עבר could reflect either a variant *Vorlage* or the free rendering of the author. Working through the entire corpus of Ezekiel, Marquis arrives at the following percentages of literalness for Ezekiel α' , β' and γ' , and other corpora.⁷⁷

TABLE 4:
PERCENTAGE OF LITERAL LEXICAL RENDERINGS
IN SELECT BOOKS

| Translation Unit | Nouns | Verbs |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Ezekiel α' | 94.7% | 87.5% |
| Ezekiel β' | 96.8% | 90.6% |
| Ezekiel γ' | 95.5% | 90.8% |
| Isaiah | 75.0% | 60.3% |
| 4 Kingdoms | 96.5% | 87.0% |

Such statistics place Ezekiel γ' in the company of the very literal 4 Kingdoms, and show a sharp contrast with the freer LXX Isaiah.

Though Marquis' observations provide a starting-point for the investigation of lexical translation, his methodology should not be allowed to obscure the frequent variation in lexical equivalents characteristic of Ezekiel γ' . From time to time, the translator changes his rendering midstream without any obvious motivation, as can be seen in his rendering of מנחה with θυσία (42:13; 44:29; 45:15, 17 [2x], 24;

⁷⁶ Ibid., 414.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 417.

46:5b) and then *μαναα* (45:25; 46:5a, 7, 11, 14 [2x], 15, 20). Similarly, *הִפֵּחַ* is rendered by *μέτρον* in Ezek 45:13a and then with the transliteration *οιφι* in Ezek 45:13b, all in the course of half a verse. Even these small examples suggest that it is in his lexical choices that the translator makes his most distinctive contribution to the meaning of his translation.

The translator's freedom in rendering specific lexemes is characteristic of many books and corpora in the Septuagint, and Ezek *γ'* is no exception.⁷⁸ Appendix C provides illustrations of this lexical freedom in Ezek *γ'*, featuring key architectural and liturgical elements. These examples, some of which will prove significant in the following chapters, demonstrate that the translator shows no reservations in varying his lexical equivalents, even where the underlying Hebrew term represents a significant architectural feature or an element of the Temple liturgy. In sum, unlike the other three identifying traits of literal translations adduced above, the use of stereotyped lexical equivalents is not characteristic of Ezek *γ'*. This readiness to vary terminology represents one avenue for the translator to create meaning for his readers. A counterbalance to the translator's lexical variation can be found in his extensive use of transliterations.

Transliterations

Transliterations have long been recognized as important clues to the history and nature of Greek translations of the Jewish Scriptures. Thackeray proposed four major categories of transliterations: 1) terms unique to Judaism with no equivalent in Greek; 2) geographical terms and instances in which an appellative is mistaken for a proper noun; 3) words of which the translators were ignorant; and 4) doublets.⁷⁹ He also described "Hellenized Hebrew" words such as *σάββατον*. Walters sought to refine Thackeray's categories,⁸⁰ but suffered criticism for his failure to distinguish homophones from homographs and for his

⁷⁸ For examples of freedom in lexical selection in Ezek *αβ'*, see Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 442–46.

⁷⁹ Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 31–38, esp. 32.

⁸⁰ Peter Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendation* (ed. D. W. Gooding; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 155–96.

tendency toward emendation.⁸¹ Caird sought to enrich the discussion of transliterations in the Greek versions by positing five kinds of “homoeophony,” of which the first concerned transliterations.⁸² Such transliterations could be considered evidence of the translator shirking his assigned task. Perhaps a more helpful classification of such transliterations was provided by Tov, who divided transliterations into 1) proper nouns; 2) technical terms involving either a) religion; b) measures or weights; or c) unknown words.⁸³ Transliterations may have been caused by the ignorance of the translator or by concern for preserving the exact nuance of the source text; by their nature they were especially susceptible to the intervention of Greek scribes. Tov also provided a list of transliterations in LXX probably caused by the ignorance of translators.⁸⁴

LXX Ezek 40–48 has more than its fair share of transliterations, due no doubt to the opacity of the text it mediates. Lust has provided a helpful catalogue of these transliterations in LXX Ezekiel, as well as in Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus.⁸⁵ Of the thirty-one transliterations in LXX Ezekiel Lust has identified, seventeen occur in Ezek 40–48.⁸⁶ In addition, two homophones in LXX Ezek 47:8 should

⁸¹ James Barr, review of P. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint*, VT 25 (1975): 247–54, esp. 249–50.

⁸² The types of homophony proposed by Caird include 1) transliterations; 2) Semitic loan-words into Greek; 3) puns; 4) natural/ guided choice (when the Hebrew/ Aramaic word resembles its most obvious Greek counterpart phonologically); 5) mistranslations caused by homophony. G. B. Caird, “Homoeophony in the Septuagint,” in *Greeks, Jews and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs; SJLA 21; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 74–88.

⁸³ Emanuel Tov, “Loan-words, Homophony and Transliterations in the Septuagint,” *Bib* 60 (1979): 216–36.

⁸⁴ Idem, “Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament,” *Textus* 8 (1973): 78–92; esp. 86–89.

⁸⁵ Johan Lust, “A Lexicon of the Three and the Transliterations in Ezekiel,” in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th–3rd August 1994* (ed. Alison Salvesen; TSAJ 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 274–301. The work of the three is often significant for the interpretations of rare Hebrew architectural expressions.

⁸⁶ These transliterations include αιλ (40:48); αιλαιμ (8:16; 40:6, 7, 9, and *passim*); αιλαιμμου (40:21, 22 [2x], 24 and *passim*); αιλειν (40:9, 21, 24, and *passim*); θαιηλαθα (40:7); θειε

be added to Lust's list. LXX^{ed} gives Γαλιλαία as the hyponym to MT's הלילגה and Ἀραβία as the hyponym for הַרְבֵּי.⁸⁷ Of the nineteen total transliterations that occur in LXX Ezek 40–48, eight are unique to the translator of this corpus, and the rest are known outside Ezekiel. Of these eight unique transliterations, six are architectural terms (αιλ, αιλαμμω, αιλευ, θαιηλαθα, θειμ, θραελ), and the remaining two are properly homophones, not transliterations (Ἀραβία, ἄφεις). When one considers that several of the transliterations are forms of the same architectural term, the proportion of transliterations decreases further still. Each of these unique transliterations deserves examination, as do other transliterations that LXX Ezek 40–48 has in common with the rest of the LXX. Without acquaintance with such transliterations comprehension of the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* is impossible. The transliterations will be introduced by textual evidence meant to suggest that these transliterations are not the result of errors in the transmission of the Septuagint but go back to the earliest recoverable translation of Ezekiel.

αιλ (Ezek 40:48; 41:3).

Ezek 40:48 αιλ του αιλαμ B Ethiopic | αια (δια Q*) του αιλαμ Q*-407; αιλ 62; > OL^w; αιλαμ του οικου 106; > αιλ του 967 rel.

Ezek 41:3 αιλ B O^Q-62 46 49-90-198 Ethiopic | δια 233; αιλαμ 967 rel.

Though this transliteration occurs only twice, it can be confidently ascribed to the LXX. The unfamiliar αιλ was easily confused with δια in uncial script, especially in a genitive phrase, and was easily omitted or replaced with more familiar transliterations (αιλαμ), and so it suffered in the course of transmission. Αιλ is a

(3 Kgdms 14:28; Ezek 40:7, 8, 10 [2x] and *passim*); θειμ (40:12, 14, 16); θραελ (41:8); γομορ (Exod 16:16, 18, 32; Ezek 45:11 [3x], and *passim*); ω (Exod 29:40; 30:24; Lev 23:13; Ezek 4:11; 45:24; 46:5, 7 and *passim*); οιφι (Lev 5:11; 6:20; 3 Kgdms 1:24; Ezek 45:13); μαναα (4 Kgdms 8:8, 9; 17:3, 4; 2 Par 7:7; Ezek 45:25; 46:5, 7, 11 and *passim*); πασχα (Exod 12:11, 21, 27, 43; Ezek 45:21); σάββατον (Ezek 20:12, 13, 16; 44:24; 45:17; 46:1 and *passim*); χειρουβ (Ezek 9:3; 10:1, 2, 3; 41:18, 20, 25 and *passim*); αρηλ (2 Kgdms 23:20; 1 Par 11:22; Ezek 43:15, 16). Note also the homophonous rendering of מִסְפָּס by ἄφεις (Ezek 47:3).

⁸⁷ See pp. 185–87 below.

transliteration of the Hebrew לֵאלֹהִים III, “pillar of an archway.”⁸⁸ In two instances in MT Ezek 40–48, לֵאלֹהִים appears without suffixes but is not rendered by *αιλ*. 1) In 40:14, there is no obvious counterpart for MT’s לֵאלֹהִים III in LXX and the text is generally considered corrupt.⁸⁹ 2) In 40:16, לֵאלֹהִים III is rendered by *αιλαμ*, reflecting frequent confusion between לֵאלֹהִים and אֵלִים / אֵלִים. This confusion seems to have been engendered by difficulty in distinguishing *waw* from *yodh*.⁹⁰ 3 Kgdms 6:21 translates לֵאלֹהִים III by *φλιά*.

αιλαμ (Ezek 40:6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 25, 40, 48, 49; 41:1, 15, 25, 26). The frequency of the use of this transliteration allows it to be attributed to the LXX without reservations. Outside of Ezekiel,⁹¹ *αιλαμ* uniformly represents אֵלִים / אֵלִים, with the sense of “porch.”⁹² LXX Ezek 8:16 agrees with the rest of the Septuagintal biblical corpus in its use of *αιλαμ* to render אֵלִים / אֵלִים, while the translator of Ezek 32:24 uses the term as the transliteration of the inimical people עֵלִים. Ezekiel 40–48 also knows of the equivalence of *αιλαμ* with אֵלִים / אֵלִים.⁹³ On the other hand, the translator of Ezek 40–48 appears to be unique in using the term *αιλαμ* to render other architectural features, especially לֵאלֹהִים III.⁹⁴ Confusion between these similar words, especially in the plural of לֵאלֹהִים III, is caused by the translator’s difficulty in distinguishing *waw* from *yodh*.

Nevertheless, the translator’s rendering is not entirely without value; nor does it necessarily reflect paraphrase on the translator’s part, as has been sometimes suggested. The appearance of *αιλαμ* as the equivalent of the MT *הס* in LXX Ezek 40:6 led Gese to remark that *αιλαμ* could serve as the designation for any architectural element set

⁸⁸ HALOT, “לֵאלֹהִים III,” 40.

⁸⁹ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 140–48; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 335.

⁹⁰ It is also possible that a hypothetical reading of *αιλ* in the LXX was replaced by the more familiar transliteration *αιλαμ* very early in the history of transmission. Though this tendency is noticeable in other transliterations unique to LXX Ezek 40–48, as we will see below, such a suggestion must remain in the realm of speculation.

⁹¹ 3 Kgdms 6:3, 36 [1]; 7:3, 7, 8, 43, 44, 45; 4 Kgdms 3:4.

⁹² HALOT, “אֵלִים,” 41.

⁹³ Ezek 40:9 [2x], 15, 39, 40, 48 [2x], 41:15, 25, 26; 44:3; 46:2, 8.

⁹⁴ 40:10, 14, 16 (2°); 41:1 [2x], 3.

between other elements.⁹⁵ This statement is predicated on the notion that the LXX translator was working with a *Vorlage* identical to MT, which seems an inadmissible presumption. Gese's judgment is further weakened by the "correct" translation of קר in Ezek 43:8 by *πρόθυρον* twice. If the translator could recognize the term and correctly render it, it seems less problematic to assume that the term was not in his *Vorlage* than that he intervened inexplicably into the text.⁹⁶ Another objection to Gese's conclusion is the fact that LXX renders קר 1° in 40:6 not with *αίλαμ* but with *θεε*, which is certainly not a multi-referential term. In any event, the difficulty of drawing any firm conclusions based on renderings in Ezek 40:6–10, a passage that has suffered massive textual confusion in transmission, should be kept in mind. One instance in which LXX preserves an older reading through *αίλαμ* occurs at 41:1. In place of MT's רחב האהל, apparently an allusion to P's tabernacle, LXX reads τὸ εὔρος τοῦ αίλαμ ἔνθεν, reflecting אֵיל III ("pillar").⁹⁷ Such instances highlight the fact that even in confusion, the translator preserves valuable information about the state of the text at his time, which was frequently different than the MT, as will become clear in chapter three.

αίλαμμω (Ezek 40:22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38). Like *αίλαμ*, *αίλαμμω* was clearly present in the LXX, based on its frequency. Although the majority of the equivalents to this word in MT are forms of אֵילִם / אֵילִם,⁹⁸ LXX Ezek 40:37–38 twice uses *αίλαμμω* where MT has אֵיל III. In 40:37a, several commentators emend the MT to follow the reading of LXX and other versions, reading וְאֵילִם in place of וְאֵילִם.⁹⁹ Further, in LXX Ezek 40:38, seen as the beginning of a

⁹⁵ "Der von θε unverständene terminus technicus אֵילִם = *αίλαμ* ist unbestimmt genug, um zur Bezeichnung irgendeines architektonischen Zwischenstückes zu dienen" (Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 131).

⁹⁶ It seems difficult to conceive of any way in which the translator could have misread his source text in this instance, though such a possibility cannot be dismissed completely. It is also possible that the original translation was disturbed in the course of transmission, but this possibility should not be pressed in the absence of evidence.

⁹⁷ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 342.

⁹⁸ 40:21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36.

⁹⁹ Following MT^Q against MT^K. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 341; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 437, 444; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 528 n. 78 emend the reading of MT based on LXX OL^v Vul.

redactional section by several scholars,¹⁰⁰ LXX gives a much different reading than MT and lacks the explanatory comment in MT.¹⁰¹ Finally, the translator repeatedly distinguishes the plural of אֵילִם / אֵלִם (αἰλαμμω) from the plural of אֵיל III (αἰλευ)¹⁰², and so αἰλαμμω does not seem to exhibit the confusion between אֵיל III and אֵילִם / אֵלִם shown by αἰλαμ.

αἰλευ (Ezek 40:9, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37). Again, in view of its frequency, this transliteration was almost certainly present in LXX*. In almost all its appearances, LXX serves as the equivalent to the plural of אֵיל III with possessive pronominal suffixes.¹⁰³ In 40:34, it seems to represent אֵיל III in the singular with a 3rd person masculine pronominal suffix (ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰλευ), as implied by the article. As mentioned above, αἰλευ represents the translator’s attempt to distinguish אֵיל III from אֵילִם / אֵלִם.

αριηλ (Ezek 43:15 [2x], 16). The meaning of the Hebrew term (הַהֲרֵאֵל or הַאֲרִיאֵל) in these verses and its relationship to the אֲרִיאֵל of Isa 29:1, 2, 7 need not detain us here.¹⁰⁴ The transliteration was certainly present in the LXX, as shown by the manuscript witnesses, and is a technical name for a portion of the altar. Only in Ezek 43:15–16 does it represent this type of an architectural feature, as elsewhere in the LXX it refers to proper nouns (2 Esd 8:16) and serves as a designation for Jerusalem (Isa 29:1, 2, 7).¹⁰⁵ Its use in 1 Chr 11:22 and 2 Sam 23:20 represents a famous *crux interpretum* that has been variously resolved.¹⁰⁶ The different spellings in the MT have not been preserved

¹⁰⁰ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 20–22, 33, 154–62; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 365–66; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (trans. C. Quin; OTL; London: SCM Press, 1970), 544–45, 550; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 227; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 47–49. Tuell, *Law of the Temple*, 29–31 and Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 531 defend 40:38–46 as authentic.

¹⁰¹ MT: שֵׁם דִּיחוּ אֶת הָעֵלָה; LXX: καὶ τὰ αἰλαμμω αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τῆς δευτέρας ἔχρυσος. See pp. 90–97 below.

¹⁰² 40:21, 24, 29, 33, 36.

¹⁰³ 40:9, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 36, 37.

¹⁰⁴ See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 426–27.

¹⁰⁵ HALOT, “אֲרִיאֵל,” 87; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 426–27; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 600–01.

¹⁰⁶ See Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 247. Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles* (WBC 14; Waco, Tex.: Word, 1986), 158

in the LXX, which is incapable of reproducing Semitic gutturals. Perhaps these variant spellings in MT Ezek 43:15–16 (לְאֵרֶה and לְאֶרֶה) are themselves attempts to preserve different folk etymologies for this architectural feature.¹⁰⁷

θαιηλαθα (Ezek 40:7).

Ezek 40:7 θαιηλαθα B | θεηλαθα Q-407 239' OL^S; θεηλαθ C'-403' 106 544 Ethiopic (vid.); θεελαθ 46^s 26 Jerome; θεεηλαθ 130-233 410; θείλαμ 534; θαιε (vel θεε) αιλαμ 967 L'-V; θεελαμ 449; θεε A 62' Arab Armenian; *thei* OL^W; θαιειμ 88 = MT; θαλαμ Syrohexapla; θαυειμ των παρασταδων 198

The spelling θαιηλαθα is witnessed only in Vaticanus and may not represent exactly the original spelling of the LXX. Nevertheless, the fact that the LXX included at least a very similar spelling at this point seems beyond dispute. Many witnesses provide a similar transliteration here, and the familiar tendency to substitute a more familiar transliteration for a less familiar one, or to correct the misreading of two words as one (e.g. θεε in A), strongly suggests the originality of θαιηλαθα. If so, this transliteration probably represents the Hebrew אֶת־לְאֶרֶה¹⁰⁸ and provides strong evidence that the *Vorlage* of LXX Ezek 40:7 differed from MT at this point. If the scribe did not recognize that he was transliterating two words as one, he at least preserved his *Vorlage* faithfully.

θεε (Ezek 40:7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 21, 24, 29, 33, 36). The frequency of the use of θεε and the occurrence of this transliteration in 3 Kgdms 14:28 allow us to conclude that it is original to the LXX of these verses. The Hebrew אֶת is used to designate a guard-room in MT 1 Kgs 14:28 and 2 Chr 12:11, but in Ezekiel's temple vision it designates niches or alcoves.¹⁰⁹ It appears to have much the same sense in the architectural descriptions in the scrolls from the Judean desert.¹¹⁰ One unique

understands the term as referring to "foreign military leaders," as supported by line 12 of the Mesha inscription. Braun is followed by Lust, "Lexicon of the Three," 286.

¹⁰⁷ For a different explanation, see Konkell, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 84.

¹⁰⁸ So Lust, "Lexicon of the Three," 282.

¹⁰⁹ HALOT, "אֶת," 1672.

¹¹⁰ 4Q365a 3:5; 11Q19 26:6; 38:15 [3x]; 40:10.

feature of the Greek transliteration $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ is its ability to be either singular (40:12, 13), plural in the construct (40:10) or plural with pronominal suffixes (40:21, 24?, 29, 33). 2 Paraleipomena 12:11, in contrast to the other LXX renderings of אָת , does not transliterate the term but renders it with $\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

$\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$ (Ezek 40:12, 14, 16).

Ezek 40:12 τῶν $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$] των $\theta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu$ 198; $\theta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu$ 62'; του $\theta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu$ 106; του $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ 967; τῷ $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ A^r 407; των $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ 410; των $\nu\alpha\upsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$ ($\nu\alpha\upsilon\iota\upsilon$ 87-403') C^r-764-233-403'; των $\nu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu$ 130; *their* OL^w; *theeri* Jerome; $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$ B 967 OL^s OL^w

Ezek 40:14 $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$] $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\mu$ 407; το $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\mu$ A Arab; $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ 544; $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ ην 26; το $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ 410; $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ 46; 87^c-cI^r-239'; $\sigma\epsilon\epsilon$ C (87*); της $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ 106 198; + της $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ O-Q Jerome; *secundum thei* OL^w; > 36; + και προς το $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu$ της $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ 62' = MT(רצחֶה לִיא־לֵאו)

Ezek 40:16 $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$] $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\mu$ 91; $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ A Arab; $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ 544; *their* OL^w

The Greek manuscript tradition affords strong reason to suppose that the transliteration $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$ goes back to the LXX. The evidence above shows a scribal tendency to change $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$, a less common transliteration, to a more common one ($\theta\epsilon\epsilon$ in 40:14) or to back-correct toward a text resembling proto-MT by adding $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$. In LXX Ezek 40:14, the use of $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$, which does not correspond to the reading in MT, provides evidence for the massive textual confusion often detected in the verse.¹¹¹ Despite this confusion in 40:14, Alexandrinus suggests that $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$ accurately reflects LXX^v, and so constitutes evidence of the translator's fidelity. Representing the Hebrew plural אָת , $\theta\epsilon(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\mu$ gives the expected masculine plural of אָת , apparently in the absolute state (as in MT 40:16).¹¹²

¹¹¹ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 140–48 provides the basic solution upon which most modern commentators build, which sees 40:14 as composed of extracts from other verses and being of no great significance. See also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 335; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 433–34; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 532, 536; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 220.

¹¹² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 334 uses this transliteration in LXX Ezek 40:12 to correct the unusual feminine plural in MT Ezek 40:12 (תַּחֲוֹת) to the masculine.

θραελ (Ezek 41:8).

Ezek 41:8 θραελ | θροελ L'; θροαια V; θροαιλ 449; θραιαλ 967; θραιλ 407; θραιιλ 130'; *thranieil* OL^w; θρειει 62; θεε 239'; οραδια 233; וריאית MT Tg Syr

The witness of the Greek manuscript tradition is fairly consistent in representing a transliteration in 41:8, though of course the exact spelling is open to debate. This consistency speaks for the strong likelihood that θραελ is original to the LXX. The reading וריאית witnessed by MT Tg Syr is likely a metathesis of the correct reading witnessed by the LXX.¹¹³ The Hebrew equivalent for θραελ is debated, since it seems to have represented a technical architectural term not otherwise preserved.¹¹⁴ It may be that the *lamed* of the next word was mistakenly seen as part of the term by the translator, who also failed to perceive that θαιηλαθα really constituted two words.¹¹⁵ Gese thought this solution weak, since he deemed the interruption of the narrative through a verbal sentence improbable, and the translator's use of the genitive made the misreading of the *lamed* unlikely.¹¹⁶ Rather than reconstructing ורתא, as would be expected from such a suggestion, Gese followed Cornill in postulating ורתעל or ורתעל.¹¹⁷ Zimmerli countered this reconstruction by instead proposing either תראל or תריאל, which he considered "graphically more likely."¹¹⁸ It is possible that this term represents a foreign loan-word, but its exact significance is unclear. Despite this inconclusiveness, θραελ provides evidence for the translator's faithful rendition of his *Vorlage* as well as the superior nature of that *Vorlage* to MT in the present instance.

¹¹³ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 458–59; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 169–70; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 372; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 53. D. Johannes Hermann, *Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1924), 258 deems וריאית a corruption, but apparently does not follow LXX. Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 545 n. 31 retains MT, which he thinks provides a tolerable sense, as does Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann with Thilo Rudnig, *Der Prophet Hesekiel/ Ezechiel Kapitel 20–48* (ATD 22.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 547.

¹¹⁴ So Lust, "Lexicon of the Three," 283.

¹¹⁵ Tov, "Loan-words, Homophony and Transliterations," 234 n. 38.

¹¹⁶ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 169.

¹¹⁷ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 458. Cornill made his derivation of the term "mit absoluter Sicherheit."

¹¹⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 372.

In addition to marking technical architectural terminology, transliterations can provide helpful glimpses into the state of the *Vorlage* employed by the translator, as well as into his *Übersetzungsweise*. In several instances, transliterations strongly suggest that LXX^v represents a textual tradition that diverges from MT (especially in 40:6–10, 14), even occasionally representing an earlier text, as in the $\theta\rho\alpha\epsilon\lambda$ of 41:8. On the other hand, there can be no illusions that such transliterations have not suffered during the history of transmission of the text. A brief glance at the above examples demonstrates the extent to which early manuscripts differ in their accounts of these transliterations. Coupled with the challenges faced by the translator, especially his difficulty in distinguishing *yodh* from *waw*, the pitfalls in the process of transmitting transliterations further obscure an already difficult architectural description. Despite these obstacles, transliterations represent the translator’s attempt at fidelity to his *Vorlage* and exemplify his determination to maintain the uniqueness of Ezekiel’s vision.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter does not pretend to be the last word on the *Übersetzungsweise* of Ezek 40–48, but it has given a more complete picture than Tov’s qualification of LXX Ezekiel as a “relatively literal” translation. Three of the four characteristics of literal translation (etymological analysis, adherence to Hebrew word-order, and quantitative representation) strongly mark Ezek γ' . The fourth characteristic, the use of stereotyped lexical equivalents, needs to be qualified as belonging more to the later history of revisions and recensions of the Bible in Greek. Although on occasion the translator is capable of using a relatively free Greek equivalent to a Hebrew phrase, there is ample evidence that he generally reproduces the linguistic structures, grammar and syntax of his source text. As a result, where differences between MT and LXX lie outside the scope of the translator’s usual *Übersetzungsweise*, such differences ought to be attributed to his *Vorlage*, not his own intervention. The investigation so far has provided evidence in the specific case of Ezek γ' for Aejmelaeus’ general dictum that it is good practice “to start

with the assumption that larger divergences from the MT mainly come from the *Vorlage* and only exceptionally and with imperative reasons to attribute them to the translator."¹¹⁹

In addition to the conclusions about the translator's source text that will prove significant in the next chapter, the analysis so far has provided copious evidence for the faithful nature of LXX Ezek 40–48. This faithful nature is best explained, I submit, as a choice on the part of the translator to reproduce many of the linguistic, syntactical and grammatical structures of his source text in his translation in order to highlight its authority (*philological translation*). While variations from this general rule have been adduced, they highlight the need for momentary clarity over any claim to divine authority (goal 1). After all, it is beside the point if a prophetic book strikes the acculturated reader as authoritative if it is incomprehensible.

¹¹⁹ "What Can We Know?" 89.

CHAPTER 3: THE *VORLAGE* OF LXX EZEKIEL 40–48

Evaluation of the translator's *Vorlage* is intimately connected with the question of his manner of translation. Only through familiarity with the translator's general practice, for example in his customary translations of individual words or his treatment of ambiguous sense or syntax, can the nature of his source text be assessed. However, the reverse is also true: the *Vorlage* provides the standard against which the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* must be measured. Hence the two processes must always relate to each other dialectically,¹ and their separation in terms of this study is more a heuristic organizational tool than a strictly discrete enterprise. No matter how interconnected the two considerations may be, though, familiarity with the translator's source text is an indispensable prerequisite for understanding his contribution to Greek Ezekiel. In light of the previous chapter, attention now shifts to the matter of the translator's *Vorlage*.

As we saw in the first chapter, the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT witness different versions of the book of Ezekiel. The LXX often (but not always!) provides a shorter, earlier text. So it should come as no surprise that the LXX *Vorlage* of Ezek 40–48 preserves its share of earlier readings relative to the MT. What is more relevant to the

¹ Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 80.

present endeavor than to enumerate such instances is to distinguish as clearly as possible between the strategies of the translator and the unique features of the text he was rendering. As a result, the examples in this chapter focus on instances where the LXX *Vorlage* (LXX^V) is secondary relative to the MT, since these secondary readings sometimes tend to be ascribed to the translator and not to his source text. Following the principle established earlier, I will presume that secondary readings should be ascribed to the translator's *Vorlage* and not his own efforts, unless strong evidence indicates otherwise. The focus on secondary examples does not imply that earlier readings in the LXX *Vorlage* do not also contribute to the uniqueness of the Septuagint text of Ezekiel. However, the secondary readings of the *Vorlage* of LXX Ezek 40–48 provide evidence that this Hebrew text was in the process of being interpreted as it was being transmitted, and it is this process that will be explored in the balance of this chapter. Distinguishing this process of exegesis-in-transmission from the work of the translator is a major goal of this project.

I will examine three major types of pluses in this chapter: simple transfer of wording, the addition of "new" material, and pastiche.² By "simple transfer of wording," I mean instances in which the wording from one passage is adopted into another secondarily, usually for exegetical purposes, without being changed. "Pastiche" designates instances in which a group of pluses cluster together for similar exegetical ends. In a pastiche as I use the term, these small pluses do not need to reflect Scriptural locutions.

Perhaps a word of caution is in order here. All the extant witnesses to Ezekiel are only part of what seems to have been a textual polyphony during the mid-Second Temple period. The "pseudo-Ezekiel" texts from Qumran witness a large-scale rewriting of Ezekiel's visionary narrative, and stand in a close relationship to the text of Ezekiel itself.³ As with the pentateuchal texts, the line

² These terms are adopted from D. Andrew Teeter, "Exegesis in the Transmission of Biblical Law in the Second Temple Period: Preliminary Studies" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Notre Dame, 2008), but of course they are in wider use.

³ A. L. A. Hogeterp's statement is justified: "In conclusion, the evidence of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* stands in an intricate relation to the biblical text of Ezekiel" ("Resurrection and Biblical Tradition: Pseudo-Ezekiel Reconsidered" *Bib* 89 [2008]: 69).

between “authoritative” text and parabiblical text is sometimes quite thin.⁴ Thus, while the following argument often stresses the secondary nature of the LXX *Vorlage* compared with the MT, the reader should keep in mind that no extant version can claim to be *the* definitive witness to the book that bears Ezekiel’s name.

In what follows, I will argue that, like the MT, the LXX was subject to scribal supplementation in the process of transmission. From this supplementation, I infer that there were scribes who added these pluses, whom I will refer to as “redactors” or “supplementers.” There is no evidence of which I am aware to help us determine if these pluses were added all at once or (more likely) gradually during the process of transmission, over generations and centuries (hence the use of the plural in the preceding sentence). The pastiche of pluses that can be found in Ezek 43:2–3 suggests that this process continued into the third or perhaps even the early second century B.C.E., as it reflects esoteric concepts circulating during this period. The evidence gathered in this chapter thus coheres with that discussed in the first chapter, which showed that manuscripts of Ezekiel were still being subjected to considerable redaction during the mid-Second Temple period.

SIMPLE TRANSFER OF WORDING

Transfers Reflecting the Wider Context of Ezekiel

The first examples of transfer of wording in LXX^v concerns pluses that situate a certain event or command in its wider context within the larger vision of Ezek 40–48 or the book as a whole. Such contextualized readings are also much more common in the Temple description (40:1–43:12), due perhaps to the difficulty of the architectural details.

⁴ This dilemma is especially clear in the so-called “Reworked Pentateuch” manuscripts discovered at Qumran. For discussion of the boundaries between rewritten Bible and Scripture, see Molly Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); eadem, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315–39.

In Seven Steps (Ezek 40:6).

LXX Ezek 40:6a

καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πύλῃν
τὴν βλέπουσαν κατὰ ἀνατολᾶς
ἐν⁵ ἑπτὰ ἀναβαθμοῖς

And he entered the gate
which faces eastward
by seven steps.⁷

MT Ezek 40:6a

ויבוא אל-שער
אשר פניו דרך הקדימה
ויעל במעלותיו⁶

And he entered the gate
which faces eastward
and he ascended its steps.

The number of stairs in LXX 40:6 (ἑπτὰ) seems to be an assimilation to the seven steps outside the north gate (40:22) and the south gate (40:26).⁸ The translator's variation in terminology is noteworthy: instead of the term κλιμακτήρ, as is employed in 40:22 and 26, in LXX Ezek 40:6 he prefers the term ἀναβαθμός (as also in 40:49). Of course, this presents no difficulty at the level of LXX^V; the Hebrew hyponym for both κλιμακτήρ and ἀναβαθμός is מַעֲלֵה. The fact that the translator of Ezek 40–48 is the only Septuagint translator to use the term κλιμακτήρ in the LXX underscores the peculiarity of this choice.⁹

⁵ Notice the absence of any counterpart in LXX to the verb ויעל in MT 40:6.

⁶ Reading with MT^Q.

⁷ The translations provided in this chapter are my own, done in consultation with J. Noel Hubler, “Iezekiel,” *NETS* for the Septuagint and with the commentators (especially Block) for the MT.

⁸ Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 517 n. 13; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 333; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 432; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 129 allows that the reading of LXX may be original, but it is more likely to be a harmonizing expansion.

⁹ In classical Greek literature, κλιμακτήρ can be used in the sense of “rungs of a ladder” (Euripides, *Helen*, 1570; Hippocrates, *Joints*, 73, uses the term four times in reference to the cross-bar of a ladder as a comparison for the cross-bar in a kind of splint used for bad joints). Hubler in fact translates this term as “rungs” in Ezek 40:22, 26 (J. Noel Hubler, “Iezekiel,” in *NETS*, 978). However, a fourth-century B.C.E. Athenian inscription more closely parallels the usage in LXX Ezekiel by employing the term to describe steps. *IG II² 244.80–81* makes reference to the vertical faces of the steps in this way: ΠΟΙΩΝ Τὰ ΜΕΤΩΠᾶ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΩ[Ν] / ΛΕΙΔ ΚΔΙ ΟΡΘΑ (John Kirchner, ed. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidiā anno posterioris: Voluminis II et III Editio Minor, Pars Prima*, [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1924; repr., Chicago: Aris Publishers, 1974]). Besides these spatial usages, astrological uses of the term to describe danger or a critical period could be

The Eastward-Looking Gate (Ezek 40:20–21).

| | |
|---|---|
| LXX Ezek 40:20–21 | MT Ezek 40:20–21 |
| 20 και ἰδοὺ ¹⁰ πύλη βλέπουσα πρὸς βορρᾶν | 20 והשער אשר פניו דרך הצפון |
| τῇ αὐλῇ τῇ ἐξωτέρᾳ, καὶ ¹¹ διεμέτρησεν αὐτήν, τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πλάτος. | לחצר החיצונה מדד ארכו ורחבו |
| 21 καὶ τὰ θεε | וּתְאִי ¹² 21 |
| τρεῖς ἔνθεν καὶ τρεῖς ἔνθεν καὶ τὰ αἰλευ καὶ τὰ αἰλαμμω <u>καὶ τοὺς φοίνικας αὐτῆς,</u> ¹³ | שלושה מִפּוֹ וּשְׁלֹשָׁה מִפּוֹ וְאֵילָיו ¹² וְאֵלְמָיו |
| καὶ ἐγένετο | הִי ¹⁴ |
| κατὰ τὰ μέτρα τῆς πύλης <u>τῆς βλεπούσης κατὰ ἀνατολὰς</u> | כַּמְדַּת הַשַּׁעַר <u>הָרֵאשׁוֹן</u> |
| πηχῶν πεντήκοντα τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ εὖρος αὐτῆς. | חַמְשִׁים אַמָּה אֲרָכּוֹ וְרַחֲבֵי חַמֶּשׁ וְעֶשְׂרִים בְּאַמָּה |

20 And behold! *There was* a gate
facing north
in the outer courtyard.
And he measured it,

20 As for the gate facing north
of the outer courtyard,
he measured

cited. Vettius Valens, *Anthologiarum Libri*, 3.8 uses the term several times to denote dangers portended by heavenly bodies. See also 5.2, 5.8, which use the term several times, and 9.4, which is titled *περὶ κλιμακτῆρων* (Wilhelm Kroll, ed., *Vettii Valentis Anthologiarum Libri* [Zürich/ Dublin: Weidmann, 1973]). However, none of the instances in which Greek sources use this term suggests any noticeable distinction between *κλιμακτῆρ* and *ἀναβαθμὸς*.

¹⁰ For the secondary nature of (LXX^v= וְהוּנָה), see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 338.

¹¹ The insertion of the *waw* here was made necessary when the וְהוּנָה was added to LXX^v. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 338.

¹² Reading with MT^q.

¹³ These palms seem to have been introduced from the following verse: Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 442; Jahn, *Ezekiel*, 280, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 338.

¹⁴ Presumably an error for הָיוּ, since it is unclear why it would refer only to the last item in the series (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 338; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 221; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 526 n. 59).

its length and width,
 21 and the rooms,
 three on this side and three on
 that side,
 and its pilasters and porticoes
and its palms.
 And these were
 in keeping with the measures of
 the gate
that looks eastward:
 50 cubits was its length
 and its width was 25 cubits.

its length and width.
 And its rooms,
 three on this side and three on
 that side,
 and its pilasters and porticoes
 were
 in keeping with the measure of
 the
first gate:
 50 cubits was its length
 and its width was 25 cubits.

In Ezek 40:21, the measurements of the outer eastern gate are recalled, but this gate is identified differently in LXX^V and MT. MT refers to the “first gate” (השער הראשון), a phrase found nowhere else in Ezek 40–48. The LXX *Vorlage*, on the other hand, identifies this gate as τῆς πύλης τῆς βλεπούσης κατὰ ἀνατολάς (=LXX^V השער אשר פניו דרך (=LXX^V הקדימה). LXX^V reflects the use of this phrase to describe the eastern gate at Ezek 40:6; 42:15; 43:1, 4 (in 43:4 without the article on שער).¹⁵ Here it seems that both the LXX and the MT have both glossed an earlier text that read “in keeping with the measure of the gate” (כמדת השער). However, LXX^V thus demonstrates greater contextual affinity than MT, and in keeping with this contextual affinity LXX^V anticipates the palms of the following verse.

The Zadokite Priests (Ezek 42:13)

LXX Ezek 42:13a
 καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με
 Αἱ ἐξέδραι αἱ πρὸς βορρᾶν
 καὶ αἱ ἐξέδραι αἱ πρὸς νότον

MT Ezek 42:13a
 ויאמר אלי
 לשכות הצפון
 לשכות הדרום¹⁶

¹⁵ Note the mention of the second gate (ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τῆς δευτέρας) in LXX Ezek 40:38 (p. 90 n. 45 below).

¹⁶ The *waw* before לשכות should be supplied following LXX Syr Vul: Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 474–75; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 302; Alfred Bertholet with Kurt Galling, *Hesekiel* (HAT first series 13; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1936), 146; Georg Fohrer with Kurt Galling, *Ezechiel* (HAT 13; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1955), 235; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 27 n.

αἱ οὖσαι κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν
 διαστημάτων,
 αὗται εἰσιν αἱ ἐξέδραι τοῦ ἁγίου,
 ἐν αἷς φάγονται ἐκεῖ οἱ ἱερεῖς
οἱ υἱοὶ Σαδδουκ
 οἱ ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς κύριον
 τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων·

אשר אל-פני הגורה
 הנה לשכות הקדש
 אשר יאכלו-שם הכהנים
 אשר-קרובים ליהוה
 קדשי הקדשים

And he said to me:
 “The arcades¹⁷ to the north
 and the arcades to the south
 which are facing the intervals—
 these are the arcades of the holy
 place¹⁸
 in which the priests,
the sons of Zadok
 who approach the Lord,
 will eat the most holy offerings.”

And he said to me:
 “The northern chambers
 and the southern chambers
 which are facing the restricted
 area—
 these are the holy chambers
 in which the priests
 who approach the Lord
 will eat the most holy offerings.”

In Ezek 42:13, in the context of the discussion about the priestly arcades in the temple area, LXX^V includes a plus that further specifies that this area is to be restricted to the Zadokite priests: οἱ υἱοὶ Σαδδουκ (LXX^V בני צדוק). This plus occurs in a context whose language evokes other instances in which Zadokite priestly prerogatives come to the fore, especially in its use of ἐγγίζω (=קרבו; Ezek 43:19; 44:13; 45:4). An interesting window into the redaction-history of Ezekiel results through comparing this gloss in LXX Ezek 42:13 to Ezek 40:46b. Both the MT and LXX readings of Ezek 40:46b specify that the priests who keep the requirements of the altar are the Zadokites (המה בני-צדוק). For many years, redaction-critical scholars have identified Ezek 40:46b as a gloss made in order to highlight the preeminence of the

2; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 396; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 563 n. 144; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 227; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel 20–48*, 549; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 63.

¹⁷ For the translation of ἐξέδρα as “arcade” and the significance of this term, see pp. 167–69 below.

¹⁸ An alternative translation: “of the Holy One.”

Zadokites.¹⁹ If these redaction critics are correct, what can be seen in LXX^V Ezek 42:13 is simply the continuation of a redaction-critical trend toward elevating the Zadokites.²⁰ Ezek 42:13 was glossed in the LXX *Vorlage* in the same way that scholars suspect Ezek 40:46b was glossed, due to the need to press the unique claims of the Zadokites.

Conclusion. So far, I have argued that the source text of Ezek 40–48 (LXX^V) includes small pluses that illustrate its tendency to clarify and expand difficulties in Ezekiel’s final vision in terms of the rest of the vision, as well as the book of Ezekiel as a whole. Quantities are filled in based on analogues (in seven steps), and distinctions to be made later in the Temple Law are prefigured, as in the supplementation of the Zadokite priests. Clarifications are made with reference to the larger context, as in the identification of the exterior east gate.

The kind of supplementation based on contextual reading that I have described here was by no means isolated to Ezekiel, but seems to have been a common feature of textual growth in the Second Temple period. Two examples of this phenomenon must suffice, both from 1QIsa^a. In Isa 44:6, where both the MT and LXX witness יהוה צבאות, 1QIsa^a reads יהוה יהוה צבאות שמו instead, based on similar statements in Isa 47:4; 48:2. Similarly, in Isaiah 46:13, where the MT, LXX, and 1QIsa^b witness קרובתי צדקתי, 1QIsa^a reads קרובה צדקתי. This is an assimilation to Isa 51:5, which reads קרוב צדקי יצא ישעי.²¹ These examples show that the spread of characteristic locutions that we have seen in LXX^V Ezek 40–48 seems to be an innate characteristic of the transmission of prophetic books.

¹⁹ Gese’s model saw the *Šadoqidenschicht* as the last major component of Ezek 40–48 to be formed, sometime before Zerubbabel (*Verfassungsentwurf*, 122). Ezekiel 40:46b was a gloss intended to clarify the relationship between 40:45–46a and 44:6ff and to justify calling the priests in 40:45 כהנים (ibid. 22, 66–67). The observation that 40:46b was a gloss was made before Gese and continued after him: W. Rautenberg, “Zur Zukunftsthora des Hesekiel,” *ZAW* 33 (1913): 95 n. 1; D. Johannes Herrmann, *Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt* (KAT 11; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1924), 268; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 439–40; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 230; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 368–69; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 228; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 562; Konkel, *Architektur des Heiligen*, 48.

²⁰ That there is no analogous gloss in any version of 45:4 is explained by the fact that the distinction between Zadokites and Levites has already been drawn with sharp lines in Ezek 44:6–31.

²¹ Compare 4QIsa^c, which reads יהוה קרובתי in Isa 46:13.

Transfer of Language from Outside Ezekiel

In addition to the transfer of language within Ezekiel itself, a raft of pentateuchal legislation parallels many of Ezekiel's laws, and even contradicts them in not a few places. Yet for scribes who sought to understand Ezekiel's complicated halakah, the Pentateuch provided the only body of comparative material on which to draw. In two cases, the Pentateuch seems to have cast a long shadow on Ezekiel's law-code, even providing the wording to clarify problematic passages. In what follows, I will examine two cases in which some influence of texts from outside Ezekiel can be felt on Ezekiel's law-code. The addition of "new" material can also reflect pentateuchal influence, but the degree of such influence is often more difficult to quantify when "new" material is added than in cases where the wording of the Pentateuch is taken up directly.

Ezekiel 44:13. In the midst of a scathing critique of the Levites for their past unfaithfulness (Ezek 44:6–14), the Deity imposes his penalties upon them as follows.

LXX Ezek 44:13

καὶ οὐκ ἐγγιούσι πρὸς με
τοῦ ἱερατεύειν μοι
οὐδὲ τοῦ προσάγειν πρὸς τὰ ἅγια υἱῶν
τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων μου
καὶ λήμψονται ἀτιμίαν²³ αὐτῶν
ἐν τῇ πλανήσει, ἣ ἐπλανήθησαν.²⁴

MT Ezek 44:13

ולא-יגשו אלי
לכהן לי
ולגשת²² על-כל-קדשי
אל-קדשי הקדשים
ונשאו כלמתם
ותועבותם אשר עשו

²² An example of the common use of על for אל in MT Ezekiel.

²³ כלמה is rendered in LXX by βάσανον (Ezek 16:52a, 54; 32:24, 30), ἀτιμία (Ezek 16:52b, 63; 36:7, 15; 39:26; 44:13), and ὀνειδισμός (Ezek 34:29; 36:6).

²⁴ LXX^v apparently read בהעות אשר העו, a striking complement to MT Ezek 44:10 (בהעות ישראל אשר העו), especially considering the fact that the analogue to אשר העו is missing in LXX^v Ezek 44:10. Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 486 suggested that LXX Ezek 44:13 was the source of the interpolation in MT Ezek 44:10.

And they will not approach me
to serve me as priests
or to offer the holy offerings of the
children of Israel
or to approach my most holy
things.
And they will bear their shame
through the error in which they
erred.

And they will not approach me
to serve me as priests
or to approach any of my holy
things
or to approach my most holy
things.
And they will bear their shame
and their abomination which
they committed.

The major difference between the two versions is the plus בני ישראל in LXX^V. One could explain this supplementation by supposing that the Masoretic reading (קִדְשֵׁי) was interpreted as being in the construct state, instead of ending with a possessive suffix as in the MT. A scribe simply completed the phrase by supplying the *nomen rectum*.²⁵ But this completion is not as obvious as it might appear at first glance, since the terms קדשי and קדשי הקדשים could refer either to gradations of offerings or sacred areas. How should the supplementer's preference for a non-spatial understanding be explained?

Pentateuchal analogues to LXX^V Ezek 44:13 can be given as follows.

LXX^V Ezek 44:13 על כל קדשי בני ישראל²⁶ ולגשת

...nor to approach all the holy offerings of the Israelites...

Lev 22:15 ולא יחללו את-קדשי בני-ישראל את אשר-ירימו ליהוה

But [the priests] must not allow the Israelites to profane what they contribute to the Lord.²⁷

Num 5:9 וכל-תרומה לכל-קדשי בני-ישראל אשר-יקריבו לכהן לו יהיה

Every gift from all the sacred donations of the Israelites which they will offer to a priest shall be his

²⁵ An analogous case can be observed in LXX Ezek 45:8, where a plural noun ending with a first person suffix (נשיא) was thought to be in the construct state and was supplied with a *nomen rectum* in LXX (ἀφηγούμενοι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ). It is also possible in this case that originally ישראל was indicated through an abbreviation (נשיא י; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 467).

²⁶ It is impossible to know if LXX^V read על here, which is characteristic of MT Ezekiel, or אל, which is more typical of the rest of the Hebrew Bible in such a construction.

²⁷ See NJPS here.

Numbers 5:9, Lev 22:15 and LXX^v Ezek 44:13 share the phrase קדשי בני ישראל, thus suggesting a transfer of wording from the Pentateuch to LXX^v Ezek 44:13 may have occurred. Numbers 5:9–10 specifies the regulations providing for restitution of an offender who had misappropriated his fellow's property and then denied it under oath (Num 5:5–8). Such a fellow commits “an act of betrayal” against the Lord (למעל מעל ביהוה; Num 5:6) by falsely invoking the divine name.²⁸ Num 5:9–10 then specifies that such an individual may direct his penalty toward whichever priest he chose. Leviticus 22:15 uses identical terminology to refer to lay sacrifices in a global, comprehensive sense. Leviticus 22:15 prohibits the people from eating sacred food and assigns it only to the priests.²⁹ This Pentateuchal phrase thus suggested itself to the supplementer of LXX^v Ezek 44:13, who added it to clarify the meaning here as referring to the offerings made by the lay Israelites. This avoids a potential spatial interpretation of קדשי.

But what sense would such a plus make in Ezek 44:13? It is likely that the editors drew the phrase קדשי בני ישראל from Num 5:9 or Lev 22:15 to clarify that although the Levites are required “to slaughter the burnt offerings and the sacrifices for the people” (המה ישחטו את-העולה ואת-הזבח לעם; Ezek 44:11), they are not entitled to the proceeds thereof because they are prohibiting from offering them on the altar. Moreover, according to Ezek 44:11, the Levites are explicitly commanded to enter the holy regions of the temple, and so it is unlikely that a spatial sense of קדשי is conceivable in Ezek 44:13. Both near and far contexts (that is, the requirements of Ezekiel's own vision and the phrasing from the Pentateuch) thus help to explain the editor's supplementation based on the phrasing from verses such as Num 5:9 and Lev 22:15. This phrasing clarifies that despite the Levitical responsibility to slaughter sacrifices, they may not benefit from them. However, it must be noted that while the content of the

²⁸ Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 182 translates מעל ביהוה as “committing an act of betrayal against YHWH.” Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1990), 35 draws attention to Lev 26:40 and Ezek 17:18–20 as instances in which מעל describes the sacrilege of oath violation.

²⁹ Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus*, (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1989), 150.

plus may be borrowed from pentateuchal vocabulary, the context of Num 5:9 and Lev 22:15 is sufficiently distant from Ezek 44:13 that the pentateuchal terminology is employed solely in view of the needs of its new context. Thus here it is proper to note that the transfer of wording is applied beyond the specific instances envisioned in the Pentateuch (misappropriation followed by a false oath in Num 5:9; lay consumption of pure food in Lev 22:15). The supplementer applied pentateuchal terminology in Ezek 44:13 for exegetical purposes.

And His house (Ezek 45:22a). In LXX Ezek 45:22, in the context of the stipulations for Passover, the leader is required either to perform or provide (השע // ποιέω) a purification offering. LXX^v features a slight plus that will prove informative.

LXX Ezek 45:22

καὶ ποιήσει ὁ ἀφηγούμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου
καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς γῆς
μόσχον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας.

MT Ezek 45:22

ועשה הנשיא ביום ההוא
בעדו
ובעד כל-עם הארץ
פר חטאת

And the leader will offer³⁰ on that
day,
on his own behalf *and on behalf of*
his house,
and on behalf of all the people of
the land,
a bull as a purification offering.

And the prince will provide on
that day,
on his own behalf,
and on behalf of all the people of
the land,
a bull as a purification offering.

³⁰ As will be seen below, השע is a descriptive term in priestly literature for the entire act of sacrifice and so can be rendered “do” or “perform.” The LXX *Vorlage* portrays the prince in more priestly terms than does the proto-MT, and so I have rendered the LXX as its supplementer apparently understood it. Without such a technical connotation, השע here is most naturally read as “provide” (as Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 661 translates; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 480 renders it with “present”). Since the prince was portrayed as a secular figure, and not a priestly one, in the proto-MT, I have rendered the MT differently than the LXX. See the discussion below.

In this verse, LXX contains a plus (LXX^V: וביתו) indicating its concern to include the family of the leader explicitly. Pentateuchal analogues which could have influenced the supplementer include Lev 9:7 (which differs slightly in the LXX and in the MT) and Lev 16:24.

LXX^V Ezek 45:22 ועשה הנשיא ביום ההוא בעדו וביתו ובעד כל-עם הארץ פר חטאת

And the prince will offer on that day, on behalf of himself and his house, and on behalf of all the people of the land, a bull as a purification offering.

MT Lev 9:7 קרב אל-המזבח ועשה את-חטאתך ואת-עלתך וכפר בעדך ובעד העם ועשה את-קרבן העם וכפר בעדם כאשר צוה יהוה

Approach the altar and perform your purification offering and your burnt offering and atone for yourself and the people, and perform the sacrifice of the people and atone for them, just as the Lord commanded.

LXX Lev 9:7 Πρόσελθε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ποιήσον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμά σου καὶ ἐξίλασαι περὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου· καὶ ποιήσον τὰ δῶρα τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐξίλασαι περὶ αὐτῶν, καθάπερ ἐντείλατο κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆϊ.

Approach the altar and perform the purification offering and the burnt offering and atone for yourself and your house, and perform the sacrifice of the people and atone for them, just as the Lord commanded Moses.

Lev 16:17b–18a 17 וכפר בעדו ובעד ביתו ובעד כל-קהל ישראל 18 ויצא אל-המזבח אשר לפני-יהוה וכפר עליו

17 And when he has atoned for himself and for his house and for all the assembly of Israel, 18 he will go out to the altar which is in the Lord's presence and he will purge it.³¹

Lev 16:24b ויצא ועשה את-עלתו ואת-עלת העם וכפר בעדו ובעד העם

And he will go out and perform his burnt offering and the people's burnt offering, and he will atone for himself and for the people.

If LXX Lev 9:7 reflects a Hebrew source text, as seems likely, then LXX^V Ezek 45:22 has the use of ביתו (בעד) in common with this

³¹ See NJPS.

witness.³² Moreover, LXX^v Ezek 45:22 also agrees with the term **ובעד** **העם** in MT Lev 9:7 (as well as Lev 16:24), though Ezek 45:22 does not include the term **כל**. The three elements for which expiation is made in LXX^v Ezek 45:22 also correspond to those in Lev 16:17b, but the verbal similarity is much less striking (**ובעד כל-קהל** in Lev 16:17b corresponding to **ובעד כל-עם** in LXX^v Ezek 45:22). Moreover, Lev 16:17b lacks the use of the verb **עשה**. While Lev 16:24 does use this verb to indicate sacrifice, and does mention the expiation “on the people’s behalf” (**ובעד העם**), it lacks the unique reading in LXX^v Ezek 45:22: **ביתו** (**בעד**). It seems most likely, then, that the plus in LXX^v Ezek 45:22 is derived from Lev 9:7, especially if the translator was familiar with the readings represented by the LXX and MT. What is most important, however, is not the specific verse that the supplementer drew on, but the desire to mention all three groups for whom expiation is to be made in the Pentateuch: for the priest himself, his family, and for all Israel.

This is not to deny the differences in context between Ezek 45:22 and Lev 9:7; 16:17b, 24. Ezekiel 45:22 has Passover in mind, while Lev 9 is concerned with the sanctification of the priests at the inauguration of the tabernacle. Leviticus 16 details the great annual purgation of the central shrine on the Day of Atonement. However, the recognition of the technical nature of the verb **עשה** in the context of sacrifice helps to explain the connection the supplementer saw between these texts. While **עשה** in Ezek 45:22 may originally have been concerned with the simple provision of the sacrifices (as the NRSV translation of Ezek 45:17 and 22 indicates), in priestly texts, the verb is a descriptive term for the entire rite of sacrifice.³³ The supplementer sees a connection between Ezek 45:17, 22 and Lev 9:7; 16:24 because only in these four instances in cultic legislation is the

³² Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 578 argues that the LXX preserves the original reading here. If so, the supplementer would quite conceivably have had access to both readings of Lev 9:7 in Hebrew.

³³ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 266–67. Rashi, possibly influenced by the use of the verb **עשה**, was of the opinion that the **נשיא** mentioned in 45:17 was the high priest: **אומר אני כן שהנשיא הזה בכהן גדול מדבר וכל נשיא שבענין כן** (Abraham J. Levy, *Rashi’s Commentary on Ezekiel 40–48 Edited on the Basis of Eleven Manuscripts* [Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1931], 100). He also mentions another opinion, that it referred to a king. See also his comments on Ezek 44:3.

descriptive term for sacrifice (עשה) paired with the preposition בעד. In the interest of completeness, the scribe added a mention of expiation for the prince's house, reflecting pentateuchal conceptions.

If this explanation of the plus in LXX^V is accepted, it hints at a significant interpretive tradition. According to the present line of reasoning, the prince (נשיא) described in Ezek 45:17, 22 could be understood in LXX^V to be conducting sacrifice. Moreover, the use of עשה and בעד in Lev 9:7; 16:17, 24 is reserved for Aaron, the chief priest, and so the assimilation in LXX^V Ezek 45:22 implies a close connection between Aaron and the prince.³⁴ Given the unique fact that Ezekiel's restoration elsewhere envisions no chief priest, could a supplementer of LXX^V have identified the enigmatic prince as such a figure? In view of the generally *ad hoc* nature of scribal redaction,³⁵ even if it can be proven that the high priest is identified with the prince in LXX^V Ezek 45:15, 22, such an equation may simply be the opinion of one supplementer. Still, the question is worth asking.

The best place to begin is with a consideration of the prince's role in 44:1-3. Here he is given the privilege to eat food in the divine presence (לפני יהוה; v. 3) and to sit in the eastern gate, to which no one else had access. The similarity with the activities of the High Priest in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement is patent. It is thus not

³⁴ Tg Ezekiel 45:22 also demonstrates the influence of Lev 16:7, since it describes the bull of the purification offering as a substitute for the leader (רבא) and the people: ועביד רבא ביומא ההוא חליפוהי וחליף כל עמא דארעא תורא לחטתא ("And the leader will present his substitute, and the substitute of all the people of the land, a bull, as a purification offering"). See Samson H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (ArBib 13; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1987), 123 n. 15.

³⁵ As an example, we can note that the distinction between the Levites and Zadokites is present (though generally recognized as secondary) in both LXX and MT Ezek 40:46b (see pp. 78-80 above). This distinction is added in LXX^V Ezek 42:13 but not in the MT of that verse. Neither of the two versions makes the distinction in Ezek 45:4, a similar text where the distinction would be appropriate. (This lack of distinction in 45:4 may be due to the fact that the difference in role between the Zadokites and Levites is clarified in the preceding chap. 44. If this is true, the lack of such a gloss in MT Ezek 42:13 still shows the incompleteness of the redaction.) This example shows that even highly significant glosses are often incompletely made throughout the entire vision.

surprising that Christian interpreters such as Theodoret,³⁶ as well as Jewish exegetes such as Rashi,³⁷ identified the **נשיא** as the high priest and the closed eastern gate with the adytum. This concern with the east gate reappears in 46:1–2, in which the gate is opened on the Sabbath, while the **נשיא** is not himself an active participant in the sacrificial practice. Ezek 46:12 portrays him as opening the gate for himself and offering a freewill sacrifice, purification offering or offering of well-being using the technical descriptive verb **עשה**. Further evidence for this could be drawn from LXX Ezek 46:13–14, in which the prince is said to offer (*ποιήσει*, reflecting $\sqrt{\text{עש}}$) a burnt offering and a cereal offering every morning, although it is difficult to know if this reflects a Hebrew reading or the work of the translator.³⁸ In any event, there seems to be considerable evidence to support those who were disposed to equate the prince with the (otherwise missing) high priest. Our supplement, which consists of a single word, thus reflects a long-lived interpretive tradition.

Conclusion. The main concern of the above examples was to demonstrate that pluses comprised of the simple transfer of wording from the Pentateuch are not at all common in LXX^V Ezek 40–48, but

³⁶ In his fourteenth sermon on Ezekiel, Origen proceeded from the idea that the text described the high priest eating food in the holy of holies (*Clausa est itaque ianua, ut nemo videat magnum sacerdotem panem in sanctis sanctorum comedentem*). The text is from Marcel Borret, *Origène: Homélie sur Ézéchiél: Texte Latin, Introduction, Traduction et Notes* [SC 352; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989], 440). Theodoret likewise identified the figure in Ezek 44:1–3 as the high priest: “The high priest will offer the burnt offerings of the Sabbaths; for he calls him the *leader*” (*τὸ δὲ ὀλοκαύτωμα τῶν Σαββατῶν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς προσοίσει. Αὐτὸν γὰρ καλεῖ ἀφηγουμένον*; PG 89:1278). See Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1912), 58–59.

³⁷ Rashi’s note on 45:17 clarifies that he sees the **נשיא** as the high priest (see n. 33 above). At 44:3, he comments that the **נשיא** may not eat with the rest of the priests in the rooms of the temple but must eat in the eastern gate (*ואין דרכו [לישב] לאכול עם שאר* ; *הכהנים בלשכות*; Levy, *Rashi’s Commentary*, 93).

³⁸ For caution in reconstructing differences in the *Vorlage* concerning matters of person and number, see chapter 2. Most modern scholars theorize that the LXX failed to recognize the introduction of a new section at 46:13, and so harmonized the activity of the prince to that of the Zadokite priests mentioned previously (Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 511; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 84; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 488; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 248; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 669 n. 47; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 164).

are significant where they occur.³⁹ Despite the incorporation of wording from the Pentateuch, none of Ezekiel's somewhat idiosyncratic regulations was changed using simple transfer of wording. On the other hand, the fact that LXX Ezek 44:13 and 45:22 were supplemented in light of the Pentateuch testifies to a growing canonical consciousness among those who transmitted the text of our prophet.⁴⁰ The tendency to identify the prince (נשיא) as a priestly figure, perhaps even the high priest, is an interpretive trajectory that will emerge also in the analysis of the supplementation with "new" material in LXX^v Ezek 40-48.

"NEW" READINGS IN LXX^v EZEKIEL 40-48

While scribes were prone to supplement their texts with Scriptural locutions, they were not limited by them. Supplementers felt the freedom to clarify obscure texts with appropriate glosses, within the general limits of a word or two.⁴¹ As was the case with cases of transfer of wording, the primary objective of the scribes who supplied these new readings was the clarification of difficult texts or the exclusion of certain interpretations. In several of these "new" readings, concern for changed circumstances can be felt, such as in the identification of a drain in the inner north gate to dispose of sacrificial effluence (Ezek 40:38-40) and in increased concern for the exclusive rights of the Zadokites.

³⁹ The unique similarity to the Pentateuch in LXX^v Ezek 45:5 (LXX πόλεις τοῦ κατοικεῖν [=LXX^v עיריִם לשבת] in place of MT עשרים לשכות), which calls to mind P's Levitical cities, is generally considered to be original and so does not fall under our discussion. See Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 492; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 496; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 466; D. Barthélemy et. al., *Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project Volume 5* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1980), 178-79; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20-48, 246; Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 649 n. 12. Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 134-35 argues that MT represents a late anti-Levitical addition that wishes to assign them only 20 rooms in the area of the Temple but not a share in the land. Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 327-38 holds both MT and LXX as inauthentic.

⁴⁰ For a similar claim for MT Ezek 1-39, see Stromberg, "Scribal Expansions."

⁴¹ For a preliminary assessment of the limits on scribal freedom, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 326 and Teeter, "Exegesis in the Transmission of Biblical Law."

The Temple Drain (Ezek 40:38–40)

The text of Ezek 40:38–40 differs not a little in MT and in LXX^v. At issue is the place beside the inner north gate where the sacrifices were washed (O).⁴²

LXX Ezek 40:38–40

38 τὰ παστοφόρια αὐτῆς⁴³
καὶ τὰ θυρώματα αὐτῆς
καὶ τὰ αἰλαμμω αὐτῆς
ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τῆς δευτέρας⁴⁵
ἔκρυσις

MT Ezek 40:38–40

38 ולשכה
ופתחה
באילים⁴⁴
השער⁴⁶
שם ידיחו את-העלה⁴⁷
39 ובאלם השער שנים שלחנות מפו⁴⁸

⁴² The letter in parentheses refers to the designation given this architectural element in the diagrams (see Appendix A).

⁴³ This personal pronoun refers to the inner northern gate in 40:35–37. The addition of the possessive pronoun to all the elements of the gate probably represents a grammatical leveling on the part of the translator, as can be seen by the addition of this pronoun (αὐτῆς) to a transliteration containing a Hebrew possessive suffix (αἰλαμμω). The rendering of all these elements as plural also seems to indicate grammatical leveling.

⁴⁴ Many scholars emend באילים to באילם in line with the reading in LXX (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 444; Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, 257; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 444; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 154; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 363; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 533; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 227–28; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 222; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 530 n. 82; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 42).

⁴⁵ LXX^v presumably read השער השני (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 363), a secondary explanatory comment. See MT Ezek 40:21.

⁴⁶ The plural השערים in MT is difficult to understand grammatically. Many scholars emend to the singular השער (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 444; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 444; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 154; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 363; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 533; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 228; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 222; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 42).

⁴⁷ This statement in MT is related to the bronze basins of the Solomonic temple in 2 Chr 4:6 (לרחצה בהם את-מעשה העולה ידיחו בהם). See below.

⁴⁸ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 154 describes LXX as abbreviating the text, although he does not describe the translator’s motivation in his abbreviation (quoted approvingly in Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 42). Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 530 n. 83 plausibly suggests *parablepsis*. The presence of eight total tables in both MT and LXX Ezek 40:41 suggests an accidental rather than deliberate omission.

39 ὅπως σφάζωσιν ἐν αὐτῇ⁴⁹

τὰ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας
καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας·

40 καὶ κατὰ νότου τοῦ ῥόακος τῶν
ὀλοκαυτωμάτων

τῆς βλεπούσης⁵² πρὸς βορρᾶν
δύο τράπεζαι πρὸς ἀνατολάς⁵³
καὶ κατὰ νότου τῆς δευτέρας
καὶ τοῦ αἰλαμ τῆς πύλης
δύο τράπεζαι κατὰ ἀνατολάς,

38 *The gate's chambers
and its entrances
and its porticoes
at the second gate
are an outlet*

ושנים שלחנות מפה

לשחוט אליהם

⁵⁰ העולה

והחטאת

והאשם

40 ואל-הכתף מחוצה לעולה⁵¹

לפתח השער הצפונה

שנים שלחנות

ואל-הכתף האחרת

אשר לאלם השער

שנים שלחנות

38 A chamber
and its entrance
were among the pilasters
of the gate.
There they wash the burnt
offering.

⁴⁹ In the same way as he inserted the pronoun αὐτῆς in 40:38, the translator renders אליהם as ἐν αὐτῇ here to clarify that the sacrifice is to take place within the inner northern gate.

⁵⁰ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 367 suggests that the translator of LXX deliberately omitted the reference to the עולה in 40:39 on the basis of 40:42, which mentions four tables specifically for the עולה. According to the LXX, then, the four tables mentioned in v. 39 are for the purification and reparation offerings, while the four tables in v. 42 are for the burnt offering. Zimmerli, following Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 158, instead understands עולה in 40:42 as a comprehensive, summary term for all sacrifices instead of the designation for a single sacrifice, making the omission unnecessary. The opposite explanation, that a scribe missed the presence of the burnt offering in MT Ezek 40:39 and supplied it, is also possible.

⁵¹ See Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 530 n. 85 and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 363 for the explanation of לעולה as a participle and not as a noun.

⁵² The LXX translator apparently read פנה instead of לפתח.

⁵³ The significance of the secondary phrase twice πρὸς / κατὰ ἀνατολάς in LXX Ezek 40:40 is unclear, given the confused treatment of the tables in LXX (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 363). The addition of this phrase occurs elsewhere at Ezek 42:1, 20. The addition at 42:1, where the translator clarifies the older reading הדרך by translating κατὰ ἀνατολάς, is significant because it demonstrates the LXX's propensity to treat the east as the primary or most significant direction.

| | |
|--|--|
| | 39 And in the vestibule of the gate there are two tables on this side and two tables on that side upon which to slaughter the burnt offering and the purification offering and the reparation offering. |
| 39 so that they may slaughter in the gate | 40 To the side, on the <u>outside</u> , as one ascends toward the entrance of the northern gate were two tables. |
| the purification offerings and the reparation offerings. | To the other side of the gate's portico were two tables. |
| 40 And behind the <u>flow</u> of the burnt offerings of the gate that looks northward | |
| were two tables toward the east. And behind the second gate and the portico of the gate were two tables toward the east. | |

The MT and LXX of Ezek 40:38–40 provide evidence that in this passage, scribes struggled to transmit and understand a very difficult text. Two pluses in LXX^V are especially important for our purposes: the ἔκρυσις⁵⁴ (“efflux, outflow”) mentioned in 40:38 and the ῥόαξ⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The common term ἔκρυσις at its simplest indicates a flow of water emanating from one body of water and moving into another (e.g. Aristotle, *On Colors* 796a l. 12). It can be used of the going out of the tide (Strabo, *Geography* 1.3.4), the discharge of rivers and other bodies of water into the sea or lakes (Strabo, *Geography* 1.3.6 [2x], 1.3.13, 8.8.4; Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 351a l. 5), or the breaking through of underground waters or springs to the surface (Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.7) or of rivers overflowing their banks (Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.21). These uses in classical literature suggest that for the translator of Ezek 40:38, the sense of ἔκρυσις may have included a harnessing of some sort of natural flow of water, perhaps the Gihon spring.

⁵⁵ ῥόαξ is used only a handful of times in extant Greek literature, and so its meaning is debatable (in addition to the citations below, see the *Scholia in Platonem* Dialogue R 372b line 3 [quod non vidit]). Probably it is to be related to the verb ῥέω / ῥέομαι, which gives the sense of flowing, running or streaming (LSJ, “ῥέω,” 1568). This grammatical relationship is supported by a fragment from Philoxenus, in which the grammarian relates the noun ῥόαξ to the terms ῥόος and ῥύαξ. Fragment 304: τρίβακος· τριβή· τρίβαξ· παρώνυμον, καὶ ἡ γενικὴ εὐθεῖα γίνεται πόλλακις, ὡς φύλαξ· φύλακος· καὶ ὁ φύλακος· κόχλος· κόχλαξ, ἱερὸς ἱέραξ, ῥόος ῥόαξ, καὶ μεταθήσει τὸν ο εἰς υ ῥύαξ, οὕτω Φιλόξενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου. Text is cited from Christos Theodoridis, *Die Fragmente des*

("stream, drain") in 40:40. Both of these elements must be considered together.⁵⁶ As it happens, the concern with washing away the blood of the sacrifices is comparable to descriptions of the Second Temple in which such facilities are mentioned.

The presumed hyponym of ἔκρυσσις in LXX^V Ezek 40:38 is uncertain, since it corresponds to the phrase "there they rinse the burnt offering" (שם ידיו את העלה) in MT. The term הדיח, used only here in all of Ezekiel, is a relatively late one that in Mishnaic Hebrew replaces רחץ as a technical term for cultic washing.⁵⁷ This increases the likelihood that this clarification in MT is relatively late. A parallel in 2 Chr 4:6 describes ten lavers for washing, five on the south side and five on the north, in which utensils for the burnt offering were to be rinsed (לרחצה בהם את-מעשה העולה ידיו בם). However, the direction of influence between MT Ezek 40:38 and 2 Chr 4:6 is debatable.⁵⁸ It seems likely that all extant versions (MT LXX^V Tg Syr) represent parallel clarifications of an original text whose significance was no longer clear.⁵⁹ If so, LXX^V and MT Ezek 40:38 are independent at this

Grammatikers Philoxenos (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), 231. This fragment is preserved by Orion of Thebes in his *Etymologicon*. See the edition of F. G. Sturzius et al., eds., *Orion Thebanus, Etymologicon* (New York/ Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973), 154. Like these two related terms then, ῥόαξ seems best rendered as "stream" or "drain" (For ῥόος, see Homer, *Iliad*, 11.726, 16.151, 21.263, 219, 258, 303, 369; *Odyssey* 5.327, 449, 461; Herodotus 2.96; Plato, *Republic* 492c; Hippocrates, *On Women* 121, 176; Aristotle, *Animal History* 521a. For ῥόαξ, see Thucydides 4.96; 3.116; Plato, *Phaedo*, 111e 2; Strabo, *Geography* 6.2.3; Aristotle, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 833a; Diodorus Siculus 14.59).

⁵⁶ As far as I am aware, Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 447 was the first to understand these pluses in the LXX together.

⁵⁷ Avi Hurvitz, "Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology," *RB* 81 (1974): 35–36; idem, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an old Problem* (CahRB 20; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982), 63–65.

⁵⁸ The term הדיח appears in 2 Chr 4:6; Isa 4:4 and Jer 51:34, as well as Ezek 40:38. Compare Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 366–67 and Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 154. Gese argues for the dependence of 2 Chr on MT Ezek 40:38 at this point; Zimmerli is non-committal.

⁵⁹ Tg avoids the idea of washing in its translation (תמן מתקנין יה עלחא; "there they prepare the burnt offering"), as does Syr (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܥܠܘܗܐ), which speaks of placing. It is possible, as Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 446 thinks, that neither Syr nor Tg read the present text of MT as it now stands. Vul follows MT (*ibi lavabunt holocaustum*).

point, although both reflect concern with washing the sacrificial animals, unlike Syr and Tg. For LXX^V, the result of the confusion with the postulated earlier text was the incorporation of an outlet for the sacrificial blood, in line with descriptions of the Second Temple. Field identified the hyponym of ἔκρυσις in LXX^V as a misunderstood שלוחן (interpreted as being from שִׁלַח D) that attracted the addition of ῥόαξ in v. 38.⁶⁰ However, none of the other instances of שלוחן in this passage have been so effected. Nor is the problem likely to lie with the translator, as he consistently rendered שלוחן with τράπεζα.⁶¹ Given the paucity of evidence for this term, no definite conclusions can be drawn.⁶²

By contrast with ἔκρυσις, the equivalent for ῥόαξ in MT Ezek 40:40 is certain: מרוצה. This is the only occurrence of the form מרוצה in the MT, but the translator consistently recognized מרוץ in his source text.⁶³ According to Cornill,⁶⁴ Ewald suggested that the translator read מרוצה in LXX^V, either correctly or incorrectly, which would correspond to the sense of rushing (ῥέομαι) implicit in ῥόαξ. Yet מרוצה more commonly refers to the path for a race, not a conduit for liquids to flow.⁶⁵ Whatever term he supplied, it is clear that here the supplementer of LXX^V Ezek 40:40 highlighted the disposal of sacrificial effluence, possibly motivated by the contemporary needs of the sacrificial cult for irrigation.

Three sources mention the washing of blood from the sacrifices of the altar of the Second Temple, and so serve as parallels to LXX^V Ezek 40:40. M. *Mid.* 3:2 mentions two holes at the south-western corner of the altar that enabled the blood to mingle in the water channel and then to exit into the Wadi Kidron. A more expansive mention of the water supply of the temple occurs in the Letter of Aristeas §88–91.

§88 The whole foundation (ἔδαφος) was decked with (precious) stones and had slopes leading to the appropriate

⁶⁰ Cited in Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 446–47.

⁶¹ Ezek 40:40 [2x], 41, 42, 43; 41:22; 44:16.

⁶² The noun ἔκρυσις appears only in Ezek 40:38. The verbal form ἐκρέω has the hyponym נָשַׁל in Deut 28:40 and נָבַל in Isa 64:5. 1 Macc 9:6 uses it in the sense of “slip away.”

⁶³ He translated it with ἔξωθεν (40:5; 43:21; 46:2) and ἔξω (40:19).

⁶⁴ *Ezekiel*, 447.

⁶⁵ 2 Sam 18:27; Jer 8:6; 23:10. See HALOT, “מרוצה,” 634.

places for carrying the water which is (needed) for the cleansing of the blood from the sacrifices. (Many thousands of animals are brought there in the festival days.) §89 There is an inexhaustible supply of water, because of⁶⁶ a plentiful spring arising naturally from within, and there are furthermore indescribably wonderful underground reservoirs (*ὑποδοχείων*), which within a radius of five stades from the foundation of the Temple revealed innumerable channels (*σύριγγας*) for each of them, the streams (*ῥευμάτων*) joining together on each side. §90 All these were covered with lead down to the foundation of the wall; on top of them a thick layer of pitch, all done very effectively. There were many mouths at the base, which were completely invisible except for those responsible for the ministry, so that the large amounts of blood which collected from the sacrifices were all cleansed by the downward pressure and momentum. §91 Being personally convinced, I will describe the building plan of the reservoirs just as I understood it. They conducted me more than four stades outside the city, and told me to bend down at a certain spot and listen to the noise at the meeting of the waters. The result was that the size of the conduits (*ἀγγείων*) became clear to me, as has been demonstrated.⁶⁷

The Letter of Aristeas describes two sources of water which serve to clean the blood from the sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple: a plentiful spring (the Gihon), and water brought by a network of streams running into underground reservoirs. Much more than in m.

⁶⁶ The English translation is cited from R. J. H. Shutt, "The Letter of Aristeas," *OTP* 2:18–19 (modified). Here I have changed Shutt's rendering of *ὡς ἂν* from "just as if there were" to "because of," following the translation of André Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate: Introduction, Texte Critique Traduction et Notes* (SC 89; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962), 147 (*à cause*). My motivation for the change is the presence of the Gihon spring, which conflicts with the use of a contrary-to-fact condition. Compare Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (JAL; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951; Reprint New York: Ktav, 1973), 135, who also gives this clause a causal sense.

⁶⁷ The Greek terms in parentheses derive from the text Shutt translates, which was edited by Henry St. James Thackeray and published in Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (rev. R. R. Ottley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914; Reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1989), 567.

Mid. 3:2, the Letter of Aristeas is at pains to emphasize the architectural beauty and magnitude of the mechanisms to eliminate the sacrificial effluence. It represents the most detailed description of the water supply of the Temple area of many accounts from both Jewish and Roman historians,⁶⁸ and serves clear apologetic purposes.

The final source is 11Q19 (11QTemple^a) 32:12–15.⁶⁹

| | |
|---|----|
| בבואם לשרת בקודש [ו]עשיתה תעלה סביב לכיור אצל ביתו והתעל[ה] | 12 |
| הולכת [מבית] הכיור למחלה יורדת [ופוש]טת אל תוך הארץ אשר | 13 |
| יהיו המים נשפכים והולכים אליה ואובדים בתוך הארץ ולוא | 14 |
| יהיה נוגעים בהמה כול אדם כי מדם העולה מתערב במה | 15 |

- 12 ...as they go to serve in the sanctuary. [And] you will make a conduit (?) all around for the laver beside its house. And the condui[t]
- 13 will run [from the house of] the laver to the hole. It will descend [and spread] out into the earth, where
- 14 the water will be poured out. The water will go into it [i.e. the land] and will be lost in the midst of the land. And no one may
- 15 touch it [i.e. the water], since some of the blood of the burnt offering is mixed with it.

While the motivation in the Letter of Aristeas for mentioning the draining of the sacrificial effluence seems to be the need to highlight the impressiveness of the architecture, the description in 11QTemple^a is more concerned lest the pure waters of the effluence come into contact with a less holy individual. Both 11QTemple and Aristeas mention the inaccessibility of the water to the non-priestly worshippers, as is suggested by the location of the drain in the inner northern gate in LXX^v Ezek 40:38–40.

With the inclusion of an outlet for the sacrificial waste in LXX Ezek 40:38, 40, the supplementer of LXX^v tried to clarify the sense of

⁶⁸ For example, Sirach 50:3; Tacitus, *Histories*, 5.12; Eusebios, *Preparation for the Gospel*, 9.35–37.

⁶⁹ The text is that of Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: Volume Two: Text and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 139. The translation is my own.

an obscure text. He may have been influenced by the *realia* of the Second Temple or by a source describing them. However, here, as elsewhere in LXX^V Ezekiel, the primary motivation for the plus is exegetical.

The Inner Hall and the Increased Adytum (Ezekiel 41:1-4)

LXX Ezek 41:1-4

1 καὶ εἰσήγαγέ με εἰς τὸν ναόν,
ὧ̄ διεμέτρησε τὸ αἶλαμ⁷⁰
πηχῶν ἕξ τὸ πλάτος ἔνθεν
2 καὶ πηχῶν ἕξ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ αἶλαμ
ἔνθεν⁷¹

(2) καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ πυλῶνος πηχῶν
δέκα,
καὶ ἔπωμίδες τοῦ πυλῶνος πηχῶν
πέντε ἔνθεν
καὶ πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν·
καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ μήκος αὐτοῦ πηχῶν
τεσσαράκοντα
καὶ τὸ εὖρος πηχῶν εἴκοσι.
3 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν
ἑσωτέραν
καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ αἶλ τοῦ θυρώματος
πηχῶν δύο
καὶ τὸ θύρωμα πηχῶν ἕξ
καὶ τὰς ἔπωμίδας⁷⁴ τοῦ θυρώματος

MT Ezek 41:1-4

1 ויביאני אל-ההיכל
וימד את-האילים
שש-אמות רחב מפו
ושש-אמות-רחב מפו

⁷²רחב האהל

2 ורחב הפתח עשר אמות
וכתפות הפתח חמש אמות מפו
וחמש אמות מפו
וימד ארכו ארבעים אמה
ורחב עשרים אמה
3 ובא⁷³ לפנימה
וימד איל-הפתח
שתים אמות
והפתח שש אמות
ורחב הפתח שבע אמות

⁷⁰ The translator read האולם (porch, portico) which seems to represent a secondary contextualization of MT's original reading: Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 223.

⁷¹ Gesé, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 23 n. 6, followed by other scholars, theorizes that LXX^V read רחב האיל where MT reads רחב האהל, and that the translator incorporated this gloss into his rendering of the preceding phrase. See also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 342; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 223.

⁷² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 342 considers MT's רחב האהל as "a remarkably lame appendage" added by analogy with P's מהל מועד, as do Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 445; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 223; Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 539 n. 8; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 539 n. 8.

⁷³ For the awkward use of the consecutive perfect here, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 342 and Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 539 n. 9.

πηγῶν ἑπτὰ ἔνθεν
καὶ πηγῶν ἑπτὰ ἔνθεν.⁷⁵
4 καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ μῆκος
τῶν θυρῶν πηγῶν τεσσαράκοντα⁷⁶
καὶ εὖρος πηγῶν εἴκοσι
κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ.
καὶ εἶπε Τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων.

4 וימד את-ארכו
עשרים אמה
ורחב עשרים אמה
אל-פני ההיכל
ויאמר אלי זה קדש קדשים

1 And he brought me into the
temple
whose porch he measured.
Six cubits was the width on one
side
2 and six cubits was the width of
the porch on the other side.

(2) And the width of the
gateway was ten cubits
and the sides of the gateway
were five cubits on this side
and five cubits on that side.
And he measured its length—40
cubits
and the width—20 cubits.

3 And he entered the inner
courtyard
and he measured the gate's
pilaster—
two cubits
and the gateway—six cubits.

1 And he brought me into the
temple
and he measured the pilasters.
Six cubits *was* the width on one
side
and six cubits *was* the width on
the other side,
the width of the tent.

2 And the opening of the gate
was ten cubits
and the sides of the opening were
five cubits on this side
and five cubits on that side.
And he measured its length—40
cubits
and *the* width—20 cubits.

3 And he entered within
and measured the pilaster of the
opening—
two cubits
and the opening—six cubits.

⁷⁴ LXX attests the correct reading (כתפות), which has fallen out of MT (Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 453; Bertholet with Galling, *Hesekiel*, 142; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 342; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 540 n. 10).

⁷⁵ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 342 connects the reading in to its loss of the original כתפות, after the loss of which these words become meaningless. The reading with LXX is accepted by Bertholet and Galling, *Hesekiel*, 142; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 540 n. 11; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 546.

⁷⁶ LXXV: וימד את ארך השערים ארבעים אמה. See the discussion below.

And the sides of the gateway
were seven cubits on this
side

and seven cubits on that side.

4 And he measured the length
of the gates—40 cubits

and its width—20 cubits

facing the temple.

And he said, “This is the holy of
holies.”

And the width of the opening
was seven cubits.

4 And he measured its length—
20 cubits

and its width—20 cubits

facing the temple.

And he said to me, “This is the
holy of holies.”

Two divergences are significant for the consideration of the layout of the larger temple complex: 1) the difference in the length of the adytum in v. 4, which is 20 cubits long in the MT but 40 cubits in the LXX; and 2) the surprising definition of the adytum as an inner courtyard (τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐσωτέραν) in LXX Ezek 41:3. After considering each of the divergences in turn, it will be possible to determine whether they are related or independent.

1) The difference in the length of the adytum seems to be explicable if one begins with an error in the transmission of the text of the LXX *Vorlage*. In MT’s reading (וימד את-ארכו עשרים אמה), the עשרים seems to have suffered a metathesis, so that a scribe copying it wrote שערים. This is supported by the LXX (τῶν θυρῶν).⁷⁷ Since this divergence makes little contextual sense, it is likely to have been an accidental rather than a deliberate change. The likelihood of a metathesis is supported by the identical occurrence in Ezek 42:3 MT העשרים // LXX αἱ πύλαι (=השערים). As this process left the length of the “gates” unspecified, a measurement had to be inferred. A redactor apparently concluded that the length of the adytum tallied with the measurement of the hall in front of it (41:2), thus comprising 40 cubits. In this fashion, the redactor doubled the size of the region devoted to the Deity.⁷⁸ Read in conjunction with Ezek 43:7–9, a

⁷⁷ For the translation of שער as θύρα, see LXX Ezek 46:12.

⁷⁸ Adrian Schenker, “Das Allerheiligste in Ezechiels Tempel war ein Hof: Die Tragweite der ursprünglichen Septuaginta in Ez 41,1–4,” in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; BETL 192; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 363–64 provides a

complaint against direct encroachment of secular leadership on divine space, this doubling of the sacred sphere underscored the priority of the divine and its claims over those of the secular realm. On the other hand, through this chain of events the square layout of the adytum was lost.⁷⁹ Moreover, through the change in LXX^V, the adytum of Ezekiel’s temple no longer agrees with the measurements of the adytum in Solomon’s temple.⁸⁰

2) The inner courtyard mentioned in LXX Ezek 41:3 can be distinguished from τὴν αὐλήν τὴν ἐσωτέραν in LXX Ezek 40:34 by its different measurements. The latter is 100 x 100 cubits (40:37), while the inner courtyard with which we are concerned measures 40 x 20 cubits (41:3–4). The oddity of this designation for the adytum of the temple in 41:3–4 is striking: why would the most sacred space in Ezekiel’s temple be a courtyard? Schenker argues that the differences between MT and LXX in Ezek 41:1–4 stem from two different conceptions of the adytum.⁸¹ LXX Ezek 41:1–4’s depiction is suited to the idea of a soaring divine throne borne by cherubim, while the MT pictures an inner room which one is forbidden to enter. The reading in MT is comparable to Kings, Chronicles and the P’s tabernacle, which considers the adytum an inaccessible room, but LXX’s reading is uniquely suited to Ezekiel. Proto-MT Ezek 41:3 reflects a growing canonical consciousness that seems to have made the older reading problematic.

different solution. He interprets the θυρῶν as referring to the space behind the gates, that is, the inner courtyard.

⁷⁹ For analysis of the importance of the square shape in Ezekiel’s temple, see Michael Konkel, “Die zweite Tempelvision Ezechiels (Ez 40–48). Dimensionen eines Entwurfs,” in *Gottstadt und Gottesgarten: Zu Geschichte und Theologie des Jerusalemer Tempels* (ed. Othmar Keel and Erich Zenger; QD 191; Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 155–56 and Kalinda Rose Stevenson, *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40–48* (SBLDS 154; Atlanta: Scholars, 154), 26–28. The Temple Scroll also relies heavily on the square shape: Johann Maier, “The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in Light of the Temple Scroll,” in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers presented at the international Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George A. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 24.

⁸⁰ Solomon’s temple is said to be a 20-cubit cube in 1 Kgs 6:20; 2 Chr 3:8. Note that the height of the adytum is not mentioned in Ezek 41:3–4, and so it is unclear that even the MT matches the dimensions of the earlier sanctuary.

⁸¹ “Das Allerheiligste war ein Hof,” 364–67.

Schenker's arguments concerning the LXX's inner courtyard are persuasive, particularly in the context of the gloss in MT Ezek 41:bβ (רחב האהל), which makes a comparable attempt to assimilate Ezekiel's temple to more well-known sanctuary models. Thus the LXX preserves one earlier reading (concerning the inner courtyard) and one secondary reading (concerning the length of the gates). Though they belong to different redactional strata of LXX^V, the end result of each divergence increases the particularity of Ezekiel's temple by giving the adytum different measurements from Solomon's temple and by preserving its unique nature as a courtyard. Thus in each case, LXX^V seems to be oriented more toward underscoring the peculiar theology of Ezekiel than in assimilating his book to more authoritative models.

Ezekiel 42:15–20

A large complex of divergences between MT and LXX^V in Ezek 42:15–20 requires explanation.

LXX Ezek 42:15–20

15 καὶ συνετελέσθη ἡ διαμέτρῃσις τοῦ οἴκου ἔσωθεν.

καὶ ἐξήγαγέ με καθ' ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῆς βλεπούσης πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ ὑπόδειγμα⁸² τοῦ οἴκου κυκλόθεν

ἐν διατάξει.

16 καὶ ἔστη κατὰ νότου

τῆς πύλης τῆς βλεπούσης κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ διεμέτρησε

πενταχοσίους

MT Ezek 42:15–20

15 וכלה את-מדות הבית הפנימי

והוציאני דרך השער אשר פניו דרך הקדים ומדדו סביב סביב

16 מדד רוח הקדים

בקנה המדה
חמש-מאות⁸³ קנים⁸⁴

⁸² The term ὑπόδειγμα is characteristic of Greek Jewish compositions (2 Macc 6:28, 31; 4 Macc 17:23) and also occurs in LXX Sirach 44:16.

⁸³ Reading with MT^Q. MT^K reads אמות.

⁸⁴ There is a long-standing tendency to delete קנים: "Das von G durchgängig nicht bezeugte, in 16–19 insgesamt viermal belegte קנים wird gemeinhin als spätere Hinzufügung identifiziert und entsprechend gestrichen" (Konkel, *Architektur des*

| | |
|---|---|
| ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου· 17 καὶ ἐπέστρεψε ⁸⁵ πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βορρᾶ | בקנה המדה סביב מדד רוח הצפון 17 |
| πήγεις πεντακοσίους ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου· 18 καὶ ἐπέστρεψε ⁸⁴ πρὸς θάλασσαν ⁸⁶ καὶ ⁸⁷ διεμέτρησε τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς θαλάσσης πεντακοσίους | חמ-מאות קנים בקנה המדה סביב את רוח הדרום 18 מדד חמ-מאות קנים |
| ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου· 19 καὶ ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς νότον καὶ διεμέτρησε κατέναντι τοῦ νότου πεντακοσίους | בקנה המדה סבב אל-רוח הים 19 מדד חמ-מאות קנים |
| ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου· 20 τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη ⁸⁸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καλάμου. | בקנה המדה לארבע רוחות 20 |

Heiligen, 67). It is deleted by Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 302–03; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 462; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 237; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 29 n. 2; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 536; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 402; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 227. Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 568 n. 161 retains קנין but understands it as an “instrument rather than a unit of measurement.”

⁸⁵ In 1886, Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 476 noted that the original reading in LXX^v Ezek 42:17a and 18a (סבב, as also in the MT of v. 19a), was “längst erkannt.” This is accepted by Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 302, Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 462; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 237; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 28–29 n. 2; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 402; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 536; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 227; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 568 n. 162; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 67.

⁸⁶ In LXX^v and MT Ezek 42:16–19, the four gates are listed according to different organizational schemes. The MT mentions the gates in terms of a descending order of holiness (east, north, south, and finally west), while LXX^v is more concerned with listing an order that can be easily traversed (east, north, west, and south). While Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 477 and Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 303–04 argue for the priority of the LXX reading here, most scholars have argued for or simply assumed the priority of the MT: Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 219; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 403; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 29; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 219; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 569; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel*, 549.

⁸⁷ If the reading סבב in vv. 17a and 18a is considered original (see n. 85), then this καὶ must also be considered original.

καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸν
καὶ περίβολον αὐτῷ κύκλῳ
πεντακοσίων πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς⁸⁹
καὶ πεντακοσίων πηγῶν εὐρος
τοῦ διαστέλλειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἁγίων

מדדו
חומה לו סביב סביב
ארך חמש מאות
ורחב חמש מאות
להבדיל בין הקדש

καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον⁹⁰ τοῦ προτειχίσματος
τοῦ ἐν διατάξει τοῦ οἴκου.

לחל

15 And the measuring of the house on
the inside was completed.

15 And he completed
measuring the inner
sanctuary

And he led me out by way of the gate

and he led me out by way of
the gate

that faces east.

that faces east.

And he measured the plan of the
house all around

And he measured it all
around.

in its arrangement.

16 And he stood to the back
of the gate that faces east

16 He measured the eastern
side

and he measured:

with the measuring reed:

500

500 reeds

by the measuring reed.

by the measuring reed

17 And he turned to the north

all around.

and he measured the space in front of

17 He measured the

⁸⁸ LXX^{v7} may have read ארבע רוחות קנה אחד (ל). Compare the reconstructed text of Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 476: מדה אחת ומדה אחת and Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 304: הפאות הארבע למדה אחת.

⁸⁹ LXX^v adds the phrase πρὸς / κατὰ ἀνατολᾶς elsewhere (cf. also 42:1, 20). Apparently this phrase took the place of the word ארך. Perhaps ארך became דרך הקדים in the course of transmission of LXX^v.

⁹⁰ Notice that LXX^v apparently uses the older expression בין...ובין, while MT employs the later בין...ל. Of course, it is impossible to be certain that the translator is rendering his source text literalistically (see chapter two above) but it seems likely. There is likely to have been an overlap in the period of time in which both expressions could be used with equal validity, and so it is impossible to infer the relative dating of each statement based solely on this criterion.

the north:
 500 cubits
 by the measuring reed.
 18 And he turned
 to the west
 And he measured
the space in front of the west:
 500
 by the measuring reed.
 19 And he turned to the south
 and he measured
facing the south:
 500
 by the measuring reed.
 20 The four were part
of the same reed.
 And he arranged it in order.
 And it had an enclosing wall around
it
 500 to the east
 and its length was 500 cubits
 to divide between the sanctuary
 and the trench⁹²
which is in the arrangement of the
house.

northern side:
 500 reeds
 by the measuring reed
 all around.
 18 And he measured
 the southern side:
 500 reeds
 by the measuring reed.
 19 And he turned to the
 west.
 He measured:
 500 reeds
 by the measuring reed.
 20 In the four directions⁹¹
 he measured it.
 It had a wall all around it.
 Its length was 500
 and its width was 500
 to divide between the sacred
 and profane.

Of these differences, those pertinent for the present purposes can be summarized as follows. 1) LXX^V supplies three objects, as well as an adverbial phrase, where MT has an absolute verbal form: a) τὸ ὑποδείγμα τοῦ οἴκου⁹³ (v. 15); b) τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βορρᾶ⁹⁴ (v. 17); c) τὸ

⁹¹ So NAB.

⁹² For justification of the translation “trench” for προτείχισμα, see below.

⁹³ LXX^V's reading of this phrase is debatable, given that ὑποδείγμα is used nowhere else in LXX Ezekiel. This term may reflect תבנית (translated with ὁμοίωμα in Ezek 8:3; 10:8 and more periphrastically at 8:10) or תכנית (rendered with διάταξις at 43:11 and by a different translator with ὁμοίωμα at Ezek 28:12). See Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 476.

κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς θαλάσσης⁹⁵ (v. 18); and d) κατέναντι τοῦ νότου.⁹⁶ 2) LXX Ezek 42:15–20 contains two pluses: ἐν διατάξει (42:15bβ)⁹⁷ and τοῦ ἐν διατάξει τοῦ οἴκου (42:20bβ)⁹⁸ that emphasize the arrangement of the temple. 3) LXX adds the phrase καὶ ἔστη κατὰ νότου τῆς πύλης⁹⁹ in v. 16.

1) The clarifications of three objects and one adverbial phrase in LXX Ezek 42:15–20 each correspond to the pattern of ἴδμ/ διαμετρέω used with an architectural feature.¹⁰⁰ Only outside of the temple description in Ezek 40:5–42:20 does the use of ἴδμ/ διαμετρέω for a simple measurement of distance appear.¹⁰¹ It seems that the supplying of the object in Ezek 42:18ba and 19ba results from this recognition that measuring distance, not architectural features, is unusual within the temple vision. LXX^V thus seeks to clarify which architectural features are in view. Moreover, the precision of the terminology, which specifies that the guide measures the space in front of (κατὰ πρόσωπον, κατέναντι) the southern and western walls but not the walls themselves, is noteworthy. As we will see from the discussion of LXX Ezek 41:6 (pp. 140–43 below), no one was permitted to come into contact with the walls of the temple or to cut into them, as can be inferred from the parallel temple description in

⁹⁴ LXX^V: אל פני הצפון. Generally in Ezek 40–48, κατὰ πρόσωπον is the rendering of אל-פני. See Ezek 41:4, 12, 14, 15, 21, 25; 42:10 [2x], 13. It is the rendering of לפנייהם in Ezek 42:11.

⁹⁵ LXX^V: אל פני הים.

⁹⁶ The corresponding phrase in LXX^V is debatable, since κατέναντι is not associated only with one hyponym in LXX Ezek 40–48, as is often the case with prepositions (see p. 38 above). On occasion it seems to reflect the intervention of the translator where he senses a problem with the description in his *Vorlage*, as in 41:13.

⁹⁷ LXX^{V2}: בתכנית. Διατάξις is the rendering of תכנית at Ezek 43:10, but could conceivably refer to another term (perhaps תבנית). See n. 93 above.

⁹⁸ LXX^{V2}: בתכנית הבית. See nn. 93, 97 above.

⁹⁹ LXX^V: ועמד אל הכתף השער. For the rendering of אל כתף with κατὰ νότου, see LXX Ezek 40:18, 40 [2x], 44 [2x]; 46:19. In LXX Ezek 40:41, it renders לכתף, while in Ezek 42:16 above it renders רוח.

¹⁰⁰ At 40:35, the object of διαμετρέω is implied. At 41:13, where MT supplies an object (את-הבית), LXX's different conception of the sanctuary forces the use of a prepositional phrase instead (κατέναντι τοῦ οἴκου; see Appendix A for details). At Ezek 41:26, MT and LXX both give an adverbial complement to the act of measuring. Elsewhere in LXX Ezek 40–48, there is always an object used with διαμετρέω: 40:5, 6, 11, 13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 32, 35, 47, 48; 41:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15, 26; 42:15; 45:3.

¹⁰¹ Ezek 45:3; 47:3, 4, 5.

1 Kgs 6:6. By measuring the space in front of the walls and not the walls themselves, the guide properly observes the restrictions of the sanctuary.

The insertion of the phrase corresponding to τὸ ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου in LXX^V can be explained through a desire to concretize more closely the pronominal suffix on ומדודו in MT Ezek 42:15bβ. As it stands in the MT, this suffix apparently refers to the “gate facing east” (השער אשר (פניו דרך הקדים), which seems to repeat measurements taken earlier. The supplementer of LXX^V here apparently wished to stress the arrangement of the complex as a whole, especially its outer components.

2) The pluses ἐν διατάξει (42:15bβ) and τοῦ ἐν διατάξει τοῦ οἴκου (42:20bβ) need to be considered together, since both use the same term (διατάξις) to stress the architectural plan of the house. If the hyponym of διατάξις in these verses is תכנית, as I have reconstructed, this provides an interesting parallel with the use of the same term in Ezek 43:10. Critics have commonly found Ezek 43:10–12 to represent a redactional seam in the present form of the prophet’s vision, and the same term (תכנית) is used in Ezek 43:10 in reference to the whole structure.¹⁰² If the proposed reconstruction holds, then תכנית would seem to be a common term in the later layers of the redaction of Ezekiel’s final vision.

However, the longer plus in 42:20bβ reveals more than the potential presence of a common redactional term. The methodology employed in this study would imply that this longer plus goes back to LXX^V, but its significance extends beyond this presumption. In Hebrew, the term חל could be subject to confusion between different pointings: חל (profane) and חל (rampart).¹⁰³ Προτείχισμα, by contrast, is perfectly comprehensible as part of the translator’s portrait of the

¹⁰² For discussion of the secondary nature of Ezek 43:10–12 (or alternatively of v. 12 alone), see Johannes Herrmann, *Ezechielstudien* (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1908), 52–53; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 39–43; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 237–38; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 418–20; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 555–56; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 250; Konkel, *Architektur des Heiligen*, 80–82; Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 308, 334. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 419–20 proposes that the תורת הבית in 43:12 refers to the holiness of the mountaintop, but this solution is too clever by half. The text is held as part of the original vision by Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 586–89.

¹⁰³ Compare Vul’s reading: *illud murum...dividentem inter sanctuarium et vulgi locum* (“that wall...dividing between the sanctuary and the public area”).

temple complex, which he introduced already at 40:5. Thus it is highly likely that this gloss entered at the level of the Hebrew *Vorlage* rather than through the Greek translator, since it clarifies the Hebrew text but does not help the sense of the Greek. As a result, this longer plus supports the methodological presumption that the translator was not prone to supplementing his source text.

If so, what is the significance of this gloss to the supplementer of LXX^V Ezek 42:15bβ and 42:20bβ? This problem becomes more acute in view of MT Ezek 44:23, where the priests are charged with instructing the people in the difference “between holy and profane” (בין קדש לחל), which the translator renders straightforwardly as ἀνὰ μέσον ἁγίου καὶ βεβήλου. This demonstrates that the translator’s understanding of the term חל in the sense of “profane” is not the problem.

The answer to the significance of the gloss resides in an appreciation of the larger context of Ezek 42:20bβ, especially in view of Ezek 43:12.

LXX Ezek 43:12

καὶ τῆν¹⁰⁴ διαγραφῆν¹⁰⁵ τοῦ οἴκου·
ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους

MT Ezek 43:12

זאת תורת הבית
על-ראש ההר

πάντα τὰ ὄρια αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν ἅγια
ἁγίω

כל גבולו סביב סביב קדש קדשים

¹⁰⁶הנה-זאת תורת הבית

¹⁰⁴ The translator misread זאת as וזאת: Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 480; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 475; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 411. For a similar situation, see Ezek 16:22 and Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24* (trans. R. E. Clements; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 326.

¹⁰⁵ Apparently LXX^V read וזאת. Ezek 43:11–12 contains massive evidence of confusion related to the word צורתו. Herrmann, *Ezekiel*, 262 proposed that in 43:11 the pair וכל-תורתו directly before הווע was a marginal gloss that had crept into the text. This marginal gloss wanted to change the meaningless וכל צורתו before וכל-חקתיו into a more natural counterpart: וכל-תורתו. This would also help to explain the later inexplicable repetition of צורתו. This suggestion is followed by Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 474–75. Tuell, *Law of the Temple*, 43 n. 64 holds that תורתו is the misplaced element, following Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, which does not read the first instance of תורתו, rendering it as וכל דחוי לה (“everything to which it is entitled,” as translated by Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel*, 117).

| | |
|---|--|
| And as for the diagram of the house | This is the Temple law. |
| on the mountain's summit: | On the top of the mountain, |
| all its borders all around are most holy. | its entire border all around is most holy. |
| | Behold! This is the temple law. |

In spite of the substantive differences between MT and LXX in their rendering of this verse, the portion that is significant for the present purpose is not contested. This verse states that all the borders of the mountain, in which the city is included (40:2), are most holy all around. Given that this level of sanctity conflicts with the non-sacred quality of the area outside of the temple in MT Ezek 42:20, many redaction-critics see 43:12 as a late addition.¹⁰⁷ While modern scholars sometimes solve this dilemma redactionally, LXX^V and its translator sought to solve it contextually. In Ezek 42:20b, the enclosing wall (*περίβολος*) does not divide between holy and profane, as in MT, but between the sanctuary (*ἅγια*)¹⁰⁸ and the outer trench (*προτείχισμα*). The sense of the plus in LXX^V Ezek 42:20bβ, which the translator rendered as τοῦ ἐν διατάξει τοῦ οἴκου, is that the consonants חל should be understood not as חול (profane), but חיל (rampart). In this, the interpretation in this plus is comparable to the rabbinic interpretive technique *'al tiqre'*. The translator then follows his source text by translating Ezek 42:20b not in terms of profaneness and holiness, but in terms of sacred architecture.

Such a sense for חיל can be illuminated by parallels in two Jewish works. In m. *Mid.* 2:3, חיל refers to a 10-cubit space inside the outer partition (סורג) which was broken on the eastern side by steps upward to enter the Women's Court (עזרת נשים).¹⁰⁹ This use of חיל

¹⁰⁶ This final phrase is often seen as secondary (Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 480; Herrmann, *Ezekiel*, 263; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 411; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 243). Other scholars defend it as original: Shemaryahu Talmon and Michael Fishbane, “The Structuring of Biblical Books: Studies in the Book of Ezekiel,” *ASTI* 10 (1975/76): 140–42; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 590; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 550.

¹⁰⁷ See n. 102 above.

¹⁰⁸ For the Hebrew hyponyms of ἅγιον, see Appendix C.

¹⁰⁹ See the helpful diagram in Philip Blackman, *Mishnayot Volume 4: Order Kodashim* (New York: Judaica Press, 1984), 568.

reflects concern to divide the sanctuary from its surroundings, but the חיל is not placed at the outermost border of the sanctuary as in LXX Ezek 40:5 and 42:20. A closer parallel can be discovered in 11Q19 46:9–10, in which חיל is envisioned as space outside the temple complex proper that divides it from its surroundings.¹¹⁰

9 ועשיתה חיל סביב למקדש רחב מאה באמה אשר יהיה
 10 מבדיל בין מקדש הקודש לעיר ולוא יהיו באים בלע אל תוך
 11 מקדשי ולוא יחללוהו וקדשו את מקדשי ויראו ממקדשי
 12 אשר אנוכי שוכן בתוכמה *vacat*

9 And you will make a trench¹¹¹ around the temple, 100 cubits wide, which will be
 10 dividing the holy sanctuary from the city, lest they enter suddenly into the midst
 11 of my sanctuary and defile it. They will consecrate my temple and fear my temple
 12 where¹¹² I am dwelling in their midst.

Both the Temple Scroll and m. *Middot* use חיל as an intervening space that separates holy areas from encroachment. The purpose of the trench, firm maintenance of cultic boundaries, is made explicit in the Temple Scroll: the trench exists “lest they enter suddenly into the midst of my sanctuary and defile it” (יחללוהו). The hyperbolic measurement of the trench in the Temple Scroll (100 cubits) underscores the importance of this intervening space. In LXX^v Ezek 42:20, the same need is apparent and is resolved through an application of the identical term (חיל), originally used in a military context, to serve a cultic function.

3) What should be made of the plus *καὶ ἔσθη κατὰ ὧτος* in v. 16? Like the additions already surveyed, this supplement clarifies that the guide is not directly touching the walls, but instead is standing

¹¹⁰ The text is from Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 198; the translation is my own.

¹¹¹ For a defense of the translation of חיל as “trench” or “fosse,” see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:274–75.

¹¹² Yadin translates אשר in this clause as “because” rather than “where.” I have opted for the sense “where” based on the parallels in Num 5:3 and Ezek 43:7.

some distance behind the east gate when he begins the process of measurement. One more piece of evidence establishes the importance of distance from the holy, even on the part of the guide.

In sum, LXX^V summarizes the temple complex in a way that elevates the need for separation from its holy structures to a greater degree even than the MT. The guide is not permitted to come into contact with the structure of the outer walls. Moreover, the potential distinction between holy and profane areas, such as represented by MT Ezek 42:20, is excluded, since Ezek 43:12 precludes the existence of such areas.

Ezek 44:24 and Capital Cases

LXX Ezek 44:24

καὶ ἐπὶ κρίσιν αἵματος
οὗτοι ἐπιστήσονται τοῦ διακρινεῖν·
τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι¹¹⁴
καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου κρινοῦσι
καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου καὶ τὰ προστάγματά
μου
ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἑορταῖς μου φυλάσσονται
καὶ τὰ σάββατά μου ἀγιάσουσι.

MT Ezek 44:24

ועל-ריב
¹¹³המה יעמדו לשפט

¹¹⁵במשפטי ישפטוהו
ואת-תורתִי ואת-חקתי
בכל-מועדי ישמרו
ואת-שבֹתותִי יקדשו

¹¹³ Reading with MT^K, on the basis of LXX Syr Tg.

¹¹⁴ It is unclear at first whether MT במשפטי ישפטוהו corresponds to τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι or to καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου κρινοῦσι. One common rendering of משפט in LXX Ezekiel is with δικαίωμα (Ezek 5:6 [2x], 7 [2x]; 11:20; 18:9; 20:11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25). Δικαίωμα also renders שפט in Ezek 5:10, 15; 11:9; 28:22, 26; 30:19. On the other hand, another common rendering of משפט in LXX Ezekiel is with κρίμα (Ezek 5:8; 7:27; 18:5, 8, 27; 22:29; 23:24 [2x]; 33:14, 16, 19; 34:16; 36:27; 45:9). Δικαίω in LXX Ezekiel renders Hebrew צדק (Ezek 16:51, 52 [2x]) or בחן (Ezek 21:13 [18 MT]), unlike the term שפט in MT, which usually corresponds to ἐκδικέω (Ezek 7:27; 16:38; 20:4; 23:24, 45) or κρίνω (Ezek 7:8; 11:10, 11; 18:30; 20:36; 21:30 [35 MT]; 22:2; 23:36; 24:14; 33:20; 34:22; 35:11; 36:19; 38:22). Thus while it is possible that MT במשפטי ישפטוהו corresponds to τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι in LXX, the general use of κρίνω to render שפט makes it more likely to correspond to καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου κρινοῦσι. Based on the parallel nature of the clauses and their normal translation-equivalents, we may provide a tentative reconstruction of LXX^{V7} for τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι as שפטי יצדיקו. This judgment is a question of potentiality rather than certitude.

¹¹⁵ Reading with MT^Q, as witnessed by LXX Tg.

And concerning a capital case:
[the Zadokites] will stand to judge *it*.

They will decide my statutes justly
and hold fast to my judgments.

And they will keep my teachings and
my statutes
at all my feasts
and they will sanctify my Sabbaths.

And concerning a case:
[the Zadokites] will stand to
judge *it*.

They will hold fast to my
judgments.

And they will keep my
teachings and statutes
at all my feasts
and they will sanctify my
Sabbaths.

This charge to the Zadokites comes in the midst of a long divine speech excoriating the Levites for their unfaithfulness and granting the responsibility for significant judicial activity to the Zadokites alone. There are two major divergences between LXX and MT of this verse, both of which are pluses in LXX: *αἵματος* and *τὰ δικαιώματά μου δικαιώσουσι*. While according to MT, all disputes come under the judgment of the Zadokite priests, the LXX stresses their role in arbitrating capital cases. LXX^V Ezek 44:24 is analogous to Deut 17:8 and 2 Chron 19:10.

Deut 17:8 כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט בין-בין לדם בין-דין לדין ובין נגע לנגע
דברי ריבת בשעריך וקמת ועלית אל-המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך בו

If a case is too difficult for you, whether a capital case, civil case, or assault—disputes in your settlements—you will arise and go to the place where the Lord your God will choose...

2 Chron 19:10 וכל-ריב אשר-יבוא עליכם מאחיכם הישבים בעריהם בין-בין לדם בין-תורה למצוה לחקים ולמשפטים והזהרתם אתם ולא יאשמו ליהוה והיה-קצף עליכם ועל-אחיכם כה תעשון ולא תאשמו

And any dispute that may arise for you [i.e. the priests and Levites] from your brothers who live in their cities—whether a capital case, or ritual, or ordinances, precepts, or statutes, you will warn them so that they do not incur guilt before the Lord and wrath does not come upon you and your brothers. Act this way, so that they do not incur guilt.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ See NJPS here.

In its mention of capital cases (ועל ריב דם), LXX^V Ezek 44:24 may be alluding to the pentateuchal legislation found in Deut 17:8.¹¹⁷ According to Deuteronomy, difficult cases of bloodshed (בין דם לדם), lawsuits (בין דין לדין) and assaults (וברין נגע לנגע) are to be presented to the Levitical priests and the judge.¹¹⁸ Like Deuteronomy, 2 Chr 19:10 aims to put the priestly and Levitical authorities in charge of all types of ritual, civil, and judicial legislation.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, LXX^V Ezek 44:24 is unique in reserving the decisions in capital cases for Zadokites, not to the Levites and priests (Deut 17:9; 2 Chr 19:8–10), thus emphasizing Zadokite privilege. While they disagree in who is competent to judge, however, both 2 Chr 19:8–11 and LXX^V Ezek 44:24 are comparable in their development of the term דם from Deut 17:11 as a summary term for significant cases.

However, the reconstructed reading of LXX^V (ריב דם) does not appear in MT Deut 17:8, which instead speaks of a “juridical matter” (דבר למשפט). For this reason, the supplement cannot be considered a simple transfer of wording from Deuteronomy. As a result, we must contend with the possibility that the supplementer is merely clarifying his text without reference to the Pentateuch, as seems to have happened in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and other versions.¹²⁰ Yet the close proximity of adjudicating serious cases to the requirement for priestly instruction in Deuteronomy, Chronicles and Ezekiel strengthens the likelihood that LXX^V Ezek 44:24 may in fact be alluding to Deuteronomy. Like the Deuteronomic legislation, Ezekiel’s mention of these cases comes in the context of the priestly mandate to teach the people (Ezek 44:23; Deut 17:11). Like these two texts, 2 Chr 19:10 also emphasizes the need for priestly instruction of those who come to them for arbitration. Thus, the closeness in

¹¹⁷ Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 488.

¹¹⁸ For the sense of bloodshed, civil lawsuits and assaults as a summary for all aspects of criminal and civil law, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 164, and the scholars cited there.

¹¹⁹ The pile-up of terms for legal and moral ordinances in 2 Chr 19:10 (תורה, מצוה, חוק, and משפט) also mirrors the profusion of such terms in Ezek 44:24.

¹²⁰ Tg Ezek 44:24 understands the judgment as putting the divine will into practice (בדיני רעותי דינונון). Syr does not offer an opinion of what this judgment consists (ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܝܢܘܢܘܢ); nor does Vul (*et cum controversia stabunt in iudiciis meis*). Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 492 and Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 113 seem to support the possibility that LXX^V Ezek 44:23 is independent of the Pentateuch here.

terminology between LXX^v Ezek 44:24 and Deut 17:8 (both mentioning $\sqrt{\text{ריב}}$ and דם), coupled with the proximity of the discussion of priestly judging to instructions about priestly teaching in both texts, makes it likely that the supplement in Ezekiel alludes to the Pentateuch. 2 Chronicles 19:10 represents a parallel development of the instruction in Deuteronomy, though of course without Ezekiel's interest in the exclusive rights of the Zadokites, but with a similar interest in the comprehensiveness of priestly authority. Perhaps it was such an interest in completeness that motivated the addition of שפטי יצדיקו (?) in LXX^v Ezek 44:24.

Ezekiel 45:14–15 and the Tithe

The pressing need for sacrificial animals is filled in Ezekiel's vision by the prince (נשיא), who supplies them through a tax on his subjects. Three kinds of taxes are to be collected by the prince for sacred use: cereals (v. 13), oil (v. 14), and livestock (v. 15), all of which reflect the participation of the people in the cult.¹²¹ While the tax on cereals is equivalent in the MT and the LXX, the tax on oil and livestock is much higher in the LXX.

LXX Ezek 45:14–15

14 καὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ ἐλαίου·
κοτύλην ἐλαίου ἀπὸ δέκα κοτυλῶν,

ὅτι αἱ δέκα κοτύλαι εἰσὶ γομορ.

MT Ezek 45:14–15

14 וחק השמן
הבת השמן¹²² מעשר הבת
מן-הכר¹²³ עשרת הבתים חמר¹²⁴
כי-עשרת הבתים חמר¹²⁵

¹²¹ Kasher, *Ezekiel*, 882.

¹²² The phrase הבת השמן was often deleted as a gloss by the older commentators (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 493; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 330; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 70; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 251). Since it is witnessed by the LXX, more recent commentators have tended to retain it (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 474; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 240; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 657 n. 51; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 144).

¹²³ מן-הכר was not rendered by the translator, and was presumably not found in his *Vorlage*. It is conceivable that the original reading of הכר at the end of the verse (see n. 125 below) was mistakenly placed here and integrated into the context.

¹²⁴ Many scholars eliminate עשרת הבתים חמר as a dittography: Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 493; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 330; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 70; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 474. For a different explanation of the origin of this phrase, see Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 247.

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 15 καὶ πρόβατον | 15 ושה-אחת |
| <u>ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα προβάτων</u> ¹²⁶ | <u>מז-הצאן מז-המאתים</u> |
| ἀφαίρεμα ¹²⁷ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πατριῶν ¹²⁸ τοῦ | ממשקה ¹²⁹ ישראל |
| Ἰσραηλ | |
| εἰς θυσίας | למנחה |
| καὶ εἰς ὄλοκαυτώματα | ולעולה |
| καὶ εἰς σωτηρίου ¹³⁰ | ולשלמים |
| τοῦ ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ ὑμῶν ¹³¹ | לכפר עליהם |
| λέγει κύριος. | נאם יהוה אלהים |

¹²⁵ Here Vul attests הכר, not חמר, which seems to fit the context better, because the כר is a liquid measure, while the חמר is a dry one (Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 658 n. 53; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 474). Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 145, denies that this distinction remains valid.

¹²⁶ LXX^V: ושה מעשר הצאן. The mem of מעשר is translated as if from מז, but in reality constitutes part of the word. This translation of מעשר can be observed in the preceding verse.

¹²⁷ LXX^V: ישראל. תרומה מכל משפחות ישראל (reconstructed in this way also by Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 494; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 330). The term ἀφαίρεμα is only used one other time in Ezekiel, where it refers to the choice part of the first-fruits contributions to the priests, and has the hyponym תרומה in 44:30. Though this term appears only once in Ezekiel, ἀφαίρεμα is the most common rendering for תרומה in the Pentateuch as well (Exod 29:27, 28 [2x]; 35:5, 21, 24 [2x]; 36:3; Lev 7:4 [MT 14], 22 [MT 32], 24 [MT 34]; 10:14, 15; Num 6:20; 15:19, 20 [2x], 21; 18:19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29; 31:41, 52). Ἀφαίρεμα also renders תנופה (Exod 35:23 [MT 22]; 39:7 [MT 38:29]; Lev 8:27; 9:21), מלאה (Num 18:27) and נדבה (Exod 25:29), but there is no reason to suppose the uses of such terms in LXX^V Ezekiel here. Much more commonly, תרומה is translated as ἀπαρχή in LXX Ezekiel (44:30; 45:1, 6, 7 [2x], 13, 16; 48:8, 9, 10, 12 [2x], 18 [2x], 20 [2x], 21 [2x]). The alternation between ἀπαρχή and ἀφαίρεμα in LXX Ezek 45:13–14 thus represents a distinction drawn by his translator and not by his source text.

¹²⁸ The hyponym of the term πατριῶν in LXX^V seems to have been משפחה, as is commonly recognized (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 494; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 475; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 247; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 658 n. 55) Such a rendering of משפחה occurs in Jer 2:4; 3:14; 25:9; Ps 21 [MT 22]:27; 95 [MT 96]:7; 106 [MT 107]:41.

¹²⁹ The traditional reading of MT here is ממשקה, retained by Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 658 n. 55. Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 70 n. 1 following Grätz, suggests emendation to ממקנה, which is taken up by BHS, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 475; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 568; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel 20–48*, 598.

¹³⁰ For the significance of the solecism of the genitive case following εἰς, see pp. 148–49 below.

¹³¹ LXX OL^W read the second person, in keeping with the idea that the expiation is on behalf of the priests, while in the MT the expiation is on behalf of Israel.

14 And the ordinance of oil:
a liquid measure (kotule) from ten
measures (kotules)

since ten measures are a homer.¹³³

15 And a sheep
from ten sheep

will be a contribution from all the
tribes of Israel.¹³⁴

It will serve as sacrifices

and as burnt offerings
and as sacrifices of well-being

to atone for you
says the Lord.

14 The standard of oil—
measured in baths¹³²—is a
tenth of a bath
from a kor. Ten baths are a
homer.

Indeed, ten baths are a
homer!

15 And one sheep
from the flock, from two
hundred

will be from the pasture of
Israel.

It will serve as cereal
offerings¹³⁵

and as burnt offerings
and as sacrifices of well-
being

to atone for you—
an oracle of the Lord God.

The tax on oil in the MT is 1% of the total product (one-tenth of a bath, ten of which make a homer or a cor). In the LXX, this proportion is increased to 10% (one of every ten liquid measures). While MT Ezek 45:15 requires a modest half-percent contribution on livestock, the LXX again demands a tithe. Many interpreters contend that this increased tax in the LXX reflects the pentateuchal demand for a tithe.¹³⁶ It is much more likely that scribes would change the

¹³² For this translation, see Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 657 and Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 247. The phrase הַבַּת הַשֶּׁמֶן is appositional.

¹³³ See the translation in Huber, “Iezekiel,” *NETS*, 982.

¹³⁴ Following the retroversion in n. 126 above, we could render LXX^v: “As for sheep, a tithe of the flock will be the contribution for all the tribes of Israel.”

¹³⁵ For the translation of the singular forms of sacrifices in MT as plural, see Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 658 and Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 240.

¹³⁶ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 493–94 deems LXX here a “Correctur nach dem pentateuchischen Zehntengebote.” See also Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 330; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 507; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 474; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 568; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 240; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 145. Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, 283 holds out the possibility that MT’s reading is a corruption.

idiosyncratic readings in MT Ezek 45:14–15 to the tithe in the LXX than that they should supply those idiosyncratic readings themselves. However, the language reconstructed in LXX^V Ezek 45:15 has no exact parallel in any other text in the Hebrew Bible. On the other hand, this verse does have close intertexts in Lev 27:32 and Deut 12:17.¹³⁷

LXX^V Ezek 45:15 וְשֵׁה מַעֲשֵׂר הַצֹּאן תְּרוּמָה מִכָּל מִשְׁפְּחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל

As for sheep, a tithe of the flock will be the contribution from all the clans of Israel.

Lev 27:32 וְכָל-מַעֲשֵׂר בְּקָר וּצֹאן...יִהְיֶה-קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה

And every tithe of the herd and of the flock...will be holy to the Lord.

Deut 12:17 לֹא-תֹכֵל לֶאֱכֹל בְּשַׁעֲרֵיךָ מַעֲשֵׂר דֹגָן וְתִירְשֶׁךָ וַיְצַהֲרֶךָ וּבִכְרַת בְּקֶרֶךָ וּצְאֲנֶךָ וְכָל-גֹּדְרֶךָ אֲשֶׁר תִּדְר וְנִדְבַתֶּיךָ וְתִרְוַמֶת יָדְךָ

¹³⁷ Intertextuality has become a heading for quite a few significant ways of approaching biblical interpretation, since it recognizes and celebrates the manifold connections interpreters have always recognized within the text itself. Originating in the work of literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, who addressed the question of the linkage of texts in his discussion of the novel (*The Dialogic Imagination* [ed. Michael Holquist; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981], 259–422), the term *intertextuality* was refined and expanded by Julia Kristeva to emphasize that texts exist in relationship to other texts (*Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* [New York: Columbia Press, 1980]; idem, *La révolution du langage poétique* [Collections Tel Quel; Paris: Éditions du Seuil: 1974]). Other literary critics widened the scope of intertextuality still further to the extent that text encompasses the whole of sensate experience and the potential intersections of these texts are legion, but the reader constructs his or her own meaning out of the connections available (Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy* [trans. Alan Bass; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982]; Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1975]; Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* [trans. Stephen Heath; New York: Hill and Wang, 1977]). Within these structuralist and semiotic critical methods, intertextuality becomes a method of deconstructing literature (G. R. O'Day, "Intertextuality," *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, 1:547). Nor does this abbreviated summary capture the variety of methods and levels of intertextuality practiced today by literary and biblical critics. James E. Brenneman, *Canons in Conflict: Negotiating Texts in True and False Prophecy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17–25 discusses five relationships indicated by intertextuality: "reality itself, syntax, (con)text, process and reader" (17). See also James A. Sanders, "Intertextuality and Dialogue," *Explorations* 7 (1993): 4–5 and Yohan Pyeon, *You Have Not Spoken What is Right about Me: Intertextuality and the Book of Job* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 51–54.

You will not be able to eat the tithe of your cereals, of your new wine or your fresh oil, or the first fruits of your herd and your flock, or any of the vows that you vow, or your freewill offerings, or your contributions in your settlements.

LXX^v Ezek 45:15 shares two terms in common with Lev 27:32 (מעשר and צאן) and three with Deut 12:17 (מעשר, צאן, and תרומה). Thus while these two pentateuchal texts can be considered close intertexts with LXX^v Ezek 45:15, the relationship is not close enough to constitute transfer of wording.

As a result, it is worth considering the possibility that the secondary readings in LXX^v Ezek 45:14–15 also reflect the influence of the Law of the King (1 Sam 8:15–17). Kasher noted that the Law of the King resembled MT Ezek 45:13–15 in that both texts see a political ruler imposing taxes on grains (Ezek 45:13; 1 Sam 8:15), produce from trees (oil in Ezek 45:14; vineyards in 1 Sam 8:15), and livestock (Ezek 45:15; 1 Sam 8:17).¹³⁸ The resemblance between LXX Ezek 45:13–15 is even stronger than the Law of the King's similarity to MT Ezek 45:13–15, as both the Law of the King and LXX Ezek 45:14–15 call for the gift of a tithe to a ruler on the produce of trees (oil and wine) and on livestock. Shared vocabulary can be seen from the following.

LXX^v Ezek 45:15 וְשֵׂה מַעֲשֵׂר הַצֹּאן תְּרוּמָה מִכֹּל מִשְׁפְּחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל

As for sheep, a tithe of the flock will be the contribution from all the clans of Israel

1 Sam 8:17 וְצֹאֲנֵכֶם יַעֲשֶׂר וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ לוֹ לְעֲבָדִים

He will take a tithe of your flocks, and you will be his slaves.

Both 1 Sam 8:17 and LXX^v Ezek 45:15 have two terms in common: צאן and the root עשר. Like Lev 27:32 and Deut 12:17, then, 1 Sam 8:17 can be considered an intertext with LXX^v Ezek 45:15, although no transfer of wording is present. It is possible that 1 Sam 8:17 also influenced the supplement in LXX^v Ezek 45:15. If the supplementer in this case, as in the previous one, envisioned the prince as a priestly figure, perhaps an allusion to the Law of the King would have exploited its anti-monarchic sentiments. While ultimately it is difficult to be certain if the Law of the King was in the

¹³⁸ Kasher, *Ezekiel*, 882.

supplementer’s mind or not, LXX^V Ezek 45:14–15 gives evidence for a growth in priestly authority reflected in the tithe on oil and livestock, and perhaps also in the allusion to the anti-monarchic sentiments of the Law of the King.

Mention should also be made of the reading in LXX^V Ezek 45:15aβ (תְּרוּמָה מִכָּל מִשְׁפַּחֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל). Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with Cornill that this reading possesses “authentic Hebrew coloring” and is thus original.¹³⁹ If the reading in LXX^V were original, it would be difficult to determine why it was changed to the enigmatic reading in MT. Rather, LXX^V’s reading derives from its reading of the immediate context, and essentially repeats the information in the next verse (Ezek 45:16), adding the important qualification that this tax is to be paid from the clans (מִשְׁפָּחָה). The rarity of the term מִשְׁפָּחָה in Ezekiel (used only in Ezek 20:32) suggests it reflects the use of this term in P, especially in genealogies.¹⁴⁰ Here again, LXX^V provides a smoother text with the help of pentateuchal analogues.

Ezekiel 45:18–20

LXX Ezek 45:18–20

18 Τάδε λέγει κύριος¹⁴¹

Ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνί¹⁴²

μῆνα τοῦ μηνός

λήμψεσθε¹⁴³ μόσχον ἐκ βοῶν ἄμμωμον

MT Ezek 45:18–20

18 כה-אמר אדני אלהים

בראשון

באחד לחדש

תקח פר-בן-בקר תמים

¹³⁹ *Ezekiel*, 494. Cornill described this phrase as having “echt hebraeischem Colorit.”

¹⁴⁰ Exod 6:14, 15, 17, 19, 24, 25; 12:21; Lev 20:5; 25:10, 41, 45, 47, 49; Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42; 2:34; 3:15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 39; 4:2, 18, 22, 24, 28, 29, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46; 11:10; 26:5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57, 58; 27:1, 4, 11; 33:54; 36:1, 6, 8, 12.

¹⁴¹ For the differences in LXX and MT regarding the divine name, see chapter 1. It is highly uncertain what names the earliest translators encountered in their source text, and even more uncertain how they rendered what they found. Although I generally follow Ziegler’s reconstruction of the divine names, this is more an acknowledgement of the state of the evidence than an endorsement of his proposals, which often lack significant manuscript support.

¹⁴² A further example of the relative fullness in dates in LXX compared to MT (Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 8–9).

| | |
|--|--|
| τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον. ¹⁴⁴ | וחטאת את-המקדש |
| 19 καὶ λήμψεται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐξιλασμοῦ | 19 ולקח הכהן מדם החטאת |
| καὶ δώσει ἐπὶ τὰς φλιάς τοῦ οἴκου | ונתן ¹⁴⁵ אל-מזוזת הבית ¹⁴⁶ |
| καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ¹⁴⁷ | ואל-ארבע פנות העזרה |
| καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον | למזבח |
| καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς φλιάς τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐσωτέρας. | ועל-מזוזת שער ¹⁴⁸ החצר הפנימית |
| 20 καὶ οὕτως ποιήσεις ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνί | 20 וכן תעשה בשבעה |
| <u>μιᾷ</u> τοῦ μηνός | בחדש |
| <u>λήμψη</u> παρ' ἐκάστου ἀπόμοιραν | <u>מאיש שנה ומפתי</u> |
| καὶ ἐξιλάσεσθε τὸν οἶκον. | וכפרתם את-הביה |
| 18 Thus says the Lord: "In the first month on the first of the month | 18 Thus says the Lord God: in the first <i>month</i> on the first of the month |

¹⁴³ Most see LXX as a secondary harmonizing reading referring to the priests (as in 43:18–27) rather than Ezekiel (e.g. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 480). LXX harmonizes the second singular in 45:18–20a with the second plural in Ezek 45:20b–21 (Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 247; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 660 n. 3; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 160) and so represents the *lectio facilior* (Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 507; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 253; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 76; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 603). Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 494; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 330, 333; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 160 accept LXX's reading as original. For the difficulty of making these determinations, see pp. 36–37 above.

¹⁴⁴ A rare example of the translation of a finite verb with the Greek infinitive. See p. 47 above.

¹⁴⁵ While MT points מוזה as a singular noun, the versions (LXX Syr Vul) take it correctly as plural (Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 507; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 160; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 253; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 75 n. 3; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 480; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 660 n. 4). Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 247 suggests the MT has been influenced by 46:2. Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 603 accepts the MT's reading but takes it as a collective singular.

¹⁴⁶ An example of the common exchange of אל and על in Ezekiel.

¹⁴⁷ For the rationale for LXX's translation here, see pp. 154–55 below.

¹⁴⁸ Occasionally the singular שער is emended to a plural (Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 160; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 253). Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 603 again understand the term as a collective singular. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 480; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 241; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 660 n. 6 retain MT's singular reading.

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>you will take a spotless bull from the cattle to purge the sanctuary. 19 And the priest will take some of the blood of the propitiation and he will place <i>it</i> on the doorposts of the house and on the four corners of the propitiatory and on the altar and on the doorposts of the gate of the inner courtyard. 20 And you will do thus in the seventh <u>month</u> on the <u>first of the month</u>: <u>you will take a portion from each</u> <u>one</u> and you will purge the house.</p> | <p>you will take a spotless bull from the cattle and you will purge the sanctuary. 19 And the priest will take some of the blood of the purification offering and he will place <i>it</i> on the doorposts of the house and on the four corners of the ledge of the altar and on the doorposts of the gate of the inner courtyard. 20 And you will do thus on the seventh <u>day</u> <u>in the month</u> <u>for anyone who sins</u> <u>inadvertently and for the fool</u> and you will purge the house.</p> |
|---|---|

Ezekiel 45:20 is a *locus classicus* in the history of scholarship on the Hebrew Bible. Wellhausen famously accepted the reading of LXX Ezek 45:20 $\alpha\alpha$ as representing an original biannual purgation of the sanctuary in the course of his argument for the post-exilic date of P.¹⁴⁹ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, scholars tended to follow Wellhausen in accepting the priority of LXX's reading in Ezek 45:20 $\alpha\alpha$.¹⁵⁰ Following Gese's programmatic research on Ezek 40–48, however, scholars have begun to retain MT as representing the older reading.¹⁵¹ Gese argued that

¹⁴⁹ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 110.

¹⁵⁰ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 494; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 334; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 254. Gustav Hölscher, *Hesekiel: Der Dichter und das Buch: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924), 202 n. 2 charged MT with changing its text so as to agree with the date in Lev 16. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 502 agrees with Hölscher.

¹⁵¹ Often those who argue for the priority of MT emend בחדש to לחדש: Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 77–78; followed by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 480; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 569; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 247; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 661 n. 7. Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 161 notes that בחדש can be used in place of לחדש where the month was mentioned shortly before (Num 10:11; Ezra 10:9).

MT pictured the purgation as lasting seven days, with the rites from the first day of the first month repeated on the seventh day of that month. Konkel adds that the reading in LXX can be entirely derived from the text in MT: **שדח** was interpreted in the sense of “new moon” and so interpreted as referring to the first day of the month.¹⁵² The elliptical use of the ordinal adjective to designate the month without the accompanying noun **שדח** appears in MT Ezek 45:18, two verses earlier. When added to Gese’s observation that LXX tends to supplement incomplete information about the month in date formulae,¹⁵³ the evidence is fairly clear that LXX is secondary, and the motivation for the change is an attempt at clarification. It is significant that the scribe responsible for such changes was prepared to introduce further variation from pentateuchal law into Ezekiel’s vision in an effort to clarify what he thought Ezekiel meant.

A second, equally fascinating, variant reading in LXX Ezek 45:20aβ concerns the gifts made to purify the temple: *λήμιση παρ’ ἐκάστου ἀπόμοιραν*.¹⁵⁴ Like the divergence in LXX^V Ezek 45:20aα, it is a demonstrably secondary attempt to make sense of a cryptic earlier text, preserved in MT.¹⁵⁵ Zimmerli suggests that this editing “tries to

¹⁵² Ibid. For **שדח** in the sense of “new moon,” see the references in *HALOT*, “שדח,” 294.

¹⁵³ Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 8–9 n. 1, citing Ezek 26:1; 32:7; 40:1.

¹⁵⁴ The *Vorlage* for LXX’s reading is debated and uncertain. Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 494 reconstructs LXX^V as **פח מאיש נשא**, apparently intending **נשא** to be understood as an infinitive construct, which is graphically likely (i.e. liable to be produced through misreading the consonantal text of the proto-MT). However, it is difficult to evaluate Cornill’s reading without more information, since the term *ἀπόμοιρα* is used only here in the Greek Bible. **פח** is not used in MT Ezekiel, and so it is difficult to know how the translator would have handled it. One could object to Cornill’s reconstruction based on his assumption that the translator would render **נשא** in the future tense, as well as the fact that the translator renders the term in the second person singular. Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 334 postulates a somewhat different *Vorlage* for LXX (**ויקה מאיש מנתו**), given his thesis that *ποιήσεις* should be read instead as *ποιήσει*. Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 661 n. 9 suggests **פח מאיש לוקח פח** for LXX^V. My sense of the translator’s penchant for preserving word order suggests an alternative reconstruction of the *Vorlage* (LXX^V: **תשא מאיש פח**). The caveat of Emanuel Tov, that such a *Vorlage* may have existed nowhere in the translator’s mind, should not be forgotten (*The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 88).

¹⁵⁵ The sense of MT has been much debated, as a glance at the commentaries will show. Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 663 understands it as extending “the possibility of atonement for all unwitting sin.” It is indeed interesting, as Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 266 and others have noted, that the adytum is not included in the places to be purged of

provide an explanation for the duty of regular atonement for the sanctuary along the lines of what is said in Lev 4:13; Nu 15:22.”¹⁵⁶ These texts detail the responsibility of the community in inadvertent sin, but neither is formulated in language particularly close to LXX^V Ezek 45:20aβ. What is common to these texts and LXX^V is the conviction that the entire community, not just those who sin unintentionally or the unwise, must participate in the sacrifice. It is thus likely that the mention of the “portion” (ἀπόμοιρα) alludes to the tithe payable to the prince in Ezek 45:13–15, a few verses earlier. In other words, the unclear text in MT Ezek 45:20aβ was changed in LXX^V in light of the requirement to pay tax to the prince, which is mentioned in the near context. The possibility that this interpretation is presupposed by the translator at least is supported by the use of ἀπόμοιρα in Ptolemaic tax codes.¹⁵⁷ Thus, in this instance, contextual reasoning seems to have provided the impetus for the smoother reading in LXX^V.

Conclusion

It is hard to avoid the impression that much of the “new” material analyzed has the effect of strengthening the social position of the Zadokites. Thus, they serve as judges in capital cases (44:23). If the prince is regarded as a priestly figure in LXX^V Ezek 40–48, his receipt of the tithe (45:14–15) would also provide evidence that the Zadokites were advancing significant claims to power. Moreover, LXX Ezek 42:15–20 reflects an escalated conception of the temple’s holiness, so that it may not even be touched by Ezekiel’s guide. The sacred space in the LXX^V is twice the area of that in the MT (41:4). Disposal of sacrificial effluence is facilitated by a drain in the inner north gate (40:38–40). In light of the concern of this “new” material with sacred areas and with Zadokite exclusivity, it is possible that at

impurity. This may hold an important clue for Ezekiel’s readers that the sins that brought about the first exile would not be capable of impinging on the second.

¹⁵⁶ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 480.

¹⁵⁷ See *OGIS* 1.55 and B. P. Grenfell, *The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), XXVII.3, 17; XXVIII.13; XXX.18, 20, 21; XXXI.1, 3, 17, 30. See also XXV.4–16, which shows that ἀπόμοιρα was a well-known term for the share payable by cultivators to the central Ptolemaic authority by way of the tax-farmers.

least some of these pluses in LXX^V represent the work of Zadokite supplementers. Though this remains only a hypothesis, it does not seem to be an unreasonable one.

PASTICHE

The best example of a pastiche in LXX^V Ezek 40–48 is the expanded description of the return of the divine glory in LXX Ezek 43:2–3. The four pluses in these verses all reflect a similar background, and so are best treated together.

LXX Ezek 43:2–3

2 και ἰδοὺ δόξα θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ
ἦρχετο κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης¹⁵⁸
τῆς βλεπούσης πρὸς ἀνατολάς,
και φωνή τῆς παρεμβολῆς¹⁵⁹
ὡς φωνῆ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν,¹⁶⁰
και ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος¹⁶¹
ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης κυκλόθεν.
3 και ἡ ὄρασις, ἣν εἶδον,

MT Ezek 43:2–3

והנה כבוד אלהי ישראל
בא מדרך
הקדים
וקולו
קקול מים רבים
והארץ האירה
מכבוד
וכמראה¹⁶² אשר ראיתי

¹⁵⁸ The reading of LXX^V reflects the normal designation of the east gate as השער אשר יהיה דרך הקדימה in Ezek 40:6; 42:15; 43:1, 4 (in 43:4 without the article on שער). See pp. 77–78 above.

¹⁵⁹ LXX^V: וקול המחנה. Cf. MT Ezek 1:24 and the discussion below. In Ezek 4:2, the only other occurrence of מחנה in Ezekiel, it is likewise translated with παρεμβολή. Tg might also have the heavenly camp in view (וקל מברכי שמה).

¹⁶⁰ LXX^V: כקול שנים רבים, as advocated by Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 478; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 407 and Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 305. Johan Lust, “Exegesis and Theology in the Septuagint of Ezekiel: The Longer ‘Pluses’ and Ezek 43:1–9,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 214, 229 n. 39 prefers ממרבים, adducing Asclepiodotus, *Tactics*, 10.17,18 as a parallel. Διπλασιάζω is only used elsewhere in LXX at Ezek 21:14 [MT 21:19], where its hyponym is כפלל, and it describes the doubling of the avenging divine sword. שנים seems a more likely choice than כפלים given the context of the praise of the heavenly beings.

¹⁶¹ LXX^V: והארץ האירה כנגה. Where extant in LXX Ezekiel, נגה is always rendered by φέγγος (Ezek 1:4a, 13, 27, 28; 10:4). Cf. also Ezek 1:4b, where this term is not extant in MT but was probably in LXX^V.

¹⁶² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 407–08 considers the beginning of MT Ezek 43:3 to be “overloaded” and suggests that this state originated from a dittography of אשר כמראה

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| that faces east. | of the east |
| And the <u>sound of the camp</u> | And <u>its sound</u> |
| was like the sound <u>of many</u> | was like the sound <u>of many</u> |
| <u>doublers</u> | <u>waters</u> |
| and the land shone <u>like a light</u> | and the land shone |
| from the glory all around. | from his glory. |
| 3 And the vision, which I saw | 3 And the vision that I saw was |
| | like the vision, |
| was in keeping with the vision, | like the vision I had seen |
| which I saw | |
| when I entered to anoint the city. | when I entered to destroy the |
| | city. |
| And the vision <u>of the chariot</u> , | And the visions were |
| which I saw | |
| was in keeping with the vision, | like the vision I had seen |
| which I saw | |
| by the Chobar River. | by the Chebar River. |
| And I fell on my face. | And I fell on my face. |

Several scholars think that LXX Ezek 43:2–3 reflects the incorporation of MT Ezek 1:24 to some extent,¹⁶⁷ and so consideration of this text is likewise essential. The heavy underline with parentheses indicates parallel terms that occur out of order.

LXX Ezek 1:24

καὶ ἤκουσον τῆν φωνὴν τῶν πτερύγων
αὐτῶν

ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ

ὡς φωνὴν ὕδατος πολλοῦ.¹⁶⁸

MT Ezek 1:24

וּאִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל כְּנַפְיָהֶם

(בְּלַכְתֶּם)

קוֹל מִים רַבִּים

בְּקוֹל-שָׂדֵי

¹⁶⁷ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 407; Lust, "Exegesis in LXX Ezekiel," 208–17; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 463.

¹⁶⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 1, 88 sees בְּקוֹל מִים רַבִּים as "superfluous" and as destroying the verbal syntax of the clause, although it is one of the few comparisons LXX and MT share in this verse. בְּקוֹל מִים רַבִּים is retained as original by Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 186; Herrmann, *Ezekiel*, 4; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 20; Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 38, 48–49. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 51 and Fohrer with Galling, *Ezekiel*, 13 delete all of v. 24 as secondary.

(ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ)

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐστάναι αὐτὰ
κατέπαυον αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν.

בלכתם

¹⁶⁹קול המלה,

בקול מחנה

בעמדם

תרפינה כנפיהן

And I kept hearing the sound of
their wings
as they went,
like the sound of much water.

(as they went)

And when they stood
their wings would cease.

And I heard the sound of their
wings

(as they went)

like the sound of much water,
like the sound of the Almighty,
as they went;
the sound of a rainstorm
like the sound of a camp.

When they stood
their wings would go slack.

In Ezek 1:24, the LXX preserves a shorter and more original text than the MT. Even a cursory glance shows that these pluses in LXX Ezek 43:2–3 and MT Ezek 1:24 have common content, given that they elaborate the aural impression made by the celestial retinue and share mention of the angelic camp (מחנה). This raises two interesting questions. Why do LXX Ezek 43:2–3 and MT Ezek 1:24 insert this related material into different places in Ezekiel’s vision? Why are some elements common to the two pluses while others vary?

Almost all commentators have noticed that many of the pluses present in LXX Ezek 43:2–3 and MT Ezek 1:24 derive from elsewhere in Ezekiel.¹⁷⁰ The first of these is בקול מים רבים, which occurs in MT Ezek 43:2 as well. This phrase is frequent elsewhere in Ezekiel, especially in the oracles against the nations, where in certain passages it takes on mythological overtones.¹⁷¹ The comparison to many waters

¹⁶⁹ Compare Tg of this phrase, which places Ezek 1:24 in more of a liturgical context: במהכהון קל מלולהון כד מודין ומברכן ית רבונהון קיימא מלך עלמאי (“as they moved, the sound of their speech was as if they were praising and blessing their Master, the King of the Universe”).

¹⁷⁰ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 1, 88, 130; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 51 and Fohrer with Galling, *Ezekiel*, 13 identify vv. 23–25 as secondary glosses.

¹⁷¹ Ezek 17:5, 8, 19:10; 26:19; 27:26; 31:5, 7, 15; 32:13; 47:9.

is taken up in later apocalypses. In Revelation, the comparison is probably indebted to Ezekiel: the Son of Man is compared to *ὕδατων πολλῶν* (1:15), as is a nameless voice from heaven (14:2) and the sound of the great crowd (19:6).¹⁷² By way of contrast, the scrolls from the Judean desert reflect a predominantly negative connotation to this term.¹⁷³ Similarly, the comparison *שדי כקול* in MT Ezek 1:24 is often identified as a gloss imported from Ezek 10:5, where it also describes the sound of the wings of the beings.¹⁷⁴

However, appeal to the larger context of Ezekiel does not solve all the problems of the relationship between MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX Ezek 43:2–3. This is especially true of the mention of the camp (*מחנה*), which is shared by both additions but not mentioned elsewhere in Ezekiel. Nor does it explain some of the unique elements of LXX Ezek 43:2–3, including the “doublers,” the light (*LXX^v* נוגה), and the chariot (*LXX^v* המרכבה), which are nowhere to be found in MT Ezek 1:24. The fact that only one element is held in common between the pluses in MT Ezek 1:24 and *LXX^v* Ezek 43:2–3, while three are not, suggests that *LXX^v* Ezek 43:2–3 is not simply copying MT Ezek 1:24. An alternative explanation can be developed by considering 4Q405 (4QShirShabb^a) 20ii, 21–22:6–14.

| | |
|----|---|
| 6 | [vac] למש[כל שיר עולת ה[ש]בַּת שתיים עשרא] בעשרים |
| | ואחד לחודש השלישי הללו לאלוהי |
| 7 | [שני פלא ורוממ[ו]הו כְּפִי הכבוד במשכ[ן] אלוהי] דעת |
| | יפול[ו] לפנו ה[כרו]בים וז[ר]כו בהרומם קול דממת אלוהים |
| 8 | [נשמע] זהמון רנה ברים כנפיהם קול] דממ[ת] אלוהים תבנית |
| | כסא מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים |
| 9 | [והו]ד רקיע האור ירגנו ממתחת מושב כבודו ובלכת האופנים |
| | ישובו מלאכי קודש יצא ומבין |
| 10 | [ג]לגלי כבודו כמראי אש רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי |
| | שבולי אש בדמות חשמל ומעשי |

¹⁷² Kowalski, *Rezeption des Ezechiel*, 89–92, 165–66, 206–08; David E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16* (WBC 52B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 806–07.

¹⁷³ 1QH^a 10:16, 27; see also the water imagery in 1QH^a 11:14–16; 16:4–25. A positive use of the phrase in a theophanic context is visible in 11Q5 (11QPsalms^a) 26:10.

¹⁷⁴ The LXX does not have *שדי כקול* in Ezek 1:24, and this phrase is often explained as a gloss introduced from 10:5 (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 185; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 88; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel*, 44 n. 23). For a different interpretation, see David J. Halperin, “Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 355–56.

14.] []*w* from between all their divisions on [their] side[s and] all their mustered troops rejoice, each of[n]e in [his] stat[ion].¹⁷⁵

This extraordinary song of praise shows prolonged and careful reflection on the message of Ezekiel, especially his visions in chapters 1, 10 and 43. It appropriates many of the terms and concepts unique to Ezekiel's prophecy. Features shared between Ezekiel and 4Q405 (4QShirShabb^a) 20ii, 21-22:6-14 include the cherubim, their wings, the wheelwork (גלגל; Ezek 10:2, 6), the *ophanim* (construed as angels in 4Q405),¹⁷⁶ חשמל or electrum (Ezek 1:4, 27; 8:2), and the chariot-throne.

4Q405 20ii, 21-22:6-14 is also relevant because it includes three of the lexical features previously encountered in LXX^v Ezek 43:2-3. It also includes thematic parallels to the fourth element, that of angelic praise of the Deity. These agreements suggest that LXX^v Ezek 43:2-3 is best understood not as a reworking of MT Ezek 1:24 but as preserving developing merkabah traditions such as can be found in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

As just mentioned, 4Q405 20ii, 21-22:6-14 contains three of the same terms that were reconstructed in LXX^v Ezek 43:2-3 (נוגה, מחנה, and מרכבה), and includes thematic parallels to the fourth (praise of the Creator). The first similarity is the description of the angelic camp (מחנה) in lines 13-14, in which each angel has his assigned station (מעמד). The notion of the camp, consisting of the children of Israel, is particularly significant in the wilderness narratives: it must be ritually pure because of the presence of the Deity (Num 5:1-4; 31:19; Deut 23:14). Sectarian texts from Qumran apply this idea of the divine presence in the camp to the expected holy war in the

¹⁷⁵ The text and translation are from Carol A. Newsom, "4QShirot 'Olat HaSabbath,'" in *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; ed. James VanderKam and Monica Brady; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 345.

¹⁷⁶ The *ophanim* were a special class of angels at Qumran and elsewhere (1 Enoch 61:10; 71:7; 2 Enoch 20:1). See Saul Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ 36; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1993), 34-41; David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1988), 52; Christopher Rowland, "The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 142-45.

eschatological future (e.g. 1QM 8:1–10).¹⁷⁷ Likewise the author of the Apocalypse pictured the “camp of the saints” (τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων) which would be vindicated by the Deity in the eschatological future (Rev 20:9).¹⁷⁸ These texts and others represent the pure armies of those humans loyal to the Deity as being arrayed for eschatological battle.

On the other hand, παρεμβολή is used elsewhere to indicate the angelic army. Παρεμβολή has a significant role to play in two theophanies in the Septuagint (Gen 32:2–3, Joel 2:11), in both of which the Deity leads his angelic host. In the more interesting of these, LXX Gen 32:2–3 [MT 32:1–2] notes that Jacob, “when he lifted up his eyes, saw the camp [παρεμβολήν] of God set up,” a phrase missing in MT of the verse.¹⁷⁹ In the context it is clear that this camp consists of angels.¹⁸⁰ By way of contrast, texts that share an apocalyptic worldview emphasize the term's martial ties in depicting the Deity's angelic army. 1 Enoch mentions the divine war-camp, with the help of which he executes judgment against the Watchers (1:3b–4, Greek): “My great Holy One will come from his dwelling, and the Eternal God will tread upon the land, upon Mount Sinai, and will manifest himself from his camp [ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ] and will appear in his great might from the highest heaven.”¹⁸¹ The חַיִּיִּם mentioned in both

¹⁷⁷ For an early discussion of the idea of the war-camp at Qumran and its relation to the NT, see F. C. Fensham, “‘Camp’ in the New Testament and Milhamah,” *RdQ* 4 (1964): 557–62. In some respects, the sectarianism tightened and more closely defined the purity laws concerning the camp known from the Hebrew Bible, as in the prohibition of excretion within 2000 cubits of the camp (1QM 7:7).

¹⁷⁸ For the relationship between Ezekiel and Rev 20:9, see G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 1026–28 and Kowalski, *Rezeption des Ezechiel*, 221–24.

¹⁷⁹ Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 58 concurs that Gen 32 is in view in the addition in LXX^v Ezek 43:2.

¹⁸⁰ Susan Brayford, *Genesis* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 371.

¹⁸¹ Καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ ἅγιος μου ὁ μέγας ἐκ τῆς κατοικήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ γῆν πατήσεται ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναι ὄρος καὶ φανήσεται ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ φανήσεται ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν. The text cited is that of M. Black and Albert-Marie Denis, *Apocalypsis Henochii Graece and Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca una cum Historicorum et Auctorum Iudaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 19. Note that the appellative ὁ ἅγιος μου ὁ μέγας is unique to the Akhmim papyrus and is only found here: George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A*

MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 thus reflects this element of the emerging mystical tradition of apocalyptic eschatology.

However, this is where the commonalities between the pluses in MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 cease. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, on the other hand, show that other features of the pastiche in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 were well-known in esoteric circles. A second element of the pastiche of pluses in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3, the light (נוגה) which the land reflects, is mentioned in 4Q405 20ii, 21-22:11-12 in the context of a description of the fantastic appearance of the most holy beings. 4Q286 (4QBer^a) 1a, ii, b:2-3 similarly mentions “flames of brightness” (ושביבי נוגה) while describing the “glorious chariots” (ומרכבות כבודכה) of the Deity.¹⁸² 4Q385 (4QpsEzek^a) 6:6 combines נוגה and מרכבה in terms very similar to Ezek 43:2-3, though in context it seems to be describing Ezekiel’s first vision.

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| המראה אשר ראה יהזק[אל | 5 |
| נגה מרכבה וארבע חיות חית] | 6 |

- 5 The vision which Eze[kiel] saw [
6 The brightness of the chariot. And the four living beings]¹⁸³

Such texts demonstrate the continued influence of the light (נוגה) in Ezekiel’s visions. In Ezek 1:4, נוגה describes the brightness around the great cloud, and the translator likewise renders חשמל as φέγγος in Ezek 1:4b. However, the vision in chap. 10 provides the closest parallel to LXX^V Ezek 43:2’s use of נוגה, since there it describes the brightness of the Lord’s glory that filled the Temple (10:4). One crucial difference between the pastiche in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is that the angels have become much more significant actors in the text known from Qumran, whereas the Deity recedes into the background. The brightness (נוגה) and electrum

Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108 (Hermeneia; ed. Klaus Baltzer; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 142 n. 3c.

¹⁸² B. Nitzan, “4QBerakhot,” in *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; ed. James VanderKam and Monica Brady; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 12-13.

¹⁸³ Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 42-43. The translation is my own.

(חשמל) characteristic of the Deity in Ezekiel’s inaugural vision (Ezek 1:27) are now transferred to the heavenly angels.¹⁸⁴ While these angels are mentioned in LXX^V Ezek 43:2, the interest of these pluses remains focused on explaining the results of the divine presence in his temple.

The third element is the description of the chariot (מרכבה).¹⁸⁵ As Halperin notes, along with Sir 49:8, LXX^V Ezek 43:3 is one of the earliest texts to mention the divine chariot.¹⁸⁶ LXX^V Ezek 43:3 mentions only one chariot (as does 4Q405 20ii, 21–22:8), while 4Q405 20ii, 21–22:11 seems to know of many. In 4Q403 (4QShirShabb^d) 1ii:15, the chariots are envisioned praising the Deity in the inner sanctum of the heavenly temple.¹⁸⁷ The development of the concept of the divine chariot in Judaism is extensive, as is evident in a much later Jewish text that describes each of the seven heavens as possessing its own chariot.¹⁸⁸ With the mention of a single chariot, then, the plus in LXX^V Ezek 43:3 may belong to a slightly earlier stage in the development of the merkabah traditions than do the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The divine splendor (נוגה), angelic camp, and the chariot in LXX^V Ezek 43:2–3 thus participate in a long exegetical tradition whose path is traceable from MT Ezek 1:24 through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.¹⁸⁹

Finally, while the verb reconstructed in LXX^V Ezek 43:2, שנה, does not appear in 4Q405 20ii, 21–22:6–14, there is a discernible emphasis on the praise offered by the heavenly beings in both texts.

¹⁸⁴ Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 138.

¹⁸⁵ The qualification of Ezekiel’s vision as that of the מרכבה is indebted to 1 Chr 28:8’s description of the temple-chariot and the likening of the wheels of the bronze bases to the wheels of a chariot in 1 Kings 7:33. See Lust, “Exegesis in LXX Ezekiel,” 209; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 22–23; and, more broadly, Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*.

¹⁸⁶ Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 57.

¹⁸⁷ והללו יחד מרכבות דבירן. See also 11Q17 (11QShirShabb^b) 7:5; 10:7, which have similar conceptions of the plural מרכבות in the adytum of the heavenly temple.

¹⁸⁸ Publication by Ithamar Gruenwald, “The ‘Visions of Ezekiel’: A Critical Edition and Commentary,” in *Temirin: Texts and Studies in Kabbala and Hasidism* (2 vols; ed. Israel Weinstock; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1972), 1:101–39 [Hebrew].

¹⁸⁹ Lust, “Exegesis in LXX Ezekiel,” 209 helpfully speaks of a “long exegetical tradition of merkābāh interpretation.” The exegetical tradition evident in the *hekhalot* texts is probably not directly related to the esoteric traditions known from texts from the Judean desert, as argued by Schäfer, *Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, and others.

The praise of the Deity is expressed particularly through the stem בַּרַךְ, which occurs several times in the above passage and 49 times in 4QShirShabb as a whole (though this includes overlapping instances).¹⁹⁰ This element of praise, characteristic of the heavenly liturgy, became increasingly associated with the merkabah tradition.¹⁹¹ Tg Ezek 1:24 and 43:2 likewise call attention to the praise of the Deity by his celestial retinue, suggesting that it understood such texts in the context of the angelic liturgy.¹⁹² Yet if this is the object of the expression in LXX Ezek 43:2 (ὡς φωνὴ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν), its manner of expression is peculiar. Halperin suggests that the source for the odd term “doublers” in LXX Ezek 43:2 is Ps 68:18, which reads in MT and LXX as follows.¹⁹³

LXX Ps 67:18

τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ θεοῦ μυριοπλάσιον,
χιλιάδες εὐθηνούντων.

ὁ κύριος ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἐν Σινα ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ.

MT Ps 68:18

רכב אלהים רבתיים
אלפי שנאן

¹⁹⁴אדני במס
סיני בקדש

God's chariots are ten thousand
fold
thousands of thriving ones.¹⁹⁵

God's chariots are twice ten
thousand
thousands upon thousands.

¹⁹⁰ 4Q400 3ii+5:5; 4Q401 13:3; 38:1; 4QShir403 1i:16 [2x], 17 [2x], 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27 [3x], 28 [2x], 29 [2x]; 1ii:15; 4Q404 2:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11; 4Q405 3a ii, b:2, 5 [2x], 6, 7, 17; 13 a, b:3 [2x], 5, 6; 15ii, 16:5; 19 a-d:7; 20ii, 21-22:7, 8; 23i:9; 23ii:12; 29:1.

¹⁹¹ This is especially emphasized by Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*.

¹⁹² Ezek 1:24: במהכהון קל מלולהון כד מודין ומברכין ית רבונהון קיימא מלך עלמא (“as they moved, the sound of their speech was as if they were praising and blessing their Master, the King of the Universe”) and 43:2: וקל מברכי שמיה (“the sound of those blessing his name”). See Schäfer, *Origins of Mysticism*, 175–330 for a consideration of the rabbinic attitudes toward such traditions.

¹⁹³ Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 58.

¹⁹⁴ Frequently this text is emended to read אדני ב[א] מסיני, as in Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 46. See also the translations of NIV, NRSV, NAB and NJV, which follow this emendation. The versions provide no support for such a reading.

¹⁹⁵ LXX thus presumably read the word as εὐεον (at ease). The translation of εὐθηνούντων is based on GELS, “εὐθηνέω,” 249.

The Lord is among them
in Sinai, in the holy place.

The Lord *is* among them
as at Sinai in holiness.¹⁹⁶

The association between LXX Ps 67 [MT 68]:18 and Ezek 43:2–3 does not work if the LXX translator of Ezek 43:2–3 is borrowing from the Greek translation of Psalms, since the terms are different (εὐθηνέω in Ps 67 [MT 68]:18 and διπλασιάζω in Ezek 43:2). Therefore, the association must either be made by the translator of Ezekiel while he was reflecting on the Hebrew text of the psalm, or it must have been made already in LXX^V. Following the usual methodology in this chapter, this change can be reasonably attributed to LXX^V, since in keeping with his *Übersetzungsweise* the translator is unlikely to have added it on his own.

As a result, I propose that LXX^V of Ezek 43:2bβ read כקול שונים רבים, and that the participle שונים reflects the Hebrew text of MT Ps 68:18.¹⁹⁷ There, the unique term שִׁנְאִן is generally derived from the root שנה, “repeat.”¹⁹⁸ In LXX^V Ezek 43:2bβ, it is likely that διπλασιαζόντων also reflects the root שנה, although there is no direct evidence for this.¹⁹⁹ Διπλασιάζω, a verb which, like שנה, means “to double” in the Septuagint,²⁰⁰ depicts the angels as “doubling” or “repeating” the praises of the Deity.²⁰¹ Moreover, the mention of the chariot provides a further connection between MT Ps 68:18 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2. Thus it appears likely that the translator of this phrase is merely rendering his *Vorlage* accurately, and that a supplementer of the *Vorlage* is drawing an element derived from the Hebrew text of

¹⁹⁶ See NJPS; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; trans. Linda M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 159.

¹⁹⁷ See n. 160 above.

¹⁹⁸ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 160 n. h; BDB, “שִׁנְאִן,” 1041. For a comprehensive treatment, see HALOT, “שִׁנְאִן,” 1596–97.

¹⁹⁹ See n. 160 above.

²⁰⁰ Ezek 21:14; see also the uses of the related adjective διπλάσιος in Sir 12:5; 26:1.

²⁰¹ See Rashi’s interpretation of Ps 68:18: “[The purpose of v. 18 is] to make mention of the endearment [in which God holds] His people, [which endearment is exemplified by the fact that] even when GOD’S CHARIOT was revealed there were TWO MYRIADS of thousands of persons at ease [ša ʾānānīm] [i.e., šēnūnīm ‘whetted beings’ [which means] sharp angels.” Rashi thus understands שִׁנְאִן as שִׁנְאִן, just as the LXX translator does. The translation is from Mayer I. Gruber, *Rashi’s Commentary on Psalms* (Brill Reference Library of Judaism 18; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 449.

MT Ps 68:18 into LXX^V Ezek 43:2. In light of the rest of the pluses in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3, it is highly probable that this element of LXX Ps 67 [MT 68] had already become part of a larger mystical tradition. Relating this agreement in terminology to the level of the *Vorlage* and not to the translator solves the problem encountered by both Halperin and Lust, who both struggle to explain why the translator would act as he did if he read the text in MT Ezek 43:2-3 and tried to expand it based on the plus in MT Ezek 1:24.²⁰² I propose instead that both MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 reflect a mystical tradition based in large part on Ezekiel but incorporating other esoteric texts such as Ps 68. This would explain why MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 have one element in common (the מַחֲנֶה) as well as why they differ, since LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 may reflect a later and more developed form of the tradition than MT Ezek 1:24. As regards the mention of a single chariot and the focus on the Deity in place of the angels, the pastiche of pluses in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 seems to represent an intermediate stage between MT Ezek 1:24 and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Moreover, LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 is noteworthy for its early linkage of the Sinai and merkabah traditions.

The above reflections allow us to observe the influence of esoteric traditions, which are themselves shaped by exegetical and visionary reflection on Ezekiel's visions, on the text of Ezekiel itself. While MT Ezek 1:24 inserts its reflection into the prophet's definitive inaugural vision, LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 opts instead for the vision of the restoration, which these verses take great pains to relate to Ezek 1. The vision of the Deity is thus part of the idealized restoration in LXX^V, perhaps reflecting its concern for the vision's continued or future accessibility. In both MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3, there is an impulse toward exegetical supplementation; that is, that details assumed to

²⁰² Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 55-59 argued that the translation of Ezek 40-48 was much later than that of the rest of the book and so could not incorporate the plus in MT Ezek 1:24. As a result, he argues, this plus was incorporated into LXX^V at Ezek 43:2 instead. The idea that certain portions of Ezekiel were translated earlier than the rest depends on the work of Baudissin, which has been rendered obsolete by the discovery of Papyrus 967 (Lust, "Exegesis of LXX Ezekiel," 215). Lust's theory, that the translator read מַמְרָבִים in place of MT's reading מֵיִם רַבִּים, minimizes the disparity between LXX and MT of these verses. It is, however, less likely in my estimation that רַבֵּה C would be rendered with a verb more precisely concerning "doubling," and so I prefer שׁוּנִים.

have been common to all of Ezekiel's visions are filled in where appropriate from comparable contexts. Both supplements, however, are different enough that one cannot be derived from the other. It is less problematic to view MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 as participating in a common exegetical and mystical tradition, as witnessed by 4Q405 20ii, 21-22:6-14 and other texts recovered from the Judean desert.²⁰³ Each of the additional terms in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 is added not because it clarifies some exegetical difficulty but because it represents a significant element of the larger esoteric tradition.²⁰⁴ LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 thus constitutes a "pastiche" of esoterically-oriented expansions.

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* help us to ask how LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 and MT Ezek 1:24 relate to portrayals of the angelic liturgy during this period. MT Ezek 1:24 does not mention any laudatory activity by the beings, instead seeking to explain the sound of their wings. Precisely in the thematic parallels between 4Q405 20ii, 21-22:6-14 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 (repeating the Deity's praises) is the shared concern for divine worship of the Creator manifested. It is thus likely that the unique readings in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 derive from a stream of exegetical and mystical traditions associated with the merkabah and angelic liturgy, and not directly from MT Ezek 1:24. The lone commonality between MT Ezek 1:24 and LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3, the angelic camp, is readily explained by such common tradition. The more significant differences are understandable if MT Ezek 1:24 stands near the head of such a stream of exegetical reflection, while LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 is much closer to the time of the composition of 4Q405 20ii, 21-22:6-14, resulting in tighter correspondences. The pastiche in LXX^V Ezek 43:2-3 is in any event not as developed as the traditions preserved in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, since LXX^V

²⁰³ E.g. 4Q385 (4QpsEzek^a) 6:5-6; 4Q286 (4QBer^a) 1a, ii, b:2. A fascinating exegetical tradition also relates the raising of the dead bones Ezek 37 with Israel's praising their Creator: 4Q385 (4QpsEzek^a) 3:2-3 and 4Q386 (4QpsEzek^b) Ii:9-10, though this is less explicitly hymnic. For the significance of Ezekiel at Qumran in general, see p. 3 n. 4 above.

²⁰⁴ For example, Lust's explanation for the addition of ὡς φέγγος as an attempt to harmonize the description of the glory as the external form of the divine appearance in v. 3a with the light emanating from it in v. 3b is unnecessary ("Exegesis in LXX Ezekiel," 215). While these additions are not made for the sake of *clarifying* exegetical difficulties, they are nonetheless *derived* from exegesis.

Ezek 43:2-3 mentions only one chariot and focuses on the glory of the divine self-revelation and not the splendor of his angelic attendants. Such a proposal would explain the more explicitly liturgical and hymnic nature of LXX^v Ezek 43:2-3 and 4QShirShabb^f 20ii, 21-22:6-14 compared with the more narrowly exegetical interest of MT Ezek 1:24 in the sound of the beings' wings.

CONCLUSION

The previous, and rather protracted, inquiry has established that the *Vorlage* of Ezek 40-48 contains a number of secondary pluses, especially in transitional sections of the vision (40:1-4; 42:15-20; 43:1-12; 47:1-12). In several cases, these pluses are merely attempts to make the sense of the larger vision more explicit or to conform Ezekiel's final vision to earlier ones. Some of the pluses take the form of simple transfer of wording from related texts within Ezek 40-48 or the larger book, but a number of pluses reflect the influence of the Pentateuch and perhaps other texts, to different degrees. Scribes could also supplement the sacred texts with "new" material, although some of this also may reflect the influence of the Pentateuch. Alongside this influence, concern for the privileges of the Zadokites and the sacredness of Ezekiel's temple complex is especially visible in LXX^v. Scribal addition could also take the form of expansion by pastiche. LXX^v Ezek 43:2-3 reflects a living stream of exegetical tradition that speaks to the influence of esoteric traditions, which are themselves heavily influenced by the book of Ezekiel, on the text of the book that was so influential in begetting those traditions.

If this argument is accepted, it points to a date of the third to second century B.C.E. for the time that LXX^v Ezek 40-48 entered something like the form from which it was translated. It also suggests that this redactional activity (at least that concerned with the chariot) may have taken place in Palestine, although our spotty knowledge of esoteric traditions cannot definitively preclude the alternative possibility that LXX^v Ezekiel was supplemented outside Palestine. In any event, the continued growth of Ezekiel in the third and second centuries B.C.E. corresponds well to evidence presented in chapter 1 that Ezekiel as a whole was still undergoing significant redaction during the third and second centuries B.C.E. Now this statement may be qualified by emphasizing the exegetical basis for much of this

redactional activity. The rise of apocalyptic eschatology no doubt catalyzed scribal interest in Ezekiel's visions during this period, impelling them to pore over his cryptic book. If these scribes sought clarity in their consideration of Ezek 40–48, however, they have diminished none of the numinous power of the prophet's words; rather, they show themselves to be deeply under their sway.

Four conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the pluses in LXX^V Ezek 40–48.

1) Such pluses cluster in the transitional sections of the vision (40:1–4; 42:15–20; 43:1–12; 47:1–12), but are encountered elsewhere.

2) The purpose of the vast majority of the supplements is exegetical in nature, and these pluses draw primarily on the book of Ezekiel to resolve difficulties. Even where locutions from outside Ezekiel are adduced, for the most part, these are used not to resolve conflicts between Ezekiel and other texts, but to explain the text on its own terms. This concern with explaining Ezekiel on its own terms provides an interesting contrast with Stromberg's identification of a canonical orientation for several pluses in MT Ezekiel.²⁰⁵

3) Secondary pluses are sensitive to the modes of expression common in the book of Ezekiel, and so the use of "authentic" or "typical" phrases or motifs from Ezekiel should only be used with great caution as a criterion of authenticity.

4) LXX Ezek 44:24 increases the power of the Zadokites by assigning them the exclusive right to serve as judges in capital cases. In addition, numerous hints imply that the supplementer(s) of these chapters envisioned Ezekiel's prince (נשיא) acting in a priestly role by offering sacrifices. Such observations raise the possibility that the *Vorlage* of LXX Ezek 40–48 was transmitted and studied in Zadokite circles. What this means for the kind of merkabah mysticism that evidently fascinated some readers of LXX^V Ezek 40–48 remains to be further explored.

²⁰⁵ For the growth of MT Ezek compared to LXX based on harmonization to texts within and outside Ezekiel, see Stromberg, "Inner-Scriptural Scribal Expansion."

CHAPTER 4:
NEAR AND FAR CONTEXTS
IN THE RENDERING OF LXX EZEKIEL 40-48

As has been suggested throughout this study, the supplementers of LXX^V cannot be assumed to have had the same goals as the translator of these chapters. Earlier, the translator's primary goal was identified as the accurate and comprehensible representation of his source text in his translation. Inevitably in any translation, and frequently in LXX Ezek 40–48, problematic issues constrained the translator to exercise his best judgment as to the meaning of his *Vorlage*. When faced with such issues, the translator sometimes made use of the larger context of the book of Ezekiel itself to clarify problematic lexical issues, among the other avenues available to him. Yet he did not approach the rendering of his text completely *de novo*, but could refer to previous examples of the translation of sacred Hebrew texts, principally the Greek Pentateuch. The goal of the present chapter is to examine two major categories of contextual influence on the translator's rendering of technical terms. The first category includes instances in which the translator allows a larger theme (specifically, cultic purity) to influence his rendering of technical terms, while the second explores his appropriation of pentateuchal sacrificial terminology and the degree to which he adapts this terminology in ways appropriate for its context in Ezekiel.

THE TRANSLATOR AND CULTIC PURITY

As we have seen in detail, the large proportion of difficulties that Ezek 40–48 presented its interpreters should not be underestimated. On the other hand, Ezek 40–48 exhibits a clear concern with establishing and maintaining clear cultic boundaries, with the result that this constitutes an important (perhaps the most important) theme of Ezekiel’s final vision. One unique characteristic of the translator of these chapters is that he used the theme of cultic purity to guide his lexical selection, especially with respect to three terms (διάστημα, τὸ διορίζον, and ἀπολοίπον). In some cases, his use of these terms corresponded to technical architectural terms that he may not have understood (e.g. διάστημα rendering באות in Ezek 41:6b). In other cases, the translator employed these terms even though his Hebrew source text was presumably comprehensible (e.g. διάστημα rendering מִסְדֹּר in Ezek 41:8). The employment of these three terms in both situations suggests that the translator intentionally selected lexemes that emphasized the significance of this theme.

The Interval (Διάστημα)

One of the most characteristic terms of the translator of Ezek 40–48 is διάστημα, which indicates an interval. Διάστημα is used to render at least seven hyponyms, and so constitutes one of the translator’s favorite go-to terms.¹ The extensive use of this term has led to scorn for the translator’s competence,² but it corresponds to a clear pattern of employment of this technique for difficult or poorly understood terms.³ For the present purposes, the more pressing question becomes why the translator chose to employ διάστημα when he could easily have resorted to transliteration or some other means to derive

¹ באות (Ezek 41:6); מוסדה (41:8a); אציל (41:8b); אחיק (42:5a); גדרת (42:12); גורה (42:13); מרגש (45:2; 48:15, 17). It is uncertain what διάστημα renders in 42:5b.

² Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 164, went so far as to say: “Das Wort *διαστημα* beweist hier in der Tat so gut wie nichts. Dieser Ausdruck scheint \emptyset wegen seiner Unbestimmtheit zur Wiedergabe nicht ganz durchschauter architektonischer termini technici beliebt zu haben.” See also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 370–71.

³ See the similar approach to lexical translation represented by the examples in Appendix C.

some meaning from the text. In perusing the contexts in which he employed this term, it becomes clear that for the most part, the translator employs *διάστημα* in contexts that have to do with maintaining cultic purity. A helpful place to demonstrate this concern is the first passage in which *διάστημα* occurs, Ezek 41:6–8, where the term is used three times. Ezek 41:6b affords a convenient place to begin.

LXX Ezek 41:6b

καὶ διάστημα ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ τοῦ οἴκου
ἐν τοῖς πλευροῖς κύκλῳ
τοῦ εἶναι τοῖς ἐπιλαμβανομένοις ὄρᾶν,
ὅπως τὸ παράπαν μὴ ἅπτωνται τῶν τοίχων
τοῦ οἴκου

MT Ezek 41:6b

ובאות בקיר אשר-לבית
לצלעות סביב סביב
להיות אחוזים
ולא-יהיו אחוזים בקיר הבית

And there was an interval in the wall
of the sanctum (house)
in the sides all around
so that they should be for those who
grasped them to see
lest they should in any way touch the
wall of the sanctuary (house).

And there were ledges in the
wall of the sanctum
for the side-rooms all around
to serve as supports,
lest there should be supports
in the wall of the
sanctuary.⁴

Commentators have long noticed the similarity of this passage to the description of Solomon's temple in 1 Kgs 6:6, which mentions "offsets" (NRSV; Heb. *מגרעות*) in the walls of the temple supporting the floors, so that no incisions into the temple walls were necessary.⁵ Many scholars explain the puzzling *באות* in Ezek 41:6 by analogy to these offsets in 1 Kgs 6:6.⁶ As in LXX Ezek 41:6b, the translator of 1 Kgs 6:6 rendered these structures with *διάστημα*. This may suggest that the translator also rendered 1 Kings, or that he was familiar with

⁴ My translation of the MT here is based on Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 548.

⁵ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 456 mentioned in 1886 that the relationship of *באות* in Ezek 41:6 to *מגרעות* in 1 Kgs 6:6 "ist längst erkannt."

⁶ Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 447; Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, 269; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 231; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 164; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 370; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 223, 232; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 549. Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 55 n. 136 suggests that Ezek 41:6 may have been patterned after Solomon's temple and not necessarily the temple description in 1 Kgs.

it and consulted it here for assistance, assuming that it was already translated.⁷ If so, it would make sense that he would appeal to the term in doubtful situations.

Whatever its origin, once the translator introduces the term *διάστημα*, he preserves it throughout the rest of the immediate context, flattening other terms in the interest of preserving the interval.⁸ So two further uses of *διάστημα* come quickly in Ezek 41:8.

LXX Ezek 41:8

καὶ τὸ θραελ⁹
τοῦ οἴκου ὕψος κύκλω¹⁰
διάστημα τῶν πλευρῶν
ἴσον τῷ καλάμῳ,
πηγῶν ἕξ διάστημα.

And the thrael
of the house was high all
around.

The interval of the sides was

equal to the reed—
an interval of six cubits.

MT Ezek 41:8

וראיני
לביית גבה סביב סביב
מוסדות¹¹ הצלעות
מלו הקנה
שש אמות אצילה

And I saw¹²

that the house had a raised
platform all around

—the foundations of the
chambers.

The fullness of the reed,
six cubits, was its elevation.

⁷ Evidence that the translator of Ezek 40–48 knew 3 Kgdms is equivocal. Any terms the two accounts have in common may be put down to the common subject matter or similar trends in translation. See Appendix C.

⁸ That the translator preserves the transliteration *θραελ* mandates that this flattening effect is not absolute. One could also understand the translation of *במגירה* as *ἐκ διαστήματος* in 3 Kgdms 7:46 (=MT 7:9) as a small example of the same technique, that of using an already introduced term to explain an unknown one. For further instances of this “flattening” phenomenon, see the discussion of *περίπατος* below.

⁹ For discussion of the debated significance of the *θραελ*, see p. 69 above.

¹⁰ The normal rendering of *סביב סביב* in LXX Ezek 40–48 is with a single term: *κύκλω*: Ezek 40:5, 14, 16, 17, 29, 33, 36, 43; 41:6, 7, 8, 10, 16 (2°), 17; 42:20 or *κυκλόθεν* (40:16, 25; 41:5 [=MT *סביב סביב לביית סביב סביב*], 11, 12, 19; 42:15). Four instances exist in which a single *סביב* is rendered with *κύκλω*: 41:16 (1°); 43:20; 46:23 [2x]. In two instances, *κυκλόθεν* does not correspond to any hyponym in the MT (43:2, 12), and it corresponds to one *סביב* in 43:13, 17 [2x]; 45:1, 2 [2x].

¹¹ Reading with MT^Q.

¹²The translation of MT Ezek 41:8 is based on Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 545.

Like the walls of the οἶκος described in Ezek 41:5–6, the θραεῖλ in 41:8 is portrayed as possessing an interval (διάστημα) of six cubits between the sides of the middle and upper stories of the temple building. It is questionable whether the translator had a clear mental picture of all of the details he was rendering, but one fact is clear. LXX Ezek 41:6–8 illustrates the translator’s conviction, likely based on 1 Kgs 6:6 in either its Hebrew or translated versions, that the interval was part and parcel of the layout of holy structures. He illustrates this conviction with his employment of the term throughout the rest of his translation of Ezek 40–48. For example, there is an interval (διάστημα) of fifty cubits around the sanctuary as a whole (45:2), and there is a space in front of the northern and southern rooms assigned to the priests opposite the οἶκος (42:13). The upper peristyles and stoas of the ἐξέδραι nearest the open space behind the partition (Υ) also possess intervals between them (42:5).¹³ In addition to the use of διάστημα in cultic contexts, intervals were also a part of structures not exclusively intended for Zadokites, such as the city (45:2; 48:15, 17).¹⁴

The Partition (τὸ διορίζον)

A second example of the translator’s exploitation of the theme of cultic purity is his curious rendering of the term בנין as “the partition”

¹³ The use of the letters in parentheses refers to the architectural elements of the Temple designated in Appendix A.

¹⁴ In Ezek 45:2; 48:15, 17, מגרש represents open space: either around the sanctuary (45:2; 50 cubits) or around the city for dwelling and pasturage (48:15, 17; 5000 by 25,000 cubits). This is not surprising for literature influenced by priestly concerns, for which מגרש can indicate a sacred space, as for example in the Levitical cities: Num 35:2, 3, 4; Josh 14:4; 21:2, 3, 8; 1 Chr 6:40; 13:2 (DCH, “מגרש,” 5:138). The term can often simply mean “pasture land,” reflecting the common use of such open land (1 Chr 5:16; 13:2; Lev 25:34). Yet it is significant that nowhere else in the LXX does διάστημα serve as a translation of מגרש. This translation could be partially explained by the root שגר, which has to do with the idea of separation or expulsion. The root שגר occurs five times in the legal contexts: Ezek 44:22; Lev 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num 30:10 [9 Eng.], in all of which it is translated by ἐκβάλλω, to describe a divorced woman. The idea of banishment or driving out is apparent in Gen 3:24; 21:10; 4:14; Jdg 9:41; Ps 34:1; 1 Sam (1 Kgdms) 26:19; 1 Kgs (3 Kgdms) 2:27. In Ezek 31:11, where the MT has a form of שגר, the LXX translator renders καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῦ, and so the MT seems to have a defective text at this point (see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 144). For a more complete description of the root שגר, see Helmer Ringgren, “שגר,” *TDOT*, 3:68–69.

(τὸ διορίζον). This unusual translation seems to be due to the translator’s derivation of בנין from a root related to the preposition בין, hence implying separation and division.¹⁵ As a neologism of the exilic period and later, בנין may have been unfamiliar to the translator.¹⁶ If the term was unfamiliar, its architectural significance was equally so. In the MT, the בנין is a mysterious structure, whose placement in the far west is described with great detail, but whose purpose is not elaborated. The external measurements of the building, 100 by 80 cubits, are greater than those of the temple structure itself. Perhaps this great use of space represents a reaction against the encroachments of the pre-exilic monarchy.¹⁷

With the exception of one instance,¹⁸ all occurrences of בנין in the MT correspond to “the partition” (τὸ διορίζον) in the LXX,¹⁹ the vast majority of uses of διορίζω in LXX Ezek 40–48.²⁰ Like the parallel uses of διορίζω in LXX Exod 26:33 and Lev 20:24, the cultic significance of this partition is patent, since it is located in the holiest region of the temple. Its exact layout does not seem to correspond to the בנין mentioned in the MT, although it is difficult to determine how far the translator was able to penetrate the recondite details of the text. In any case, the following scenario seems to have resulted. According to LXX Ezek 41:4, the adytum measured forty cubits in length, as opposed to the twenty cubits of the MT, and so the temple is twenty cubits longer in the LXX than it is in the MT (pp. 97–101 above). This increase of twenty cubits would have cut into the twenty cubits of

¹⁵ Proposed by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 373 n. 12a. See Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 454, who suggests that in 41:12, MT’s reading הבנין should be emended to בניה based on the LXX and the appearance of the form in the next verse.

¹⁶ בנין appears only in Ezek 40–48 in the MT: 40:5; 41:12, 15; 42:1, 5, 10. For discussions of בנין as a neologism, see Hurvitz, *The Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, 132–35; and Max Wagner, *Die Lexikalischen und Grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966), 36 §44.

¹⁷ Suggested by Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 553.

¹⁸ Ezek 40:5, in which the term בנין is used loosely to describe the outer wall, is translated with προτελιχισμα. See pp. 163–67 below.

¹⁹ Ezek 41:12, 13, 15; 42:1, 10; 47:18.

²⁰ Besides the descriptions of such a dividing wall, the only other appearance of διορίζω is found in Ezek 47:18, where it translates a C participle of גבל mistakenly pointed in the MT as a noun. The MT reads מגבול in 47:18, 20, but LXX Syr Vul read the term as a C participle (מגביל). In 47:20, the LXX translator renders the term using the simple verb ορίζω, varying it from the compound form used two verses earlier.

space that surrounded the temple on each side (Ezek 41:10), so that the partition would have butted up against the wall of the temple itself. Considering the polemic against the royal proximity to the sanctuary in Ezek 43:7–8 and the need for intervals in the wall of the sanctuary itself (Ezek 41:6–8), it is most unlikely that any structure would be allowed to come in contact with the holiest building of Ezekiel's vision (cf. 1 Kgs 6:6). If the partition is allowed to function as a simple wall, as is implied in LXX Ezek 41:12 (τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ διορίζοντος), this twenty cubit's worth of space can be preserved in the fashion presented in the temple diagram. Moreover, the width of the partition, established as five cubits in Ezek 41:12, fits exactly into the measurements required.²¹ That this reconstruction is uncertain need not be belabored.

It is unclear what the partition was intended to screen off. As reconstructed in the diagrams (Appendix A), the intent of this partition is to shield the adytum from view. Whether the details have been reconstructed correctly in the diagrams or not, the translator's intention to incorporate Ezekiel's stress on holiness into his architectural descriptions is illustrated through his introduction of this feature. What could fit Ezekiel's strenuous emphasis on separation better than a partition?

Intervening space (τὸ ἀπολοίπον)

A third noteworthy feature of the translator's rendering of Ezekiel's second temple description is his conflation of two distinct elements in the MT: the "free space" (מנח)²² and the "court" (גזרה).²³ In the MT, these two features serve different purposes, both of which emphasize

²¹ The wall (five cubits) plus the intervening space (twenty cubits) flanks the temple itself, whose width is fifty cubits. All together, the temple, intervening space and wall add up to one hundred cubits, which equals the one hundred cubits ascribed to the inner court (40:47).

²² Ἀπολοίπος corresponds to מנח in Ezek 41:9, 11 [2x]. For the meaning of מנח, see HALOT, "מנח," 601; Karl Elliger, "Der Grossen Tempelsakristeien im Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (42, 1ff)," in *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (BHT 16; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1953), 82; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 231.

²³ גזרה corresponds to ἀπολοίπος in Ezek 41:12, 13, 14, 15a; 42:1, 10. For its significance, see HALOT, "גזרה," 187, as well as Elliger, "Tempelsakristeien," 82 and Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 231.

the holiness of the temple itself.²⁴ The court (גזרה) is located to the west of the temple building and serves to separate it from the building (בנין) at the extreme west of the layout. The free space (מנה) serves to separate the temple from the barrier running parallel to the outer court. Both structures, though distinct, are analogous in their separation of the temple from potential defilement. In the LXX, these two separate features are collapsed into one term (*ἀπολοίπος*), which like its analogues in the MT serves to emphasize the protective area around the temple.²⁵ Probably this conflation was motivated by the fact that both the court and the free space measure twenty cubits.

In sum, the translator’s decision to use lexemes referring to separation and distance, including *ἀπολοίπον*, *τὸ διορίζον*, and *διάστημα*, indicates his conviction of the importance of cultic purity. Separation and distance from the sacred are also characteristic of LXX^V, as in Ezek 42:15–20 and elsewhere, as we have seen.

SACRIFICIAL TERMINOLOGY IN LXX EZEKIEL 40–48

In what follows, I will show that the translator of Ezek 40–48 took his cue from the cultic vocabulary of the Pentateuch, but did not reproduce its terminology slavishly. Where misunderstanding was possible, the translator freely diverged from the wording of the Greek Torah. First it will be necessary to examine major terms for sacrificial offerings (שלמים, עלה, מנחה, and חטאת) and then proceed to select minor terms that clearly illustrate Ezekiel’s dependence on the Greek Pentateuch. Analysis of these terms will demonstrate the transformation of many of its usages in ways appropriate for Ezekiel’s law code. Finally, instances (e.g. אשם) where the dependence is less clear will be adduced.

²⁴ This distinction is shown by the diagrams in the commentaries. The most reliable and comprehensive diagram of Ezekiel’s temple in the MT in my judgment is that provided by Hans Ferdinand Fuhs, *Ezechiel II 25–48* (NEchtB; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988), 267–68. It is reproduced in Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel 20–48*, 631. Compare this to the opposite approach of Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 366, who provides quite a bare-bones sketch.

²⁵ This term probably represents a neologism coined by the translator. As far as I am aware, it appears in Greek literature only in LXX Ezek 40–48 and in Theodore’s commentary on Ezekiel (PG 89:140a).

As a sacrificial term, the Hebrew מנחה is used in two situations: as an adjunctive offering to other animal sacrifices, and as a discrete offering.²⁶ In the latter case, it often functioned as a substitute for the more costly animal offerings for the less well-to-do.²⁷ This fact may have been one motivation behind the general decision of the pentateuchal translators to render מנחה with θυσία, despite their choice of the same rendering for זבח.²⁸ In the few instances where they could be confused (Lev 5:13; 23:27; Num 18:9), the translators opted for different equivalents.²⁹

As in the Pentateuch, the translator of Ezek 40–48 commonly uses θυσία to render מנחה.³⁰ Somewhat disconcertingly, in the midst of a passage, he switches to the transliteration μαναα (45:24–25), which he employs throughout the rest of the instances in which מנחה occurs, with one exception.³¹ Daniel's explanation for this fact attributes too much ingenuity to the translator by supposing that he uses θυσία only when he is referring to cereal offerings containing both flour and oil.³² This does not explain the translation of מנחה in Ezek 45:24a as θυσία, which she argues must be caused by the reference to the offering as a whole. Similarly, Daniel is required to emend the text of Vaticanus in Ezek 46:5 to make her theory work, as this verse contains θυσία where the oil would presumably not be included. It seems simpler to see this as normal translational variation. The use of μαναα in the translation of other Septuagint books could indicate that the transliteration was used to eliminate the confusion between the two referents of θυσία (מנחה and זבח).³³ There seems to be little

²⁶ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 195–202.

²⁷ Lev. Rab. 8:4; m. *Menah.* 13:11; b. *Menah.* 110a, 104b; Philo, *Spec. Laws*, 1.271.

²⁸ Gen 31:54; 46:1; Exod 12:27; 18:12; 24:5; 34:15; Lev 3:1, 3, 6, 9; 4:10, 26, 31, 35; 7:1 [MT 11], 2 [MT 12], 3 [MT 13], 5 [MT 15], 6 [MT 16], 7 [MT 17], 10 [MT 20], 19 [MT 29; 2x], 22 [MT 32], 24 [MT 34], 27 [MT 37]; 8:18; 10:14; 17:5 [2x], 7, 8; 19:5; 22:21, 29; 23:19, 37; Num 6:17, 18; 7:17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53, 59, 65, 71, 77, 83, 88; 10:10; 15:3, 5, 8; 25:2; Deut 12:27; 18:3; 32:38; 33:19.

²⁹ Suzanne Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (Études et Commentaires 41; Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966), 204–07.

³⁰ Ezek 42:13; 44:29; 45:15, 17 [2x], 24; 46:5b.

³¹ Ezek 45:25; 46:5a, 7, 11, 14 [2x], 15, 20. The exception occurs at 46:5b, where he again employs θυσία.

³² *Ibid.*, 215–16.

³³ *Manaa* is used in 4 Kgdms 8:8, 9; 17:3, 4; 20:12; 2 Par. 7:7; 2 Esdras 23:9; Dan Th 2:46.

evidence to determine what occasioned the translator’s sudden switch in his rendering of מנחה.

The translator’s rendering of the holocaust sacrifice (הֵלֶךְ) likewise conforms to pentateuchal analogues. Occasionally, especially when it refers to the altar of burnt offering in the tabernacle or has some other comprehensive nuance, it can be translated with κάρπωμα in Exodus (40:6, 10, 29), as is פֶּשֶׁחַ.³⁴ Κάρπωμα reappears in Lev 1, but without the comprehensive nuance, and is used more or less as the synonym for the more common ὀλοκαύτωμα.³⁵ Ὀλοκαύτωμα and ὀλοκαύτωσις are by far the preferred terms for the burnt offering in Numbers and Deuteronomy.³⁶ The rendering of הֵלֶךְ as ὀλοκαύτωμα in LXX Ezek 40–48 is thus drawn from a common rendering in the Greek Pentateuch and the rest of the Greek Bible.³⁷ The probative quality of this correspondence is increased because ὀλοκαύτωσις and ὀλοκαύτωμα represent neologisms introduced for the first time in the Greek translation of the Pentateuch.³⁸

If the rendering of the Hebrew הֵלֶךְ follows the pentateuchal lexicon exactly, the rendering of the שְׁלֵמִים offering shows that though the translator was not bound by the exact formulae of the Pentateuch, he still makes use of them. The exact meaning of שְׁלֵמִים has been the subject of widespread debate, but the Greek rendering τὸ σωτήριοιον carries more or less the idea of health or well-being.³⁹ Daniel traces the use of τὸ σωτήριοιον as the translation of שְׁלֵמִים to pagan cultic practices beginning with Xenophon but current in the third century

³⁴ Ibid., 241–42.

³⁵ Κάρπωμα is used at Lev 1:4, 9, 13, 14, 17; in the same chapter, ὀλοκαύτωμα is used in vv. 3, 6, and 10.

³⁶ Ὀλοκαύτωμα translates הֵלֶךְ at Num 6:11, 14, 16; 7:15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81, 87; 8:12; 10:10; 15:3, 6, 8, 24; 23:6; 28:6, 10, 11, 14, 23, 24, 27, 30 [MT 31]; 29:2, 6 [2x], 8, 13, 36, 39; Deut 12:6, 11, 13, 14, 27; 27:6. Ὀλοκαύτωσις renders הֵלֶךְ at Num 6:14; 7:87; 15:5, 8; 23:17; 28:3, 10, 15, 23; 29:11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38.

³⁷ Ezek 40:40, 42; 43:18, 24, 27; 44:11, 15, 17, 23, 25; 46:2, 4, 12, 13, 15. For uses in the rest of the Greek Bible, see Hatch and Redpath.

³⁸ Daniel, *Vocabulaire du Culte*, 249–54.

³⁹ “On sait que la valeur active de l’adjectif σωτήριος, ‘qui sauve’, ‘qui préserve’, ‘salutaire’, s’affaiblit lorsqu’il est substantivé au neutre, ainsi qu’il l’est ici. Τὸ σωτήριοιον en effect signifie en grec, non pas ‘ce qui donne le salut’, ‘ce qui est salutaire’, mais ‘le salut’ lui-même; autrement dit, c’est un véritable synonyme du nom féminin ἡ σωτηρία” (Ibid., 275).

B.C.E. Such practices commemorate the saving act of a particular deity toward a certain locality.⁴⁰ In Ezek, the unique rendering τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου (Ezek 43:27; 45:17; 46:2, 12b) is more common than the simple σωτήριον (Ezek 45:15; 46:12a). Though the rendering τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου is unparalleled elsewhere in the Greek Bible, the combination of this unique reading and the simple σωτηρίου in the same context (Ezek 46:12) shows there cannot be any great difference in meaning.⁴¹ The substantivized neuter article can be explained as referring to the cultic material that comprises the offering. In fact, one passage suggests that σωτηρίου (in the genitive) has become something of a *terminus technicus* for the translator. In LXX Ezek 45:15, he renders וְלִשְׁלֵמִים with καὶ εἰς σωτηρίου.⁴² The solecism of the genitive case following the preposition εἰς is explicable only if the translator viewed the genitive σωτηρίου as being a fixed expression.⁴³ Further, if this is the case, he can only have derived this fixed expression from the Greek Pentateuch, once again demonstrating his dependence on it.

The rendering of the purification offering (תָּשֶׁח) in the Greek Pentateuch often refers to the sin that necessitates the sacrifice using the preposition περί or the simple genitive.⁴⁴ In other cases (e.g. Lev 5:6, 7, 8, 9), περί (τῆς) ἁμαρτίας occurs as a clear designation for the offering itself. Where the sacrificial animal itself was in view, this fact could be expressed by a neuter article before the prepositional phrase (τό τῆς ἁμαρτίας), whose antecedent can be construed as an implied δῶρον, ζῶον, or ἱερεῖον.⁴⁵

Like the Greek Pentateuch, the translator of Ezekiel sometimes renders the purification offering (ἁμαρτία) with the preposition περί, but more commonly uses ὑπέρ.⁴⁶ As will become clear, the translator varies in his use of περί and ὑπέρ for the reparation offering (םַשֶּׂחָ) as

⁴⁰ Ibid., 278–79.

⁴¹ Daniel (ibid., 282) suggests the translator was willing to render וְלִשְׁלֵמִים (without an article) with the simple σωτηρίου, but preferred his original construction for definite constructions.

⁴² For the full text, see pp 114–15 above.

⁴³ Ibid., 282–83.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 301–02. Περί: Exod 32:20; Lev 4:3 [2x], 14, 28, 35. Simple genitive: Lev 4:8, 20.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 302.

⁴⁶ Ὑπέρ: Ezek 40:39; 43:22, 25; 44:29; 45:17, 22, 23, 25; 46:20; cf. 1 Esd 7:8. Περί: Ezek 42:13; 43:19, 21.

well, so this variation is not especially significant. As with the offering of well-being, when the sacrificial animal is in view, the neuter article precedes the prepositional phrase.⁴⁷

In two instances, however, the translator renders the purification offering with a term other than *ἁμαρτία*. The first such instance occurs at Ezek 44:27, where the Hebrew תאטח is expressed through *ἰλάσμος*.

LXX Ezek 44:27

καὶ ἥ ἂν ἡμέρα εἰσπορεύωνται
εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐσωτέραν
τοῦ λειτουργεῖν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ,
προσοίσουσιν ἰλασμόν, λέγει κύριος.

And on whatever day they enter
the inner courtyard
to serve in the holy place,
they will bring an expiation, says
the Lord.

MT Ezek 44:27

⁴⁸וביום באו אל-הקדש
אל-החצר הפנימית
לשרת בקדש
יקריב תאטח נאם אדני יהוה

And on the day he enters the
holy place,
that is, the inner courtyard,
to serve in the holy place,
he will bring his purification
offering—an oracle of the
Lord God.

The context of the prescription has to do with the corpse-impurity of the priests, also dealt with in Lev 21:1–4. However, Ezek 44:27 seems to be describing regulations for priests to purify themselves from corpse-impurity that exceed those mentioned in the Pentateuch. While Num 19:11–12 knows of a seven-day period applicable to all Israelites, Ezek 44:27 seems to be prescribing an additional seven-day period of impurity that applies to priests.⁴⁹ While in the MT, Ezek 44:27 is most naturally read in light of the preceding concern with corpse-impurity (vv. 25–26), in LXX Ezek 44:27, the translator modulates into the plural, but not by analogy

⁴⁷ Ezek 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 45:17, 25; 46:20.

⁴⁸ The prepositional phrase *אל-הקדש* is generally deleted with LXX: Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 488; Jahn, *Ezekiel*, 322; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 157; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezekiel*, 249; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 451. It is retained as emphatic by Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 246 and Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 638 n. 127.

⁴⁹ Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 124; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 461.

with v. 25.⁵⁰ He understands באו as a 3cp perfect form, not an infinitive construct, as the Masoretic tradition pointed this verb. This grammatical decision may have caused him to render יקרִיב at the end of the verse as a plural as well, or perhaps this change had been made already in his source text. In either case, the LXX, either on the level of the source text or that of the translation,⁵¹ broke the connection of Ezek 44:27 with its preceding context. If so, what new context could the translator have had in mind? One clue can be gleaned from the translation of תאטח as ἰλάσμος, which recalls the use of this term in the Pentateuch as the rendering of כַּפּוּרִים.⁵² Based on this usage, it is possible that the translator was thinking of the biannual purification of the sanctuary to be depicted in LXX Ezek 45:18–20. LXX Ezek 44:27 mentions the “inner court,” where the altar was located, which may have helped the translator to make the connection with the purging of the sanctuary in Ezek 45:18–20. If so, the translator could be signaling his recognition of a connection between Ezek 44:27 and Ezek 45:18–20 by using (ἐξ)ιλάσμος to render the Hebrew root √אטח in both contexts.

In his rendering of √אטח in Ezek 45:18–19, the translator is also trying to clarify important lexical aspects of his source text, as is congruent with the task of philological translations. At Ezek 45:19, the purification offering is rendered in Greek by ἐξίλασμός. The context is the biannual purification of the temple just mentioned.⁵³ Ezek 45:18 describes the purpose of the purification offering as precisely this: שִׁדְרָה-תֵּאֲטֹחַ תֵּאֲטֹחַ // τοῦ ἐξιλᾶσθαι τὸ ἅγιον. So if the translator renders the תֵּאֲטֹחַ in the following verse as an ἐξίλασμός, it seems he wants to draw attention to the word play between תֵּאֲטֹחַ in v. 18 and תֵּאֲטֹחַ in the next verse, which he accomplishes by using the same Greek root (ἐξιλᾶσθαι and ἐξίλασμός). Like the term ἰλάσμος, ἐξίλασμός is also used to describe the Day of Atonement in the Greek Pentateuch (Lev 23:27–28), corroborating the previous suggestion

⁵⁰ Pace Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 461.

⁵¹ For the difficulty of making determinations about differences in person and number between the MT and the LXX, see pp. 36–37 above.

⁵² Lev 25:9; Num 5:8. See also 2 Macc 3:33, where the term is used in the context of Heliodoros' illegitimate entry into the temple. In Dan 9:9 Th and Ps 130:4, the term translates הַחֵלֶס, “forgiveness.”

⁵³ For the text, see pp. 118–19 above.

relating LXX Ezek 44:27 to the biannual purification in LXX Ezek 45. Thus, these variations from the pentateuchal rendering of the purification offering show themselves to reflect other pentateuchal terms.

Along with this major sacrificial terminology, there are a host of minor sacral terms that likewise show the translator’s dependence on the Greek Pentateuch. As is the case in the rest of the Septuagint, LXX Ezek 46:12 renders the Hebrew נדבה with *ὁμολογία*.⁵⁴ Similarly, in LXX Ezek 44:31 *θησιμαῖον* expresses נדבה, as is always the case throughout the Greek Bible.⁵⁵ In the latter instances, *θησιμαῖον* is paired with *θηριάλωτος* (=רפה), which is also uniformly translated throughout the Greek Bible.⁵⁶ The Greek Pentateuch also apparently introduces the term *θυσιαστήριον* for the first time, using it to represent authentic Jewish worship, in contrast to pagan altars, which it designates as *βωμοί*.⁵⁷ LXX Ezek 40–48 adopts the pentateuchal term *θυσιαστήριον* for the Jewish altar, but the wider book applies it equally to pagan altars.⁵⁸ Several transliterations common in the Pentateuch appear in LXX Ezek 40–48 as well, such as *iv*⁵⁹ and *οιφι*, but this is not sufficient proof of dependence.⁶⁰

The foregoing instances strongly suggest that LXX Ezek 40–48 participates in a translational tradition regarding sacrificial terminology, which was begun in the Greek Pentateuch. This employment of the Pentateuch as a sort of lexicon should not be understood in a mechanical fashion, as if the individual translators of

⁵⁴ The same translation is made in Deut 12:6, 17; 1 Esd 9:8; Amos 4:5. *Ὅμολογία* renders נדב in Lev 22:18; Jer 51 [MT 45]:25.

⁵⁵ Lev 5:2 [3x]; 7:14; 11:8, 11, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 [2x]; 17:15; 22:8; Deut 14:8, 21; 3 Kdms 13:25 [2x]; 4 Kdms 9:37; Ps 78 [MT 79]:2; Isa 5:25; Jer 16:18; 41 [MT 34]:20; 43 [MT 36]:30; Ezek 4:14.

⁵⁶ Gen 31:39; Exod 22:31 [MT 22:30]; 7:14; Lev 7:24 [MT 7:34]; 17:15; 22:8; Ezek 4:14.

⁵⁷ See Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1:290, who apparently regards *θυσιαστήριον* as a specifically Jewish word that must be explained (Daniel, *Vocabulaire du Culte*, 26–32).

⁵⁸ It is used in Ezek 40–48 at 40:46, 47; 41:22; 43:13 [2x], 18, 20, 22, 26, 27; 45:19; 47:1. *Θυσιαστήριον* designates pagan altars at Ezek 6:4, 5, 13.

⁵⁹ Ezek 4:11; 45:24; 46:5, 7, 11, 14. *iv* is used in the Pentateuch at Exod 29:40 [2x]; 30:24; Lev 23:13; Num 15:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; 28:5, 7, 14 [3x].

⁶⁰ Ezek 45:13b; note the more common rendering of אִיפָה as *μέτρον* in 45:13a. *Οιφι* appears in the Greek Bible at Lev 5:11; 6:20 [MT 6:13]; Num 5:15; 15:4; 28:5; Judg A and B 6:19; Ruth 2:17; 1 Kgdms 1:24; 25:18.

the rest of the Greek Bible were deprived of their own judgment in deciding on lexical equivalents. Though occasionally the translator employs pentateuchal terminology without exception (e.g. *δλοκαύτωμα*), far more frequently he varies the sacrificial terminology to suit his own understanding. Most often, the translator can be said to begin from or allude to pentateuchal terminology while freely varying terms based on his understanding of individual passages. This characteristic of the translator corresponds to his general *Übersetzungsweise* as we defined it above, in which lexical variation is a fundamental characteristic of the translator's approach. Clarity in expression is more important than lexical consistency (goal 1).

One noteworthy exception to the translator's tendency to use terminology from the Greek Pentateuch can be found in his rendering of the reparation offering (ⲡⲱⲠ). While the pentateuchal translators frequently render the reparation offering as *πλημμέλεια*, this rendering is never found in LXX Ezek 40–48.⁶¹ Rather, the translator renders the term with *περὶ ἀγνοίας* or *ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας*.⁶² Daniel explains this difference by supposing that the translator found the pentateuchal equivalent inadequate in this instance.⁶³ According to Daniel, the term *πλημμέλεια* had come to refer to criminal or sacrilegious conduct, not just inadvertent action, in the translation of the other books of the Septuagint.⁶⁴ As this did not fit with the idea described by ⲡⲱⲠ, the translator settled on the use of *περὶ / ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας*.

As it turns out, this translation may be motivated by the Greek Pentateuch as well. In Gen 26:10, Abimelech complains to Abraham that by passing off Sarah as his sister, he could have caused one of the people to sleep with his wife and thereby he would bring an inadvertent sin upon them (ⲡⲱⲠ *על־ינוּ הַבַּאֵר* // *καὶ ἐπήγαγες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἄγνοιαν*). Daniel argues that the sense of *ἄγνοια* in this context is not

⁶¹ *Πλημμέλεια* occurs in the Pentateuch at Lev 5:15, 16, 18, 19; 6:6 [MT 5:25]; 6:17 [MT 6:10], 31 [MT 7:1], 32 [MT 7:2], 35 [MT 7:5], 37 [MT 7:7]; 7:27 [MT 7:37]; 14:12, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25 [2x], 28; 19:21 [2x], 22; 22:16; Num 5:7; 6:12; 18:9.

⁶² *ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας*: Ezek 40:39; 44:29; 46:20. *Περὶ ἀγνοίας*: Ezek 42:13.

⁶³ Daniel, *Vocabulaire du Culte*, 321, wrote: "On est donc amené à conclure que ce recours à *ἄγνοια* est uniquement une question de vocabulaire, l'auteur de la Version d'Ezéchiel ne se contenant pas toujours des mots que lui fournissait la Version du Pentateuque."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* See Josh 7:1; 22:16, 20, 31; 2 Par 33:23; Dan 9:7.

one of ignorance but of a wrong committed against a neighbor. As evidence, she adduces the Greek translation of Sir 28:7, which she deems more or less contemporaneous with that of LXX Ezekiel, which counsels the wise person to “overlook faults” (πάριδε ἄγνοιαν).⁶⁵ It may also be that two instances in Leviticus (5:18 and 22:14) where נגגה is rendered with ἄγνοια (hence more with the idea of inadvertent sin) may have influenced the translator. Whatever his motivation, even if the translator of LXX Ezek 40–48 did not follow the regular Septuagintal rendering of the Greek Pentateuch, he still seems to have found inspiration in its pages for an alternative rendering.

In addition to this major divergence, there are numerous minor examples of divergence from standard priestly terminology. For example, the translator uses πέμμα (“cakes”) to render several instances of אִיפָה, whereas the Pentateuch uses the transliteration οἶφι.⁶⁶ The translator also uses οἶφι at Ezek 45:13b, demonstrating he is aware of it. More commonly, he uses μέτρον and πέμμα. Where the translator understands אִיפָה to indicate a specific measure of dry ingredients he renders the term with μέτρον, and where he understands it to be presented in baked form he uses the term πέμμα, which is otherwise not connected with the Jewish cult in the Greek Bible.⁶⁷

A few other variations can be explained as simple variation of vocabulary without deep significance. Thus πρωτογένημα renders בכורים in P, but in Ezek 44:30; 48:14 it renders ראשית.⁶⁸ Probably the translator wanted to express the Hebrew root as closely as possible, and so reserved the root πρωτο- for the term more easily understood as “first” (ראשית). Another exchange is more significant for what it tells us about the translator’s thought patterns. While the Pentateuch uses ἰλαστήριον to translate כפרת, for the translator ἰλαστήριον is the equivalent of עזרה.⁶⁹ This may indicate that the translator was aware

⁶⁵ Ibid., 324–25.

⁶⁶ For the use of οἶφι in the Greek Bible, see n. 60 above. The translator uses πέμμα in Ezek 45:24 [3x]; 46:5 [2x], 7 [3x], and 11 [3x].

⁶⁷ In Hos 3:1, the only other use of πέμμα in the LXX, it translates אִישֵׁשׁ, a raisin-cake apparently connected with idolatrous rites.

⁶⁸ Πρωτογένημα renders בכורים in Exod 23:16, 19; 34:26 [with ראשית]; Lev 2:14 [2x]; 23:17, 19, 20; Num 18:13; also 4 Kgdms 4:42; 2 Esd 20:37 (=Neh 10:36).

⁶⁹ The translation of כפרת with ἰλαστήριον occurs at Exod 25:17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; Lev 16:2, 13, 14. Ἰλαστήριον renders עזרה at Ezek 43:14 [3x], 17, 20.

of the fact that there was no ark of the covenant in Ezekiel's temple, but still wanted to preserve the idea of propitiation inherent in the term, and so applied it to a part of the altar with which he was unfamiliar (the ledge or עזרה). If so, the translator's motivation would be not to contradict but to preserve an important pentateuchal term. As a whole, then the translator seems to have made use of the sacrificial terminology of the Greek Pentateuch to a great extent, confirming his indebtedness to the Alexandrian translational tradition.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the translator does not reproduce such terminology mechanically, but adapts it in order to articulate its contextual significance as clearly as possible.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided two separate but related examples of how the translator could rely on context in the production of his translation of Ezek 40–48. Corresponding to the theme of purity that characterizes Ezek 40–48, the translator sometimes supplied terms relating to separation in his rendering of individual lexemes. The selection of such terms, of which the pre-eminent example is *διάστημα*, seems to represent the translator's attempt to bring coherence and unity to his translation. A second example of contextual influence on the translation of LXX Ezek 40–48 can be found in its use of pentateuchal terms. I have argued that the translator is indebted to pentateuchal terminology, but that he does not merely adopt these terms without reflecting on their suitability for his purpose. Frequent variation of terms familiar from the Greek Torah, and in some cases even rejection of such terms, shows that the translator was a relatively independent arbiter of translational practice. On the other hand, the translator's common practice seems to have been to begin with the vocabulary of the Greek Pentateuch, and so this relative independence should not be overstated.

While this chapter has highlighted select examples of how the translator sought to make sense of his source text, the following

⁷⁰ The internal evidence of the translation of various books is so far the strongest evidence for such a tradition of which I am aware. Because of the lack of evidence, I find it inadvisable to speak of a "school" setting for the use of the Greek translations. On this point, see Troxel, *LXX Isaiah*, 69–70.

chapter will take up the ways in which he transformed this source text in light of his Hellenistic audience. This recontextualization is visible in the translator's incorporation of Hellenistic architecture, as well as a few hints at a more inclusive interpretation of Judaism than would be apparent from the traditional Hebrew text of these chapters.

CHAPTER 5: THE TRANSLATOR AND HIS TARGET READERSHIP

This chapter addresses the degree to which the translator tailored his translation to the circumstances of his intended readership. In what follows, I will adduce evidence for two major ways in which the translator transformed his source text in order to highlight its persuasiveness: his incorporation of Hellenistic architectural terminology in his temple description, and his assumption that economic and religious benefits enjoyed by Jews should be mediated outward. Both of these larger trends seek to recontextualize the translator's source text in his Hellenistic milieu, but are subordinated to his larger translational goals.

THE TRANSLATOR AND HELLENISTIC TEMPLES

In both the LXX and the MT, Ezekiel's temple functions as an integrated architectural symbol of the presence of the Deity with his people. This presence is guaranteed through the proper operation of the cult by the appropriate ministers.¹ By this I mean that Ezekiel's temple constitutes a system of symbols whose meaning exists in the

¹ I understand the term "symbol" as a verbal or concrete expression that points beyond itself to a deeper reality with which it cannot be completely identified. For a differentiation of the term *symbol* from *sign*, see the literature cited in Dale F. Launderville, *Spirit & Reason: The Embodied Character of Ezekiel's Symbolic Thinking* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007), 6–9.

relationship of these symbols both to one another and to the larger reality in which they participate. It is crucial to the functioning of such an integrated set of symbols, therefore, that the reader engages them on both levels; that is, in their relationship with each other and their connections to the larger cultural matrix.

Much of the architecture of Ezekiel's temple highlights distance and separation from the dangerous power of the Deity. The imposing gates, which measure half as long as the inner court, emphasize the strong separation necessary between the sacred and profane realms.² So, too the sequence of staircases with increasingly numerous steps serves as a concrete representation of controlled access to the sacred. The main emphasis of Ezekiel's new and improved temple is clear: "to separate the holy from the profane" (להבדיל בין הקדש לחרל; Ezek 42:20). The external motivation for Ezekiel's vision is also supplied in the prophet's polemic against the פגרי מלכיהם in Ezek 43:7–9, which was separated from the temple only by a wall, and so did not properly respect the sacredness of the temple complex.

With the advent of Hellenistic culture and the need for the rendering of the Hebrew source-text into Greek, the translator of Ezek 40–48 was confronted with a problem: many aspects of the rich tapestry of symbols that constituted Ezekiel's temple had in the meantime become obsolete. Launderville notes: "Integral to the authentic functioning of a symbol is its interpretation. If that symbol does not resonate with the interpreter and call that person to self-expression, then the symbol has become broken."³ My purpose in this section is to examine how the translator of Ezek 40–48 incorporated Hellenistic architectural elements within his rendering of Ezekiel's temple, and what resonances these terms carried among the Hellenistically-aculturated audience of his day. I will argue that the depiction of the idealized temple in the Septuagint of Ezekiel motivated its readers in part through its power to stimulate their imagination. As a result, by updating the aesthetic appeal of Ezekiel's restoration as he did, the translator was able to stimulate his readers' positive perceptions of Judaism. The translator's incorporation of

² Moshe Greenberg, "The Design and Themes of Ezekiel's Program of Restoration" *Int* 38 (1984): 181–208; reprint, *Interpreting the Prophets* (ed. James Luther Mays and Paul J. Achtemeier; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 215–36 (at 225).

³ Launderville, *Spirit and Reason*, 77.

Hellenistic architecture in his rendering of Ezekiel's temple therefore serves as one mechanism to re-idealize the symbolic world of Ezekiel's temple and thus to preserve its suasive force. In the received Hebrew text, Ezekiel's vision begins with the temple, proceeds to the Zadokite priests and their law, and only then enlarges its view outward toward the redistribution of the promised land. Likewise in the Septuagint, the vision of idealized Jewish identity is rooted in the cult and is most concretely visible in the temple architecture (Ezek 40:4; 43:10–12). The Greek version of these chapters, in contrast to the MT, also asks how such a vision of Jewish identity addresses the question of the relationship of such religiously defined Jews to their Hellenistic environment, in the process addressing questions of Jewish identity beyond the confines of their own land.

Στοά / Περύστυλον (Ezekiel 40:17–18; 42:3–5)

As is well known, in sacred Greek architecture, the term *στοά* is used to describe a long, often rectangular, colonnade enclosed by a roof. Frequently, this rectangular colonnade served as an entrance to the temple, and so the term is often rendered as “portico” or “porch.” A *στοά* could consist of multiple stories, as in the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian agora.⁴ Josephos repeatedly describes the porticoes of the Second Temple⁵ and depicts Solomon's temple as possessing them as well.⁶ According to Philo, the Jerusalem temple had four double stoas (*Spec. Laws* 1.71). 3 Kgdms 6:33 likewise places stoas with four rows

⁴ See Richard Brilliant, *Arts of the Ancient Greeks* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 305–07 for the Stoa of Attalos. The South Stoa at Corinth faced the open agora and was set up for buying and selling; see William B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of its Historical Development* (New York/London: Norton, 1975), 240–41.

⁵ Josephos's main description of the *στοαί* of the Second Temple can be found in *J. W.* 5.190–92. He portrays Herod as surrounding the Second Temple with enormous stoas (*περιελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ στοαῖς μεγίσταις τὸν ναόν*, *Ant.* 15.396), which took him approximately eight years to build (*Ant.* 15.420). The eastern side of the Temple was furnished with a double stoa (*Ant.* 15.411), which Josephos noted many past kings had adorned (*Ant.* 15.401).

⁶ Josephos attributed the eastern-most stoa of the Second Temple to King Solomon and described it as measuring four hundred cubits in length (*Ant.* 20.221; *J. W.* 5.185). He also portrays Solomon as constructing great porticoes in the first temple with wide gates surrounding the outer court (*Ant.* 8.96–98).

(στοαὶ τετραπλῶς) at the entrance to the ναόν in Solomon’s temple.⁷ A missive from Antiochus III to Ptolemy apparently regards a στοά as a necessary component of any temple, and commands Ptolemy to construct the temple using the materials provided (*Ant.* 12.141). Likewise, John 10:23 depicts Jesus as walking in Solomon’s portico (ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Σαλομῶνος), and this feature of the Second Temple is mentioned by other NT sources as well (Acts 3:11; 5:12). Jewish compositions and translations from the Second Temple period and later may likewise reflect the influence of the Greek stoa, perhaps through its particularized incarnation in the Second Temple itself.⁸

In LXX Ezek 40–48, the term στοά is used opposite the Hebrew hyponyms רצפה (40:18); אחיק (42:3); and בנין (42:5). These descriptions of the στοά constitute part of the depictions of both the outer court (40:17–18) and the priestly arcades (42:1–14), and they run as follows.

LXX Ezek 40:18

καὶ αἱ στοαὶ κατὰ νότου τῶν πυλῶν,
κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν πυλῶν
τὸ περίστυλον τὸ ὑποκάτω.

The stoas were behind the gates,
along the length of the gates.

MT Ezek 40:18

והרצפה אל-כתף השערים
לעמת ארך השערים
הרצפה התחתונה

The pavement was beside the
gates
along the length of the gates.

⁷ The MT is defective at precisely this point, reading מאת רבעית. Some exegetes restore the MT to read מזווח רבעות in agreement with the LXX (στοαὶ τετραπλῶς). Others delete מאת and view רבעית as analogous to חמשיה in 6:31, thus representing four-sided doors. See Martin J. Mulder, *1 Kings 1–11* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 277 for further discussion.

⁸ In describing the First Temple, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan renders the Hebrew עמוד with the term אסטונה, which can refer to a pillar or a colonnade (2 Kgs 11:14; 23:3; 2 Chr 34:31). This appears to conflate Solomon’s temple with the Second Temple, which had such a colonnade (Carol A. Dray, *Translation and Interpretation in the Targum to the Books of Kings* [Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 5; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 27). Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 27, cites A. Tal, *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1975), 186 [Hebrew] in support of the derivation of אסטונה from Old/ Middle Persian *sutūn*, “column/pillar. See also Dray’s discussion of Tg’s translation of כתר in the MT with קרונתא (Corinthian capital of a column), a Hellenistic architectural feature that may also reflect the Second Temple (b. *Yoma* 38a; Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 26–27).

This was the lower colonnade.

LXX Ezek 42:3–5

3 διαγεγραμμένοι⁹ ὄν τρόπον¹⁰ αἱ πύλαι
τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐσωτέρας
καὶ ὄν τρόπον τὰ περίστυλα τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς
ἐξωτέρας,
ἐστιχισμένοι ἀντιπρόσωποι στοαί τρισσαί.
4 καὶ κατέναντι τῶν ἐξεδρῶν
περίπατος πηχῶν δέκα τὸ πλάτος,
ἐπὶ πήχεις ἑκατὸν τὸ μῆκος·
καὶ τὰ θυρώματα αὐτῶν πρὸς βορρᾶν.
5 καὶ οἱ περίπατοι οἱ ὑπερῶοι ὡσαύτως,
ὅτι ἐξείχετο τὸ περίστυλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ,
ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκάτωθεν περιστύλου,
καὶ τὸ διάστημα·
οὕτως περίστυλον καὶ διάστημα
καὶ οὕτως στοαί.¹¹

This was the lower pavement.

MT Ezek 42:3–5

3 נגד העשרים אשר לחצר הפנימי
ונגד רצפה אשר לחצר החיצונה
אתיק אל-פני-אתיק בשלשים
4 ולפני הלשכות
מהלך עשר אמות רחב
אל-הפנימית דרך אמה אחת
ופתחיהם לצפון
5 והלשכות העליונת קצרות
כי-יוכלו אתיקים מהנה
מהתחנות
ומהתכנות בנין

⁹ Διαγεγραμμένοι here seems to be the translator's insertion, or his guess at whatever corresponded in his *Vorlage* to נגד העשרים in the MT. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 392 confesses ignorance of the motivation for the LXX translation διαγεγραμμένοι. Over a hundred years ago, Peters argued that the translator recognized MT's reading העשרים ("the twenty") as a mistake for השערים ("gates"), and then marked it as a gloss (διαγεγραμμένοι = "erased") [John P. Peters, "Critical Notes," *JBL* 12 (1893): 47–48]. Peters appealed to the practice of Babylonian scribes in writing *hibi* (broken) when their source text was destroyed or illegible. The fact that elsewhere in LXX Ezekiel or the rest of the Septuagint no similar note can be found, as well as the fact that διαγράφω means something "engraved" or "written" elsewhere in LXX Ezekiel (4:1; 8:10; 43:11) makes this solution unlikely. It seems preferable to regard διαγεγραμμένοι as having been added by the translator as a clarification that after the intervention of 42:2, the arcades (ἐξέδραι) of the inner court are once again in view, as they form the subject of the entire pericope in 42:1–14. It is also possible that the translator was influenced in his choice of the verb διαγράφω by the decoration just encountered in 41:17–20, 25, as well as the desire to stress the acceptable nature of such decoration in the arcades in contrast to the idolatrous designs inscribed (διαγεγραμμένα) in Ezek 8:10.

¹⁰ The phrase ὄν τρόπον in LXX Ezek 40–48 occurs opposite two hyponyms: לעמת (42:7; 45:6) and כאשר (46:12; 48:11). At 40:23, it is unclear what its Hebrew hyponym could be. In 42:3, it is likely the translator read כאשר, although a determination of his precise *Vorlage* is impossible.

3 The *arcades*¹² were decorated in the same manner as the gates of the inner court and in the same manner as the peristyles of the exterior courtyard.

Triple stoas were arranged in rows, facing each other.

4 And opposite the arcades was a walkway of 10 cubits' breadth

by 100 cubits in length

and its doorways were northward.

5 And the upper walkways were similar,

because the colonnade projected from it,

from the lower colonnade and the interval.

In this way were the colonnade and interval,

and in this way was the stoa.

3 Opposite the twenty *cubit space* belonging to the inner court

and opposite the pavement belonging to the exterior courtyard,

were galleries facing galleries in three stories.

4 In front of the chambers was a walkway of 10 cubits' breadth;

on the inside was a one-cubit way (?),

and their doorways were northward.

5 The upper chambers were shortened

for the galleries took away *more* from them

than from the lower and middle levels of the structure.¹³

The first hyponym, רצפה, which is translated with περίστυλον in 40:17; 18b and with στοά in 40:18a, highlights the translator's lexical freedom. Yadin suggested that the translator understood the term רצפה to comprise both a περίστυλον, a colonnade running the length of

¹¹ LXX^v Ezek 42:5 includes a summary statement not witnessed in MT. Due to the translator's variability in rendering διάστημα and στοά, it is impossible to retrovert the Greek translation to its original Hebrew.

¹² That the ἐξέδραι of 42:1 are in view is shown by the feminine plural form of the participle, which does not agree with the neuter τὰ περίστυλα of 42:3 or τὸ διορίζον of 42:1. See Hubler, "Iezekiel," *NETS*, 979 n. d.

¹³ The translation of MT here follows Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 561.

the side, and a *στοά*, a portico immediately behind each of the three outer gates.¹⁴ The fact that both *στοά* and *περίστυλον* likewise occur in close proximity in Ezek 42:3–5, the only other passage in which רצפה appears in Ezek 40–48, supports Yadin’s hypothesis. In the latter passage, the translator describes three rows of stoas laid out next to one another. Once again, the translator exhibits a conscious lexical differentiation in his rendering of קִתְּיָא with both *στοά* and *περίστυλον*. In lieu of transliterating this presumably unknown term,¹⁵ as he does with other terms throughout the temple description,¹⁶ he chooses instead to translate it *ad sensum*.¹⁷ The reappearance of the Hebrew רצפה in Ezek 42:3 occasioned the re-employment of both Hellenistic features associated with this architectural element in Ezek 40:17–18 (*στοά* and *περίστυλον*). It is likely that the translator also took his cue from the implication of the phrase הרצפה התחתון (“the lower pavement”) in Ezek 40:18 that there must be an upper pavement (רצפה) –complete with stoa and peristyle—as well, even though this structure is not mentioned. If so, the translator apparently regarded Ezek 42:3–5 as the depiction of this upper pavement. Even if this explanation is not accepted, in these passages, it is incontrovertible that the translator introduces two indispensable components of a Hellenistic temple, the stoa and its peristyle, into Ezekiel’s temple.

Περίβολος / Προτείχισμα (Ezekiel 40:5; 42:20)

In Greek architecture, the term *περίβολος* can refer either to a wall that encloses the outer court of a sanctuary¹⁸ or to the temenos thus

¹⁴ *Temple Scroll*, 1:263.

¹⁵ For consideration of the meaning of the Hebrew קִתְּיָא, see the commentaries: Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 382; Elliger, “Tempelsakristeien,” 85; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 558. Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 547 translates this term with *Absätze*.

¹⁶ For transliterations in LXX Ezekiel, see Lust, “A Lexicon of the Three” and chapter two above.

¹⁷ He renders קִתְּיָא with four terms in his translation, each of which seems to indicate a sense derived from its immediate context (see Appendix C). It is expressed with *ἀπόλοιπον* in 41:15b and *ὑπόφανσις* in 41:16, in addition to the renderings with *στοά* and *περίστυλον* in Ezek 42:3, 5.

¹⁸ 2 Macc 1:15; Josephos, *Ant.*, 13.181; Herodotus 1.181; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.71; (Pseudo?)-Hekataios *apud* Josephos, *Ag. Ap.* 1.198 (see n. 20 below).

enclosed.¹⁹ The term is well-attested in Greek Jewish sources when applied to the Jerusalem Temple. Philo, for example, discusses the temple’s *περίβολος* as an enclosing wall, consisting of great size and breadth and enclosing four porticoes (*στοαῖς*) of lavish appearance (*Spec. Laws* 1.71). Josephos, *Ant.* 13.181 pictures Jonathan as urging the people to set up the enclosing wall (*περίβολος*) around the temple that had been torn down. Aristeeas §84 mentions three enclosing walls of the Temple, over seventy cubits in size. (Pseudo-?) Hekataios reports that the sanctuary is located nearly in the middle of the city and contains a *περίβολος* that encloses an area of about five *plethra* by 100 cubits (*apud Jos. Ag. Ap.*, 1.198).²⁰

Προτείχισμα, on the other hand, is not generally associated with sacred architecture in Greek sources. Frequently in Jewish sources it describes an outside support to existing defensive structures, especially fortifications.²¹ For example, Josephos, *J. W.* 1.42 describes an elephant of Antiochus’ army adorned with gold-covered protective gear (*προτειχίμασι*). In addition to these Jewish Greek sources, the mostly defensive significance of *προτειχίμα* is evident from native Greek sources.²²

These two terms, *περίβολος* and *προτειχίμα*, appear together twice, in LXX Ezek 40:5 and 42:20. The letters in parentheses refer to the architectural elements identified in the diagrams in Appendix A.

LXX Ezek 40:5

Καὶ ἰδοὺ περίβολος ἔξωθεν τοῦ οἴκου
κύκλω·

καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κάλαμος,
τὸ μέτρον πηγῶν ἕξ ἐν πήχει καὶ
παλαιστῆς,

MT Ezek 40:5

והנה חומה מחוץ לבית סביב סביב

וביד האיִש קנה

המדה שש-אמות באמה וטפח

¹⁹ 1 Macc 14:48; 2 Macc 6:4; 4 Macc 4:11; Sir 50:2; Josephos *J. W.* 5.186; *Ant.*, 15.380, 417, 400.

²⁰ The authenticity of the fragments attributed to Hekataios in Josephos’ *Ag. Ap.* has been the subject of fierce debate. For a recent view, see Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus, on the Jews: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

²¹ 2 Par. 32:5, 2 Kgdms 20:15; Jer 52:7; Lam 2:8; Philo, *Posterity*, 50.

²² Thucydides 4.90.4; 6.100.2; 6.102.2; 7.43.6; Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, 13.4; Diodoros Siculus 15.72.1; 18.34.1; 20.23.1; 20.23.2. An apparently offensive nuance of *προτειχίμα* as referring to a siege-wall is present in Plutarch, *Dion* 44.5.

καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ προτείχισμα,
πλάτος ἴσον τῷ καλάμῳ
καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ ἴσον τῷ καλάμῳ.

וימד את-רחב הבנין
קנה אחד
וקומה קנה אחד

Now behold! *There was* an
enclosing wall (R) outside the
house, all around.

Now behold! *There was* a wall
outside the house, all
around.

And in the man's hand was a reed
whose measure was six cubits (by
the cubit and a span *measure*).

And in the man's hand was a
reed;
whose measure was six cubits
(by the cubit and a span
measure).

And he measured the outwork (c):
its width was equal to the reed
and its height was equal to the
reed.

And he measured the width of
the structure:
one reed
and its height was one reed.

LXX Ezek 42:20

τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ αὐτοῦ
καλάμου.²³

καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸν
καὶ περίβολον αὐτῷ κύκλῳ
πεντακοσίων πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς
καὶ πεντακοσίων πηγῶν εὐρος
τοῦ διαστέλλειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἁγίων

MT Ezek 42:20

לארבע רוחות

מדדו
חומה לו סביב סביב
ארך חמש מאות
ורחב חמש מאות
להבדיל בין הקדש

καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ προτειχίσματος
τοῦ ἐν διατάξει τοῦ οἴκου.²⁴

לחל

²³ For differences between MT and LXX Ezek 42:20, see pp. 102–03 above.

²⁴ It is likely that the last phrase of Ezek 42:20 was a marginal note or explanatory gloss in the Hebrew that has been drawn into the translator's *Vorlage*. In the context of LXX Ezekiel, *προτείχισμα* is perfectly comprehensible as constituting part of the Temple architecture, while the term חל in Hebrew could be subject to confusion between הַל (profane) and הַל (rampart). Compare Vul's reading: *illud murum...dividentem inter sanctuarium et vulgi locum* ("that wall...dividing between the sanctuary and the place of the people").

| | |
|---|---|
| 20 The four <i>were</i> part <u>of the same reed</u> . | 20 In the four directions ²⁵ |
| And he arranged it in order. | he measured it. |
| And it had an <u>enclosing wall</u> (R) around it: | It had a <u>wall</u> all around it. |
| 500 to the east | Its length was 500 |
| and its length was 500 cubits | and its width was 500 |
| to divide between the sanctuary | to divide between sacred |
| and the <u>outwork</u> (c) ²⁶ | and <u>profane</u> . |
| <i>which is</i> in the arrangement of the house. | |

As demonstrated above (pp. 101–110), *προτείχισμα* renders $\eta\eta$ in LXX^V Ezek 42:20, where the MT instead points the word as $\eta\eta$ (profane). On the other hand, *περίβολος* corresponds to $\eta\eta$ in both texts. The two terms together form an *inclusio*, made more noticeable in LXX Ezek 40:5 and 42:20 through the repetition of *προτείχισμα*, which brackets the description of the temple in LXX Ezek 40:5–42:20. The deliberateness of this *inclusio* is beyond question, since in Ezek 40:5 the translator parts with his usual translation of $\eta\eta$ by $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\iota\omicron\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\nu$ (“the partition”) in order to sustain it.²⁷ The translator seems already to have been aware of Ezek 42:20, with its identification of the $\eta\eta$ (= *προτείχισμα*, outwork) as an architectural feature, and to have used this knowledge to interpret the less specific $\eta\eta$ in Ezek 40:5. Thus, the translator’s understanding of $\eta\eta$ is rooted in LXX^V.

It is difficult at first glance to determine what relationship the translator envisioned between the enclosing wall (*περίβολος*) and the outwork (*προτείχισμα*). In his recent translation of LXX Ezek 42:20, Hubler seems to differentiate the terms, rendering *περίβολος* with “enclosing wall” and *προτείχισμα* with “outer wall.”²⁸ The defensive

²⁵ So NAB.

²⁶ For justification of the translation “trench” for *προτείχισμα*, see below.

²⁷ The reading in MT Ezek 40:5 must be taken in the looser sense of “structure.” See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 348–49; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 516 n. 5 for discussion of the term $\eta\eta$ in the MT. Zimmerli and other form- and redaction-critics generally take 40:5b as a secondary interpolation. For the translator’s understanding of $\eta\eta$, see pp. 143–45 above.

²⁸ Hubler, “Iezekiel,” *NETS*, 980.

nuance of *προτείχισμα*, which is apparent elsewhere in the LXX,²⁹ supports Hubler's translation. This protective function, similar to that of the outsized eastern gates,³⁰ is not intended to withstand attack from enemy forces but instead to protect the sanctuary from illegitimate encroachment. While such a defensive nuance is foreign to Greek temples in general, its association with *περίβολος* may have rendered it a bit more acceptable to culturally sensitive Greek Jews. The defensive nuance of *προτείχισμα* underlines the translator's commitment to cultic purity, as identified above.

Ἐξέδραι (Ezekiel 40:44–46; 41:10; 42:1–14; 44:19; 46:19–23)

A third term that provides evidence of the translator's incorporation of Hellenistic architecture is *ἐξέδρα*, which does not appear in the LXX outside Ezek 40–48. It can refer to a bench,³¹ or rooms of a typical house,³² but can also designate a hall or arcade with seats, such as at athletic contests.³³ Commonly, the *ἐξέδρα* is a room with seats used for philosophical or other kinds of discussion. Vitruvius depicted a structure in this way: "In the three colonnades construct roomy recesses (exedras) with seats in them, where philosophers, rhetoricians and all others who delight in learning may sit and converse" (*On Architecture* 5.11.2).³⁴ Similarly, *ἐξέδρα* can indicate a place for political deliberation.³⁵ Cicero uses the term *exhedra* to describe an alcove for individual use.³⁶ In line with classical usage,

²⁹ 2 Kgdms 20:15; 3 Kgdms 20:23 (=MT 1 Kgs 21:23); 2 Par 32:5; Jer 52:7; Lam 2:8.

³⁰ The outsized gates, whose length is half of the length of the inner court, represent the idea of controlled access to the divine. Greenberg, "Ezekiel's Program of Restoration," 225; see also Tuell, *Law of the Temple*, 59–61. Zimmerli postulates that guards must have been stationed in the niches of the gates in order to restrict access: Walther Zimmerli, "Ezechieltempel und Salomostadt," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (VTSup 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 406–07.

³¹ Menander, *Women Drinking Hemlock*, 10.

³² Euripides, *Orestes*, 1450.

³³ Dio Chrysostom, 28.2.

³⁴ Morris Hicky Morgan, trans., *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 160.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Brutus*, 14.2, 17.1.

³⁶ *On Oratory* 3.5.17; *On the Limits of Good and Evil* 5.2.4.

Josephos mentions a “magnificent hall” (ἐξέδρα διαπρεπής) in which Solomon used to render judgment to his subjects (*Ant.* 8.134). Herod’s temple also had ἐξέδραι in its inner forecourts (*J. W.* 5.201–06). The Greek ἐξέδρα also made its way into rabbinic parlance.³⁷ In view of the uses of ἐξέδρα in Greek literature surveyed, the possibility that the translator chose the term for its connections to philosophy, rhetoric and learning may be raised.

In LXX Ezek 40–48, ἐξέδρα is used for the most part as one of the renderings of the Hebrew לשכה in the MT,³⁸ but it also is the equivalent of the term טור in MT Ezek 46:23, where it occurs twice. Nor is לשכה always rendered by ἐξέδρα.³⁹ Thus the לשכות in the outer courtyard, accessible to the Levites and lay Israelites, are not ἐξέδραι but παστοφορία.⁴⁰ Other renderings of לשכה indicate a difference in *Vorlage* (45:5)⁴¹ or introduce another Greek architectural feature, the walkway (περίπατος) in 42:4.

Two different kinds of structures called ἐξέδραι are differentiated by the width of their walkways. The five or fifteen structures⁴² with dimensions of fifty by twenty cubits mentioned in 42:1–14 are intended for the consumption and storage of the most sacred

³⁷ In *m. Mid.* 1:5, a northern gate of the Temple, called the “Gate of Light,” has a chamber (אכסדרא) with an upper room on top of it, so that the priests could keep watch above and the Levites could below. In this passage, the Mishna thus associates the ἐξέδρα with the Levites. This אכסדרא had an entrance to the rampart (חיל) previously discussed (see also *m. Tam.* 1:3). Outside the temple description, the term refers to a chamber (*Tg. Ps.* 104:3; *Tg. Ps.-J. Judg* 3:23), describes the portico of a schoolhouse (*b. B. Bat.* 11b), and appears in a cosmological comparison (*b. B. Bat.* 25a–b).

³⁸ Ezek 40:44, 45, 46; 41:10; 42:1 (B adds the descriptor πέντε here; A adds δέκα), 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 [3x]; 44:19; 46:19.

³⁹ In לשכה in the MT is rendered by a variety of terms in the LXX in addition to ἐξέδρα: περίπατος (42:5), τοῦ κατοικεῖν (45:5, reading לשכן), and παστοφορία (40:17 [2x], 38). In LXX Ezek 45:5, the presumed *Vorlage* is עיריים לשבה; see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 466.

⁴⁰ This translation of לשכה with παστοφορίον recalls the identical translation in 1 and 2 Par, which associate these rooms with the Levites. See especially 1 Par 9:26; 23:28, which assign the παστοφορία to the Levites; cf. also 1 Par 28:12; 2 Par 31:11. The παστοφορία are assigned to the priests in 1 Macc 4:38, 57.

⁴¹ Ezek 45:5, where the LXX rendering presumes עיריים לשבה as its *Vorlage*.

⁴² For a discussion of the different readings of A and B here, see Daniel M. O’Hare, “Innovation and Translation: Hellenistic Architecture in Septuagint Ezekiel 40–48,” *BIOSCS* 42 (2009): 85 n. 20.

offerings, and are marked by a ten-cubit walkway (Υ). A second set of ἐξέδραι is mentioned in 41:10–11 and is distinguished from the former set of ἐξέδραι by its five-cubit light-opening (α). The intention of this last set of ἐξέδραι is not mentioned in the text, but it could have served scholastic, philosophical or scribal purposes, as suggested by its Greek name. The designation of both sets of these halls or arcades as ἐξέδραι associates the Zadokites with the Jewish intelligentsia.

Περίπατος (Ezekiel 42:4, 5, 10, 11, 12)

In LXX Ezek 40–48, the *περίπατος* (walkway; δ) appears only in the account of the arcades toward the north of the northern barrier and the empty space (42:1–14). It provides a clear example of the translator's lexical freedom, as it corresponds to three different hyponyms in the MT.⁴³ Besides these three uses, it appears in Ezek 42:10 as well, where its hyponym is uncertain. The first Hebrew term in the MT to which it corresponds, מַהֲלָךְ (42:4), provides a very close counterpart to *περίπατος* in the LXX. Once the translator introduces his walkway, he maintains it through the entire section, even at the risk of identifying it with an architectural feature that would not ordinarily be associated with such a walkway (for example, לִשְׂכָּה in 42:5).⁴⁴

As in LXX Ezek 40–48, the most basic sense of *περίπατος* in Greek is that of a walkway.⁴⁵ The public walkways were a favorite of philosophers, who used them to discourse and to discuss the problems of their field, although non-philosophers could certainly walk and talk as well.⁴⁶ In the course of time, *περίπατος* increasingly served to indicate a kind of philosopher, the Peripatetic.⁴⁷ The use of ἐξέδρα and *περίπατος* together can be illuminated by comparing the

⁴³ In 42:4, *περίπατος* corresponds to מַהֲלָךְ; in 42:5, it renders לִשְׂכָּה; in 42:11–12, its Hebrew analogue is דָּר.

⁴⁴ A similar flattening technique is also used with the interval (διάστημα) in LXX Ezek 40–48 (see above).

⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 39.2, *Demetrius* 50.5, *Cimon* 13.8, *Precepts of Statecraft* 818 D; Josephos, *J. W.* 1.413. In an extended sense, *περίπατος* could also indicate exercise: Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 1.1.10; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 7.4, *Stoic Self-Contradictions* 1033 C.

⁴⁶ Polybius, 29.1.1.1; Josephos, *Ant.* 15.337.

⁴⁷ Strabo, *Geography* 13.1.54; Josephos, *Ag. Ap.* 1.176.

depiction of Ezekiel’s temple to the Mouseion at Alexandria, as described by Strabo.

τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. ἔστι δὲ τῆς συνόδῳ ταύτῃ καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μουσείῳ, τεταγμένος τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλείων, νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.⁴⁸

The Mouseion is also part of the royal estates. It has a walkway, an arcade, and a great house, in which is located the mess-hall⁴⁹ of the members of the Mouseion, learned men. In this company there exists both a common fund and a priest who is over the Mouseion, formerly appointed by the kings but now by Caesar.

It is striking that the translator uses the same two architectural features Strabo noted in the Mouseion to describe Ezekiel’s Temple (ἐξέδρα and περίπατος). I am not arguing that the translator of Ezek 40–48 can be proven to refer to the Alexandrian Mouseion in his translation, especially given that Strabo’s description of the structure probably post-dates the translation of Greek Ezekiel.⁵⁰ What is significant, I believe, is the association of these two terms with philosophy and learning. Their use in Ezek 40–48 suggests that like the Alexandrian Mouseion, renowned for its scholarship, Ezekiel’s

⁴⁸ The text is from *Geography* 17.1.8 (C794), as given in Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (8 vols; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932; Reprint, 1959), 8:34. The translation is my own.

⁴⁹ LSJ, “συσσίτιον,” 1734 provides an alternative sense of the term as “common-room.” Since the passage describes common funds, it is more likely to refer to provision of meals. So *ibid.*, 8:35.

⁵⁰ Strabo was born ca. 64 B.C.E. and lived past the turn of the era. For Strabo’s life and his reception in antiquity, see Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London/ New York: Routledge, 2000); Aubrey Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo’s Geography* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975), 3–24; and Georg Wissowa, Wilhem Kroll and Karl Mittelhaus, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2. Reihe (18 vols.; Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1931), 7:76–155. The time of the translation of LXX Ezekiel is disputed, but probably belongs most easily in the second century B.C.E.

temple is populated by Zadokite priests, who are in actuality learned men (φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν). In the Septuagint, as in the received Hebrew text, Ezekiel's temple description is in part an architectural commentary on the Zadokite priests, who like the temple serve as idealized symbols of Jewish identity. Unlike the received Hebrew text, however, the Septuagint translator could be seen as associating the idealized Temple with Greek philosophy and learning. These associations are precisely what would be expected given the classification of LXX Ezek 40–48 as an operative translation, in which the connotations and associations of given terms serve the art of persuasion (see p. 26 above). So while on one level the translator is merely making use of common elements of Greek architecture, on a deeper level, the associations and connotations of these architectural elements create additional meaning that cannot be summarily excluded.

In support of this connection of ἐξέδρα and περίπατος with philosophy and learning is the association of Jewish worship with the highest ideals of Greek philosophy. This association had become commonplace by the second century B.C.E. and can only be treated briefly here.⁵¹ In his *Αἰγυπτιακά*,⁵² Hekataios of Abdera famously connected the aniconism of Jewish liturgy with the idea that Jews were philosophers.

⁵¹ A sensitive and informative, though a bit outdated, treatment of this issue can be found in Yehoshua Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1958–63) [Hebrew]. See also Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.* (WUNT 10; Mohr [Siebeck], 1969), 464–86.

⁵² The precise name of Hekataios' work has not been preserved. Modern reconstructions of the precise title have differed. Some scholars have advocated *Αἰγυπτιακά*: Curt Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), 330; Karl Trüdingen, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel: E. Birkhäuser, 1918), 50; Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 5. Others have advocated *Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*: Jacoby, *FGH* 3a 264 (p. 12); idem, *FGH* 3a (Kommentar), 75–87; O. Murray, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 142, 150; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 1:496. Both titles are based on analogous ethnographical works, and no final judgment seems possible given the present state of the evidence.

ἀγαλμα δὲ θεῶν τὸ σύνολον οὐ κατεσκεύασε διὰ τὸ μὴ νομίζειν ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν οὐρανὸν μόνον εἶναι θεὸν καὶ τῶν ὅλων κύριον.⁵³

But [Moses] did not construct any images of the gods at all for them, since he did not consider God to be shaped like a human, but that heaven, which surrounds the earth, is alone God, and is Lord of the universe.

Hekataios' description is indebted to a long line of Greek natural philosophers who stressed that true worship must be aniconic and was so appropriately directed towards the heavens, whose regular movements functioned as proof of the divine.⁵⁴ If Hekataios associated Jewish worship with the philosophical bent of the Jewish race, he portrayed the Jewish priests as being exceptionally gifted in this regard.

⁵³ Diodoros of Sicily (ca. 60–30 B.C.E.) abbreviated and paraphrased an account by Hekataios of Abdera from ca. 300 B.C.E. and incorporated it into his *Historical Library*. Diodoros' work survives in a quotation by Photius, the Byzantine historian of the 9th century C.E. The text is quoted from *FGH* 264 F6 (Diodoros 40.3.4), and the translation is my own.

⁵⁴ Xenophanes (ca. 545 B.C.E.) had already expressed the idea that only one God existed, who could not be expressed in human form, and he further equated this divine entity with the heavens, which include everything. Natural philosophers, such as Anaximander (ca. 610–540 B.C.E.), had previously identified the encompassing heavens with Deity. Democritus (b. ca. 460–57 B.C.E.) postulated two causes for human religion: fear, and respect for natural phenomena; in respect to the second cause, the heavens seemed especially potent. The movement of the cosmos figured as a proof of the divine in Plato's and Aristotle's works. Given the widespread distribution of this concept in Greek philosophy, it is no wonder that Hekataios seized on it in an attempt to explain Jewish resistance to images. For treatments of the Jews as a philosophical race in Hekataios, Theophrastos and Megasthenes, see Werner Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos: Die griechische Medizin und die Schule des Aristoteles* [2d. ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963], 134–53; idem, "Greeks and Jews: The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization," *JR* 18 (1938): 127–43; Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 55–102; Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 74–96; Gutman, *Jewish Hellenistic Literature*, 1:39–88; Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 464–86.

ἐπιλέξας δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς χαριεστάτους καὶ μάλιστα
 δυνησομένους τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους προΐστασθαι, τούτους
 ἱερεῖς ἀπέδειξε· τὴν δὲ διατριβὴν ἔταξεν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι περὶ
 τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὰς τε καὶ θυσίας. τοὺς αὐτοὺς δὲ
 καὶ δικαστὰς ἀπέδειξε τῶν μεγίστων κρίσεων, καὶ τὴν τῶν
 νόμων καὶ τῶν ἔθων φυλακὴν τούτοις ἐπέτρεψε.⁵⁵

Selecting the most educated and especially capable to lead the entire nation, [Moses] designated them priests. He commanded that their way of life should concern the temple and the divine honors and sacrifices. He designated these men judges of major cases, and turned over the preservation of the laws and customs to them.

Because of its barring of images, Hekataios explained Jewish worship in terms of the development of Greek philosophy, which had arrived at similar conclusions on other grounds.⁵⁶ It is a small step from such an explanation to portraying those who superintend such worship as being exceptionally talented and capable. In view of the fact that similar priestly leadership is accorded to the utopian state of the Panchaeans (Diodoros 5.45.4), where the priests likewise are judges of capital cases and the final arbiters in public matters (cf. the plus in LXX^V Ezek 44:24), it is likely that the translator chose his terms at least in part for their connection with learning and philosophy. The prominence of priestly leadership in Ezekiel's vision may coincide with a common trend in early Hellenistic utopias, which would serve to underscore this connection.⁵⁷

The Αἰθῆριον (Ezekiel 40:14, 15 [2x], 19 [2x]; 47:1)

One final feature of the translator's updating of his source text is his use of the term *αἰθῆριον*, which is a Hellenistic adaptation of the Roman

⁵⁵ FGH 264 F6 (*apud* Diodoros 40.3.4–5); my translation.

⁵⁶ For the relation of "ethical monotheism" to the other patterns of universalism present in late Second Temple Judaism, see Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007), 493–98.

⁵⁷ Gutman, *Jewish-Hellenistic Literature*, 1:64.

atrium.⁵⁸ It describes an open-air courtyard,⁵⁹ and sometimes can be used as a synonym for *αὐλή*.⁶⁰ The most significant use of the term in Greek Jewish texts discussing sanctuaries occurs in Flavius Josephos’ discussion of the tabernacle in the third book of his *Antiquities*.⁶¹ The tabernacle possessed a courtyard (*αἶθριον*) of fifty cubits in width and one hundred cubits in length (*Ant.* 3.108, 114), in which Moses sacrificed a kid, a bull and a ram to dedicate the structure (§204). At the turn of the last century, Weill thought that the use of *αἶθριον* in Josephos’ description in place of the more usual *αὐλή* to designate the tabernacle’s courtyard was intended to impart a more contemporary touch,⁶² and the translator of Ezek 40–48 may have been similarly motivated.

The first verses in which *αἶθριον* appears in LXX Ezek 40–48 are Ezek 40:14–15.

LXX Ezek 40:14–15

14 καὶ τὸ αἶθριον τοῦ αἰλαμ τῆς
 πύλης ἐξήκοντα πήχεις,
 εἴκοσι θεῖμ τῆς πύλης κύκλω.
 15 καὶ τὸ αἶθριον τῆς πύλης ἔξωθεν

MT Ezek 40:14–15

14 ויעש את-הַאֵילִים⁶³
 ששים אמה
 ואל-אֵיל החצר השער סביב
 15 וְעַל פְּנֵי הַשַּׁעַר הָאֵיתוֹן⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Étienne Nodet, *Les Antiquités Juives* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 1:149.

⁵⁹ *LSJ*, 37.

⁶⁰ Stuart D. Robertson, “The Account of the Ancient Israelite Tabernacle and First Priesthood in the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus” (Ph.D. diss., Annenberg Research Institute, 1991), 60–61.

⁶¹ See the discussion of Louis H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4: Translation and Commentary* (vol. 1 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*; ed. Steve Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 259 n. 245. It may be that LXX Ezekiel influenced Josephos in his presentation of the tabernacle in *Ant.* III. Robertson, “Ancient Israelite Tabernacle,” 62 suggests that the precedent of LXX Ezekiel and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Isaiah may have influenced Josephos to reserve *αἶθριον* as a special term referring to the court of the tabernacle.

⁶² Julien Weill, *Antiquités Juives, livres I–V* (vol. 1 of *Oeuvres complètes de Flavius Josephé*, ed. Théodore Reinach; Paris: Leroux, 1904), 168 n. 3.

⁶³ Often the MT reading הַאֵילִים is emended to הַאוֹלִים, following the LXX, since הַאֵילִים is difficult in this context. This emendation is followed by Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 518 n. 24. See Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 146–47, who argued that v. 14 is entirely corrupt. For an alternative view as to how the problems in Ezek 40:14 arose, see Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 220.

⁶⁴ Reading with MT^Q.

| | |
|---|---|
| εἰς τὸ αἶθριον αἰλαμ τῆς πύλης ἔσωθεν πηχῶν πεντήκοντα· | על-לפני אלם השער הפנימי חמשים אמה |
| 14 And the atrium of the portico of the gate was sixty cubits. <i>There were</i> twenty recesses of the gate all around. | 14 And he did <i>the measurement</i> ⁶⁵ of the portico— sixty cubits. The gate was toward the pilaster of the court all around. |
| 15 And <i>from</i> the atrium of the gate from the outside to the atrium of the porch on the inside was fifty cubits. | 15 Opposite the gate, <i>that is</i> , the facade to the front of the vestibule of the gate inwards was fifty cubits. |

According to Gese, whose reconstruction has been followed by many modern scholars, the term αἶθριον is a misunderstanding of various iterations of the prepositional phrase על פני, which serves as the equivalent of αἶθριον four times in MT Ezek 40:15 and 40:19.⁶⁶ Gese fails to explain why the translator who uses αἶθριον as the rendering of מפתן in Ezek 47:1 would use it to render a prepositional phrase here. He also fails to explain why the translator expressed this prepositional phrase more comprehensibly elsewhere.⁶⁷ Knowledge of the translator's *Übersetzungsweise*, then, demands an alternate solution. Two examples, Ezek 9:3 and 10:4, can be cited in which מפתן is rendered with αἶθριον, and in both of these verses the threshold of the temple is a transitional stage in the departure of the δόξα from the temple. This same מפתן will re-appear in Ezek 47:1, where the translator again renders it with αἶθριον. Thus, the αἶθριον/ מפתן is an essential component of the envisioned temple, as shown by Ezek 9:3; 10:4 and 47:1. The simplest explanation, and one that accords best with the evidence as we have it, is that the translator simply rendered

⁶⁵ See Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 518, for the comparison of ועער to וימד.

⁶⁶ *Verfassungsentwurf*, 145. He writes: "...den Sinn von מפתן nicht verstanden hat, wenn er für einen präpositionalen Ausdruck einen architektonischen terminus technicus setzt." He is followed in his treatment of the problems in 40:14 by Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 36, Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 220 and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 335.

⁶⁷ The translator uses the following phrases to render על פני: κατὰ πρόσωπον (41:15); ἀντιπρόσωποι (42:8); and ἐπί (48:15, 21).

his source text straightforwardly, and that his source text read מפתח where the translator gives us αἰθριον. Such an explanation respects both the competence of the translator and the tendency of his source text to explain difficult texts in light of the larger context of Ezekiel. It also demonstrates the translator's incorporation of Hellenistic architecture into his rendering of Ezekiel's temple.

Conclusion

The Greek architectural terms adduced in this study re-idealize Ezekiel's temple in Hellenistic terms, thus providing an implicit commentary on the nature of the worship that occurs there as well as the nature of the worshippers. In its Greek translation, Ezekiel's vision of the restored temple combines features of Hellenistic architecture with Ezekiel's preventive measures intended to safeguard and mediate the dangerous power of the divine. It is no accident that these Hellenistic architectural terms are distributed more or less evenly throughout the temple, moving from the outer wall (περίβολος; LXX Ezek 40:5; 42:20) to the inner arcades accessible only to the priests (ἐξέδραι). This distribution suggests that the incorporation of Hellenistic architectural features was not random, but purposeful. This recalls what Wolfgang Kraus concluded from a recent foray into LXX Ezek 40–48:

These examples may suffice to show that translation and interpretation cannot be separated, but are rather mingled in the LXX. And these examples bring me to the conclusion that the LXX is in the first instance a translation, but it is more. The translators wanted to mediate between the tradition and the contemporary situation. This includes modifications and updates.⁶⁸

If the Greek translation of the description of Ezekiel's temple suggests that more is at stake than the question of the relationship of contemporary Jews to their Hellenistic environment, at the least it

⁶⁸ Wolfgang Kraus, "Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint: Problems and Perspectives," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SBLSCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 78.

suggests this concern is not without influence. Incorporation of some of the elements of Greek architecture enabled Hellenistically-acculturated readers to envision Ezekiel's temple in terms of contemporary tastes. The incorporation of such cultural components helps to eliminate some of the foreignness of Ezekiel's temple layout, which no doubt posed a considerable barrier to the persuasiveness of Ezekiel's vision in Greek. Whether unconsciously or consciously, the translator chose terms whose association with Hellenistic tastes is undeniable.

THE TRANSLATOR, GENTILES AND INCLUSION

At first glance, Ezek 40–48 might not seem a promising corpus to Jews open to some degree of Hellenistic influence. Ezekiel 44:7 speaks contemptuously of the “foreigners, uncircumcised in heart and in flesh” (בני-נכר ערלי-לב וערלי בשר), who may not officiate in Ezekiel's temple. Though the precise identity of these would-be priestly officials has been the subject of competing identifications, Ezekiel's speech in this passage hardly seems to provide an auspicious beginning for rapprochement with the non-Jewish world.⁶⁹ Konkel characterizes his second *Fortschreibung*, which includes this passage, as being concerned with barring uncircumcised foreigners from the temple and asserting the rights of the Zadokites,⁷⁰ which hardly makes for a welcoming atmosphere. One must

⁶⁹ Possibilities suggested include the Gibeonites (Josh 9:7), the people of Baal of Peor (Num 25), the Netinim (Ezra 2:43–58), and the Carians (2 Kgs 11:4–8). See Levenson, *Program of Restoration*, 134–48; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 622–23; Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel*, 76–77; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 260–61.

⁷⁰ Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 286, wrote:

Das Charakteristikum dieser Fortschreibung besteht in der Ausweisung des unbeschnittenen Fremden aus dem Temenos und der Einsetzung der Zadokiden als einziger Priesterklasse. Das alleinige Anrecht der Zadokiden auf das Priesteramt wird von ihr konsequent zu Beginn und Schluß der Tempelvision nachgetragen (40,46b; 48,11f).

His second *Fortschreibung* includes Ezek 40:38–43, 46b; 42:1–14; 43:11–27; 44:3–30a [31]; 45:1–25; 46:4–7 [11], 16–24; 47:22–23; 48:11f.

acknowledge that Ezek 40–48 is not on the whole solicitous of non-Jews, in the few instances in which they are considered.

Yet it should also be borne in mind that Ezekiel’s description arises from a polemic against those perceived as genealogically unfit sacral ministers and so is not intended to make general pronouncements about foreigners. Moreover, the Septuagint version of these chapters contains two intriguing hints that Ezekiel’s concern with the reconfiguring of Jewish identity was not allowed to obscure a concern for inclusion completely.

LXX^v Ezekiel 47:13, 21–23 (*The Tribe of Guests*)

LXX Ezek 47:21–23

21 καὶ διαμεριεῖτε τὴν γῆν ταύτην
αὐτοῖς,⁷¹

ταῖς φυλαῖς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ.

22 βαλεῖτε αὐτὴν ἐν κλήρῳ⁷² ὑμῖν

καὶ τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς παροικοῦσιν ἐν
μέσῳ ὑμῶν,

οἵτινες ἐγέννησαν υἱοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν·

καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν ὡς αὐτόχθονες ἐν τοῖς
υἱοῖς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ,

μεθ’ ὑμῶν φάγονται⁷⁴ ἐν κληρονομίᾳ

ἐν μέσῳ τῶν φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ·

23 καὶ ἔσονται ἐν φυλῇ προσηλύτων

ἐν τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν,

ἐκεῖ δώσετε κληρονομίαν αὐτοῖς, λέγει

MT Ezek 47:21–23

וּחִלַּקְתֶּם אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְכֶם

לְשִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

וְהָיָה⁷³ תְּפִלוֹ אוֹתָהּ בְּנַחֲלָה לְכֶם

וְלַהַגְרִים הַגְּרִים בְּתוֹכְכֶם

אֲשֶׁר-הוֹלִידוּ בָנִים בְּתוֹכְכֶם

וְהָיוּ לְכֶם כְּאֶזְרַח בְּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

אֲתֶכֶם יִפְלוּ בְּנַחֲלָה

בְּתוֹךְ שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

וְהָיָה בְּשִׁבְט

אֲשֶׁר-גַּר הֵגַר אִתּוֹ

שֵׁם תִּתְּנוּ נַחֲלָתוֹ נֶאֱמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה

⁷¹ See the discussion of differences in pronouns in MT and LXX in chapter two above.

⁷² LXX preserves the sense of MT, which requires supplementation by גורל (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 521; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 707 n. 28). Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, maintains that the original meaning of the C stem here is that the aliens were to join the natives in distribution of the land. According to Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 521, Vul’s reading *et mitteis eam in hereditatem vobis* has misunderstood the phrase by supposing that the lot can be replaced by the gift it represents.

⁷³ For the sense of the introductory והיה here, see S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew And Some Other Syntactical Questions* (3d. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1892; Reprint: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), §121 observation 1 (pp. 147–48).

⁷⁴ See the discussion of letter confusion in chapter two above.

κύριος.

| | |
|--|---|
| 21 And you will apportion this land for them, for the tribes of Israel. | 21 And you will apportion this land for yourselves, for the tribes of Israel. |
| 22 Divide it by lot for yourselves and for those guests who sojourn in your midst, who have engendered children in your midst. And they will be for you as natives among the children of Israel. | 22 And you will divide it as an inheritance for yourselves and for the guests who sojourn in your midst who have engendered children in your midst. They will be for you as natives among the children of Israel. |
| With you they will eat in their inheritance in the midst of the tribes of Israel. | With you they will be allotted their inheritance in the midst of the tribes of Israel. |
| 23 And they will be <u>among the tribe of guests</u> among the guests who are with them. There you will allot them an inheritance, says the Lord. | 23 And the guest will be <i>in whichever</i> <u>tribe</u> in which he sojourns. There you will allot him his inheritance—an oracle of the Lord God. |

This passage belies the first impression of Ezekiel as a prophet concerned only for the privileges of the upper stratum of society.⁷⁵ Here Ezekiel provides for the re-integration of the guest back into the

⁷⁵ I have in mind here the isolation of the “golaorientierte Redaktion” envisioned by Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Ezechielstudien: Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Buches und zur Frage nach den ältesten Texten* (BZAW 202; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), as well as in Pohlmann’s commentaries on Ezekiel in the ATD series. For a redactional approach to Ezek 40–48 in line with Pohlmann’s thesis, see Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*. Certainly Pohlmann and others who identify such a redactional stratum would hasten to add that this textual layer is merely one of several evident in the book, and so should not be identified exclusively with its message.

reconstituted Israel, following the long-standing tradition for the גַּל within Israelite law.⁷⁶ All tribes are likewise to be re-established.

The Septuagint transcends even this relatively generous vision. Depending on his *Vorlage*, the translator mentions a “tribe of guests” (ἐν φυλῇ προσηλύτων) above and beyond the ancient ethnic allegiances.⁷⁷ Προσήλυτος is a common designation for the גַּל in the Septuagint, and so no great innovation can be assigned to the translator’s use of the term.⁷⁸ The mention of an entire tribe devoted to guests certainly raises some profound questions, especially given the neat outline of Ezekiel’s land division, in which the twelve ancestral tribes are given more or less equal portions. It is unlikely, as Jahn and Cornill think, that such a designation of a quasi-tribal entity devoted to guests was intended to contain and exclude them from the rest of Israel, as this goes against the entire sense of the context.⁷⁹ The statement in v. 22 that the guests “will be as natives to you” is translated as literally as could be wished in the Septuagint, and puts the guests on equal footing with the natives. Rather, it is likely that by elevating the guests to a quasi-tribal entity, the translator seeks to recognize them as a component of the reconstituted Israel in their own right, albeit without giving up the ancient structure of twelve

⁷⁶ For treatment of concern for the גַּל in the early Jewish family, see Leo Perdue, “The Israelite and Early Jewish Family: Summary and Conclusions,” in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. Leo Perdue et al.; The Family, Religion and Culture; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 198–99.

⁷⁷ The reason I am discussing this plus in LXX^V in the context of the translator and not of the *Vorlage* is that this plus and the translator’s rendering of Ezek 47:13 need to be understood together for their import to be comprehensible.

⁷⁸ Προσήλυτος is generally used for גַּל in the Pentateuch: Exod 12:48, 49; 20:10; 22:21 (MT 20) [2x], 23:9 [3x]; Lev 16:29, 17:3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15; 18:26; 19:10, 33, 34 [2x]; 20:2; 22:18; 23:22; 24:16, 22; 25:23, 35, 47 [2x]; Num 9:14 [2x]; Deut 1:16; 5:14; 10:18 [2x], 19 [2x]; 12:18; 14:29; 24:14, 17, 19, 20, 21; 26:11, 12, 13; 27:19; 28:43; 29:11 (MT 10); 31:12. For discussion of the historical issues attendant to proselytism in the Greco-Roman period, see the literature cited in *GELS*, “προσήλυτος,” 524 and Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (Rev. and ed. by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 3.1:150–76, though the latter resource is marked by a rather uncharitable attitude. For a consideration of the terms used for guests and their distribution, see Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 484–88.

⁷⁹ Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 508; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 351.

tribes. Like the natives, the guests are concretely incorporated within the land of Israel.

This interpretation is confirmed by the translator's rendering of Ezek 47:13.

LXX Ezek 47:13

Τάδε λέγει κύριος

Ταῦτά⁸⁰ τὰ ὅρια κατακληρονομήσετε
τῆς γῆς,

ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραηλ

πρόσθεις σχοινίσματος.⁸¹

MT Ezek 47:13

כה אמר אדני יהוה

גה גבול אשר תתנחלו את-הארץ

לשני עשר שבטי ישראל

יוסף חבלים

Thus says the Lord:

“These are the borders of the land
you will apportion

to the twelve tribes of the children
of Israel.

There will be an addition of an
allotment.”

Thus says the Lord God

“This is the border along which
you will divide the land

for the twelve tribes of Israel.

Joseph will have (two)
portions.”

Although LXX is generally dismissed as misunderstanding its source text in Ezek 47:13, this is based on an inadequate understanding of the translator's attitude toward foreigners. His translation of יוסף in Ezek 47:13 is unexpected, but explicable in relation to his source text. Σχοινίσμα is the usual rendering for חבל.⁸² Likewise, πρόσθεις is easily related to the root יסף.⁸³ Since the translator correctly renders the personal name יוסף at 48:32, one cannot assume he was unfamiliar

⁸⁰ MT's reading is widely treated as a corruption of זה הגבול, witnessed by LXX Vul Tg (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 504; Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 348; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 530; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 165; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 95 n. 4; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 517; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 274; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 705 n. 5; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Ezechiel* 20–48, 617).

⁸¹ MT's reading is generally recognized as grammatically problematic and secondary (Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 504; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 526; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 165; Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 274; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 705 n. 8; Pohlmann with Rudnig, *Hesekiel* 20–48, 617; Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 203). חבלים is to be pointed as a dual; generally a *lamedh* is prefixed to יסף.

⁸² Deut 32:9; Josh 17:14; 19:29; 2 Kgdms 8:2 [2x]; 3 Kgdms 4:13; 1 Par 16:18; Ps 104 (MT 105):11; Zech 2:5, 7.

⁸³ Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 203. See GELS, “πρόσθεις,” 525.

with the biblical figure; his rendering of the term must be purposive. If LXX Ezek 47:13 is read in light of LXX Ezek 47:23, it is evident that the translator's unusual rendering in Ezek 47:13 is motivated by the plus in LXX Ezek 47:23. While in the MT, the guests live in whatever tribe they hit upon, in LXX Ezek 47:23 they are granted their own tribe. As Konkel notes, the translator's mysterious statement that "*there will be an addition of an allotment*" in Ezek 47:13 prepares for the mention of the tribe of foreigners in Ezek 47:23.⁸⁴ Despite this integration of the guests into the people of Israel, the translator retains the ancient number of the twelve tribes, leaving only the vaguest indication how the integration of the foreigners would proceed.

That Gentiles are included in the ancient tribal structure at all, however, is interesting and suggestive, and calls for reflection on its possible motivation. In order to understand this inclusion of the guests among the tribes, the borders of the tribes and the land in Ezek 47–48 must be briefly reviewed. Ezek 47:13–23 depicts the borders of the new land, while Ezek 48:1–29 divides the land among the tribes, with each tribe receiving an equal portion regardless of population. The borders of 47:13–23 recall Num 34:2–12, which exclude Davidic conquests and the Transjordan area.⁸⁵ Smend articulated the rationale for the placement of the tribes for the first time.⁸⁶ According to him, the placement of the tribes is indebted to the Jacob materials in Genesis: tribes descended from Jacob by Leah and Rachel are placed closer to the sanctuary, while tribes descended from Bilhah and Zilpah are placed at the margins. The theological ramifications of the prophet's portrayal of the tribal layout are clear. Although the area assigned to the tribes is identical, the tribes' proximity to the shrine is dictated by "the narrative of their origins,"⁸⁷ and so history is not undone in Ezekiel's utopia but preserved.

⁸⁴ "Dementsprechend muß G Platz schaffen für diesen zusätzlichen Stammesanteil und nützt hierfür 47,13b" (Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 203).

⁸⁵ Greenberg, "Plan of Restoration," 231–32. See more fully, Levenson, *Program of Restoration*, 115–21.

⁸⁶ Rudolf Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 8; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880), 392–97.

⁸⁷ Levenson, *Program of Restoration*, 125.

The reserved area exhibits similar concerns with territoriality, or the control of access to privileged space.⁸⁸ The temple, the center from which the blessings of the restored land emanate (Ezek 47:1–12), is situated squarely in the center of the area allotted to the Zadokites. This fact alone is sufficient to underline the significance of this group of priests, since the Zadokites minister in the temple and control the right of access to it. The significance of the foregoing for the addition of the tribe of the guests is that while the guests are incorporated within the tribal structure of Israel in some undefined sense, the guests' past is not erased, in the same way that the troubled history of the Israelite tribes themselves is not glossed over in Ezekiel's restoration.

This incorporation is not unique within the Hebrew Bible. A constellation of prophetic texts imagines the nations as streaming to Zion in the eschatological future, eager to participate in the liturgy of the Temple (e.g. Isa 2:1–4; Mic 4:1–4). Yet as in Ezekiel, in these prophetic texts, the lines between the covenant people and the nations are not erased. A much more developed consideration of the idea of the possibility of incorporation into the chosen people can be found in the book of Ruth. This book has been increasingly seen as the product of a late Persian or even early Hellenistic author,⁸⁹ and so it reflects the concerns of the period under discussion. Though a foreigner (נכריה; 2:10), Ruth acts in accordance with the Torah by leaving her father and mother (Gen 2:24) and obeying the Deity, just as Abram did (Gen 12:1; see Ruth 2:11b).⁹⁰ As is well known, the book

⁸⁸ Territoriality is concerned with the control of access to space by a particular group. The most extensive and thoughtful application of the idea of territoriality to Ezek 40–48 is that of Stevenson, *Vision of Transformation*, who is informed by the work of Robert David Sack and Allan Pred (*Vision of Transformation*, 11–13).

⁸⁹ Irmtraud Fischer, *Rut* (2d. ed.; HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2005), 86–91; Georg Braulik, "The Book of Ruth as Intra-Biblical Critique on the Deuteronomomic Law," *AcT* 19 (1999): 1–20; Sebastian Grätz, "The Second Temple and the Legal Status of the Torah: The Hermeneutics of the Torah in the Books of Ruth and Ezra," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding its Promulgation and Acceptance* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 277–84; idem, "Zuwanderung als Herausforderung: Das Rutbuch als Modell einer sozialen und religiösen Integration von Fremden in nachexilischen Judäa," *EVT* 65 (2005): 294–309.

⁹⁰ Grätz, "Legal Status of the Torah," 281–82.

thus implicitly challenges the Deuteronomic prohibition of the Law of the Assembly (Deut 23). Grätz argues that the author of Ruth based his inclusive ideal on the sapiential idea of retribution for one's actions.⁹¹ Even if his argument is not accepted, the Davidic genealogy of Ruth (Ruth 4:18–22) is clear evidence that not all Jews thought foreigners should be automatically excluded from the temple, provided that they joined themselves permanently to Israel. The plus in LXX^v Ezek 47:13 and the translator's rendering in LXX Ezek 47:23 show that Ezekiel's restoration was interpreted in accord with this more inclusive strand of Jewish opinion. At the same time, there is no evidence that the genealogical differences between guests and native Israelites are erased.

Maintaining the fixed number of tribes given in the translator's source text as well as throughout the rest of Scripture would be important for apologetic reasons. Hekataios of Abdera, in his work about Egypt ca. 305 B.C.E., included an excursus on the Jews that famously interpreted the salient elements of their civilization in terms of Greek philosophy.⁹² Hekataios asserted that Moses “divided all of the multitude [the Jews] into twelve tribes, because that is considered the most perfect number and is harmonious with the number of months that comprises a year.”⁹³ The relation to the months of the year may be due to Aristotle.⁹⁴ This explanation of the number twelve is related to the months of the year by both Philo and Josephos, suggesting it had become a widely used *topos* by their time.⁹⁵ In addition to this cosmological explanation of the importance of the number twelve, Hekataios may have known another explanation of

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 281–84.

⁹² For the title of Hekataios' work, see n. 52 above.

⁹³ Διείλε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δώδεκα φυλάς διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον τελειότατον νομίζεσθαι καὶ σύμφωνον εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῶν μηνῶν τῶν τὸν ἑνιαυτὸν συμπληρούντων. *FGH* 264 F6 (*apud* Diodoros 40.3.3).

⁹⁴ Aristotle F 385 (ὅπως γένηται τὰ πάντα δώδεκα μέρη, καθάπερ οἱ μῆνες εἰς τὸν ἑνιαυτόν; text cited from Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:30).

⁹⁵ Philo, *Flight* 184–85, claims that twelve is the perfect number, and relates this to the number of tribes in Israel, among other referents (including the number of months of the year). Josephos, *Ant.*, 3.182 explains the twelve loaves of showbread in the tabernacle as a reference to the months of the year. Similarly, in *Ant.*, 3.186, the twelve stones on the high priest's ephod are a reference to the Zodiac, as they are in Philo, *Moses* 2.124.

the importance of this number from philosophical consideration of the geography of the ideal state. Platonic philosophy specified dividing a city and its surrounding country into twelve portions when it was being founded.⁹⁶ Thus the number twelve as constituent of the idealized division of a land crystallizes as a fortuitous parallel development in Platonic philosophy and Jewish Scripture.

LXX Ezekiel 47:8 (*Ἀραβία and Γαλιλαία*)

LXX Ezek 47:8

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με

Τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο

τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον⁹⁷ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν⁹⁸

τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς

καὶ κατέβαινε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν

καὶ ἤρχετο ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν

ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς διεκβολῆς,

καὶ ὑγιάσει τὰ ὕδατα.

MT Ezek 47:8

ואמר אלי

המים האלה

יוצאים אל-הגלילה הקדמונה

וירדו על-הערבה

⁹⁹ובאו הימה

אל-הימה המוצאים¹⁰⁰

ונרפאו המים

⁹⁶ Plato, *Laws* 745 B–C.

⁹⁷ Note the rendering of the Hebrew participle יוצאים with the Greek present participle ἐκπορευόμενον, preserving the Hebrew participle's continuous tense (the continuous nuance of the Hebrew is noted by Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 688 n. 23). The translator recognized that this continuous nuance carried through into the converted perfects of the rest of the verse, as shown by his translation of these converted perfects with Greek imperfects (κατέβαινε, ἤρχετο).

⁹⁸ Compare Vul *ad tumulos sabuli*, which apparently derives גלילה from גל (heap of stones): Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 688 n. 24.

⁹⁹ Compare Tg לימא רבא ("to the great sea").

¹⁰⁰ LXX's translator apparently read מים for ימה, which is generally accepted as the original text. Apparently המוצאים was interpreted in light of מוצא (egress) by the Septuagint translator. Vul omits the phrase as a haplography. G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Bib* 19 (1938): 186–87 explains המוצאים as deriving from צוא, "be filthy," followed by REB; NJPS and Allen, *Ezekiel* 20–48, 273. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 523 suggested a copyist's error for an original reading המים האלה יוצאים. Many scholars have followed the reading of Field, who suggested החמוצים, "salted," including Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 507; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 164; Fohrer with Galling, *Ezechiel*, 244; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 502–03; Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 90 n. 1 and BHS. Jahn, *Ezechiel*, 346 prefers the active sense of this verb (החמיצים). Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 688 n. 26 and NRSV follow Syr's reading as "stagnant."

And he said to me,
 “This water,
 which goes forth into Galilee
 toward the east,
 also was descending towards
Arabia
 and was coming as far as the sea,
 as far as the water of the estuary,¹⁰¹
 and he will make the waters fresh.”

And he said to me,
 “These waters
 flow forth to the eastern
territory
 and descend to the Araba,
 then go toward the sea
 the sea of stagnant waters (?).
 Then the waters will become
 fresh.”

Clues to the translator’s favorable attitude toward foreigners are discernible in his somewhat surprising renderings of הגלילה as Γαλιλαία and הערבה as Ἀραβία. The term גלילה does not appear to have been understood well by Septuagint translators, and was interpreted as Γαλιλαία elsewhere.¹⁰² Though the rendering of ערבה was likewise pluriform in the LXX, this is the only instance it is rendered by Ἀραβία.¹⁰³ The root ערב√ seems to have been problematic elsewhere.¹⁰⁴ The interesting datum that can be gleaned from these homophonous renderings, apart from the insight they shed into the translator’s

¹⁰¹ This is the translation of GELS, “διεβόλη,” 151–52.

¹⁰² See Joel 4:4 for example, where the “regions of the Philistines” (גלילות פלשת) is rendered by the Septuagint translator “Galilee of the foreigners” (Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων). Compare also Josh 22:10, where “the region of the Jordan” (MT: גלילות הירדן) is understood by the translator as a proper noun (Γαλαλα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). In two other instances, the term is rendered with Greek ὄριος (Josh 13:2; 22:11).

¹⁰³ See the wide variety of renderings in Takamitsu Muraoka, “Hebrew/ Aramaic Index to the Septuagint,” Appendix 4 in Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 323. For the contention that this is the only instance in which ערבה is rendered Ἀραβία in the LXX, see Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, Appendix 1, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Compare 1 Kgs 17:4, in which Elijah is fed by the “ravens” (MT הַעֲרָבִים). Despite the unified support of the versions behind this reading, several scholars have suggested emending this to “Arabs” (הַעֲרָבִים) based on the likelihood that Elijah fled the jurisdiction of King Ahab and the similarity with the following episode, in which he is fed by a Phoenician woman. See James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; ed. H. S. Gehman; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), 294; John Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; 2d. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 378 n. d.

Übersetzungsweise, is that the translator was ready to envision the salutary effects of the divine fructification of the land (47:1–12) as extending well beyond the borders of Palestine proper.

The Letter of Aristeas §§116–20 provides an interesting counterpart to the description in LXX Ezek 47:8, since it also mentions a river in the context of idealized geography, in this case the Jordan River.¹⁰⁵ Aristeas portrays the Jordan as a perennial stream (*ποταμὸς ἀείρρους*), which rises during the spring and floods the land, like the Nile. After emptying into another river in the vicinity of Ptolemais, the Jordan empties into the sea (*οὗτος δὲ ἔξεισιν εἰς θάλασσαν*). After the description of this river, the author mentions that originally there existed iron and copper mines in the mountains of Arabia situated next to Israel's territory (*ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρέων τῆς Ἀραβίας μέταλλα χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συνίστασθαι πρότερον*). Hadas notes that the language of Aristeas here is indebted to Scripture (Deut 8:9).¹⁰⁶ For the present purposes, however, what is significant is the shared emphasis on fertility in the idealized accounts of both the letter of Aristeas and LXX Ezek 47:8, which is guaranteed through a perennial stream. Both Aristeas and Ezek 47:8 emphasize the vast extent of the land of Israel: Aristeas gives the highly exaggerated figure of six million *arourae*, and the Septuagint translator depicts the fructifying river as traversing Galilee and Arabia.¹⁰⁷ The Septuagint translator may thus be depending on a tradition of Hellenistically-influenced idealized geography such as that evident in Aristeas, but the limits of his translational task make it impossible to be certain. What is certain, however, is that the translator has expanded the effects of the divine fertility promised to Israel outside its normal boundaries. Even if the reach of this river seems to remain within the idealized boundaries of the land in Ezek 47:13–20, it nonetheless mediates the supernatural fertility of the restored land beyond the more circumscribed vision of the MT.

¹⁰⁵ I owe this observation to Joshua Yoder, in an electronic communication of 19 February 2009, for which I am grateful.

¹⁰⁶ Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 148.

¹⁰⁷ An *aroura* is a section of cultivated land measuring one hundred square cubits (Herodotos 2.168; *ibid.*, 147). Aristeas §116 acknowledges that the 60,000,000 *arourae* were significantly reduced by encroachment from the surrounding peoples. By way of comparison with Aristeas' figure, in a similar apologetic context Josephos, *Ag. Ap.* 1.195 gives the extent of the land at a little less than 3,000,000 *arourae*.

CONCLUSION

The renderings of the translator, as well as the significant plus in LXX^v Ezek 47:13, presuppose an understanding of Judaism that mediates its blessings more widely than in MT, both as concerns guests' stake in the land and the profusion of divinely bestowed fertility. The prosperity-giving river that originates in the Temple flows well beyond the boundaries of the promised land into Arabia and Galilee. Guests are accorded their own share of the land, which is intended not to separate them from ethnic Israel but to concretize their share among the people who belong to the Deity. At the same time, in keeping with the threads of Ezekiel's larger vision, the genealogical origins of the guests outside Israel are not undone. In this way, the religious dimension of Jewish life so central to Ezekiel's definition of Judaism is mediated outward, with the result that in Israel "all the clans of the earth will be blessed" (Gen 12:3). In his attention to guests and the current conventions of architecture, then, the translator has taken his Hellenistic milieu into account.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the Septuagint for the development of Ezekiel as a prophetic book is without question, since it provides empirical evidence for the continuing redaction of the book in the last few centuries B.C.E. It is becoming increasingly clear that in general the consonantal text of MT Ezek represents a later literary version of the book of Ezekiel that developed from an earlier form that served as the base text of LXX Ezek.¹ Such evidence provides relatively secure data from which to undertake diachronic study of Ezekiel alongside the synchronic study of different versions of the book.² The continued redaction of Ezekiel can be illuminated by many newly-discovered sources (Second Ezekiel, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Temple Scroll*, to name a few). In studying this continued redaction, evidence from key LXX manuscripts such as Papyrus 967 and B deserves a key place.

In view of the importance of the Septuagint for the study of Ezekiel, the goal of the present work was the analysis of a small but

¹ Schwagmeier writes: "Der Konsonantenbestand des heute als masoretisches Ezechielbuch vorliegenden Ez-Texts ist die Überarbeitung eines älteren, im wesentlichen in der Vorlage des griechischen p967 in Vergleich mit MT indirekt greifbaren Buches" (Schwagmeier, "Textgeschichte und Entstehung des Ezechielbuches," 366).

² The synchronic approach is evident in the "holistic" method of interpretation popularized by Moshe Greenberg in his commentaries on Ezekiel in the Yale Anchor Bible series and taken up in many works since. The relevance of the Septuagint for the development of the book of Ezekiel is a significant theme in Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Ezechiel: Der Stand der theologischen Diskussion*.

demanding corpus of Ezekiel in the Septuagint: the prophet's vision of the idealized restoration in chapters 40–48. Underwriting the present endeavor is the recognition that past forays into these chapters have often been undertaken with insufficient attention to the unique character of these chapters in the Septuagint, which results in a reductionistic understanding of how the translator approached his task. In view of Tov's dictum that the "text-critical use of data in the LXX can proceed profitably only if *the analysis of the translation technique of each individual translation unit is taken into account*," it seemed worthwhile to provide the beginnings of such an analysis of the *Übersetzungsweise* of LXX Ezek 40–48 in order to facilitate more informed study of these chapters.³

Two questions have proven fundamental to this study: 1) What are the translator's goals in rendering Ezek 40–48? 2) Which differences between MT and LXX can be attributed to the redaction of the translator's source text, and which are attributable to the translator? The translator's relatively literal *Übersetzungsweise*, as illustrated in chapter two, places the burden of proof on those who would make the translator responsible for a "substantively innovative translation."⁴ Occasional pluses that clarify the sense of the Hebrew but that are unnecessary in Greek (e.g. Ezek 42:20b) bear out this general principle.

The theoretical grounding for the study is provided by *Skopostheorie*, which recognizes that all translations fulfill a specific purpose and in some sense mediate the source text into a differing cultural context. Besides the need to render his source text into Greek accurately and comprehensibly, which the translator holds in common with the majority of the Jewish translators represented in the Septuagint, I have isolated two goals for the rendering of Ezek 40–48 into Greek. First, he conveyed the substance of Ezekiel's prophecy using diction that signaled the transmission of an authoritative divine word. In other words, he reproduced the syntactical structures, flavor, and in most cases even the order of his source text (called a *philological* translation by the proponents of *Skopostheorie*) as a way to draw attention to the distance between his Greek-speaking audience and the source text. A complementary

³ Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 18 [italics in original].

⁴ This phrase is used by Eugene Ulrich (see p. 21 n. 74 above).

movement, one in which the translator seeks to ameliorate or interpret difficult or obsolete terms and so to facilitate understanding among those who receive his text, can be likewise discerned. Both movements (which may be termed the distancing and the bridging movements respectively) are intended to maximize the suasive appeal of Ezekiel's final chapters in the Hellenistic environment of the translator.

In view of this environment, the translator interprets many of the technical terms for architecture in the temple description in terms of contemporary Greek architecture, thus updating the symbolic world of his source text. Likewise, his approach to several passages in Ezekiel's description of the tribal outline reflects the reality of non-Jews' attraction to Judaism in his own day. Taken together, the translator's treatment of his source text supports the classification of LXX Ezek 40–48 as an *operative* text, a category of texts that intends to persuade its listeners to adopt a certain point of view. In this case, the translator seems to have been concerned to present Ezekiel's vision in terms that maintained its continued relevance in the present. If the utopian restoration described by Ezekiel had so far failed to materialize, the translator's treatment of it suggests that he continued to hold out hope that it would. The reflection of some of the conventions of his own day may indicate that the translator hoped for a fulfillment of Ezekiel's vision before too long, but of course this is no more than a guess.

Investigation of the translator's *Vorlage* isolated numerous small pluses, particularly in the transitional sections of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 40:1–4; 42:15–20; 43:1–12; 47:1–12). Analysis of these textual pluses demonstrated that in many cases, they are concerned with the relationship of Ezekiel's final vision to the visions in the rest of the book, and supplement this final vision based on language common to the earlier ones. Such supplementation can occur where the language of the final vision is either subject to misunderstanding or is judged to be incomplete. Examination of pluses in Ezekiel's legal code revealed that only in one clear instance (Ezek 45:15, the case of the tithe) was a law that contradicted the Pentateuch changed by analogy to pentateuchal legislation. On the other hand, LXX^v Ezek 45:20 introduced a further deviation from pentateuchal norms into Ezekiel's law code, which suggests that making Ezekiel's laws agree with normative pentateuchal legislation was not the motivation behind the majority of these small pluses. Instead, such pluses are

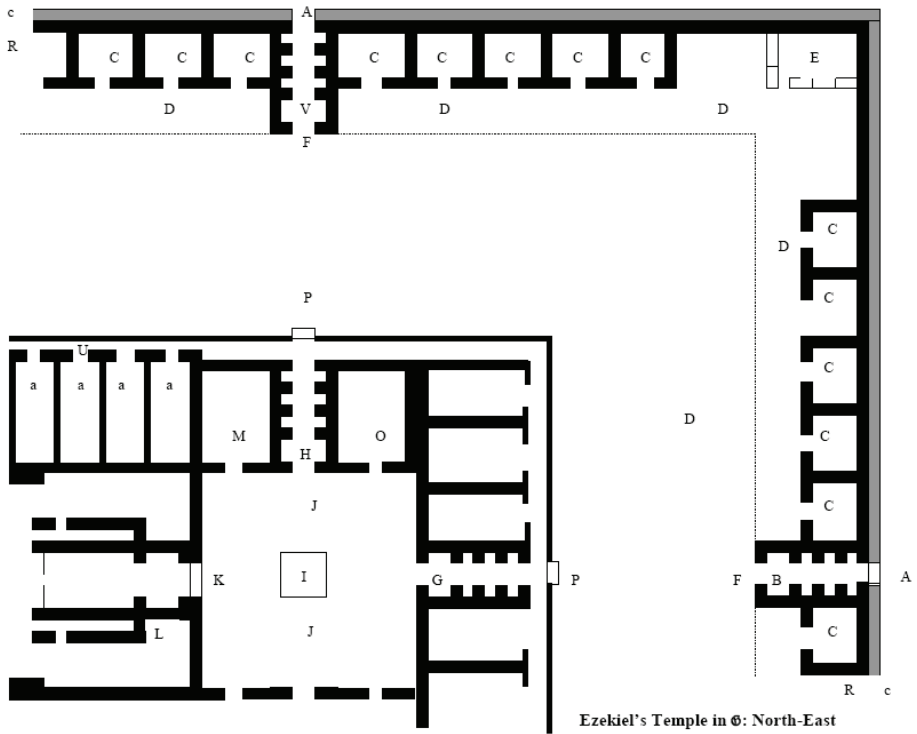
much more persuasively viewed as exegetically focused on the smaller context of Ezekiel. As a result, pentateuchal analogues were employed not for the sake of assimilating Ezekiel's laws to normative halakah but merely for their interpretive significance.

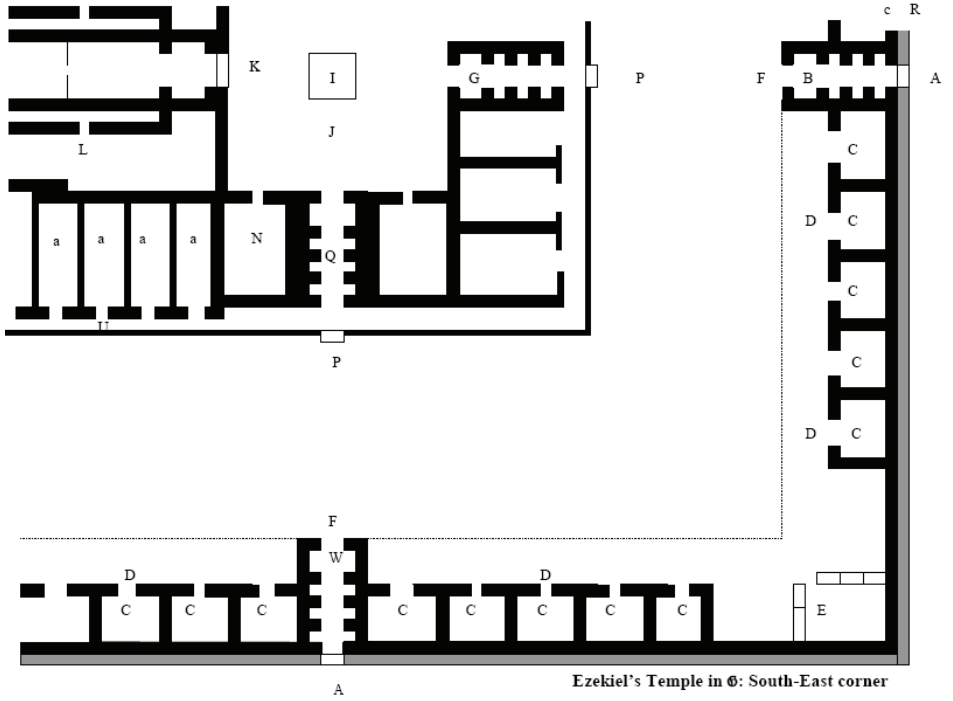
AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

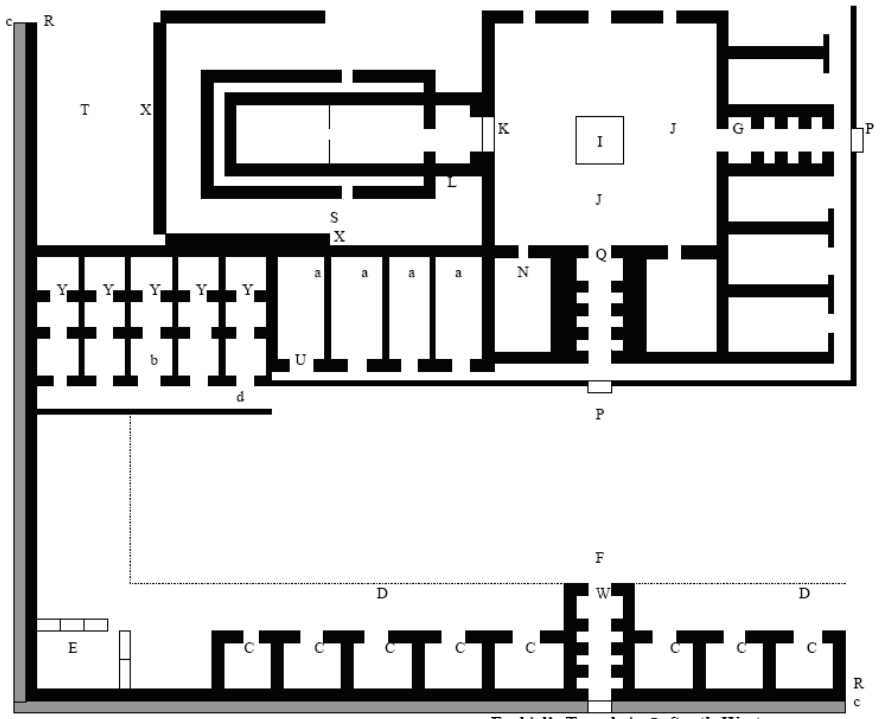
One important question has to do with the locus of the small pluses in LXX^v Ezek 40–48 and how they came to be part of the authoritative text of the prophetic vision. Are these small pluses due to the work of scribal prophecy? Are they evidence of apocalyptic or mystical schools reflecting on the prophet's enigmatic visions? Perhaps the most likely explanation for these pluses situates them in Zadokite priestly circles as evidence of continued study and contemplation of Ezekiel. This would explain their interest in Ezekiel 40–48, which legitimated their authority, as well as their concern for the possible halakic meanings of his law code. If the impulse toward the kind of mysticism evident in Ezekiel (and especially in LXX^v Ezek 43:2–3) owes something to priestly sensibilities, then this may provide further evidence for Zadokite involvement in these pluses. It remains to be seen if evidence in LXX^v Ezek 1–39 might contribute toward answering this question.

Another outstanding issue is how scribal redaction and supplementation of the text of Ezekiel is related to the Second Ezekiel (or Pseudo-Ezekiel) corpus discovered at Qumran. If the so-called Reworked Pentateuch is any guide, the line between "canonical" compositions such as the book of Ezekiel and the Second Ezekiel texts might prove to be quite fluid indeed. Whatever the answers to such questions, in the present study I hope to have demonstrated the centrality of understanding MT and LXX Ezekiel as representing distinct literary editions of Ezekiel for informed study of this engaging prophetic book.

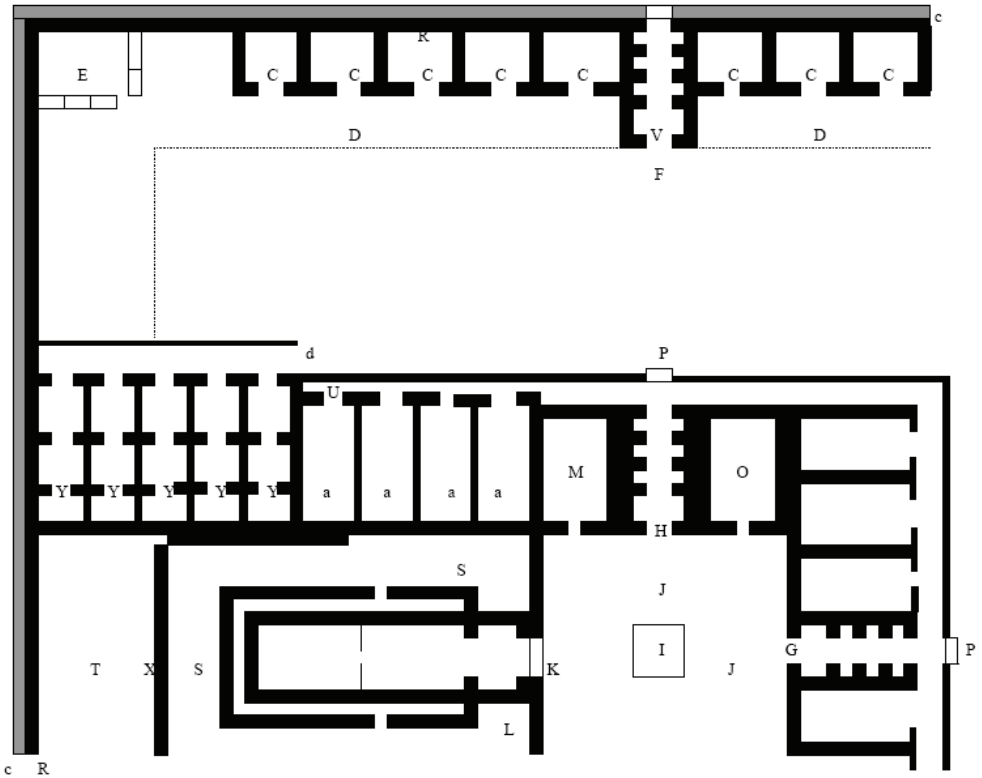
APPENDIX A: THE ΟΙΚΟΣ, THE TEMPLE AND THE EASTERN GATE



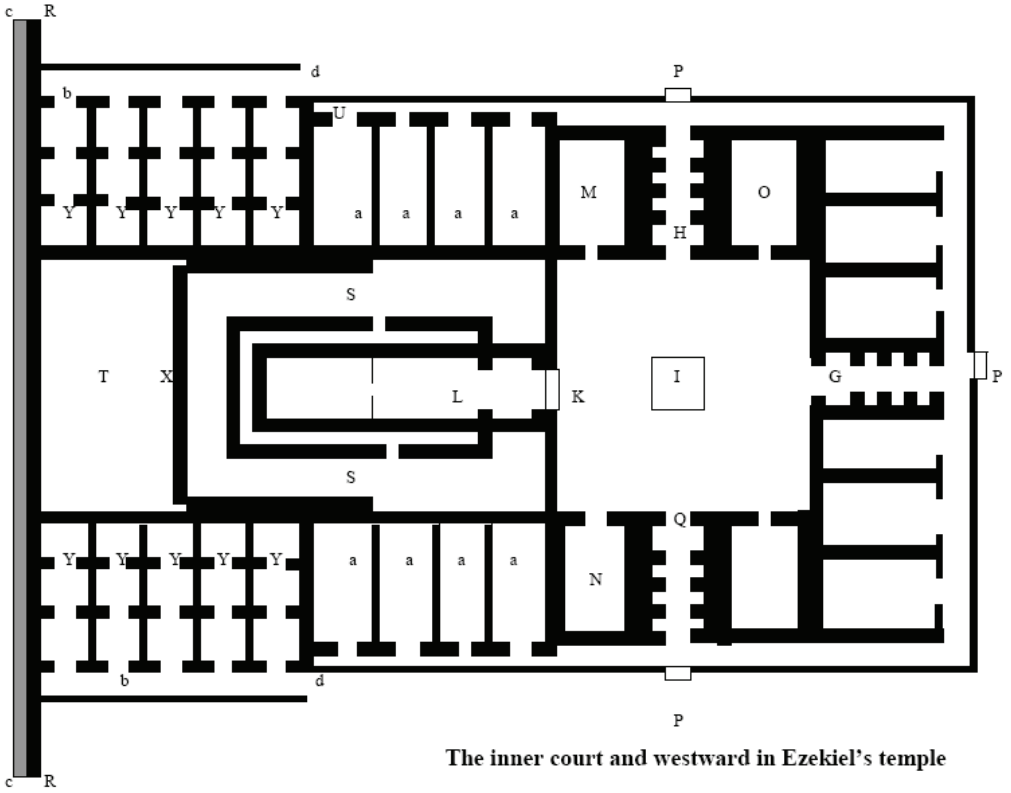




Ezekiel's Temple in Ø: South-West corner



Ezekiel's Temple in Ⓞ: North-West corner



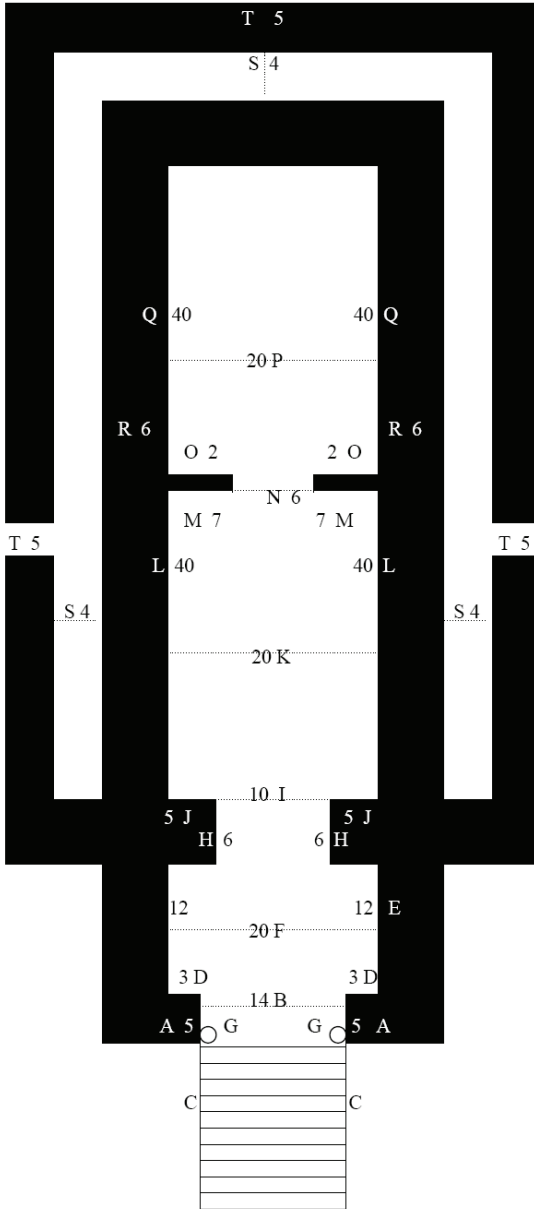
The inner court and westward in Ezekiel's temple

LEGEND TO THE TEMPLE DIAGRAMS

- A Seven steps (40:6, 22, 26)
- B The external eastern gate (40:6–16)
- C Chambers (*παστοφορία*; 40:17; no specific measurement or distribution around the walls given)
- D Lower peristyle (*τὸ περίστυλον τὸ ὑποκάτω*; 40:17)
- E Small courtyard measuring 40 x 30 cubits. Within these are *ἐξέδραι* (no specific number or measurement is given) under which are cook’s quarters (*μαγειρεῖα*) in which the people’s sacrifices are boiled (46:21–24).
- F Stoas behind the outer gates (40:18)
- G The inner east gate (40:32–34)
- H The inner north gate (40:35–37)
- I The altar of burnt offering (43:13–17)
- J The inner court (40:44, 47)
- K Ten steps (40:49)
- L The *οἶκος* (see larger diagram)
- M Hall/ arcade (*ἐξέδρα*) for the priests who keep the requirements of the house (40:45); measurements not given
- N Hall/ arcade (*ἐξέδρα*) for the priests who keep the ordinances of the altar (40:46); measurements not given
- O Place beside the north gate where there is an outflow (*ἔκρυσις*) for the blood and refuse from the sacrifices washed (40:38)
- P Eight steps (40:31, 34, 37)
- Q The inner south gate (40:28–31)
- R Encircling wall (*περίβολος*; 40:5; 42:20)
- S The space between the chambers (*ἐξέδραι*) and the sides (*πλευраи*) of the *οἶκος* is twenty cubits (41:10)
- T Open space (*ἀπόλοιπος*) behind the partition (41:13, 14, 15)
- U A breadth of five cubits (*τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀπολοίπου*) is given for the opening of the doors of the *ἐξέδραι* (a) (41:11)
- V The external northern gate (40:20–23)
- W The external southern gate (40:24–26)
- X Partition (*τὸ διορίζον*; 41:12), seventy cubits wide and ninety cubits long. As reconstructed, the intent of this partition is to shield the adytum from view.
- Y The priestly halls or arcades (*ἐξέδραι*) which together measure 100 cubits in length and 50 in width. It is uncertain whether there were 5 (Vaticanus) or 15 (Alexandrinus) of these structures.

- Z A peristyle of 10 cubits around the priestly chambers (Y) (42:4).
- a Ἐξέδραι of the inner court: of uncertain number and measurement (41:10–11). The breadth of space around them (5 cubits) differentiates them from the other ἐξέδραι (Y). These are also mentioned in 46:19–20 as the place where the priests boil the reparation and the purification offerings and bake the cereal offering.
- b Porticoes (στοαί) in the priestly ἐξέδραι (Y), which are three stories in height and are arranged in a line facing one another (42:3–5)
- c Outwork, or defensive rampart (προτείχισμα), of uncertain measurement and structure (40:5; 42:20).
- d Περίπατος of the priestly halls, of ten cubits (42:4)

The Oikos



LEGEND TO THE ΟΙΚΟΣ

- A Width of the jamb (αιλ): 5 cubits (40:48)
- B Width of the gate: 14 cubits (40:48)
- C Ten steps (40:49)
- D Sidewalls of the door of the vestibule (ἐπάμιδες τῆς θύρας τοῦ αἰλαμ): 3 cubits (40:48)
- E Width (i.e. length) of the vestibule: 12 cubits (40:49)
- F Length (i.e. width) of the vestibule: 20 cubits (40:49)
- G One pillar on each side (40:49)
- H Width of the jambs (αιλαμ) on each side of the entrance: 6 cubits (41:1–2a)
- I Width of the entrance: 10 cubits (41:2)
- J Sidewalls (ἐπωμίς) of the entrance: 5 cubits (41:2)
- K Width of the inner hall: 20 cubits (41:2)
- L Length of the inner hall: 40 cubits (41:2)
- M Sidewalls of the entrance: 7 cubits (41:3)
- N Entrance (θύρωμα): 6 cubits (41:3)
- O Jamb (αιλ) of the entrance: 2 cubits (40:3)
- P Width of the holy of holies: 20 cubits (41:4)
- Q Length of the holy of holies: 40 cubits (41:4; 20 in MT)
- R Width of the inner wall: 6 cubits (41:5)
- S Space between the walls: 4 cubits (41:5). This is more a deduction from the total width than a clear statement of the text.
- T Outer walls: 5 cubits (41:9)

Total width: 50 cubits (as in MT)

Total length: 120 cubits (20 greater than MT). The MT reading makes the דביר equal in size to that of Solomon's temple, which is a cube (20 x 20 x 20; 1 Kgs 7:19–20), although the height of the room is not indicated in Ezek 40:48–41:4.

LEGEND TO THE EXTERNAL EASTERN GATE

- α. Seven steps (40:6)
- β. The width of the gate between the hinge-stones of the gate is the measurement provided by the phrase τὸ πλάτος τῆς θύρας τοῦ πυλῶνος in 40:11, according to Gese, *Verfassungsentwurf*, 137. Since the distance between the hinge stones is 10 (γ), it follows that the hinge-stones themselves are 1 ½ cubits in width. The exact placement of the hinge stones is uncertain.
- γ. Width of the gate between the hinge stones (see β): 10 cubits (40:11)
- δ. Width of the opening to the gate, without considering the hinge stones (τὸ εἶρος τοῦ πυλῶνος): 13 cubits (40:11)
- ε. The vestibule of the gate (τὸ αἶλαμ τῆς πύλης) is equal to the reed, or six cubits (40:6)
- ζ. “Gathered cubit” (πῆχυς ἐπισυναγόμενος) in front of the doors to the chambers, 1 cubit (square?) (40:12). I take the participle ἐπισυναγόμενος as denoting that the barrier is placed to one side of the room’s vestibule, but the placement of this barrier is uncertain.
- η. Since the barrier amounts to a cubit, the remaining vestibule of the room is five cubits.
- θ. LXX is clear that the pilaster between the first and second rooms measures six cubits in width (καὶ τὸ αἶλαμ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θαιηλαθα πηχῶν ἕξ; 40:7) but the next mention of the pilaster is given as five cubits (40:7d).
- ι. The length and width of the three rooms are repeatedly given as six cubits (40:6, 7, 8, 10).
- κ. The pilasters (αἶλαμ) between the second and third rooms and the third room and the inner vestibule measure five cubits (40:7d: τὸ αἶλαμ πηχῶν πέντε). Although the measurement of the pilaster between the third room and the inner vestibule is not explicitly mentioned, the total length requires it to be five cubits wide.
- λ. The small pilasters separating the inner vestibule of the gate from the inner courtyard measured two cubits. LXX mentions both pilasters (καὶ τὰ αἶλευ; 40:9), somewhat unusually.
- μ. The vestibule of the gate (τὸ αἶλαμ τοῦ πυλῶνος; 40:9), standing beside the pilaster of the gate; its length is eight cubits.
- ν. The width of the vestibule, opening opposite opening, is 25 cubits (40:13). This does not count the width of the external walls.

APPENDIX B:
EXAMPLES OF DIVERGENCE
IN WORD ORDER IN LXX EZEKIEL 40–48

סביב

Ezek 40:17 סביב סביב לחצר עשוי ורצפה // και περίστυλα κύκλω τῆς αὐλῆς
(Noted by Marquis, “Word Order,” 69)

אין

Ezek 42:6 ואין להן עמודים כעמודי החצרות // και στύλος οὐκ εἶχον καθὼς οἱ στῦλοι
τῶν ἐξωτέρων

לא

Ezek 44:28 להם לא-תתנו // και κατάσχεσις αὐτοῖς οὐ δοθήσεται

ב

Ezek 40:3 בידו ופתיל-פשתים // και ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν σπαρτίον οἰκοδόμων
Ezek 40:4 בעיניך ראה // ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἶδε

אל

Ezek 44:2 אלי יהוה // και εἶπεν κύριος πρός με

Ezek 44:5 אלי יהוה // και εἶπεν κύριος πρός με

Demonstrative Pronouns

Ezek 40:45 זה הלשכה // Ἡ ἐξέδρα αὕτη

Ezek 45:22 ההוא ביום // ἐν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

Adjectives

Ezek 44:17 הפנימית החצר // ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης τῆς ἐσωτέρας αὐλῆς

Numerals and Measurements

This list excludes the differences in word order in Ezek 40:6–10, where it is difficult to conclude that the LXX and MT have a comparable *Vorlage*.

- Ezek 40:5 ממות ש-ש // πηχῶν ἕξ
 Ezek 40:11a עשרה ממות // πηχῶν δέκα
 Ezek 40:11b שלוש עשרי ממות // πηχῶν δέκα τριῶν
 Ezek 40:12 ממו וש-ש ממו ש-ש ממות // πηχῶν ἕξ ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν ἕξ ἔνθεν
 Ezek 40:13 רחב אשרים וחמש ממות // πλάτος πήχεις εἴκοσι πέντε
 Ezek 40:15 חמשים אמה // πηχῶν πεντήκοντα
 Ezek 40:19 מאה אמה // πήχεις ἑκατόν
 Ezek 40:21a ממות חמשים // πηχῶν πεντήκοντα
 Ezek 40:21b באמה חמש ואשרים ורחב // καὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ εὖρος αὐτῆς
 Ezek 40:23 מאה אמה // πήχεις ἑκατόν
 Ezek 40:25 חמש ועשרים אמה ורחב אמה אורך אמה // πηχῶν πεντήκοντα τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ εὖρος αὐτῆς
 Ezek 40:27 מאה אמות // πήχεις ἑκατόν
 Ezek 40:29 עשרים וחמש ממות אמה אורך אמה // πήχεις πέντηκοντα τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ εὖρος πήχεις εἴκοσι πέντε
 Ezek 40:33 חמש ועשרים אמה ורחב חמשים אמה אורך // πήχεις πεντήκοντα μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ εὖρος πήχεις εἴκοσι πέντε
 Ezek 40:36 חמש ועשרים אמה ורחב חמשים אמה אורך // πήχεις πεντήκοντα μῆκος αὐτῆς καὶ εὖρος πήχεις εἴκοσι πέντε
 Ezek 40:42 אמה אחת וחצי ורחב אמה אחת וחצי וגבה אמה אחת אליהם // πήχεις καὶ ἡμίσιος τὸ πλάτος καὶ πηχῶν δύο καὶ ἡμίσιος τὸ μῆκος καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν τὸ ὕψος
 Ezek 40:47 מאה אמה ורחב מאה אמה אורך // μῆκος πήχεων ἑκατόν καὶ εὖρος πηχῶν ἑκατόν
 Ezek 40:48 חמש ממות מפה וחמש ממות מפה ורחב השער שלש ממות מפו ושלש חמש ממות מפו // πηχῶν πέντε τὸ πλάτος ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν... πηχῶν τριῶν ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν τριῶν ἔνθεν
 Ezek 40:49 עשרים אמה ורחב עשתי עשרי אמה // καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ αἶλαμ πηχῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τὸ εὖρος πηχῶν δώδεκα
 Ezek 41:1(–2) ש-ש ממות רחב-מפו וש-ש ממות-רחב מפו // πηχῶν ἕξ τὸ πλάτος ἔνθεν 2 καὶ πηχῶν ἕξ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ αἶλαμ ἔνθεν
 Ezek 41:2 עשר אמות וכתפות הפתח חמש ממות מפו וחמש ממות מפו // καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ πυλῶνος πηχῶν δέκα, καὶ ἐπωμίδες τοῦ πυλῶνος πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν καὶ πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν.

- και διεμέτρησε τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ πηγῶν τεσσαράκοντα και τὸ εὖρος πηγῶν εἴκοσι
- Ezek 41:3 וימד איל-הפתח שתים אמות והפתח שש אמות ורחב הפתח שבע אמות // και διεμέτρησε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ θυρώματος πηγῶν δύο και τὸ θύρωμα πηγῶν ἕξ και τὰς ἐπωμίδας τοῦ θυρώματος πηγῶν ἑπτὰ ἔνθεν και πηγῶν ἑπτὰ ἔνθεν
- Ezek 41:4 עשרים אמה ורחב עשרים אמה וארכו עשרים אמה // και διεμέτρησε τὸ μῆκος τῶν θυρῶν πηγῶν τεσσαράκοντα και εὖρος πηγῶν εἴκοσι
- Ezek 41:5 וימד קיר-הבית שש אמות ורחב הצלע ארבע אמות // και διεμέτρησεν τὸν τοίχον τοῦ οἴκου πηγῶν ἕξ και τὸ εὖρος τῆς πλευρᾶς πηγῶν τεσσαρῶν κυκλόθεν
- Ezek 41:8 שש אמות אצילה // πήχεων ἕξ διάστημα
- Ezek 41:9 חמש אמות // πηγῶν πέντε
- Ezek 41:10 רחב עשרים אמה // εὖρος πηγῶν εἴκοσι
- Ezek 41:11 ורחב מקום המנח חמש אמות סביב סביב // και τὸ εὖρος τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀπολοίπου πηγῶν πέντε πλάτος κυκλόθεν
- Ezek 41:12 רהב שבעים אמה וקיר הבנין חמש-אמות רחב סביב סביב וארכו הבנין אמה תשעים אמה // και τὸ διορίζον ... πηγῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, πλάτος τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ διορίζοντος πηγῶν πέντε, εὖρος κυκλόθεν και μῆκος αὐτοῦ πηγῶν ἑνεπήκοντα
- Ezek 41:13 ארך מאה אמה והגורה אמה והבנין וקירותיך ארך מאה אמה // μῆκος πηγῶν ἑκατόν, και τὰ ἀπόλοιπα και τὰ διορίζοντα και οἱ τοίχοι αὐτῶν μῆκος πηγῶν ἑκατόν
- Ezek 41:14 מאה אמה // πηγῶν ἑκατόν
- Ezek 41:15 מאה אמה // πηγῶν ἑκατόν
- Ezek 41:22 שלוש אמות גבה וארכו שתים-אמות // πηγῶν τριῶν τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ και τὸ μῆκος πηγῶν δύο
- Ezek 42:2 אל-פני-ארך אמות המאה // ἐπὶ πήχεις ἑκατόν μῆκος
- Ezek 42:4 עשר אמות רחב // περίπατος πηγῶν δέκα τὸ πλάτος
- Ezek 42:7 חמשים אמה // πηγῶν πενήκοντα
- Ezek 42:8 כי-ארך הלשכות חמשים אמה והנה על-פני היכל מאה אמה // ὅτι τὸ μῆκος τῶν ἐξεδρών ... πηγῶν πενήκοντα, και αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀντιπρόσωποι ταύταις· τὸ πᾶν πηγῶν ἑκατόν
- Ezek 42:20 ורחב חמש-מאות // πεντακοσίων πηγῶν εὖρος
- Ezek 43:14 שתים אמות ורחב אמה אחת...ארבע אמות ורחב האמה // πηγῶν δύο και τὸ εὖρος πήχεος ... πήχεις τέσσαρες και εὖρος πήχους
- Ezek 43:15 אמה ורחב ארבע אמות // και τὸ ἀριθμὸν πηγῶν τεσσαρῶν
- Ezek 45:2 וחמשים אמה מגרש לו סביב // και πήχεις πενήκοντα διάστημα αὐτῶ κυκλόθεν
- Ezek 46:22 ארבעים ארך ושלשים רחב // μῆκος πηγῶν τεσσαράκοντα και εὖρος πηγῶν τριάκοντα

APPENDIX C:
SELECT TECHNICAL TERMS AND
THE TRANSLATOR'S LEXICAL FLEXIBILITY

GREEK TERMS AND THEIR HEBREW HYPONYMS

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>ἄγιον</i> | 41:4, 21b, 23; 42:13 [3x], 14a–b, 20; 43:21; 44:5, 13 [3x]; 45:1 [2x], 6, 7 [2x]; 46:19; 48:10a, 12 [2x], 14, 18 [2x], 20, 21 (= קדש) 43:12 (= הבית) 44:1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 19, 23, 27; 45:3, 4, 18; 47:12; 48:8, 10b (= מקדש) 41:21a, 25; 42:14c; (not in MT)? |
| <i>ἀπόλοιπος</i> | 41:9, 11 [2x] (= מנח) 41:12, 13, 14, 15a; 42:1, 10 (= גזרה) |
| <i>γείσος</i> | 43:13, 17 (= גבול) 40:43 (= שפתים?); cf. 3 Kgdms 7:46 (= טפח?); Jer 52:22 [3x] (= כותרת) |
| <i>διάστημα</i> | 41:6 (= באות); 41:8a (= מוסדה) 41:8b (= אציל); 42:5a (= אתיק) 42:12 (= גדרת); 42:13 (= גזרה) 45:2; 48:15, 17 (= מגרש) 42:5b (?) 3 Kgdms 6:6 (= מגרעה); 7:46 (= גרר po.) [7:9 MT] |
| <i>ἐξέδρα</i> | 40:44, 45, 46; 41:10; 42:1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 [3x]; 44:19; 46:19 (= לשכה) 46:23 [2x] (= טור) 41:11 not in MT not used in LXX outside Ezekiel 40–48 |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| θύρα | 40:11; 41:11 [3x] (= פתח) 41:24 (= דלת) 46:12 (= שער) 40:48; 41:4; 42:9? 1 Kgdms 6:31, 32, 34; 7:36 (=MT 7:50); 16:34 (= דלת) 1 Kgdms 7:42 (=מחזה) |
| θύρωμα | 40:38; 41:3 [3x]; 42:4, 11, 12 (= פתח) 40:48 (= שער) 41:23, 24 [4x], 25 (= דלת) 1 Kgdms 6:31; 7:42 (=MT 7:5) (= פתח) 1 Kgdms 7:36 (=MT 7:50) (=פת) |
| μέτρον | 40:3, 5, 10 [2x], 21, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35; 42:11 [reading כמראה as כמדה], 16, 17, 18, 19; 43:13; 46:22; 48:16, 30, 33 (= מדה) 45:10, 11 [2x], 13a; 46:14 (= איפה) 47:3 קו |
| νότος | 40:24, 27, 28, 44, 45; 41:11; 42:12, 13, 19 (= דרום) 46:9; 47:1, 19 [2x]; 48:10, 16, 17, 33 (= נגב) |
| περίπατος | 42:4 (= מהלך) 42:5 (= לשכה) 42:10 (not in MT) 42:11, 12 (= דרך) |
| περίστυλον | 40:17, 18; 42:3 (=רצפה) 42:5 (= אחיק) 2 Macc 4:46; 3 Macc 5:23 |
| προτείχισμα | 40:5 (= בנין) 42:20; 48:14 (= חל) 2 Kgdms 20:15; 3 Kgdms 20:23 (= 1 Kgs 21:23 MT) (= חיל) 2 Par 32:5 (= חומה) |

| | |
|--------|---|
| πυλή | 40:3, 6 [2x], 9 [2x], 10, 13a, 14b, 15 [2x], 16, 18 [2x], 19a, 20, 21, 22, 23 [4x], 24, 27a, 27c, 28 [2x], 35, 40, 41, 44; 42:15; 43:1, 4; 44:1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 17 [2x]; 45:19; 46:1, 2 [4x], 3, 8a, 9 [3x], 12, 19; 47:2 [2x]; 48:31 [5x], 32 [4x], 33 [4x], 34 [4x] (= שער) 40:13b [2x] (= פתח) 40:14a, 19b, 27a, 27c, 32, 38; 42:1, 3, 16; 43:2; 46:8b? 1 Kgdms 22:10 (= שער) 1 Kgdms 12:24l (?) |
| πυλών | 40:9, 11 [2x] (= שער) 33:30; 41:2 (= פתח) 1 Kgdms 6:8, 33; 14:27; 17:10 (= פתח) |
| στοά | 40:18 (= רצפה) 42:3 (= אתיק) 42:5 (= בנין) 3 Kgdms 6:33 (= מזווה?) |
| τοίχος | 40:13 [2x] (= גג) 41:5, 6 [2x], 9, 12, 13, 17, 22; 43:8 (= קיר) 41:7? 1 Kgdms 5:13; 6:5, 6, 15 [2x], 27 [2x], 29; 20:2 (= קיר) 1 Kgdms 12:24m (?) |
| φῶς | 41:11 (= מקום) 42:7 (= גדר) 42:11 (= משפט) 42:12? |

HEBREW TERMS AND THEIR GREEK RENDERINGS

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|------|--|
| איפה | μέτρον 45:10, 11 [2x], 13a; 46:14 οιφι 45:13b πέμμα 45:24 [3x]; 46:5 [2x], 7 [3x], 11 [3x] |
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|------|--|
| אתיק | ἀπόλοιπον 41:15b ὑπόφασις 41:16 στοά 42:3 περίστυλον 42:5 |
| בנין | προτείχισμα 40:5 τὸ διορίζον 41:12, 15; 42:1, 10 στοά 42:5 |
| בת | χοῖνιξ 45:10, 11 [2x] κοτύλη 45:14 [2x] |
| גבול | γεῖσος 43:13, 17 ὄριον 43:12; 45:1, 7; 47:13, 15, 16 [3x], 17 [3x]; 48:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 21 [2x], 22 [2x], 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 [2x] βάσις 43:20 ? 40:12 διορίζω / ὀρίζω 47:18, 20 (= מגביל) |
| גזרה | ἀπόλοιπος 41:12, 13, 14, 15; 42:1, 10 διαστήμα 42:13 |
| חומה | περίβολος 40:5 τεῖχος 26:4, 9?, 10, 12; 27:11; 38:11, 20 ? 42:20 |
| טור | ἐξέδρα 46:23 [2x] στίχος Exod 28:18, 19, 20; 39:11, 12, 13; 3 Kgdms 6:26 [2x]; 7:2 (= LXX 7:39), 3 (= LXX 7:39), 12 (= LXX 7:49), 18 (= LXX 7:6), 42 (= LXX 7:28) |
| לשכה | παστοφορία 40:17 [2x], 38 ἐξέδρα 40:44, 45, 46; 41:10; 42:1 (B adds the descriptor πέντε here), 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 [3x]; 44:19; 46:19 περίπατος 42:5 τοῦ κατοικεῖν 45:5 |

| | |
|------|--|
| מהלך | περίπατος 42:4 πορεία Jon 3:3, 4; Neh 2:6 |
| מעלה | κλιμακτήρ 40:22, 26, 31, 34, 37; 43:17 ἀναβαθμός 40:6, 49 |
| מקצע | μέρος 46:21a κλίτος 46:21b–c [2x], 22 γωνία Exod 26:23, 24 41:22: not in LXX |
| עב | σπουδαῖος 41:25 ζυγώω 41:26 |
| עזרה | ἱλαστήριον 43:14 [3x], 17, 20 ἱερόν 45:19 αὐλή 2 Par. 4:9; 6:13 |
| צלע | πλευρά 41:5 πλευρόν 41:6 [4x], 7, 8, 9 [2x], 26 ἐξέδρα 41:11 |
| פתח | θύρα 40:11; 41:11 πύλη 40:13 [2x] θύρωμα 40:38; 42:4, 11 πρόθυρα 46:3; 47:1 πυλών 41:2, 3 φάτνωμα 41:20 40:48; 41:17; 42:2, 12 [2x]? |
| קיר | τοιχος 41:5, 6 [2x], 9, 12, 13, 17, 22; 43:8 ἄγιος 41:25 41:20? |
| רצפה | περίστυλον 40:17; 42:3 στοά 40:18 42:5? λιθόστρωτον 2 Par. 7:3; Est 1:6 otherwise a personal name |
| שער | θύρα 40:11 |

πύλη 40:3, 6 [2x], 13, 40

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