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SEPTUAGINTAL EXEGESIS AND THE SUPERSCRPTIONS
OF THE GREEK PSALTER

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Some years ago I had occasion to write a review of Joachim Schaper's, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*.¹ In that review I took exception to Schaper's view on a number of, what I perceived to be, fundamental issues in Septuagintal exegesis. In this essay I would like to continue that discussion, not so much *contra* Schaper as in the larger context of Septuagintal hermeneutics.

In the broadest of terms one tends to find the field divided between "minimalists," on the one hand, and "maximalists," on the other. In his book Schaper takes particular aim at the so-called Finnish School of Septuagint studies, because of its propensity—so Schaper—for "not seeing the woods for the trees." He takes issue with what he regards as its essentially mechanistic view on the Greek translator's role which (to Schaper) entails that a translator is not "in any way . . . influenced by his religious and cultural environment," but instead is a "mere medium."² I do not myself think that Schaper's assessment of the Finnish School is accurate or fair, but for my present purposes it will do as a characterization of a "minimalist" approach to exegesis in the Septuagint. Schaper's own approach, by comparison, might then be characterized as one that "does not see the trees for the woods." That is to say, the Greek translator is effectively elevated to the status of an author and his work becomes the same kind of replacement for the original as, for example, an English translation of a novel by Kazantzakis. So Schaper writes in the introduction to his book,

We shall attempt to look at the Septuagint Psalms not merely from a philological point of view, but also from the perspective of the history of ideas. Tracing the development of early Jewish eschatology . . . and trying to assign to the Greek Psalter its proper place in this development will

¹ Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*. (WUNT 2. Reihe 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995). For my review, see *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54 (1997) 185-90.

²Schaper, *Eschatology*, 21.

give us a fresh view of the importance and the formative power of Septuagint texts in early Judaism.³

For my immediate purposes, Schaper's view will do as a characterization of a "maximalist" approach to exegeting the Septuagint, which entails taking the Greek Psalter as a free-standing entity with its own message, or rather a (more or less) systematically revised message from that of its Hebrew parent. Essentially the same view has more recently been advocated by Martin Rösel regarding the book of Genesis.⁴ Both Ronald S. Hendel⁵ and William P. Brown⁶ have raised strong objection to Rösel's view.

As I see it, the lines between so-called maximalist and minimalist approaches are increasingly being drawn more sharply, even though each side maintains that it recognizes the legitimacy in the other's position. So, for example, in the Rösel versus Hendel & Brown debate, Rösel recognizes that some of the differences between MT and LXX are textual rather than interpretational. Similarly both Brown and especially Hendel are quite prepared to grant that the LXX is our earliest commentary on the Hebrew Bible. The crucial question is, When does the translated text give evidence for one or the other? Rösel is, of course, correct in emphasizing that each book must in principle be approached differently, since each translator may be expected to have had his own *modus operandi*. Although a meticulous investigation of the translational character of each book or translation unit may then give somewhat different results for different units, that scarcely means that we should not try to develop a comprehensive explanatory framework within which variation can be accounted for and linguistic oddities (as well as beauty) can be accommodated, both among books and within books. Such an investigation, however, must clearly deal with textual variants and translational variants at the same time, without confusing them. Hence, methodologically Schaper and Rösel should join forces, so to speak, with "the Finnish School" and Brown and Hendel. In short, the (translated) Septuagint needs to be placed

³ Schaper, *Eschatology*, 6

⁴ M. Rösel, "The Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998) 62-70.

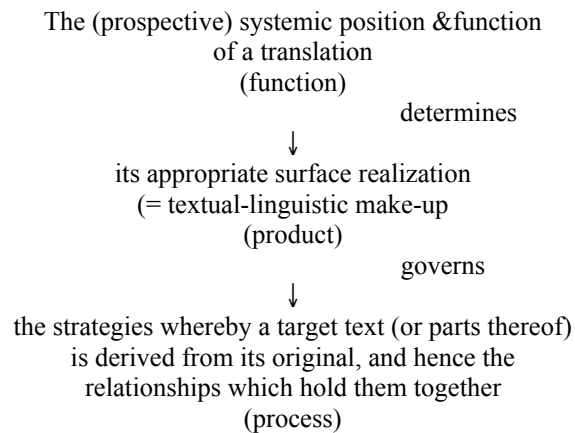
⁵ R. S. Hendel, "On the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint Genesis: A Reply to Rösel," *BIOSCS* 32 (1999) 31-34.

⁶ W. P. Brown, "Reassessing the Text-Critical Value of the Septuagint-Genesis 1: A Response to Martin Rösel," *BIOSCS* 32 (1999) 35-39.

within the emerging discipline of Translation Studies, and more particularly within Descriptive Translation Studies as a branch of that discipline.

THE CONSTITUTIVE CHARACTER OF THE TRANSLATED TEXT

On the subject of Descriptive Translation Studies (hereafter DTS) I am heavily indebted to the work of Gideon Toury, one of the leading scholars in the field.⁷ Within the DTS branch of Translation Studies, according to Toury, three approaches can be used to address three distinct but interdependent aspects of any translation. This is of importance, since the position a translation is intended to occupy within the recipient culture, or sub-culture thereof, has a direct bearing on both the textual-linguistic make-up of that translation as well as on the strategies by which a target text is derived from its original. Secondly, he notes the process-oriented approach, which focuses on the process through which a translation is derived from its parent text, and thirdly, the product-oriented approach which seeks to delineate its textual-linguistic make-up along with the relationships which hold target text and source text together. Great emphasis is placed, by Toury, on the interdependence of all three aspects, that is to say, function determines product and process but it is equally true that each determines the other in a bi-directional manner. It may be useful to reproduce here Toury's graphic representation (slightly expanded) but to remember that the arrows in it can be made to point in either direction.



⁷ G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond*. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1995)

Since the Septuagint (for the most part) is a translation, Toury's study would seem to be directly applicable to the study of the Septuagint. It is not my purpose here to deal with this issue in any detail but simply to note a few of the major implications. If Toury's delineation of descriptive translational studies is correct, it follows that the three interdependent aspects he delineates, namely, the position or function of the Septuagint in the Alexandrian Jewish community, the process by which it was derived from its source text, and the relationships it bears to its Hebrew (and Aramaic) source text, comprise its constitutive character. Differently put one might say that function, product and process are embedded in the text as a verbal-object of the target culture that produced it. This thought was already adumbrated, apart from Toury's delineation, in Boyd-Taylor's article of 1999, where he wrote,

When a translated text is considered with respect to the historical enterprise which gave rise to it, its originating *Sitz im Leben*, it becomes readily apparent that the verbal character of the document will to some extent reflect the socio-linguistic practices proper to the larger cultural undertaking of which it was a part. We might call this aspect of the text its constitutive character.⁸

In a sentence, it can be stated that the constitutive character of the Septuagint is its interlinearity, i.e. its character as a translated text with a pronounced vertical dimension that ties it closely to its original. It is therefore the constitutive character of the text that places constraints on how that text can be interpreted responsibly. Thus what is being advocated here is a theoretically principled approach to the entire text with clear-cut methodological implications and parameters.

Toury further argues that by definition a translation is target-oriented, that is to say, any and every translation answers a felt need within the host or target culture or sub-culture, and is cloaked in the language of that culture. Thus from this perspective even so-called source-oriented translating is fundamentally catered to the target culture and hence at heart target-oriented (e.g. the Greek of the Septuagint remains Greek no matter how Hebraized it might be perceived to be). He writes,

⁸ C. Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31(1998) 73. This entire article is an excellent piece of exegesis along the lines suggested in this essay. For constitutive character see further NETS xiii-xiv.

in an almost tautological way it could be said that, in the final analysis, a translation is a fact of whatever sector [of the target culture] it is found to be a fact of, i.e., that (sub)system which proves to be best equipped to account for it: function, product and underlying process.⁹

Again let me bring the Septuagint into the picture. For the Septuagint I take this to mean that the most secure way of placing it within Hellenistic Greek culture, within Alexandrian Jewish Greek culture (as a sub-system thereof), within a certain sector of Alexandrian Jewish Greek culture (e.g. worship, law or education), is through an analysis of the text itself by means of the three interdependent approaches Toury has delineated: function, product and process. So, for example, if we find that the translated text in numerous ways is tied to its original and might be said to have a pronounced vertical dimension, which involves a good deal of negative transfer from the source text, i.e. violations of the linguistic code of the target language, that should tell us something about its original function. If, on the other hand, we uncover few instances of negative transfer, hence few if any violations of the linguistic code of the target language but instead perhaps a measure of literary beauty, that too should reveal something of its original position within the Jewish community. In other words a text written in vulgar Greek and in translationese points presumably in a different direction from a text written with literary beauty and rhetorical flourish. But more importantly for my present purpose, such things have a direct bearing on the question of interpretation and exposition within it. The constitutive character of a translated text dictates its own hermeneutics.

SOME NECESSARY DISTINCTIONS

As it happens the title chosen by the editors of the current volume provides me with a suitable point to continue. It reads *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. I read that to mean that the composition of the psalms (or the book of psalms) and their reception history are, though related, nonetheless distinct issues. Thus the composing of a piece of literature is one thing but its history of interpretation is quite another. It may be, of course, that what the composer deliberately encoded in his composition and what a later interpreter decoded from that work turns out to be substantially the same thing (as far as we can tell), but that conclusion must needs be *quod est demon-*

⁹ *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 29

strandum. In other words, it cannot be presupposed but must instead be demonstrated to exist. Hence the burden of proof is on the person that believes that the two are effectively one and the same. In exactly the same way, the translating of the psalms into Greek is one thing but the reception history of the translated psalms quite another. It is this distinction, as I see it, that informs James Barr's argumentation in his book *The Semantics of Biblical Language*¹⁰ and which he more explicitly states in his response to David Hill's criticism of his work. Barr there writes,

He [Hill] does not make the obvious and necessary distinction between two sets of mental processes, those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original¹¹

Or to cite the general introduction to the recently published *NETS* translation of Psalms,

. . . just as the [textual] form of the original text differed [in principle] from its later textual descendants, so what the original translator thought his text to mean differed [in principle] from what later interpreters thought the text to mean.¹²

My central interest here is in the original translation, in distinction from later interpretations with which the text may have become endowed. Thus the operative thought here is that *one and the same text* should be assumed to have been understood differently by its originator (author, translator, or redactor) and its subsequent interpreters or exegetes. This should at once be obvious when one reminds oneself that all such activity occurs within certain cultural environments and are designed to meet certain cultural needs.¹³ The *NETS* Introduction suggests the distinction between the Septuagint's constitutive character, on the one hand, and its reception history, on the other.

As I see it, Toury too makes a comparable distinction in DTS when he writes,

. . . this principle [namely, that function determines textual-linguistic make-up] does not lose any of its validity when the position occupied by a

¹⁰ J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961; repr. London: SCM, 1983).

¹¹ J. Barr "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Biblica* 49 (1968) 379.

¹² A. Pietersma and B. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: The Psalms*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) x.

¹³ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 12.

translation in the target culture, or its ensuing functions, happen to differ from the ones it was initially 'designed' to have; e.g., when the translation of a literary work, intended to serve as a literary text too and translated in a way which should have suited that purpose, is nevertheless rejected by the target literary system, or relegated to a position which it was not designed to occupy. In fact, one task of descriptive studies in translation may well be to confront the position which is *actually* assumed by a translation with the one it was *intended* to have. . . .¹⁴

Or again,

. . . significant is the possibility that translations which retain their status as facts of the target culture may nevertheless change their position in it over time. Of course, such changes can have no bearing on either the intended, or even the final position of a translation.¹⁵

Applied to the Septuagint, I take this to mean that its original and intended function, embedded in its linguistic make-up and in its relationships to its parent text, could have differed quite radically from the role subsequently assigned to it. More concretely let us suppose for a moment that the Septuagint did begin its existence as a study-aid for the Hebrew (thus a crib), as has been suggested elsewhere,¹⁶ certainly as early as Aristeas its position was that of an independent text, a free standing entity, holy scripture. Likewise for the writers of the New Testament it was itself holy writ. But assuming for the sake of argument that such a development indeed took place, would one then have to conclude as well that its constitutive character had undergone a change commensurate with its change in position or status? To me that issue is scarcely subject to debate.

It was the failure to draw a distinction between the constitutive character of the Septuagint, on the one hand, and its reception history, on the other, that in my judgment vitiated much of Joachim Schaper's book on the Greek Psalter.

I proceed to make a second distinction which is fundamental to my overall argument, and that is the distinction between the original text of the Greek translation and subsequent and therefore secondary changes introduced into that Greek text. The point I wish to make is this: if one intends to focus on the original Greek text, i.e. its constitutive character, in order to determine its exegetical dimension vis-

¹⁴ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 14.

¹⁵ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 30.

¹⁶ E.g., *A New English Translation (NETS Psalms)* ix.

à-vis the Hebrew parent text, whatever can be shown to be secondary to the pristine text ceases to be grist for the mill. Differently put, secondary developments in the Septuagint belong *ipso facto* to its history of textual transmission and its history of interpretation, i.e. its reception history, and consequently are not part of its constitutive character. Yet again, secondary elements may tell us a great deal about how the Septuagint text was understood at some point in its long transmission history, within a certain cultural setting; they can tell us nothing about the understanding of the translator himself. As a result, the first thing a modern interpreter of the Septuagint must do is to determine what is primary and what is secondary, whether through private research or through reliance on a critical edition. Needless to say, the labels "primary" and "secondary" are not indicative of ontological status; rather they simply mark logical and chronological precedence and subsequence. Here then, the operative thought is that a given text may be added to or subtracted from, with the result that a new text, a (slightly) different entity, may be created in the process. My interest lies with the first text.

Finally under the present sub-heading, I must briefly return to Rösel, since in a recent article he has gone even farther than he did in the piece I noted earlier. Whereas in the earlier article in *BIOSCS* he already suggested, as Hendel rightly noted, that since the parent text of Septuagint Genesis and our present Hebrew text were substantially the same, where they differ must then be interpretational (rather than textual), in his article on the superscriptions of the Septuagint Psalter¹⁷ he boldly asserts that variants in the Septuagint without external attestation should only be taken to be *textual* variants if (a) they cannot be explained as intra-textual harmonization, (b) as being linguistically motivated or (c) as exegetically motivated. In so doing, says Rösel, "soll der Eigenwert der griechischen Übersetzung gegen oftmals naive Textkritik stärker pointiert werden." What troubles me about Rösel's assertion is not so much that it prohibits facile recourse to difference in parent text (though it seems overly restrictive), but that it seems to suggest that whatever *can be* regarded as exegetical *should be* so regarded. To be sure, Rösel's point (b) ("linguistically motivated deviation") might provide an important escape hatch; yet I read him to say that all differences between the Hebrew text and the Greek text

¹⁷M. Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalter," in E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 2001) 125-48, esp. 125.

are interpretive in nature—until proven otherwise. If that is indeed Rösel's stance, I fear that the cart is being put before the horse, and that all carts and all horses are of the same colour. Rather than working from a text's constitutive character, beginning with what Toury calls process and product, that is, its textual-linguistic make-up and the relationships of the translated text to its source, we are effectively advised to work from the outside in. This cannot be justified, it seems to me, unless one maintain that textual-linguistic make-up and relationship to the source, in other words, the vertical dimension of the translated text, have no relevance for exposition. Furthermore, it can scarcely be maintained that all interpretation is exposition or exegesis—but more on this below. In fact I would formulate the precisely opposite postulate that would run as follows: No difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts shall be deemed exegetical, until proven so. An excellent set of eleven postulates on Septuagint exegesis has recently been developed (with graphic representation) by Frank Austermann.¹⁸ His delineations also serve very well to place the Greek Psalter in descriptive translation studies, and thus to establish a general framework within which it should be studied. Unfortunately, Austermann's argumentation seems to have been summarily dismissed by Rösel.¹⁹

TRANSLATION AS INTERPRETATION

That translation is, and can only be, interpretation rather than being simply a reproduction (of the parent text) I do not consider to be controversial.²⁰ If that is correct, the issue on which I want to focus cannot be *whether* interpretation occurred when the Hebrew psalms were translated into Greek but *what level of interpretation* was achieved in any given instance. And that in turn leads to a further question: Is it meaningful to count each and every level of such interpretation as exegesis or exposition? Even an elementary definition of the term in

¹⁸ F. Austermann, "Thesen zur Septuaginta-Exegese am Beispiel der Untersuchung des Septuaginta-Psalter," in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 380-86. For a more discursive discussion see Boyd-Taylor "A Place in the Sun," 71-77.

¹⁹ M. Rösel, "Psalmüberschriften," 126-27.

²⁰ See, for example, Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (New York: Crossroad, 1986) 345-66.

Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (1956) suggests otherwise. According to WNTCD exegesis is: "the exposition, critical analysis, or interpretation of a word, literary passage, etc., especially of the Bible." It would thus be fair to say, it seems to me, that exegesis, in any meaningful sense, presupposes as a minimum (a) deliberateness, (b) methodicalness, and (c) a goodly degree of target orientedness. Unless all three of these are present it makes little sense, I would submit, even to begin to speak of exegesis or exposition. In what follows I will therefore argue that exegesis, since by nature it is contextual, can be said to begin only at a certain level of interpretation.²¹ Let me make it perfectly clear, however, that I am not denying that exposition and exegesis exist in the Septuagint. Instead my interest lies in ways of identifying such exposition responsibly and scientifically.

Though no translator can realistically choose not to interpret, he can decide whether to make his translation more source-oriented or more target-oriented. As Gideon Toury has noted, the seventies of the past century were marked by "extreme source-orientedness" and in his words the "preoccupation was mainly with the source text and with the proclaimed protection of its 'legitimate rights'."²² This source-orientedness is then contrasted with target-orientedness, without any suggestion that the two are mutually exclusive. In fact I have noted earlier that, for Toury, at a deeper level target-orientedness includes source-orientedness, since by definition a translation is aimed at the target culture. The terms themselves are very helpful since they tell us much about a translator's *modus operandi* and by extension at what level of interpretation one should understand him. Sebastian Brock,²³ in applying these concepts directly to Greek biblical translation from Hebrew speaks of the difference between, on the one hand, translations that bring the reader to the text and, on the other hand, translations that bring the text to the reader. No doubt the most extreme example of source-orientedness within the biblical corpus is Aquila, but from Aquila one can draw concentric circles to the rest. Thus the operative thought here is that the degree of source- or target-orientedness

²¹ Similarly, Webster's defines hermeneutics as "the science of interpretation, or of finding the meaning of an author's words and phrases and explaining it to others; exegesis: particularly applied to the interpretation of the Scriptures."

²² *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 24.

²³ S. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *OTS* 17 (1972) 17.

of a translation stands in direct proportion to its level of intelligibility, or lack thereof. Whereas Aquila is difficult if not impossible to understand without the help of the Hebrew, for Job it is not infrequently advisable to ignore the Hebrew.

LEVELS OF INTERPRETATION

But if it is correct, as I have suggested, that not all interpretation can be called exegesis or exposition, it will be necessary to differentiate. Accordingly, in what follows I will delineate what I have called "levels of interpretation" and illustrate each, as much as possible, with examples from the superscriptions of the Greek Psalter. My reason is simply that in an earlier article²⁴ on them I have already raised the question of their interpretive function, and because the superscriptions furnish me with reasonably good examples for most of what I want to illustrate. All levels or categories are, I believe, applicable to any part of the (translated) Septuagint.²⁵ Furthermore, as I noted earlier, Martin Rösel has just written an article on the superscriptions. Since his approach to Septuagint exegesis is different from my own, I can productively interact with what he has written. As will become clear, my basic disagreement with Rösel does not lie so much in the interpretation of individual words and phrases as it does in the contextualizing that he proposes. Since exposition and exegesis are by their very nature a matter of contextualization, my interest in his article should be obvious. As an aside, I might yet note that I tend to read the superscriptions rather atomistically as a series of notes added over a long period of time.

Level 0: "Interpretation" by Transcription

The numbering here is deliberate since items of language transfer which I place here are not interpretational in any meaningful sense of the term, since this category is comprised not of just any transcriptions from the source language but of transcriptions that had no prior linguistic status in the target language. Thus what I have in mind here are not items like ἀλληλουϊά, which in all probability had a history of

²⁴ A. Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in B. A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*. (SBLSC 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001) 99-138.

²⁵ It should also be noted that to begin the levels of interpretation effectively at the word-level appropriately reflects G's segmentation of his source text.

usage in Alexandrian Jewish Greek and—if that is so—had been integrated into the living language before the translation process began, but items that were transcribed *de novo* as products of the translation process. In fact, one can place here all indeclinable, transcribed names (or any Hebrew lexemes treated as names), instances of which are furnished aplenty in the superscriptions of the Psalter. From the superscriptions which are undeniably original I include the following: Abessalom (3), Abimelech (33, 51, Aithan (88), Asaph (49, 72-82), Bersabee (50), Chousi (7), Daud (3 *et passim*), Doek (51), Haiman (87), Idithoun (38, 61), Iemeni (7), Kore (41, 43-46, 83, 84, 86, 87), Nathan (50), Saoul (17, 51, 53, 56, 58), Soba (59). Since such transcriptions into Greek had no prior history of usage, they lacked reference in Greek. As an aside it may be of interest to note that, whereas they typically had semantic transparency in the source language, this disappeared in the process of translation. Since such items lacked reference in Greek and therefore cannot meaningfully be called interpretive, I have assigned them to Level 0.

In translation literature, apart from names, one thinks immediately of Theodotion who had a penchant for throwing the Hebrew text at his reader without translating it. Yet the phenomenon is well attested also in the Septuagint, particularly in Greek Jeremiah. Such transcriptions are, however, in short supply in the Psalter, since its translator insisted on rendering his source text into Greek, whether or not he understood it. Perhaps the best example from the superscriptions is על־מִהַלַּת in 53(52) and על־מִהַלַּת לְעֲנוּת in 88(87), which is generally taken to refer to a tune or chanting pattern to be used with these psalms,²⁶ and rendered accordingly by the *NRSV* as "according to Mahalath" and "according to Mahalath Leannoth" respectively. The Greek translator in 52 and 87 does a bit of transcribing *and* translating. Thus in 52 he comes up with ὑπὲρ μαελεθ and in 87 with ὑπὲρ μαελεθ τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι, deriving עֲנוּת from the verb עָנָה ("answer"). Since in Gen 28:9 Maeleth is a daughter of Ishmael, it is not impossible that the Psalms translator intended a reference to that person, although the press the lady gets in Gen 28 is not conducive to being mentioned in Psalms superscripts, nor is such a connection made by the Church Fathers,²⁷ who instead interpreted μαελεθ as

²⁶ M. E. Tate, *Word Biblical Commentary: Psalms 51-100*. (Dallas: Word Books, 1990.)

²⁷ So e.g. Athanasius *Expositiones in Psalmos* 27.248, Didymus the Blind, *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 868, Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos* 23.453, and Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* 5.74.

χορός ("dance") or χορεία ("dancing"), gleaned from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, who in turn derived it from Hebrew חוּל ("whirl/dance/writhe"). Of course, even if the Fathers had connected μαελεθ with Genesis 28, one would simply note it as a fact of reception history rather than of the original text. In Psalms 52 and 87, as elsewhere in the superscriptions, our translator shows no knowledge of cultic or liturgical directives. What later interpreters did with such items might be of interest, but irrelevant to the question posed here. The constitutive character of the text in 52 and 87 is clearly one of pronounced source-orientedness.

Also to be placed at Level 0 are all textual items that can readily be explained as being due to mechanical error such as misreading of Hebrew letters, haplography, dittography, and parablepsis. If that is correct, none of these can be regarded as expositional in any way.

Quite clearly, this category of "interpretation" is characterized by the highest possible degree of source-orientedness, and consequently demonstrates most vividly the vertical dimension of the translated text, that is, its highly restrictive relationship to its source.

Level 1: Interpretation at the Word Level

What happens here is that a lexeme of the source text (Hebrew) is replaced by a lexeme of the target text (Greek), though not necessarily integrated syntactically and therefore supplied with unmarked inflection (nominative). The difference between Levels 0 and 1 is that whereas transcriptions are without reference in the target language, items at Level 1 have an established reference. Differently put, they have meaning but as isolated words cannot be said to convey information. Thus some interpretation does indeed take place, but clearly at a very elementary and restricted level. As an eloquent example one may cite, from the so-called Kaige recension, ἐγώ εἰμι as a representation of אֲנִי (the long form of the 1st sing. pronoun) even when it occurs with a finite verb. From the superscriptions one may choose the less obvious ψαλμός as a rendering of מִזְמֹר. Since both apparently referred to instrumental rather than vocal music, it may well be that the difference between them was minimal, though a close correspondence of this type would have to be labeled accidental to rather than essential for this category of interpretation. Furthermore, if Hebrew זָמַר can refer to the playing on wind instruments and on string in-

struments together with the words, while Greek ψάλλω refers solely to string instruments, one might note that in the transfer from source to target a restriction of meaning has occurred. That ψαλμός, since it has an established reference in Greek, can readily be used in syntactic constituents in explanatory contexts, is of course true, but a separate issue. In the superscriptions it is invariably made to represent מזמור, and is even used in the phrase ἐν ψαλμοῖς in 4.1, where it is scarcely intelligible. What the textual-linguistic evidence suggests is a mental process that substituted ψαλμός for מזמור but not one that deliberately relabeled the piece of literature in question from a מזמור to a ψαλμός. Moreover, to the extent that it did refer to the psalm as a whole, one would in any case have to credit the source text rather than the translator. For the moulding of the Greek term to fit its new use, one has to look to reception history. Though in time ψαλμός took on the meaning that "psalm" has in English and other modern languages, there is ample evidence to show that it did not yet have that meaning in Septuagintal times.²⁸ The point here is that in reference to the entire piece in whose superscript it appears, it is slightly odd, since the piece in question is a descriptive piece of literature rather than a musical performance on strings, and its isolate use will become even clearer presently.

Other terms in the superscriptions that fall into the same category are ὠδή for שׁיר (44[45], 64[65], 75[76], 95[96], 119[120], 121[122]—133[134]) (see further below), ὕμνος for נגינה (6, 53[54], 66[67], 75[76]), στηλογραφία for מכתם (15[16], 55[56], 56[57], 57[58], 58[59], 59[60]), ἀνεσις for תהלה (32[33], 144[145], 146[147]), προσευχή for תפלה (16[17], 101[102], 141[142]) though some of these can also be cited under my next category since they are pushed by the translator to the phrase level, without explicit warrant in the Hebrew. So, for example, στηλογραφία is preposed with εἰς (except in 15) to form some kind of purpose (or general reference) phrase, without explicit warrant

²⁸ See, for example, Amos 5:23. It is further of interest that the Church Fathers still contrast ψαλμός and ὠδή as instrumental vs. vocal (e.g. Origen on Psalm 29).

²⁹ Rösel glosses this as "Loblied" but this can only be justified if what the Hebrew term is thought to mean ("song of praise") is superimposed on the Greek. Greek ἀνεσις as an active verbal noun means nothing more than "praise" or "praising." Contrast, on the other hand, αἶνος in superscriptions Psalms 90, 92, 94.

in the Hebrew. Here I simply want to emphasize that interpretation on the word level does indeed take place but that unless such words are *newly* integrated into the context of the translated text at least at the phrase level, they can be said to have meaning but cannot fairly be said to be expositional. That some of these terms happen to make sense in reference to the entire psalm is a bonus, but not to be confused with what took place at the constitutive stage. Again, the Greek term is present as a reflex of its Hebrew counterpart and not because the translator decided that the psalm as a whole could best be so described.

Other items that belong at this level are so-called etymological renderings, i.e. Greek words arrived at not because of contextual considerations within the Greek but because an unfamiliar item in the source text is linked to a familiar item and then translated into the target text, whether or not it fits the context. Jan Joosten in his article on exegesis in Greek Hosea has placed such items under the descriptive heading "Giving the Words Their Due".³⁰ An instance from the superscriptions is τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι in Ps 87(88) for לַעֲנוֹת, although this is slightly beyond the present level. The Greek translator (hereafter G) not knowing what it means derives it from עָנָה ("to answer"). As such it would have to be read as a *qal* construct infinitive with the prefixed preposition לַ, indicating purpose. Thus, as is G's practice in such cases, the preposition is glossed by the Greek article in the genitive. Though the Greek infinitive happens to be passive in form, given the nature of the verb, that need not mean that it was intended to be passive in function (so *NETS*). Thus G is responsible for two items of interpretation: (a) one Hebrew lexeme (לַעֲנוֹת) is rendered into Greek and (b) a second Hebrew (מִדְהֵלֵת) is construed as the subject of the infinitive. Since Ps 87(88) happens to be a prayer (see ἡ προσευχή μου in v. 3) it is not impossible that v. 3 played a role in the latter process. One strongly suspects, however, that his move was purely on the word/phrase level. That his resultant text created potential for future interpretation is doubtlessly true, though the Church Fathers evidently did not make use of that potential.

Further, what should be placed on this level of interpretation is what

³⁰ J. Joosten, "Exegesis in the Septuagint Version Hosea," in J. C. de Moor (ed.), *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel* (OTS 40.) (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 62-85, esp. 72-73. Joosten's article as a whole is very useful for its grouping of phenomena and for its strictly text-based approach.

NETS has labeled (semantic) stereotypes, i.e. Greek words woodenly paired in the process of translation with Hebrew words often as a closed equation. Since words in different languages seldom, if ever, have the same semantic range, one-to-one representation can cause problems in certain contexts. Because the superscriptions offer minimal context, no good example can be gleaned from them. One might, however, cite the $\sqrt{\text{גִּפְּת}}-\theta\epsilon\lambda-$ equation in Psalms. Since $\sqrt{\text{גִּפְּת}}$ includes the semantic component of "pleasure/delight" but $\sqrt{\theta\epsilon\lambda}$ does not, the latter does not always smoothly fit its context (cf. e.g. Ps 1:2).

Finally what should be placed here are translated and partially translated names. From the superscriptions one can cite Ζιφάῖοι for זִפְּי (53[54]), Μεσοποταμία for מִסְרַם and Συρία for סַרַם (59[60]), Ἰσραηλίτης for יִסְרַאֵלִי (87[88], 88[89]), Μωυσῆς for מֹשֶׁה (89[90]).

Though on this level of interpretation the source text does not play as restrictive a role as on the preceding one, it remains true that it seriously interferes with the target text, even though the target language is being used. Thus the vertical dimension remains the dominant one. Characteristic at this level of interpretation is that words either have no context or stand in tension with their context. An initial way of testing whether a given item belongs to this category is to determine with what consistency it is made to represent its Hebrew counterpart, and to what extent the context is simply reproduced from the source text.

A fascinating exception, although not in the superscriptions, would seem to be διάψαλμα, always used as a rendering for Hebrew סֶלַה but possibly coined by the translator of Psalms from the same root as ψαλμός, and functionally adjusted accordingly. Since, like Greek διαύλιον, familiar from drama as a musical interlude on the flute (αὐλός), διάψαλμα evidently indicated a musical interlude on a stringed instrument, it is never made to stand at the close of a psalm (see Ps 3, 23[24], 45[46]).

Level 2: Interpretation at the Phrase Level

As the minimum unit of information it is perhaps understandable that at this level the greatest potential for maximalist interpretation comes to the fore. This is so, no doubt, because a phrase out of context or in minimal context gives inherently ambiguous information. Thus here again contextualization is the central issue. In other words,

based on the linguistic make-up of the translated text how much new contextualization can legitimately be attributed to the translator? Is the context simply transferred from the source text, or is the context the creation of the translator, as a result of which the target text can be said to have a context different from that of the source? Since the superscriptions of the Psalter are especially rich in phrases, my discussion here will be disproportionately long, though still only illustrative.

Level 2.1:

From the superscriptions I take two related examples, namely, ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς (29, 47, 66, 86, 91) and ᾠδὴ ψαλμοῦ (65, 82, 87, 107). Needless to say, they occur when the corresponding Hebrew terms, מִזְמוֹר and שִׁיר stand together. The mental process reflected by the reality of the translated text seems akin to our own, especially when reading unpointed Hebrew. When two Hebrew nouns stand together one might infer a bound construction such as "X of Y," especially if there is no context to correct one's mistake.³¹ Though the words themselves have meaning, what were the phrases ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς and ᾠδὴ ψαλμου intended to convey as units of information? Seemingly about as much as "a performance on strings of a song" and "a song of a performance on strings" would convey in English. Of course, one can massage such phrases into meaning "an accompaniment of a song on strings" or "a song with accompaniment on strings." But if that is what the translator wanted to convey, surely he could have done so by using or forming a word such as ψαλμῳδίᾱ "a singing to a harp."³² Such well-intentioned attempts at making sense of the translator's text, however, miss the nature of the text itself. What happens is that two syntactically unrelated Hebrew words are forged into a phrase, evidently without much reflection on what the combined pair might mean. Thus for context one is forced to invoke the vertical relationship of the translated text to the parent text, since the translator's *modus operandi* wreaks havoc with the horizontal dimension of the Greek. In other words, the best way to account for the Greek text we have is interlinearity, and in this instance of a rather restrictive variety. Thus, beyond the word level, the only interpretation we have here is that two lexemes of the source text are made into

³¹ See further Psalm 75(74) where the two do not stand together but yet are treated as a bound construction.

³² For ψαλμῳδέω and ψαλμῳδός see e.g. 2 Chron 5.13 and 1 Chron 6.33 respectively.

a phrase in the target text, irrespective of coherent sense. What context there is beyond this level is simply carried over from the source.

Perhaps not surprisingly, though Patristic commentators on the Psalms understand what the two Greek words mean separately and maintain that allegorically ψαλμός has to do with physical activity while ὠδή stands for mental activity, the best they can do for their combination is to say that it means the two combined.³³ To illustrate I cite Origen on Psalm 29:

Ὁργάνῳ δὲ καὶ φωνῇ ὁ ψαλμὸς ἀποτελεῖται διὸ ψαλμὸς ὠδῆς ἐπιγέγραπται, δηλωτικὸς ὧν τοῦ δεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ ὀργάνῳ διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν κινήσεων ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεόν, καὶ φωνῇ νοητῇ, διὰ τοῦ τὸν νοῦν ἀνακείσθαι τῷ δημιουργῷ.³⁴

(The psalm is performed with instrument and voice. Therefore it is titled ψαλμὸς ὠδῆς, making it very clear that we must sing hymns to God with an instrument, through bodily movements, and with a mental voice, through devoting our mind to the creator.)

In my discussion of Level 1, I have already called attention to other phrases that belong to this category, though not all of these are as semantically problematic as those just discussed. Since, however, potential exegesis at the phrase level looms larger in the superscriptions than at any other level, it may be useful to discuss the more important one instances in some detail. Rösel too concentrates his attempts at extensive contextualization at the phrase level.

A similar phrase to those just discussed is αἶνος ὠδῆς in 90, 92, and 94 without counterpart in MT. Though it is possible that this phrase was original in only one of the three psalms and from there spread to the other two, its structure makes it unlikely that it was secondary everywhere. Semantically it is even more incongruous than either ψαλμὸς ὠδῆς or ὠδὴ ψαλμοῦ. Since both terms refer to vocal music and both indicate songs of praise, it is difficult to understand what the two combined might be intended to convey. If, however, one retroverts the Greek phrase into Hebrew on the pattern of either of the other phrases the text becomes transparent. Thus in all likelihood, αἶνος ὠδῆς translates שִׁיר מְזֻמָּר הַלְלָהּ שִׁיר מְזֻמָּר and שִׁיר מְזֻמָּר.

³³ See e.g., Athanasius, *Expos. in Psalmos* 27, 576; Basil, *Hom. super Psalmos* 29, 305; Didymus the Blind, *Comm. in Psalmos* 129; Eusebius, *Comm. in Psalmos* 23, 680.

³⁴ *Fragmenta in Psalmos* on Ps 74.1.

Level 2.2:

The use of ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομώσης for אֶל-הַנְּחִילֹתָ in Psalm 5. I begin here with the observable facts: (a) that G did not understand the Hebrew word as a musical term; (b) that he derived אֶל-הַנְּחִילֹתָ from נָחַל (‐inherit‐); (c) that the ם infix made the word into a verbal (hiphil) rather than the noun נָחַל; (d) that the Hebrew article as well as the ם- ending suggest a nominalized participle; (e) that as a participle of נָחַל it would have to be an active participle; (f) that the feminine inflection of the source text produced a feminine inflection in the target text; (g) that the standard gloss in Psalms for נָחַל (‐inherit‐) is κληρονομ– (22x) (1 exception). Thus apart from his mistaken identification, which can scarcely count as exposition, the only real expositional move he makes is to construe the Hebrew word as a singular rather than as a plural, a move very similar to the move we saw him make above in 87(88). That interpretation took place is obvious: a Hebrew word is replaced with a Greek word and, more particularly, an unknown Hebrew word is replaced with a known Greek word. But given the questionable though understandable derivation, what G did in the title of Psalm 5 was virtually entirely predictable and, therefore, can scarcely count as deliberate exposition. Again, the larger context must be attributed to the source text, rather than to G.

It is true, of course, that the translator by doing what he did created potential for future exegesis; hence in reception history this potential might well be realized. Rösel, however, would have us believe that already at the constitutive stage much more was deliberately encoded in the translated text. So he writes:

die Wiedergabe [verweist] nun auf ein weibliches Individuum. Damit lässt sich der Psalm als Lied einer Frau verstehen, die in ihrer Not zu Gott ruft und auf seine Hilfe am Morgen hofft (V. 4).³⁵

Rösel is, of course, correct that the Greek text as it now stands has the *potential* for such an interpretation, but that scarcely proves that the Greek translator himself had this in mind, and that, furthermore, he deliberately reinterpreted the entire psalm in feminist terms. While it is true that the psalm is a prayer, I see nothing in the Greek text that even remotely makes reference to a female inheritor. Thus the observable facts as well as the textual linguistic make-up of the translation as a whole testify to something far more mundane: G mistak-

³⁵ M. Rösel, "Psalmenüberschriften" 131-32.

only but by rather strict rules translated his source, and inadvertently created a text radically at variance with the Hebrew at the phrase level. Finally, if the feminine inflection in Ps 5 indicates a woman, why not do the same with τῆς ὀγδόης ("the eighth") in 6 and 11, seeing that it was derived from the source text in the same manner?

Level 2.3:

The use of ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν for עַל־הַתְּנַיִם in Psalms 8, 80(81), 83(84)). Here the observable facts are: (a) that again G fails to understand the Hebrew musical term; (b) that he derives it from תַּן ("wine-press"); (c) that he construes the ם as a ך and thus ends up with the plural; (d) that he isomorphically renders the entire phrase into Greek. To be sure, interpretation perforce takes place, albeit based on ignorance. But can we speak of exegesis or exposition? Moreover, can we infer a cognitive process that denied that the psalms in question were "Gittith" but had to do with wine-presses instead? Rösel, however, wonders whether, since in prophetic literature ληνός can connote a display of God's power, it might not connote the same in the psalms at hand, since these are thought to be amenable to such an interpretation. Thus ληνός, according to Rösel, should not be understood in its usual sense, even though that is what it normally carries both outside and inside the Septuagint, but should be understood metaphorically. Once again, that G had created a text with some potential, and that later interpreters might understand the Greek metaphorically, cannot be denied. But as I see it, that is not relevant to the present discussion. G proceeds literally, according to his analysis, and the larger context of the phrase is carried over from the source.

Level 2.4:

The use of μὴ διαφθείρης for אַל־תַּחֲשִׁיבֵנִי in 57(58), 58(59), 74(75). Rösel makes no attempt at contextualizing this obscure phrase, a decision with which I fully agree. The phrase is nonetheless of interest, not for what G did with it but for what reception history was able to do with it. Origen, for example, in comment on Ps 58:1, refers his readers to David's order to Abishai not to destroy Saul—the same phrase occurs in the Greek—in 1 Rgns 26:9, when the two of them enter Saul's camp and carry off the spear and water jug. And why not, since Psalm 58 is a David psalm and the superscription also refers to Saul's guarding David's house to kill him. But that is reception history not the constitutive character of the translated text.

Or in Austermann's terms, Origen is writing an *Auslegungstext* not making an *Übersetzung*,³⁶ and furthermore one of a formal-correspondence variety. What G does with the phrase in all three psalms is predictable both on the verbal and nominal levels (verb 8x; noun 5x) and there is nothing in the psalms per se that lends support. But as a caveat against Origen's contextualizing of Ps 58, it should be noted that neither of the other two have conducive detail in the superscriptions, and 74 is not even a David psalm. Yet G derived the phrase in question from his source text in exactly the same manner as he did in 58.

Level 2.5:

The use ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς for על-שִׁילַת הַשָּׁחַר in Psalm 21(22). Again I begin with the observable facts: (a) that the translator is familiar with Hebrew שִׁילַת ("doe") as is clear from 18(17):34, 29(28):9; (b) that he did not know what to do with a doe in the phrase at issue; (c) that he connects שִׁילַת with שִׁילַת ("strength/help"); (d) that שִׁילַת occurs in 21:20 where he renders it by ἀντίληψις; (e) that he then makes use of ἀντίληψις in the superscription; (f) that he introduces articles without formal warrant in the Hebrew. There can be no doubt, therefore, that exposition at the phrasal level occurs in the process of translation. And given the fact that he is unfamiliar with musical or liturgical terminology (including first lines of songs) in the superscriptions, given his dislike for transcriptions and, finally, given the fact that "concerning the doe of the morning" would make little if any sense even at the phrasal level, he did rather well. But the question that presents itself again is whether his concern for making sense at the phrasal level means that he deliberately re-labels the psalm as a whole. I can find no reason for such a conclusion. Even the Church Fathers are surprisingly silent on this phrase. The only comment on it that I have been able to find is by Didymus the Blind who says that it refers to a spiritual day that is being ushered in by "the sun of righteousness".³⁷

Level 2.6:

The use of εἰς ἀνάμνησιν for לְהַזְכִּיר in Psalms 37(38), 69(70). The observable facts of the case are: (a) that though the Hebrew זָכַר is most often in Psalms translated by the simplex Greek root μνη– (12x),

³⁶ F. Austermann, *Thesen zur Septuaginta-Exegese*, 383 (Thesis 6).

³⁷ Didymus, *Comm. Psalmos*, 23.

in the superscriptions to these two psalms as well as in 108(109):14 G uses the compound form; (b) that the exceptions cannot be explained by the Hebrew stem (*hiph'il*), since not all *hiph'ls* are so translated; (c) that no verbal noun of the simplex form is attested. In light of (c) it may well be that G's option is determined linguistically rather than semantically. Rösel (133) sees significance in two things: (a) that the phrase can be used in a cultic context and b) that the Hebrew infinitive is translated by εἰς + a verbal noun, rather than by an infinitive. Even if we grant Rösel the cultic use of the Greek phrase, we would still have to conclude that no deliberate interpretation took place in the translation process, since the source text would already have had that sense. Rösel's second point, it seems to me, is purely linguistic. That is to say, according to G's standard practice for infinitives with preposed ל, הַזְכִּיר ל would have produced τοῦ ἀναμνησθῆναι. But had he followed standard practice here, "Dauid" would have had to function as its subject. Hence the resultant text would be "A Psalm. Pertaining to Dauid in order that he might commemorate." If one then further regards περὶ σαββάτου in Psalm 37 as original text (which I do not), one would end up with David's being told that he should remember about the sabbath. A similar problem would arise in Psalm 69 if our translator had rigidly stuck to his standard equivalent, and in doing so had perforce created a subject of the infinitive.³⁸ Thus if the translator was intent on safeguarding what the Hebrew text is thought to mean, to use the purpose infinitive was not a realistic option for him. Thus G is not going beyond the Hebrew at all, except for the fact that הַזְכִּיר may mean "memorial offering" (so *N R S V*), while ἀναμνησις simply means "remembering/recalling/commemorating." Thus even if one were to apply the Greek phrase to the psalm as a whole no exposition or exegesis would have taken place beyond what the source text already gives us.

Linguistically precisely the same phenomenon occurs in Psalm 59(60) where εἰς διδασχῆν (εἰς + verbal noun) is used to translate לַלְמַד (an infinitive), and all three (Psalms 37, 59, 69) may be contrasted with τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι in 87, discussed on p. 457.

³⁸M. Rösel, "Psalmenüberschriften" 133. The two references Rösel cites in support (3 Rgns 17.18 and Am 6.10) demonstrate my point.

Level 2.7:

The use of ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ for אהבה in Psalm 44(45)). The facts of the case are: (a) that G once again fails to understand the import of the Hebrew (Cf. *NRSV* "A love song"); (b) that he (correctly as it seems) derived the word from the Hebrew adjective אהבה ("beloved"); (c) that G ignores the final א; d) that he renders אהבה in the same way he renders it all four other times in Psalms (60[59]:7, 64[83]:2, 108[107]:7, 127[126:2] by ἀγαπητός Rösels³⁹ is right in noting that both ὑπὲρ and the article are unwarranted by the Hebrew. Hence some interpretation takes place at the phrasal level. Whereas the Hebrew according to G's analysis would mean "a song of a beloved" the Greek would mean "on behalf of the beloved" (ὑπὲρ is common in dedicatory statements). But then Rösels links "beloved" here with "beloved" in 67(68):13 where it in fact is used twice for Hebrew אהבה. So what happens is that the latter is equated with dydy, since he evidently doesn't know what to do with אהבה. Given the fact that אהבה is consistently glossed with ἀγαπητός, the linguistic connection G forges in 68(67):13 based on ignorance of his source text is understandable, and expositional on the word or phrase level. Furthermore, that same linguistic connection is made with *all other* occurrences of אהבה. But can one then also argue, as Rösels does, that since in his judgment τοῦ ἀγαπητου (=אהבה) in 67(68):13 refers to God,⁴⁰ it does as well in 44 on the grounds that there too the singular occurs? But since singular and plural occur (for this word) in lockstep with the source text, how can this be deemed expositional in any meaningful way?⁴¹ There can be little doubt that such intra-textual exegetical connections would be made in reception history, but is it already encoded at the constitutive stage? When one approaches the text from within and bases oneself on its linguistic make-up, all such instances appear as purely linguistically based, and expositional purely on the phrasal level. G etymologizes what he doesn't understand and refuses to transcribe and in so doing creates a text that differs more radically from the Hebrew than would have been the case if he had understood the Hebrew. The rest was up to reception history.

³⁹ "Psalmenüberschriften," 133.

⁴⁰ This interpretation itself is based on creative contextualizing.

⁴¹ Rösels further states that the reference in 67:13 is "eindeutig eschatologisch," 134 note 53.

Level 2.8:

The use of ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων for עֲלֵ־שִׁנִּיִּם in Psalms 44(45), 59(60), 68(69), 79(80). The observable facts of the case are: (a) that G did not understand his source text and derives the Hebrew from √חנש ("change"); (b) that he analyzes the form as a non-feminine plural participle of that verb; (c) that the left over initial שׁ, like the מ in preceding לִמְנַצֵּחַ, he represents by the Greek article; (d) that in so doing he maintains an isomorphic relationship to the source text; (e) that in 34(33):1 and 77(76):11 G translates √חנש with ἀλλοι- ("change"), which is in fact the standard equation in the Septuagint; (f) that since √חנש occurs most often in Daniel, ἀλλοιόω most often occurs there; (g) that most often throughout the Septuagint ἀλλοιόω has a non-eschatological sense. Rösel, however, goes two steps beyond this. First, to him, the phrase, together with preceding εἰς τὸ τέλος, is "gewiss eschatologisch."⁴² Second, the phrase makes the psalms in question into eschatological psalms. That at the phrasal level G engages in exposition is clear from the fact that, although the Greek-Hebrew equation as such is predictable, the use of the future passive participle is not. Thus time-subsequent and passive transformation is being signaled ("those that will be changed"). But even if one were to grant that the word here has a sense it normally does not have, there is no other indication that it was meant to function beyond the phrasal level, except that one of the four psalms in question (44[45]) can be interpreted eschatologically. But what about the other three? The Greek-Hebrew equation, even though it cannot be predicted on the basis of Psalms alone, nevertheless turns out to be predictable in light of the Septuagint as a whole.

That the phrase in question would be read eschatologically beyond its own boundaries in Christian reception history, the more since, in its superscription, Psalm 44 also features ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ, was inevitable. It comes, therefore, as no surprise that Athanasius, for example, says that "the beloved" is David's son, Christ, and the phrase in question refers to the ἀλλοίωσις brought about by the advent of Christ. Cyril, on the other hand, has our phrase refer to Jews and Greeks who, according to Paul, in Christ became one beloved people (cf. Rom 9:25).

⁴² "Psalmenüberschriften," 134. Didymus the Blind, for example, does the same thing (Commentarii in Psalmos 40-44, 336) and, furthermore, brings in Ps 76:11.

I close the present discussion with two phrases which Röseler accords special treatment because of their allegedly even clearer eschatological import, namely, *συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν* and *εἰς τὸ τέλος*.

Level 2.9:

The observable facts on *συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν* for *משכיל* are as follows: (a) that G did not understand *משכיל* as a certain type of song; (b) that he derived the term from the verb *שׁכל* ("be prudent"); (c) that in Psalms he translated *שׁכל* with *συνίημι* + cognates some 22 times; (d) that *συνίημι* + cognates is used to translate *בין* ("understand") some 27 times; (e) that in most superscriptions he translates *משכיל* with a genitive (32[31], 52[51], 53[52], 54[53], 55[54], 74[73], 78[77], 88[87], 89[88], 142[141]); f) that in three superscriptions he renders it by *εἰς σύνεσιν* (42[41], 44[43], 45[44]).

To be sure this summary points up some interesting facts. For example, G vividly demonstrates his lack of familiarity with *משכיל* as a type of song in 47(46):8 where he translates *זמרו משכיל* ("play a Maskil") as *ψάλατε συνετῶς* ("make music [on strings] with understanding"). Similarly, it is interesting that in all cases he pushes *σύνεσις* from the word level to the phrase level, either by inflection or by preposing a preposition, though perhaps it deserves noting that verbal nouns in the superscriptions are regularly made to function at the phrasal level whether or not there is explicit warrant in the Hebrew, the only two exceptions being *στηλογραφία* in Ps 15 and *ἀνεσις* in Ps 144. Thus the reason for turning *σύνεσις* into a phrase may be chiefly linguistic. Whatever the precise reason, exposition at the phrasal level has occurred. Beyond that, if perchance G opted for *εἰς σύνεσιν* (as a purpose expression) because of the adjacent phrase *τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορε*, on the assumption that G thought that the latter could do with a bit of understanding (cf. Num 16), we can even say that an expositional move extended to the propositional level. Röseler (136-37), however, wants to push it well beyond that point, since for him it re-labels the entire psalm whenever *σύνεσις* occurs in the superscription as a gloss for *משכיל*. That seems highly questionable since its occurrence is once again predictable on the basis of the source text, and similarly, on the few occasions that a member of the *συνίημι* group occurs within the psalm itself (31:8, 9, 52:3, 77:72), it is again predictable on the basis G's standard equations.

That being the case, how can it be argued that the translator is engaged in deliberate interpretation, i.e. exposition? All that can be said is that, since Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{לכבש}}$ and Greek $\sigmaύνεσις$ + cognates do not have an identical semantic range, interpretation may be taking place in the translational process. Rösel, however, takes yet another step, since he writes:

Das fragliche Nomen ist nun mitsamt dem zugehörigen Verbum $\sigmaύνημι$ in der Jesaja-LXX wie in der Dan-LXX eindeutig im Sinne eines eschatologisch-apokalyptischen Verstehens der Wege Gottes konnotiert; man erinnere sich nur an die berühmte Übersetzung von Jes 7,9 mit "glaubt ihr nicht, so versteht ihr nicht".⁴³

He then proceeds to certain passages in the Psalter where $\sigmaύνεσις$ or a cognate thereof might carry the same sense, for example: Psalms 15(16):7; 48(49):13, 21; 146(147):5 and 110(111):10. Thus Rösel's argument here is effectively that, since $\sigmaύνεσις$ elsewhere in the LXX *can* have an eschatological-apocalyptic sense, it should be given that meaning whenever a given text can bear it. But that ignores two fundamental facts: that $\sigmaύνημι$ + cognates, both without and within the LXX, rarely carries that meaning, and furthermore, that in three of the four passages he cites in the Psalter the Greek word is predictable. That leaves 15(16):7 where $\sigmaυνετίζω$ ("to make to understand") translates Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{עצ}}$ ("to give counsel"). Since in this case $\sigmaυνετίζω$ is a non-default rendering for $\sqrt{\text{עצ}}$ (= $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 4x, $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 1x, $\sigmaυνετίζω$ 1x), it of course attracts exegetical interest; but it scarcely gives it an eschatological-apocalyptic meaning. That $\sigmaύνεσις$ anywhere has such a meaning is *quod est demonstrandum*. Similarly, that what G does has more than an indirect and non-deliberate effect on the psalms in question is equally *quod est demonstrandum*.

Level 2.10:

Perhaps the most lavish interpretation Rösel reserves for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, a phrase that occurs in the superscriptions more often than any other (*ca.* 55), with the exception of $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$ (*ca.* 73). The observable facts are: (a) that $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\sqrt{\text{לנצח}}$ form a closed Greek-Hebrew equation; (b) that G was unfamiliar with the meaning "leader" (*NRSV*) or "director" (*BDB*); (c) that G arrived at his translation via his equation of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ with $\sqrt{\text{לנצח}}$. As in the case of $\sigmaύνεσις$, Rösel would have us believe that $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ should be understood

⁴³"Psalmenüberschriften," 136.

eschatologically. He briefly entertains others possibilities but then writes:

Sinnvoller ist die Übersetzung mit "Ende", die man wohl auf die Endzeit beziehen muss; die entsprechenden Lieder zielen demnach auf die Endzeit. Diese Überlegung wird durch die auffällige Verwendung des Artikels unterstützt, die m. E. eindeutig auf ein bestimmtes Ende zielt.⁴⁴

If such a claim could be substantiated it would mean that our Greek translator in the act of translating has made some 55 psalms into psalms about the end time. But the argument that leads to such a conclusion seems fatally flawed. I begin with Hebrew **לְנֶצַח** for which **τέλος** regularly serves as a gloss. According to the lexica it would seem safe to say that the root has essentially three components of meaning: "(pre-)eminence, successfulness, perpetuity." It is thus little wonder that **לְנֶצַח** is commonly glossed in English as "forever," that is to say, "in perpetuity." Though **τέλος** can have a great many meanings and clearly has considerable semantic overlap with **לְנֶצַח**, the component not covered very well, if at all, by **τέλος** is that of perpetuity, i.e. the temporal dimension. This becomes at once clear when one investigates how **לְנֶצַח** is translated in the Septuagint. Outside of the Psalter the root occurs some 35 times: five times one finds **εἰς τέλος** ("completely" Hab 1:4; Job 4:20, 14:20, 20:7, 23:7), five times **εἰς νίκος** ("victoriously" 2 Sam 2:26; Jer 3:5; Amos 1:11, 8:7; Lam 5:20) + **τοῦ νικῆσαι** ("to win victory" Hab 3:19), and **ἡ νίκη** ("victory" 1 Chron 29:11).⁴⁵ Seemingly related to the concept of "victory" are **ἰσχύω** ("to be powerful/prevail") in Isa 25:8, **κατισχύω** ("to prevail over") in Jer 15:18, and **ἐνισχύω** ("to prevail in") in 1 Chron 15:21. And again trading on the notion of pre-eminence are glosses like **ἐργοδιώκτης** ("taskmaster") in 1 Chron 23:4 and 2 Chron 2:17, as well as **ἐπισκοπέω** ("to oversee") in 2 Chron 34:12. Thus there is plenty that reflects the components of "(pre-)eminence" and "successfulness." Interestingly, however, when the component of "perpetuity" comes into play **לְנֶצַח** is glossed by temporal phrases: **εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα** (Isa 28:28; Jer 27[50]:39), **εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον** (Isa 13:20, 33:20), **χρόνον πολύν** (Isa 34:10), **διὰ παντός** (Isa 57:16) and **ἔτι** (Job 34:36).

Thus one can conclude with reasonable assurance that outside of the Psalter **τέλος** does not seem to have a temporal dimension. Yet that is

⁴⁴ "Psalmenüberschriften," 138

⁴⁵ Aquila and Quinta use **εἰς νίκος** for **לְנֶצַח**.

precisely what Röseler claims for the Psalter in his lead-up to "die Endzeit."⁴⁶ To prove his point he makes reference to three passages in the Psalms where εἰς τέλος appears as a parallel to εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (9:19, 76:8f[?], 102:9). The inference is, therefore, that "parallel" means "identical." That seems to me problematic. One can in fact argue that in Psalms too τέλος is *not* perceived to have a strictly temporal dimension, since in Ps 49(48):20 where the Hebrew has פֶּלֶאֶם־לְעֹלָם and where the meaning is patently temporal, G switches to ἕως αἰῶνος. Since this is a non-default rendering of פֶּלֶאֶם it can be taken to have some exegetical significance.

Röseler's proposal to read εἰς τὸ τέλος eschatologically raises a by now familiar problem. In non-philosophical Classical and Hellenistic literature τέλος as a nominal means nothing more often than "conclusion" (natural or logical) and as an adverbial it means nothing more frequently than "in conclusion" or "completely/finally," with no more of an eschatological overtone than the English glosses I have used. Polybius, for example, regularly uses εἰς τέλος. Similarly, within the Septuagint (some 94 occurrences according to Hatch-Redpath, not counting the Psalter) τέλος rarely has an eschatological sense. In light of all that, with what justification can the claim be made that the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος has an eschatological sense and is thus an exegetical contribution of the translator. Is it because of the article, which Röseler sees as supporting such a claim? But the article is there simply to maintain isomorphism with the source text, and perhaps more importantly to allow G to reproduce a contrast in his source text: εἰς τέλος = פֶּלֶאֶם־לְעֹלָם and εἰς τὸ τέλος = פֶּלֶאֶם־לְעֹלָם while deriving both from the same root.

That the Fathers of the Church, who read the entire Septuagint as a *praeparatio euangelica* would read εἰς τὸ τέλος and in fact τέλος generally from an eschatological perspective is of course true. So, for example, Asterius the Sophist in comment on Ps 9:1 exclaims:

What is το; τέλος? The beginning of the proclamation of the Gospel, which is the τέλος of the Law and the Prophets (τί τὸ τέλος; ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος, ὃ ἐστὶ τέλος τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν).

In similar vein 1 Pet 4:7 writes that "the end of all things is near" (πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν). But to superimpose such a meaning onto the Septuagint runs afoul of what I consider to be a basic and vi-

⁴⁶ "Psalmenüberschriften," 138.

tal distinction between the chronologically oldest and logically prior Septuagint, on the one hand, and its reception history, on the other. What the original text meant has to be determined on the basis of its constitutive character.

Level 3: Interpretation at the Sentence Level

In earlier comment on εἰς σύνεσιν in Psalms 41, 43, and 44 I have already suggested that the structure of the phrase may have been determined by the preceding phrase τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορε. If that is the case we can speak of contextualization from the phrasal to the propositional and, therefore, to the clausal or sentence level.

As an example of intra-clausal exegetical activity one might cite Psalm 3: ὅποτε ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἀπὸ προσώπου Αβεσσαλωμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ for בברחו מפני אבשלום בנו. Though the grammatical information is transferred almost isomorphically to the Greek, it is of interest that in the case of the Hebrew infinitival construction G opts for ὅποτε plus an imperfect verb. Since both the conjunction and the imperfect indicative verb are uncommon and therefore marked items in the Psalter as well as the Septuagint corpus, one can infer a certain deliberateness on the part of the translator. So here he portrays David's flight from his son as a withdrawal in progress, something the Hebrew does not show explicitly. But since the information conveyed by this clause was already in the parent text, G cannot be said to have contextualized the sentence at the paragraph level, i.e. the entire psalm or even a part thereof. What exposition he did, he did purely within the sentence.

As I have suggested elsewhere,⁴⁷ there can be no doubt that all such "historical" superscriptions played an important exegetical role in the transmission history of the Book of Psalms, both before and after they were translated into Greek. But if our interest lies in the specific contributions of the Greek translator to this history of exegesis, it must be ascertained whether or not such items—be they word, phrase, or sentence—were introduced as part of the translational process. To the extent that such items are also attested by the Masoretic Text, one can safely assume that they were inherited by G from his source text. That being the case, he can be given expositional credit only for what exposition he can be shown to have accomplished at the sentence level.

For a final possible example one might turn to Psalm 55(56) ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ

⁴⁷ A. Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy," 99-138.

τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων μεμακρυσμένου for על-יונת אלהם רחקים. At the phrasal level G does not know what to do with a "dove" (יונה) any more than he knows what to do with a "doe" in Psalm 21(22). As a result, here as in 21(22) he comes up with something that makes sense at least within the phrase.⁴⁸ Though it is likely that G did not stray very far from the consonantal text, one wonders whether the sense he gave the phrase is related to the last clause in the superscription which states that David was in a foreign land, away from Israel's shrine. If that is so we have here another instance of clausal and phrasal contextualization. Since as in the previous example the items as such were already in the parent text, G cannot be credited with exposition beyond the sentence level.

Level 4: Interpretation at the Paragraph Level

At this level of interpretation significant exposition of the source text clearly takes place, and like all other levels of interpretation it too can be found in the translated corpus. In connection with the superscriptions, one naturally thinks of the superscriptions in the Greek which are lacking in the Masoretic text. But as I have already noted, if our interest lies in the contribution of the translator, that is, in the constitutive character of the translated text, not only do we have to remove from consideration items G inherited from his source text, but also items that belong to the reception history of the Greek text. In an earlier article I have dealt extensively with this issue. Here a single example must suffice.

While in MT the superscription of Psalm 27(26) is a simple לדוד, the Greek text adds πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι ("before he [David] was anointed"). What happened here in the reception history of the Book of Psalms is reasonably clear. From being simply a "David psalm," it became a psalm associated with a particular period in David's life, namely, before he was anointed king over Judah (2 Sam 2:4) and over Israel (2 Sam 5:3). The impetus for the addition arose from the Greek text of v. 5:

ὅτι ἔκρυψέν με ἐν σκηνῇ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακῶν μου·
ἔσκέπασέν με ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ,
ἐν πέτρᾳ ὑψώσέν με·

⁴⁸ For a discussion of G's possible misreadings of the consonantal text see Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32(1912) 244.

For he hid me in the tabernacle in the day of my troubles;
 he sheltered me in a secret spot of his tabernacle;
 he set me high on a rock. (*NETS*)

This verse was thought to refer to David's stop-over at the tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam 21), an event which unmistakably predated his becoming king. Though theoretically the extra clause could have been part of G's source text, this becomes unlikely once one realizes that the terms for "tabernacle" in this verse are סכה and אהל, but not משכן. While linkage with the tabernacle would not be impossible within Hebrew transmission history, the Greek text makes it all but inevitable, since in Greek σκηνή is the standard term for the old desert shrine. The crucial question becomes, however, whether it was the translator who added the exegetical note based on information supplied in v. 5, or whether it was the reception history of the Greek text that was responsible. Even though there is evidence to suggest that G reserved σκηνή for the tabernacle (hence the *NETS* translation), I consider it more likely that the piece of exegesis belongs to the history of interpretation of the Greek Psalter (hence the square brackets in *NETS*). Be that as it may, for my present purpose suffice it to say that if the clause is attributable to G, we have clear evidence that G at times engaged in exposition at the paragraph level, that is, the psalm as a whole. If, on the other hand, the clause stems from reception history, it ought not be cited as evidence for exegesis in the Septuagint itself.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

I have sought to argue that though genuine exegesis and exposition can be found in the Septuagint, including in the Greek Psalter, it needs to be identified on the basis of its textual-linguistic make-up. If its textual-linguistic make-up argues for a translation characterized more by formal correspondence than by dynamic equivalency, one's approach to hermeneutics in the Septuagint should be governed by these findings. As I see it, that means at a minimum that exegesis needs to be demonstrated, not presupposed. From that perspective I would suggest that one work from the least intelligible phenomena to the more intelligible; that one proceed from the word level to higher levels of constituent structure; that one pay more attention to the translator's deviations from his Hebrew-Greek defaults than to his defaults and stan-

⁴⁹ For another instance of exegesis beyond the sentence level, see Boyd-Taylor "A Place in the Sun," 77-105.

dard equations or, to put it differently, that greater weight be given to what is unpredictable than to what is predictable; that one assign greater context to segments of the Greek text than to the corresponding segments of the Hebrew text only as a last resort.

To read the translated text in the light of its constitutive character is one thing, but to read it in the light of a culturally reassigned function and position is quite another.

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