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The Transmission of Interpretive Renderings in the Passover Law from LXX Pentateuch to LXX Chronicles

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1. Introduction

It has long been recognised that the interpretation of the translators is an unavoidable and significant process in the translation of a work.¹⁾ The Septuagint includes translators' interpretations, which were influenced by several factors such as existing interpretative traditions, translators' knowledge of the biblical context in the broadest sense, the culture, worldview, and theology of the translators.²⁾ LXX Pentateuch, as the earliest surviving biblical corpus in Greek, may in various ways have been an influential and significant reference for the LXX books translated later. Although it is difficult to prove the contention in historical context, most scholars assume that LXX Pentateuch influenced the later translations of the other LXX books (see 2.2).

In this regard, I aim to answer the following question: How was the Chronicles' translator guided by LXX Pentateuch in translating the Passover

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¹⁾ H. B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 9.

²⁾ C. Boyd-Taylor, "What is the Septuagint?", A. Salvesen and T. M. Law, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 13. Cameron lays out four distinct corpora of the term Septuagint. Among them, I adopt the third definition: "the Greek Old Testament, a Christian corpus comprised of the books of the Hebrew Bible as well as the so-called Deuterocanonical books (or Apocrypha)".

description? This question should be broken down into two sub-questions: 1) Which renderings did the Chronicles' translator accept from LXX Pentateuch, and why did the translator choose the renderings? and 2) How did the influence of LXX Pentateuch on the later translators happen in history? While the first question is literary, the second is historical.³⁾

To this purpose, I will first explicate some of my key presuppositions on the nature of LXX Chronicles and outline a brief history of scholarship on the issue of the influence of LXX Pentateuch on the books translated later. Second, I will present how three interpretive renderings in LXX Pentateuch were transmitted to LXX Chronicles – τοπω and θύω in Exodus 12:21 and 2 Chronicles 29 and 35, and ὀπτάω in Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13, and מול and ἔριφος in Exodus 12:5 and 2 Chronicles 35:7. Third, I will demonstrate how this kind of transmission might have happened in regarding to three hypotheses – liturgical usage, interlinear paradigm, and religious experience. This paper contributes to current studies of LXX Chronicles and the Septuagint by examining how the imitation of LXX Pentateuch renderings by later translators transmitted interpretations of certain texts. The later translator themselves may have been quite conscious of these translational-interpretive transmission.

2. History of Scholarship

In this section, I will demonstrate foundational features of LXX Chronicles, which should be understood before arguing the relationship between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles. First, I presuppose that LXX Chronicles, which was translated in Alexandria in the second century BCE, is not Theodotionic but rather is Old Greek in terms of recension. This means that someone who was influenced by LXX Pentateuch is the translator of the Chronicles. Second, I lay out the history of scholarship on the study of the impact of LXX Pentateuch on books translated later and on LXX Chronicles.

³⁾ L. C. Allen, The Translator's Craft, The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 38-39. Following Allen, I assume that the Chronicles were rendered by a single translator. However, I do not deny the possibility that translators carried out the translation work on the book of Chronicles.

2.1. LXX Chronicles: Old Greek or Theodotionic Recension?

After Hugo Grotius, who first maintained the claim that LXX Chronicles was the work of Theodotion, many scholars have taken up and developed this suggestion (cf. Whiston, Howorth, Curtis, and Torrey).⁴⁾ These scholars have set forth various examples of Theodotionic recension in LXX Chronicles. The evidence can be summed up into two categories, which represent major features of Theodotion's writing; a wealth of transliterations and a tendency toward literal translation.⁵⁾ However, these features are not necessarily confined to a Theodotionic recension.

As Leslie C. Allen points out, the LXX Chronicles translation makes use of transliteration as a major translating technique for the Hebrew words not known to him *and* for the Hebrew words that he wanted to keep in Hebrew form.⁶⁾ However, does the transliterating technique belong to Theodotion alone? While transliteration was beyond doubt one of the revision techniques, "Theodotion did not invent this practice, for the technique had been used previously in the Old Greek translation".⁷⁾ Given that the transliteration of unknown words, proper nouns (e.g., personal names, geographic, and ethnic names), religious words, and architectural terms were employed as a translation technique in Old Greek translation such as LXX Pentateuch, this feature could not be decisive evidence for maintaining Theodotion's recension of LXX Chronicles. It is also "blatantly obvious that the translator had nothing in common with a systematic reviser producing KR [kaige-recension] material on consistent and dogmatic lines".⁸⁾ As Roger Good points out, "the way the translator of Chronicles handled the

⁴⁾ H. Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Lvtetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Sebastiani et Gabrielis Gramoisy, 1644), 367; E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 38; C. C. Torrey, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah", R. F. Harper, F. Brown, and G. F. Moore, eds., *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2:60-63.

⁵⁾ E. Tov, The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 20-24, 27; R. Good, "1–2 Chronicles (Paraleipomena)", J. K. Aitken, ed., The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 170.

⁶⁾ L. C. Allen, The Translator's Craft, 62-64.

⁷⁾ E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament–A Further Characteristic of the kaige–Th. Revision?", *Textus* 8 (1973), 78-92.

⁸⁾ L. C. Allen, The Translator's Craft, 137-141.

Hebrew verbs is part of the continuum in the development of the Hebrew verbal system from classical biblical Hebrew to rabbinic or Mishnaic Hebrew".9) In addition, more literal translation would be considered a phenomenon or a popular style in Alexandria of the second-first centuries BCE.10)

So, in this paper, I presuppose that LXX Chronicles is not of Theodotionic recension but was translated in the mid-second century BCE in Alexandria.

2.2. The Impact of LXX Pentateuch on LXX Chronicles

Over the past century, scholars have discerned the dependency of later translated books on the Old Greek version of the Pentateuch. It was probably Francis Woodgate Mozley who first used the term dictionary to denote the function of the Pentateuch for the later translators. He argued explicitly as follows: "This only seems certain about the date and relative order of the books of the LXX, that the Pentateuch came first, about 250 B.C. it was probably, Hebrew and Greek, our translator's text-book in learning Hebrew and serves him to a great extent in place of dictionary". 11) After Mozley various scholars have suggested convincing evidence for the influence of LXX Pentateuch on the later LXX books, 12)

As Lust and Barr point out, it is uncertain whether the translators possessed either word lists or dictionaries.¹³) It is also hard to show the degree of

⁹⁾ R. Good, The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles, VTSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 248; S. I. Ahn, "Characteristic of Verb Form in the Translation of the Septuagint Chronicles: Infinitive Construct and Infinitive Absolute", Journal of Biblical Text Research 39 (2016), 62-85. For the significance of a verbal system in the book of Job, see S. H. Woo, "A Translation Technique and a Verbal Form of Hebrew", Journal of Biblical Text Research 20 (2007), 311-328.

¹⁰⁾ S. Honigman, The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 123.

¹¹⁾ F. W. Mozley, The Psalter of the Church: the Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), xii-xiii.

¹²⁾ For a detailed scholarship, see E. Toy, "The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books", P. Casetti, et al., eds., Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy, OBO 38 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 577-592; E. Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books", The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint, SVT 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183-194.

¹³⁾ J. Barr, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later

dependency of the later translated books on the Greek Torah in absolute statistical terms. However, the lack of knowledge here cannot exclude the possibility of the influence of LXX Pentateuch. Greek-speaking Jews were dependent on LXX Pentateuch (not only the Hebrew Bible). Although we should be cautious not to overemphasise the influence of LXX Pentateuch on all the LXX books, some evidence showing the dependency of the later translated books on LXX Pentateuch cannot be ignored. Importantly, the impact of LXX Pentateuch was not confined to a lexical dependency but can be enlarged to include more interpretive and contextual renderings.

The first serious study of the relationship between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles was undertaken by G. Gerleman. 14) He demonstrated the close affinity between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles, comparing their phraseological and lexical features. By comparing with the synoptic passages in the book of Reigns (Samuel-Kings), he concluded that LXX Chronicles was more Pentateuchal than the Reigns. 15) By accepting H. St. J. Thackeray's view, he suggested that the marked correspondence between LXX Exodus 38 and LXX 2 Chronicles 4 about the tabernacle and temple description may have resulted from the liturgical influence of the Septuagint. Allen developed Gerleman's view of LXX Pentateuch's influence on LXX Chronicles through an exhaustive investigation of the translational character of LXX Chronicles. 16) As Gerleman pointed out, it seems that a marked correspondence appears in the description of the tabernacle between Exodus 35-40 and 2 Chronicles 4.17) Based on these previous studies, I will present another correspondence of the priestly material between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles, namely, the Passover description (see below).

Books?", M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, eds., *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 523-543.

¹⁴⁾ G. Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint II. Chronicles, LUÅ N. F. Avd. 1. Bd 43. Nr 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 22-29.

¹⁵⁾ Ibid., 30-44.

¹⁶⁾ L. C. Allen, The Translator's Craft, 49.

¹⁷⁾ The reason why this strong affinity is concentrated on the tabernacle description is explained in 4.1.

3. Transmission of the Interpretive Translation

After this general introduction, I will now focus on the topic of this paper, the rendering of the Passover instructions. Passover law contains three categories – 1) the nature of the Passover; 2) the cooking method of the offering; and 3) the kind of sacrificial animals. So, in this section, I will examine how three interpretive renderings in these three categories were transmitted from LXX Pentateuch to LXX Chronicles – שוש and θύω in Exodus 12:21 and 2 Chronicles 29 and 35, שו and ἀπτάω in Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13, and שו and ἔριφος in Exodus 12:5 and 2 Chronicles 35:7.

3.1. The Guidance of LXX Pentateuch on the Nature of the Passover

In this part, I show that the exceptional rendering of $\varpi \pi \varpi$ as $\theta \acute{\omega} \omega$ is derived from the interpretive rendering of Exodus's translator, who considered the Passover as *sacrifice*. ¹⁸⁾ Then, I argue that this understanding influenced the Chronicles' translator and was transmitted into LXX Chronicles

The usual rendering of the verb \mbox{verb} (to slaughter) is $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (to slaughter). Interestingly, the verb \mbox{verb} appears twice in Exodus 12 but has different equivalents: $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in v. 6 and $\theta\acute{\omega}\omega$ (to sacrifice) in v. 21. Why do the different renderings appear in the same context? One may simply argue that two distinct renderings are the result of two translators. However, it is hard to say this for certain because these two verbs are placed very close together. Alternatively, it may be possible that the translator considered $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ and $\theta\acute{\omega}\omega$ to be synonyms for an equivalent of \mbox{verb} . Correspondingly, one may argue that the verb $\theta\acute{\omega}\omega$ could be used interchangeably as an equivalent of \mbox{verb} in the sense of the translator's contemporary Greek. 19)

However, in the LXX, the usual equivalent of θύω is πΞπ, which means to sacrifice. More crucially, the demarcation between the pair of τ and σφάζω

¹⁸⁾ M. Haran, Temple and Temple Service in Ancient Israel (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 320-324; B. M. Levinson, Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 58-62. Haran and Levinson lay out the views of contemporary scholars.

¹⁹⁾ LSJ, 813; T. Muraoka, A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 335.

Why did the translator choose this word? I suggest that certain difficult readings in the Hebrew Bible may be a clue to the motif intended by the translator. If we read Exodus 12, a question suggests itself. Given that the two main interpretations of the original Passover law saw it as either a ritual or as a sacrifice, my question is, which is closer to the original meaning?²¹⁾

Although Exodus 12:27 apparently indicates that the Passover is a sacrifice, in Exodus 12 there is no mention of the sacrificial process. The Passover preparation differs from other sacrificial offerings in many ways. Most crucially, there is no mention of an altar. Exodus 12 discusses only the slaughtering of a sheep or goat, the blood rites, the eating process and the prohibition on leaving the house until morning.

In the absence of sacrificial features the translator may have keenly felt the need to confirm and emphasise the precise original nature of the Passover rite for Greek-speaking Jews. If this was the case, what are the criteria for judging the Passover rite to be a sacrifice? First, the translator may have recognised the nature of the Passover law from the notion of Exodus 12:27 and 34:25, which denote the Passover as a sacrifice to the LORD. Second, Deuteronomy 16:1-7, which explains the time, place, materials and process of the Passover observance, is evidence that the Passover rite is to sacrifice not to the LORD. Third, Numbers 28:19-22 may be the source from which the translators inferred

²⁰⁾ T. Muraoka, A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 58, 114.

²¹⁾ G. A. Anderson, "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings", ABD 5, 873.

the nature of the Passover rite. These verses affirm that the sacrifices are not separable from the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

The translator's selection of θύω as an equivalent of שחש seems to represent two underlying motives. First, although the law on the first Passover does not express sacrificial behaviour explicitly, it is consistent with other passages that demonstrate the Passover ritual as a sacrifice. Second, in religious terms, the translator may have considered and emphasised that not (the Passover lamb) was an object to be sacrificed to the LORD and was not merely meant to be slaughtered. So, how did this interpretive rendering influence the Chronicles' translator?

2 Chronicles 29:20-24 describes the preparation of the sacrifices (v. 22: the burnt offering, vv. 23-24: the sin offering) in the process of the temple's dedication after its purification. 2 Chronicles 30:15-20 and 35:1-19 recount the Passover sacrifice, which was kept by the kings of Judah (Hezekiah and Josiah). Interestingly, in these passages the usual words זבח and מַב for a sacrifice do not appear; only the Hebrew verb שחש appears. Surprisingly, in Chronicles the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew verb שחש is θύω (2Ch 29:22, 24; 30:15; 35:1, 6, 11), not σφάζω. The Chronicles' translator used the pair of Σπω and θύω, which was used in LXX Exodus 12:21. During the translation, because these passages did not contain the terms הבה or הבה, the Chronicles' translator may have wished to confirm and emphasise the offerings of King Hezekiah and Josiah as sacrifices. If this was the case, where did the translator take this usage from? One possible answer is from Exodus 12:21. The rendering of Exodus 12 might be a proper answer to the following question: How can the verb שמש be rendered given that the passages recounting the sacrifices do not contain the terms הבו and זבח?

Against this proposal, the Chronicles' translator may have been unaware of the exceptional translation in Exodus 12:21 and come up with the solution of translating Δπω as θύω independently. However, the translator knew that King Josiah observed the Passover law in his reign (v. 12) and none of the kings of Israel had kept such a Passover as was kept by Josiah (v. 18). In this regard the translator may have recognised that the process of the Passover sacrifice in 2 Chronicles 35 should be translated and conveyed to Greek-speaking Jews, more clearly, exactly, and subtly for their religious practice in their daily lives.

With such a likely motivation, it is reasonable to think that the Chronicles' translator consulted Exodus 12.

In short, the Chronicles' translator did not borrow the pair of $\mathfrak{D} \sqcap \mathfrak{W}$ and $\theta \acute{\omega} \omega$ unconsciously. When he identified this uncommon pair as a solution to the question entailed concerning the nature of the Passover, he may have comprehended the motif and intention of the solution of the translator of Exodus 12. It was not only to clarify that the Passover is a sacrificial ritual but also to emphasise that $\sqcap \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{D}$ (the Passover lamb) was an object to be sacrificed to the LORD. The pair of $\mathfrak{D} \sqcap \mathfrak{W}$ and $\theta \acute{\omega} \omega$ shows that the Chronicles' translator was guided by the traditional interpretation of LXX Pentateuch and transmitted this interpretation to his contemporaries and later generations.

3.2. The Guidance of LXX Pentateuch on Cooking Method

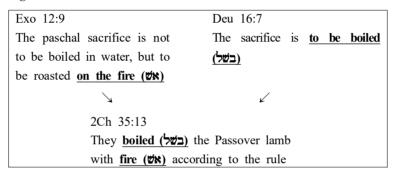
It is obvious that dietary laws have been indispensable to understanding the religion and culture of the Israelites because YHWH gave them to Moses. Each festival and offering is kept with its own dietary laws. Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 16 describe specific and detailed dietary laws for the feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread. To convey the procedure of the dietary law in other languages, precise description rather than interpretation may be required. However, if two different recipes existed, interpretation (or harmonisation) is needed to confirm the more correct measure.

In this section, I probe how the Deuteronomy's translator dealt with the different cooking terms – צלה (to roast) in Exodus 12:9 and בשל (to boil) in Deuteronomy 16:7 – and examine how the rendering of LXX Deuteronomy influenced the Chronicles' translator.

In Exodus 12:9, the LORD commands Moses and Aaron to prohibit eating flesh either raw or boiled (אֵל מְבָשֵׁל מְבָשֵׁל מִבְּשֵׁל יִי ווֹ in water. The head, legs, and entrails of the Passover lamb should be roasted over the fire (צֵּלִי־אֵשׁ). However, in Deuteronomy 16:7, Moses urges the people of Israel to remember that the Passover lamb should be boiled (בְּשַׁלְתִּן) at the chosen place. On the one hand, given that בשל normally means "to boil," the difference between Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7 may be considered a contradiction, which supports the hypothesis that they come from different sources or documents. On the other

hand, given that could be defined as a general term indicating any form of cooking, Deuteronomy 16:7 seems not necessarily to contradict Exodus 12:9.22) Although it is still debated which argument is the more convincing, the one thing we know is that the Chronicler attempted to solve this difficulty by "a synthesis with elements from both Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7".23) Michael Fishbane defines this tendency as a legal blend in which "the Chronicler knew the two distinct sets of ritual norms and, regarding both as authoritative traditions, preserved them by an artificial, exegetical harmonisation". 24) Most commentators have considered the peculiar phrase (ניבשלו הפסח באש) in 2 Chronicles 35:13 to be a harmonisation.²⁵)

Figure 1. Harmonisation in 2 Chronicles 35:13



Given that the Hebrew verb בשל is rendered as the Greek verb εψω (to boil). in Deuteronomy 16:7 should be translated as ἔψω.²⁶⁾ However, בשל in Deuteronomy 16:7 is expanded by adding the Greek verb ὀπτάω (to roast), which is the equivalent of צלה. This expansion prompts at least four significant remarks.

First, this expansion may indicate that in the Ptolemaic period, which was

²²⁾ M. I. Lockshin, Rashbam's Commentary on Deuteronomy: An Annotated Translation, BJS 340 (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2004), 102. Medieval commentators (Rashi, Rashbam, and Ibn Ezra) commented that בשל in Deu 16:7 and 2Ch 35:13 could be a general term for cooking. Against this position, Luzzatto argues that שם means to boil. See J. H. Tigay, Deuteronomy (Philadelphia, PA; Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 155.

²³⁾ M. Haran, Temple and Temple Service in Ancient Israel, 322.

²⁴⁾ M. A. Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985),

²⁵⁾ S. Japhet, I & II Chronicles (London: SCM, 1993), 1053.

²⁶⁾ T. Muraoka, A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint, 53, 86. The only exception appears in 2Ch 35:13.

when the Pentateuch was translated into the Greek (the third century BCE), may have meant 'to boil,' not any kind of cooking. If was treated as a general term for 'cooking,' why did the Deuteronomy's translator render שב' using two Greek verbs, ἕψω and ὀπτάω? If ὑτα denoted a general concept of cooking, the rendering of using ὀπτάω without ἕψω, as in LXX 2 Chronicles 35:13. would be an easier way to reduce confusion and give a more exact cooking process for the Passover lamb. Second, this expansion seems to show that the Chronicler may not have been the only one to confront the differences (or difficulties) between the Passover preparations in Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7. For Deuteronomy's translator, the Hebrew verb שב may have been one of the most challenging terms. Third, the translator gave his solution by referring to the cooking method of the Passover sacrifice in Exodus 12:9. This rendering knowledge or the tendency to render בשל as εψω in his era, he showed that the cooking method of the Passover lamb in Deuteronomy 16:7 was not different from that of Exodus 12:9. Although this solution superficially solves the recipe difference between Exodus 12:9 and Deuteronomy 16:7, it actually creates more confusion. Should the Passover lamb be eaten after only being roasted? Or should it be boiled and roasted? Although the reason why the translator used both ἕψω and ὀπτάω remains obscure, one minimal point on which some scholars agree is that roasting may be the last stage of the complete preparation before eating.²⁷⁾ Fourth, LXX Deuteronomy 16:7 introduces the rendering and usage of the בשל as both εψω and ὀπτάω. Fifth, the translator's interpretation, which inclined towards Exodus 12:9 (the first Passover law), seems to emphasise that the Hebrew Bible (the source for the translator) is cohesive regarding the cooking process of the Passover sacrifice. How did these remarkable features give guidance to the later translators in understanding the cooking method for the Passover lamb?

A piel form of לשם appears twice in 2 Chronicles 35:13. However, interestingly, it is rendered by two distinct Greek words: ὀπτάω and ἕψω. The second לשם does not seem difficult to translate. It can be understood in relation

²⁷⁾ M. Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Materia Giudaica Anno* XII/1-2 (2007), 15. Segal proposes that εψω in Deu 16:7 "refers to an early stage in the process of preparation prior to its completion".

to cooking utensils – סִיך (cooking pot) and הוד (cauldron) – and implies boiling. Undoubtedly the translator followed the usual tendency for the rendering and chose ἔψω for בשל. However, when the Chronicles' translator read the first שֵׁשׁל modified by שֵׁשׁ, he may have been confused by the unusual usage of בשל.

One may argue that ἀπτάω as an equivalent of שם is a result of a spontaneous or immediate rendering by the translator. If so, in LXX Chronicles representing a tendency towards literal translation, שם should be צַּשָּׁש, as is the second rendering of בשל in 2 Chronicles 35:7. Every בשל in the MT is rendered using צַּשָּׁש. There is no precedent for ἀπτάω as the equivalent of בשל.

Nor is the possibility excluded that the Chronicles' translator may have come up with his renderings without thinking of LXX Pentateuch, because "to boil in fire" makes little sense. However, it seems likely that his response when faced with a peculiar phrase, may have been a close reading of his source text. Thus, he may have noticed the specific remark that the Passover was kept accurately (2Ch 35:18) as it was written in the Book of Moses (2Ch 35:12). It may then have led him to refer to other passages about the Passover sacrifice, especially Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 16, in order to confirm the meaning of the word and to convey the exact cooking method in the target language. In this translation process he may have noticed the unique rendering of the language of 'but as onto and 2) the consistency in LXX Pentateuch regarding the cooking method – namely, the roasting of the Passover sacrifice.

To sum up, it seems likely that the translators incorporated different accounts of the cooking terms by which in Exodus 12:9 and in Deuteronomy 16:7. So, they may have sensed the necessity to deliver a more exact cooking method to the Greek-speaking Jews. The interpretive initiative of Deuteronomy's translator with respect to confirming a specific view of the dietary law of the Passover lamb seems to have been transmitted to the later translator. The influence of LXX Deuteronomy 16:7 on the Chronicles' translation does not simply offer lexical knowledge – two renderings (ἕψω and ἀπτάω) of ὑψω – but more importantly conveys the interpretive thought connoted in the renderings.

3.3. The Guidance of LXX Pentateuch for the Sacrificial Animal

In the ritual tradition of ancient Israel, the sacrificial animals for the burnt offering cannot be replaced by a grain offering. This implies that the kind of sacrificial animal chosen for Passover is no less important than the purpose and dietary law of the offering. In the Passover festival, the sacrificial animal designated by law should be offered to YHWH. The translators, who presumably understood it better than most, may have recognized the need to convey the specific and proper Greek terms for the Passover animal to Greek-speaking Jews. In this section, I investigate how the Chronicles' translator was guided by LXX Pentateuch to translate appropriately the Hebrew words on the nature of the sacrificial animal for Passover. In 2 Chronicles 35:7, four Hebrew terms – בְּבֶּבֶ עֵּי , בַּבֶּעֵי , מַיָּבְ – appear in the description that Josiah contributed to the Israelites for Passover offerings. Among these terms, I will show that the exceptional rendering of נֵי in Exodus 12:5 was transmitted to LXX Chronicles 35:7.28)

Exodus 12:5 employs the Greek word ἔριφος as the equivalent of "". This exceptional rendering appears only twice in the LXX, in Exodus 12:5 and 2 Chronicles 35:7. How can this translational peculiarity be evidence of the influence of LXX Pentateuch on the Chronicles' translator?

In the LXX, the usual equivalents of מֵז are αἴξ (goat) or αἴγειος (of a goat) as neutral terms that do not specify the age of the goat. There are two Hebrew words to denote a kid goat: 1) בְּּבִּי (kid or young) is accompanied by מֵז (he-goat). This term is rendered to ἔριφος (kid, i.e., young goat); 2) although שֵׁעִיר (he-goat) is usually rendered as χίμαρος (male goat), sometimes ἔριφος appears as its Greek equivalent. This usage specifically denotes "a long-haired young animal belonging to the species עוֹזִים in Genesis 37:31".²⁹)

Interestingly, in LXX Exodus 12:5 שֵׁ is rendered as ἔριφος, even though שֵׁ is not accompanied by שְׁשִׁיך זי in the near context. Given that שֵׁי (αἴξ) and בְּדִי (ἔριφος) usually appear together, one may argue that ἔριφος could be

²⁸⁾ In LXX Pentateuch, the most frequent renderings of צאן are πρόβατον and ἀμινός, respectively. Because LXX 2Ch 35 follows these renderings, I do not discuss these terms. And, in LXX Chronicles, which appears 23 times, is rendered as μόσχος (18 times).

²⁹⁾ HALOT 3, 1341.

interchangeable with αἴξ. However, the demarcation between the pair of ι and αἴξ and the pair of ι (or ι) and ἔριφος is obvious throughout the whole LXX. In addition, P.Tebt. 3.2:882 and P.Gurob 22 (the third century BCE) – ancient documents showing a list of livestock in the village of Fayum (Egypt) in the third century BCE – do not treat αἴξ as a synonym of ἔριφος. 30) These observations indicate that ἔριφος may *not* be the equivalent of ι , but a specified kind of ι , emphasising a young age, in the third century BCE in Alexandria.

So, the rendering of τη as ἔριφος may be considered an interpretive intervention to confirm and emphasise the youth of the τη. Why then did the translator use ἔριφος instead of αἴξ? The clue is not far away. Exodus 12:5a specifies the condition of the lamb to be slaughtered for the Passover sacrifice. A lamb should be without blemish, a year old male. In this regard, in his interpretative process the translator may have sensed the need to denote the young age of the goat. Ἔριφος may be considered a conscious choice of the translator to deliver a full and contextual meaning of τη in Exodus 12:5.

So, how did this exceptional interpretive rendering influence the translator of Chronicles? In 2 Chronicles 35:7, the unique expression בְּנִי־עָּזִים means young goats. (אוֹ בְּנִי־עָזִים means young goats.) When the translator was faced with the unusual expression, how did he resolve it? He expanded בְּנִי־עָזִים as ἐρίφους ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν in which בֹנִי־עָזִים In my opinion τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν could be considered an adequate and proper rendering of בְּנִי־עָזִים for two reasons. First, the translator did not ignore the usual rendering of בְּנִי־עָזִים for two reasons. First, the translator did not ignore the usual rendering of בְּנִי־עָזִים for two reasons. First, the translator did not ignore the usual rendering of בְּנִי־עָזִים for two reasons. First, the translator did not ignore the usual rendering of implies that the translator knew the precise meaning of בָּן, denoting young. This double rendering seems likely to be a conscious choice of scribal intervention and the translator's deliberate interpretation designed to emphasise and confirm ἔριφος as appropriate for Passover sacrifice.

Against this claim, at least two opposing opinions arise. First, it might be an accidental or unconscious double rendering. Second, a double rendering might

³⁰⁾ J. G. Smyly, Greek Papyri from Gurob (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1921), 36-38.

³¹⁾ In this context, בוֹיבֶּקר means a young animal rather than a son (cf. בֶּוֹיבֶּקר).

³²⁾ LSJ, 1768; GELS, 673.

have resulted from the intervention of the later recensional work (e.g., Theodotion's recension). However, the expression ἐρίφους ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν does not appear in the works of other translators or witnesses (e.g., Josephus and Philo).³³⁾ This evidence indicates that even in the view of ancient translators or witnesses (not only the present generation) ἐρίφους ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν might have seemed awkward. Can we say that the Chronicles' translator unconsciously or accidentally employed this peculiar rendering, which was avoided by other witnesses? Furthermore, because this double rendering does not appear anywhere else, it could not be caused by a later recensional work.

The rendering of τίντας ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν may indicate that in the translating process the translator was guided by LXX Pentateuch. When the Chronicles' translator was confronted with an unprecedented expression και he might have consulted his predecessor's work in Hebrew and/or Greek in order to transmit the traditional rendering and to convey the details on the kind of the Passover offering to his contemporaries. In this process, he may have recognised the exceptional rendering of τίν as ἔριφος in Exodus 12:5. Though ἐρίφους ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων τῶν αἰγῶν would be an atypical rendering, he may have accepted it because he understood and esteemed the interpretation and motive of the translator of the book of Exodus. Ἔριφος in 2 Chronicles 35:7 is the fruit of the translator's consultation on LXX Pentateuch; he wanted to deliver a full and contextual meaning for τίν. Following the guidance of LXX Pentateuch, he was able to translate and deliver a more appropriate meaning to his contemporaries.

4. Historical Context of the Influence of LXX Pentateuch

In the previous sections, I maintained the dependence of LXX Chronicles on LXX Pentateuch through linguistic evidence. I argued that, for the Passover

³³⁾ R. Hanhart, ed., Esdrae liber I, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum VIII, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 56; R. Hanhart, ed., Paralipomenon Liber II, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum VII, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 408.

description in 2 Chronicles 29 and 35, the Chronicles' translator accepted the exceptional interpretative renderings and motives found in LXX Pentateuch.

Can we show the historical background of the influence of LXX Pentateuch on LXX Chronicles? Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence or official document to confirm exactly how, why, or to what extent the Chronicles' translator followed the exceptional rendering of LXX Pentateuch. However, a certain allusion evoked within the renderings in both LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles allows room to offer some hypotheses.

This chapter examines two previous theories which can be applied to show the historical background of the influence of LXX Pentateuch — liturgical usage and interlinear paradigm. In addition, I suggest another hypothesis: that the translator may have been influenced by LXX Pentateuch through participating in religious experience at the temple of Onias at Leontopolis in Egypt.

4.1. Liturgical Usage

By developing the theory of Thackeray, who maintained that the translation from Hebrew to Greek was prompted by liturgical need in the synagogue, Gerleman suggests that the connecting point between Exodus 38 and 2 Chronicles 4:11-13 could be found in the liturgical use of both texts in the synagogue.³⁴⁾ Unfortunately, it is uncertain that 2 Chronicles 4:11-13 was read for the liturgical reading of the Torah and the *haftarah* has not been found.³⁵⁾ However, the *Megillah* in the Babylonian Talmud, which is one of the crucial sources informing the biblical texts read in the synagogue, indicates that 1 Kings 7:40-50 as the *haftarah* – the parallel verses to 2 Chronicles 4:11-13 – was read at Hanukkah of the name of the lights of Solomon.³⁶⁾ Although the origin of the *haftarah* reading has remained a matter of conjecture, the Torah reading is undoubtedly more ancient than the *haftarah*. This would be indirect evidence that some portions of Exodus 38-39, which correspond with 1 Kings 7:40-50 and 2 Chronicles 4:11-13, were read in the synagogue. In this regard the description of the temple in Exodus 38-39 was likely to be read in the

³⁴⁾ G. Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint. II. Chronicles, 27-29.

³⁵⁾ M. A. Fishbane, Haftarot (הפשרות) (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 2002), xix.

³⁶⁾ G. Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint. II. Chronicles, 29.

hearing of the Chronicles' translator in Hebrew and Greek in the synagogue in Egypt.³⁷⁾

The influence of LXX Pentateuch on the Passover description may have resulted from the liturgical reading of the Passover description. As with the former example, there is no direct evidence that 2 Chronicles 35 was read in the synagogue. However, the *Megillah* in the Babylonian Talmud indicates that the *haftarah*, 2 Kings 23, was read on the second day of the Passover and on the other days of the Passover other related passages from the Torah were read.³⁸⁾ This implies that King Josiah was treasured as remembering and celebrating the Passover festival in the Second Temple period. The Passover chapter (Exo 12) of the Torah may have been selected to be read in Hebrew and Greek in the synagogue of Egypt. Through this liturgical reading the translator could have been instilled with some important renderings of the Passover law.

Although the hypothesis that the initial translation of the Pentateuch and Chronicles was conditioned by liturgical need remains unprovable, it is nevertheless reasonable that the liturgical reading of the Pentateuch in synagogues may be the transmitting pathway for the renderings and interpretation in the Pentateuch. Furthermore, it would have been an appropriate time for the later translators to notice some peculiar renderings in LXX Pentateuch.

4.2. The Interlinear Paradigm

The interlinear paradigm, which was developed by Albert Pietersma and Cameron Boyd-Taylor,³⁹⁾ indicates that the translation of the Pentateuch "arose in a school environment, before it was put to other uses, including liturgical use".⁴⁰⁾ On this hypothesis the purpose of the translation was to help the Jews understand

³⁷⁾ J. M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, R. Cornman, trans. (Philadelphia, PA; Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 95.

³⁸⁾ M. A. Fishbane, *Haftarot*, 422-426.

³⁹⁾ A. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint", J. Cook, ed., Bible and Computer-The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique "From Alpha to Byte". University of Stellenbosch 17-21 July, 2000 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337-364; C. Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c", BIOSCS 31 (1998), 71-105.

⁴⁰⁾ A. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions", 358.

their sacred Hebrew text in Greek. Concerning an actual interlinear manuscript from the first century BCE in Egypt that contains the colloquial version of the *Iliad* of Homer to help Hellenistic Greek speakers, Pietersma argues that "what its school origin does allow us to infer is that what Homer was to the Greeks, the Hebrew Bible was to the Jews. Both were clearly regarded as texts to be studied in the schools, texts that were normative for the community".⁴¹⁾

The purpose of *education* may be a connecting point between the former and later translators. If the later translators learned Hebrew by using LXX Pentateuch at a school in Egypt, this time could have been when the renderings and interpretative motives of LXX Pentateuch were transmitted to the Chronicles' translator. Also, the later translators may have been given time to reconsider some peculiar renderings in LXX Pentateuch. In this regard, such education might have been the pathway for the influence of the Passover description in LXX Pentateuch on the Chronicles' translator.

In the Greco-Roman world of the second century BCE, two educational institutions would be regarded as the places where LXX Pentateuch was taught: the gymnasium (Greek educational institution) and the synagogue. First, although it is debatable whether the Pentateuch, a foreign book in the eyes of the Greeks, was officially taught in the gymnasium, the possibility that the pedagogical content of the Greek institution may have influenced Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt cannot be excluded. Given that a gymnasium was even erected in Jerusalem in 175 BCE, attendance and training at a gymnasium in Alexandria was not unusual.⁴² Second, given that "any reference to a synagogue indicates the existence of an organized Jewish community"⁴³ in Egypt, a synagogue as an earlier educational institution served as a schoolhouse for the children or a study room for men.⁴⁴ Needless to say, one of the crucial roles of a synagogue would have been the study of the Torah, and the Chronicles' translator may likely have read and meditated on the Hebrew and the Greek Torah in the synagogue.

⁴¹⁾ Ibid., 360.

⁴²⁾ V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, MA: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, by Harvard University Press, 1957), 38-39.

⁴³⁾ Ibid., 7-8.

⁴⁴⁾ J. M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 96-97. Sometimes, Philo employed the word *didaskaleion* (school) in speaking of a synagogue (cf. *Moses* 2:216).

4.3. Religious Experience

In the previous two theories that I have presented, cognition through reading, hearing, and remembrance serves as a means of transmission for the renderings and interpretation of LXX Pentateuch. Given that a translation is a scribal act, this seems to be enough to explain the influence of the former on the later translation. However, for Jews in Egypt, the translation of their sacred book may not only be confined to a scribal act but would also be related to their religious life.

In this regard, I would suggest one more cognitive process, *actual experience*, encompassing reading, hearing, and remembrance. So, I argue that the Chronicles' translator may had been influenced by LXX Pentateuch through the actual experience of participating in religious observance in the temple at Leontopolis.

While exact dating of the building is controversial on account of the discrepancies in Josephus' descriptions concerning the founder of the temple, most scholars agree that the temple would have been built between approximately 170 and 150 BCE.⁴⁵⁾ As to the place of the temple, although some ancient witnesses paid Leontopolis no attention, it is plausible that the temple was built there in Heliopolis Nome in Egypt, given the ancient sources – Josephus, Mishna-Tosefta, and Talmud – which explicitly referred to the temple at Leontopolis.⁴⁶⁾ So, can we say that the Passover offering was performed in the temple?

Although the temple might have functioned as a local shrine and a soldiers' settlement, its religious value as a site of ritual should not be underestimated. In Josephus's description, Onias's temple had an altar $(\beta\omega\mu\delta\varsigma)^{47}$ in imitation of that used in Jerusalem for the temple sacrifices. The Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud confirm that some offerings were made in the temple of Onias.⁴⁸⁾ In addition, given that several synagogues, as places of liturgy and as representative of the social and cultural identity of the Egyptian Jews, had been established in various places in Egypt, the purpose of building the temple of

⁴⁵⁾ Onias III in J. W. 1.31-33; 7.423 and Onias IV in Ant. 7.387-388; 13.62.

⁴⁶⁾ S. A. Hirsch, "The Temple of Onias", H. Isidore, ed., *Jew's College Jubilee Volume* (London: Luzac& Co., 1906), 39-80.

⁴⁷⁾ Josephus, J. W. 7:426-30; The Hebrew equivalent of βωμός is מובה.

⁴⁸⁾ E. Gruen, "The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 16 (1997), 62-63; J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 72.

Considering the social background of the translator and the marked intertextual correspondence between LXX Exodus 38 and LXX Chronicles 4 and between the Passover description of LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles, the concept of *soldier-priests* is appropriate to understand how the transmission of the renderings occurred.⁵⁰⁾ As most scholars designate the identity of Onias (the founder of the temple at Leontopolis) as a soldier and priest,⁵¹⁾ the translator of the Chronicles may likewise have been one who had the identity of *soldier-priest*, who served at the temple at Leontopolis.⁵²⁾

Although the cognitive processes of reading, hearing, and remembrance are sufficient means of inculcating and transmitting the former to the later translation tendencies, the likely involvement of even more direct and visceral cognitive processes strengthens my argument. Religious practice may be that further cognitive process engaging the translator's mind and explaining the marked correspondences that appear between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles descriptions of the tabernacle [and temple] and the Passover sacrifice. The translator may have learned through actual participation in a temple rituals.

⁴⁹⁾ U. S. Kwak, "The Social Background of the Translater [sic] of Chronicles", 「구약논단」26:1 (2020. 3.), 174-197.

⁵⁰⁾ C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 302. "A renewal and increase of the configuration 'soldier-priests' takes place in the second part of the second century BC".

⁵¹⁾ E. Gruen, "The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple," 59.

⁵²⁾ van der Kooij argues Oniad priest authorship of LXX Isa (or Oniad IV himself). See van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1981), 61-65. I do not claim the Oniad authorship of LXX Chronicles.

5. Conclusion

I began with the question: How was the Chronicles' translator guided by LXX Pentateuch in conveying the Passover description to his contemporaries, the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt? However, the aim has been not just to find the corresponding renderings between LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles at a lexical level, but to trace how the interpretative thought and contextual meaning connoted in the renderings of LXX Pentateuch was transmitted to LXX Chronicles and through its translator.

With this purpose, I described my presupposition on the nature of LXX Chronicles and the history of scholarship on the issue of the influence of LXX Pentateuch on the books translated later and specifically on LXX Chronicles. Then, I showed that the three interpretive renderings in LXX Pentateuch were transmitted into LXX Chronicles – שוש and θύω in Exodus 12:21 and 2 Chronicles 29 and 35, and שוש and ὀπτάω in Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13, and שו בש and ἔριφος in Exodus 12:5 and 2 Chronicles 35:7. While previous scholars understood that this transmission could have happened by the way of liturgical usage and the interlinear paradigm, I included my suggestion that it might have happened as a result of the translator's actual experience of participating in temple ritual.

The Passover law of LXX Chronicles that we possess is the description selected by the translator who had available various sources written by several ancient witnesses. This means that his decisions in his translating work indicate what he wanted to convey to his contemporaries and transmit to subsequent generations. The reception of the exceptional and interpretative renderings in the Passover law of LXX Pentateuch demonstrates the reception of the hermeneutics of the Pentateuch's translators. Furthermore, the translator, who dutifully served his contemporaries and later generations, endeavoured to deliver and transmit what he considered to be the most traditional interpretation of the Passover sacrifice. The translator, who has received guidance in ways that I have described above, may himself have intended to provide guidance to posterity.

<주제어>(Keywords)

Septuagint, interpretive translation, transmission, LXX Pentateuch, LXX Chronicles, Passover Law.

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<Abstract>

The Transmission of Interpretive Renderings in the Passover Law from LXX Pentateuch to LXX Chronicles

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I aim to answer the following question: How was the Chronicles' translator guided by LXX Pentateuch in translating the Passover description? In this question, I will first explicate some of my key presuppositions on the nature of LXX Chronicles, and outline a brief history of scholarship on the issue of the influence of LXX Pentateuch to the books translated later. Second, I will show the three exceptional renderings, which appear in the Passover description of LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles, but are rare or do not appear in other LXX books. Then, I will demonstrate how three interpretive renderings in LXX Pentateuch were transmitted to LXX Chronicles – שמש and θύω in Exodus 12:21 and 2 Chronicles 29 and 35, בשל and οπτάω in Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13, and τω and ἔριφος in Exodus 12:5 and 2 Chronicles 35:7. My argument is that these interpretive renderings in LXX Pentateuch and LXX Chronicles represent that the translator of the Chronicles was guided by LXX Pentateuch, and that he was thereby able to translate and deliver a more exact meaning of the law to his contemporaries. Third, I will demonstrate how this kind of transmission might have happened in regard to three hypotheses. While previous scholars understood that this transmission could have happened by the way of liturgical usage and the interlinear paradigm, I will include my suggestion that it might have happened as a result of the translator's actual experience of participating in the temple ritual. I will point out that the purpose of building the temple of Onias in Leontopolis, Egypt may have been to keep and hold religious rituals and sacrifices. In this regard, I will argue that the translator of the Chronicles may likewise have been someone who had the identity of soldier-priest, who served at the temple in Leontopolis.

This paper contributes to current studies of LXX Chronicles and the Septuagint by examining how the imitation of LXX Pentateuch renderings by later translators transmitted interpretations of certain texts. The reception of the

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exceptional and interpretative renderings in the Passover law of LXX Pentateuch demonstrates the reception of the hermeneutics of the Pentateuch's translators. Furthermore, the translator, who dutifully served his contemporaries and later generations endeavoured to deliver and transmit what he considered to be the most traditional interpretation of the Passover sacrifice. The translator, who has received guidance in ways that I have described above may have intended to provide guidance to posterity himself. The later translator himself may have been quite conscious of these translational-interpretive transmission.