

Towards a Digital Lexicon of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint (Greek/Hebrew–English/German): First Steps and Considerations for Analysing the Vocabulary of Symmachus*

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ABSTRACT

This article emerges from the ongoing development of an *Editio critica maior* of the Greek Psalter and the preparatory work for the creation of its Hexaplaric apparatus. This effort includes the systematic recording and grammatical annotation of Hexaplaric readings found in Psalter manuscripts and Patristic quotations. Concurrently, a “Digital Index of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint” is planned, which will encompass Hebrew equivalents, references, and detailed grammatical analyses. This initiative is based on the Göttingen Hexapla Database, which currently contains over 136,000 entries, primarily attributed to Symmachus. Given Symmachus’ significant contributions, the analysis begins with his Psalter vocabulary, comprising 224 *hapax legomena*, 18 of which are unique within Greek literature. The article presents two specific examples that demonstrate the limitations of current Septuagint lexica, specifically in their treatment of Jewish recensions—a deficiency previously highlighted by Johan Lust. Despite some initial progress on a Symmachus lexicon, a comprehensive lexicon of Jewish recensions remains a crucial research need. The Göttingen project aims to address this challenge by first developing a “Digital Index” and subsequently a “Digital Lexicon of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint.”

1. INTRODUCTION

In the development of an *Editio critica maior* of the Greek Psalter, preparatory work for the so-called Hexaplaric apparatus includes the meticulous recording and grammatical annotation of Hexaplaric readings found in Psalter manuscripts and Patristic citations. In parallel, a “Digital Index of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint” is being compiled. This index not only lists Hebrew equivalents and references but also provides summaries of grammatical analyses, including lexical and morphological-etymological evaluations.

* §§ 1, 2.2, and 3 are written by Felix Albrecht; § 2.1 is written by Alessandra Palla.

The index is based on the Göttingen Hexapla Database, which currently contains over 136,000 entries, predominantly from Symmachus, followed by Aquila.

Given this foundation, it seems appropriate to begin with the exploration of Symmachus' vocabulary in the Psalter, especially since relevant preliminary work has already been conducted. Compared to the complete vocabulary of the Septuagint, the fragmentarily preserved Psalter rendition by Symmachus includes a total of 224 *hapax legomena*, 18 of which are called unique in the entire corpus of Greek literature. Analysis of these *hapax legomena* promises a better understanding of the vocabulary used by Symmachus, including his coining of neologisms. At the end, this enables a more precise characterisation of his rendition of the Psalter and promises deeper insight into the personality of the revisor Symmachus. This article will highlight two selected examples from our index. Before proceeding, however, it is necessary to briefly outline the existing preliminary work and provide a concise overview of the history of research on this subject.

Schleusner's "Novus Thesaurus" (1820–1821, *editio altera* 1822), Hatch-Redpath's "Concordance" (1897–1906) and its revised second edition (1998), the Reider-Turner "Index to Aquila" (1966), and, finally, Johan Lust's draft of a lexicon to Symmachus, published in 2000, are important preliminary works for an Index and later on a "Lexicon of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint."¹

The Septuagint lexicon by Johann Friedrich Schleusner (1759–1831) remains of inestimable value. Born in Leipzig, Schleusner was a Professor of Theology at the Georg-August University of Göttingen for nine years, from 1785 to 1794, before transferring to the University of Wittenberg.² In 1785,

¹ Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes Graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, vol. 1–5 (Leipzig: in libraria Weidmannia, 1820–1821); Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes Graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti. Editio altera, recensita et locupletata*, 2nd ed., vol. 1–3 (Glasgow: Andreas et Joannes M. Duncan, 1822); Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Including the Apocryphal Books*, vol. 1–2, *Supplement* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1954); Edwin Hatch et al., *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Including the Apocryphal Books*, 2nd ed. (University of Michigan: Baker Books, 1998); Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila. Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew. With the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*, VTSup 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966); Johan Lust, "A Lexicon of Symmachus' Special Vocabulary in His Translation of the Psalms," *A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 (2000): <http://jbt.org/v05/Lust2000.html>.

² On Schleusner see Carl Gustav Adolf Siegfried, "Schleusner, Johann Friedrich." *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot (1890): 474–76.

Schleusner presented Hexaplaric studies on the Psalms from the Greek Church Fathers, which, as noted in the afterword of his book, he completed on February 18th, 1785 in Göttingen;³ these studies encompass Psalms 1–50. This was followed by ‘New Contributions’ in three parts, published in 1794 with Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen, covering Psalms 51–150.⁴ Further preliminary work on the Hexapla of the Book of Proverbs and the Book of Isaiah followed.⁵ In 1812, Schleusner published all these preliminary studies in a single volume.⁶ Finally, he prepared his lexicon of the Septuagint. The first volume appeared in 1820, and the second in 1821. This lexicon is based on a revision of the much-criticised dictionary of the Septuagint initiated by Johann Christian Biel (1687–1745), and completed by Esdras Heinrich Mutzenbecher (1744–1801) after Biel’s death, which was published between 1779 and 1780.⁷ This dictionary, in turn, was based on Abraham Trom’s (1633–1719) concordance, which was published in Amsterdam in 1718 and compiled the vocabulary of the Septuagint.⁸ Schleusner had preceded his revision with two preliminary works, published in 1784 and 1786.⁹ In these, he had already included a number of lexemes from the hexaplaric tradition that had been omitted in Biel’s dictionary.

Regarding modern research, particularly on Symmachus, three scholars and their works are especially noteworthy: Specifically, Johan Lust has provided a lexicographical account of Symmachus’ vocabulary (2000).¹⁰ For the Psalter, José Ramón Busto-Saiz has conducted a dedicated study, 46 years

³ Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Curae hexaplares in Psalmorum libros ex Patribus graecis* (Göttingen: Joh. Christ. Dieterich, 1785), xxvi.

⁴ Johann Friedrich Schleusner, “Neue Beyträge zur Kritik, über die alten griechischen Uebersetzungen der Psalmen, aus einigen Kirchenvätern,” in *Göttingische Bibliothek der neuesten theologischen Literatur vol. 1*, ed. Johann Friedrich Schleusner and Carl Friedrich Stäudlin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1794).

⁵ See Siegfried, “Schleusner, Johann Friedrich,” 475.

⁶ Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Opuscula critica ad versiones graecas Veteris Testamenti pertinentia* (Leipzig: in libraria Weidmannia, 1812).

⁷ Johann Christian Biel and Esdras Heinrich Mutzenbecher, *Novus Thesaurus Philologicus. Sive Lexicon in LXX et alios interpretes et scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, 3 vols. (Haag: J.A. Bouvink, 1779–1780); Mutzenbecher studied and lived in Göttingen for ten years (1765–1775).

⁸ Abraham Trommius, *Concordantiae Graecae versionis vulgo dictae LXX interpretum*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: sumptibus societatis, 1718).

⁹ *Lexici in interpretes graecos V.T. maxime scriptores apocryphos spicilegium. Post Bielium*, Leipzig 1784–1786.

¹⁰ Lust, “Lexicon (2000).” He announced a “Lexicon of the Three” in 1998, see Johan Lust, “A Lexicon of the Three and the Transliterations in Ezekiel,” in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments. Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th–3rd (sic!) August 1994*, ed. Alison Salvesen, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

ago (1978).¹¹ Recently, Alison Salvesen has also examined Symmachus in the Psalter (2024), and her comprehensive monograph on Symmachus in the Pentateuch (1991) has paved a significant path in this research area.¹²

When it comes to lexicographical investigation, Symmachus is particularly suitable because he is the best documented. For a future lexicon of Jewish revisions of the Septuagint, addressing the *hapax legomena* of Biblical Greek will be essential, as the users of such a lexicon will rely on explanations and clarifications of these lexemes. The remaining vocabulary is covered by standard lexica, primarily Muraoka's Lexicon of the Septuagint.¹³

Specifically, for the Psalter, there are at least 224 entries for Symmachus, which should definitely be included.¹⁴ Based on Busto Saiz' evaluation, these are lexemes, which are exclusively attested for and by Symmachus. Additionally, the other books of the Septuagint must also be considered, suggesting that around 400–500 Symmachus lexemes will ultimately be included.

2. EXAMPLES

In this article, we will approach the topic by focusing on the Psalter, starting with the letter *Alpha*. For the Psalter, Busto-Saiz has identified three *hapax legomena* for the letter *Alpha* from the entirety of Greek literature (listed as *hapax legomena totius graecitatis*): ἀνατμητικός, ἀσυνθηκεῖν, and ἀσχημόνησις.¹⁵ In the following, we will examine the first two of these three words as illustrative examples. Additionally, it is important to emphasize from the outset that the term *hapax legomenon* should be used with caution; a more accurate description for these instances would be rare words within the broader context of Greek literature.

¹¹ José Ramón Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el Libro de los Salmos*, Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” de la Biblia políglota Matritense 22 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985).

¹² Alison Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, JSS. Monograph 15 (Manchester: The Victoria University of Manchester, 1991); eadem, “Symmachus in the Psalter,” in *Editing the Greek Psalter*, ed. Felix Albrecht and Reinhard Gregor Kratz, De Septuaginta Investigationes 18 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2024).

¹³ Muraoka's Lexicon was first published in 1993 as a lexicon to the Dodecapropheton (Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Twelve Prophets* [Leuven et al.: Peeters, 1993]) and was then expanded in 2002 to include the Pentateuch (idem, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* [Leuven et al.: Peeters, 2002]). The latest edition from 2009 now covers the entire Septuagint (idem, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [Leuven et al.: Peeters, 2009]).

¹⁴ Lust, “Lexicon (2000),” lists 61 entries for the letter *alpha* alone.

¹⁵ ἀνατμητικός σ' Ps 54:22 (Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 467); ἀσυνθηκεῖν σ' Ps 77:57 (Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 475); ἀσχημόνησις σ' Ps 43:16; 68:8 (Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 475).

2.1 ἀνατμητικός

Our first example is ἀνατμητικός. The lexeme ἀνατμητικός, which, as mentioned, is a *hapax legomenon* in the entirety of Greek literature, occurs in LXX Psalm 54:22.¹⁶ This verse reads in Hebrew (Psalm 55:22) as well as in the Septuagint (Psalm 54:22):

<i>LXX Ps 54:22, ed. A. Rahlfs</i>	<i>MT Ps 55:22, ed. H. Bardtke (BHS)</i>
διεμερίσθησαν ἀπὸ ὀργῆς τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤγγισεν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ· ἤπαλύνθησαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἔλαιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν βολίδες.	הֲלָקוּ מִחֶמְאָת פִּי וְקָרְב־לִבִּי רַכּוּ דְבָרָיו מִשֶּׁמֶן וְהָמָה פְּתָחוֹת:
English translation by NETS:	English translation by NJPS:
They were divided due to the anger of his face, and his heart drew near; his words became smoother than oil, and they are <i>missiles</i> .	his talk was smoother than butter, yet his mind was on war; his words were more soothing than oil, yet they were <i>drawn swords</i> .
German translation by LXX.D:	German translation by Elberfelder:
Sie wurden aufgeteilt vor dem Zorn seines Angesichts, und sein Herz nahte sich; seine Worte wurden weicher als Öl, und doch sind sie <i>Geschosse</i>	Glatter als weiche Butter ist sein Mund, und Feindschaft ist sein Herz; geschmeidiger als Öl sind seine Worte, aber sie sind <i>gezogene Schwerter</i> .

2.1.1 Hexaplaric Attestation for LXX Ps 54:22d

The Hexaplaric attestation for LXX Psalm 55:22d is as follows, and this can be seen in the Beta version of the Göttingen Hexapla Database.

<i>LXX Ps 54:22d</i>	<i>MT Ps 55:22d</i>		
<i>LXX</i>	<i>MT</i>	α'	σ'
καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν	הֲמָה	–	ὄντες Field
βολίδες	חִיּוֹת	λόγγαι Field	ἀνατμητικοί [sc. λόγοι] Field
missiles	drawn swords	spears	fit for cutting up [sc. words]

<https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.54.22>

¹⁶ Cf. Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 467.

The Masoretic Text reads **תַּחֲתֵיהֶם**. This is the feminine plural of the hypothetical noun **תַּחֲתֵי***, “drawn sword,” which goes back to the root **תַּחַת**.¹⁷ This noun is attested only twice: besides its occurrence in our Psalms passage, it appears in Micah 5:6, where an emendation of the Hebrew **בְּפִתְחֶיהָ** (“in her entrances”) to **בְּתַחֲתֵיהָ** (“with a drawn sword”) seems plausible.¹⁸ A review of the Septuagint of Micah 5:6 and its Jewish recensions reveals that the divergent interpretations of this verse have ancient origins, with the textual tradition essentially divided into three categories:

- 1.) The Septuagint reading *ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ αὐτῆς* (“with her ditch,” NETS)¹⁹ suggests that the translator was working from a corrupted reading, **תַּחֲתֵיהֶם**, likely resulting from consonantal metathesis.²⁰
- 2.) Symmachus and Theodotion, on the other hand, relate the Hebrew text to **תַּחַת** (entrance).²¹
- 3.) The Quinta (ε'), Naḥal Ḥever (Ra 943), and the Achmimic and Sahidic versions agree on the reading *ἐν παραξίφισιν αὐτῶν* (“with their swords”);²² Aquila aligns with this by rendering the phrase as *ἐν λόγγαις αὐτῆς* (“with her spears”),²³ as does the Vulgate with the reading *in lanceis*

¹⁷ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. Begonnen von R. Meyer [...], bearbeitet und herausgegeben von H. Donner*, 18th ed. (Berlin et al.: Springer, 2013), 1093 s.v. **תַּחַת**: “gezückte Schwerter, Dolche od. dgl.”; David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011), VI, 810–811 s.v. **תַּחֲתֵי** “drawn sword.”

¹⁸ As proposed by Anthony Gelston, ed., *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, BHQ 13 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 104*.

¹⁹ Cf. Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 672 s.v. *τάφρος* “irrigation ditch.”

²⁰ Cf. Michael Segal and Shemaryahu Talmon z”l, *The Twelve Prophets*, The Hebrew University Bible (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2024), on Mic 5:5 with note 23.

²¹ Symmachus reads *ἐν τῷς πύλαις αὐτῆς*. Theodotion provides a similar reading (according to the Syrohexapla) or a slightly different one (according to Jerome): *in portis eorum* (*ἐν πύλαις αὐτῶν*, Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. 2 [Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875], 995).

²² Cf. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d’Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaphéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d’une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l’influence du rabinat Palestinien*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 228–229. *Quinta*, Ra 943, and Achmimic/Sahidic represent the *καίγε* tradition in the Twelve Prophets; see Felix Albrecht, “Textual Plurality in the Greek Book of Habakkuk. The Psalm of Habakkuk (Hab 3),” in *Pharaonen, Mönche und Gelehrte. Auf dem Pilgerweg durch 5000 Jahre ägyptische Geschichte über drei Kontinente. Heike Behlmer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Diliana Atanassova et al., Texte und Studien zur Koptischen Bibel 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2023), 31: “[...] the *Quinta* tradition attested in Jerome agrees with the Naḥal Ḥever tradition, just as the Achmimic (Sahidic) tradition seems to witness the *Quinta* tradition.”

²³ The retroversion of Aquila’s reading of LXX Mic 5:6 from Syriac (Syrohexapla) or Latin (Jerome) as “*ἐν σειρομάσαις* (s. *ζιβύναις*) αὐτῆς” (Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*

eius. It may be inferred that, as in the case of Psalm 54:22 LXX, the hypothetical noun $\eta\eta\eta\eta^*$ underlies these readings.

The LXX of Psalms uses the noun ἡ βολίς (“the missile”) for its rendering (LXX: βολίδες). Aquila uses—similar to or like his reading of Micah 5:6—the noun ἡ λόγχη (“the spear”) for his rendering (α’: λόγχει). However, Symmachus reads the adjective ἀναμητικός (σ’: ἀναμητικοί).

The testimony of the Göttingen Hexapla Database is so far based on Field’s data. Field refers to Nobilius (but this only for Ps 54:22ab)²⁴ and cites as sources Eusebius’ commentary on the Psalms, Theodoret’s commentary on the Psalms, and the Syrohexapla.²⁵

Eusebius’ commentary on the Psalms	Montfaucon I, 238 (PG 23, 488); Bandt, Eusebius X/2,1, 44–46	σ’ Ps 54:22a–d
Theodoret’s commentary on the Psalms	Sirmond, Theodreti Opera, 611; Schulze, Theodreti Opera I, 969 (PG 80, 1280–81); cf. the Göttingen praeliminary edition ²⁶	α’ Ps 54:22e ²⁷ ; σ’ Ps 54:22a–b ²⁸
Syrohexapla	Ceriani (facsimile)	σ’ Ps 54:22a–d

3rd ed., Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum XIII [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 218, without accents) or “ἐν ζιβόναις (s. σειρομάσταις) αὐτῆς” (Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 995) should be corrected to ἐν λόγχεις αὐτῆς; this is further supported by Aquila’s reading in LXX Ps 54:22. The readings of Aquila in LXX Mic 5:6 and LXX Ps 54:22 are also compared by Segal and Talmon z”l, *Twelve Prophets*, on Mic 5:5 with note 24.

²⁴ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 180 with notes 41–42.

²⁵ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 180, note 41, provides the information that Jerome attests *lanceae*. This is indeed the reading *iuxta Hebraeos*, cf. Psalmi iuxta Hebr.: *lanceae* (ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem. Editionem quartam [...] praeparavit R. Gryson*, 4th ed. [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994], 837). Jerome, however, does not ascribe this reading to Aquila.

²⁶ <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/theodoret/basetext/54/> (last access: 31.07.2024).

²⁷ Καὶ ἐφκει μὲν τὰ ῥήματα ἐλαίου καὶ βουτύρου λειότητι· τὰ δὲ βουλεύματα, βέλεσι καὶ δόρασιν ὀξύτατοις. Λόγχει γὰρ μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχον αἱ βολίδες αὐτῶν· λόγχεις γὰρ ὁ Ἄκυλας τὰς βολίδας ἠρμήνευσεν. Cf. <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/theodoret/basetext/54/> (last access: 31.07.2024). The sentence Λόγχει—βολίδες αὐτῶν does not appear in the *codices antiquissimi* (verified in manuscripts Ra 9049, 9050, and 9077) and is absent from Sirmond’s edition. However, Schulze incorporated it into his edition, reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca*, based on *Codex Monacensis gr.* 478, one of the three manuscripts he relied upon.

²⁸ Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Σύμμαχος ἠρμήνευσεν· *Λειότερα βουτύρον τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν· πολεμεῖ δὲ ἡ καρδία ἐκάστων αὐτῶν*. Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπαγόμενον συμφωνεῖ. Cf. <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/theodoret/basetext/54/> (last access: 31.07.2024).

A refined representation of the reading in question and its attestation looks like this:

<i>LXX Ps 54:22d</i>		<i>MT Ps 55:22d</i>	
<i>LXX</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>σ</i>
καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν	ܡܗܩܝ	–	ὄντες (Eusebius)
βολίδες	ܢܝܗܢܦ	λόγγαι (Thdt)	ἀνατμητικοὶ [sc. λόγοι] (Eusebius; cf. Syh: ܢܝܗܢܦ) ²⁹
missiles	drawn swords	spears	fit for cutting up [sc. words]

2.1.2 Patristic Evidence for ἀνατμητικός (σ΄ Ps 54:22d)

Eusebius of Caesarea interprets this passage as follows (Bandt, Eusebius X/2,1, p. 45,14–21):

<p>Ἄντι δὲ τοῦ καὶ ἤγγισεν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ. ἠπαλύνθησαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἔλαιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσι βολίδες, σαφέστερον ἤρμήνευσεν ὁ Σύμμαχος εἰπών· »λειότερα βουτύρον τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἡ καρδία ἐκάστου αὐτῶν· ἀπαλότεροι οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ἔλαιον ὄντες ἀνατμητικοί.«</p>	<p>Instead of “And his heart drew near. His words were smoother than oil, and they are arrows,” Symmachus translated more clearly: “Their words are smoother than butter, but the heart of each one of them fights. His words are smoother than oil, but they are fit for cutting up.”</p>
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After that, Eusebius provides two more times (46,6–7; 46,23–24 Bandt) Symmachus’ interpretation of Ps. 54:22cd. Referring to this passage, Field writes in the footnote: “Euseb., *cujus* Cod. Colb. ἀποτμητικοὶ habet”³⁰. He obtains this information allegedly from the Eusebius edition of Montfaucon (1707), that he states to use in his *In librum Psalmorum monitum*³¹ and that

²⁹ The word ܢܝܗܢܦ is listed as a masculine noun with the meaning “knife” in Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake/Piscataway: Eisenbrauns/Gorgias Press, 2009), 708. In our opinion, it should be interpreted here as a participle of the root ܢܝܗ “to cut”, cf. Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, 226.

³⁰ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 180, n. 42.

³¹ Cf. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 83.

actually gives this indication³². However, in volume 23 of the *Patrologia Graeca*, where Migne (1857) reprints the Montfaucon edition, we find another reference: “Colb. habet ἀπονητικοί”³³ (*sic!*). Independently of the incorrectness of both readings, the mentioned Cod(ex) Colb(ertinus), namely the *Parisinus gr.* 463 (Colbert. 646, 17th century), reads correctly ἀνατμητικοί (not only in this passage [f. 193v] but also in the other two [ff. 193v-194r])³⁴. In any case, its (limited) importance within the manuscript tradition of Eusebius’ commentary on Psalms has since been recognized by scholars. For comparison, *Codex Coislinianus* 44 (10th century), which directly preserves Eusebius’ commentary on Psalms 51–95 as the only witness,³⁵ reads ἀνατμητικοί (not only in this passage—ff. 16r–28r, here: f. 26r, col. A—but also in the following two [f. 26r, col. B; f. 26v, col. A]) and this reading is also confirmed (in all three instances) by the other manuscripts of the catenae tradition employed by Bandt, alongside *Cod. Coisl.* 44, for her recent critical edition. However, instead of ἐλαίου ὄντες, only *Cod. Coisl.* 44 in this passage erroneously reads ἐλεοῦντες (ἀπαλώτεροι οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ἐλεοῦντες ἀνατμητικοί “His words are softer, evoking compassion, but cutting.”)³⁶.

2.1.3 Analysis of σ’ ἀνατμητικοί

According to its form, the lexeme ἀνατμητικοί is a nominative plural masculine of the adjective ἀνατμητικός. It has been included in dictionaries since Biel/Mutzenbecher (1779), which as already mentioned served as the basis for Schleusner’s *Thesaurus* (1820), but is neither mentioned in Muraoka’s *Lexicon* (2009) nor in Lust-Eynikel-Hauspie’s *Lexicon* (¹1992/96, ²2003, ³2015), which is a clear shortcoming:³⁷

³² Cf. Bernard de Montfaucon, *Collectio nova patrum et scriptorum Graecorum, Eusebii Caesariensis, Athanasii & Cosmae Aegyptii. Haec nunc primum ex manuscriptis codicibus Graecis Italicis Gallicanisque eruit, Latine vertit, notis et praefationibus illustravit, vol. 1, Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis episcopi Commentarii in psalmos* (Paris: sumptibus Claudii Rigaud, 1707), 238, *in adn.*

³³ Cf. PG 23,488, *in adn.*

³⁴ Diktyon Number 50037. Online available via Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503078v> (last access: 31.07.2024)

³⁵ Diktyon Number 49186. Online available via Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004562j?rk=944210;4> (last access: 31.07.2024). The text transmitted in the manuscript has some gaps, which are not affecting Ps 54 (cf. Robert Devreesse, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs II. Le Fonds Coislin* [Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1945], 39).

³⁶ Then, in 46,6–7 (ed. Bandt), manuscript *Coisl.* 44 reads—like the manuscripts of the catena tradition—ἀπαλώτεροι οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἀνατμητικοί.

³⁷ This lemma is also not attested in e.g. Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

Biel and Mutzenbecher, Thesaurus I (1779), 115	Ἀναμητικός, dissecans [...]. Symm. Psalm. LIV,22 ἀναμητικοί.
Schleusner, Thesaurus I (1820), 257; Schleusner, Thesaurus ed. altera I (1822), 207	ἈΝΑΤΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ, <i>dissecans</i> [...]. Symm. Ps. LIV.22 bene quoad sensum.
Stephanus, Thesaurus II (1865), 591	[Ἀναμητικός, ἡ, ὄν, Dissecans. Symm. Ps. 54, 22.]
Bailly, Dictionnaire (2000; first published in 1895), 143	ἀναμητικός, ἡ, ὄν, propre à couper en haut, Symm. Ps. 54, 22 (ἀνατέμνω).
Dimitrakos, Λεξικόν I (1933), 464	ἀναμητικός -ἡ -όν μτγν. ἀνατέμνων: Συμ. Ψαλμ. 54,22 ὁ κατάλληλος εἰς ἀνατομήν.
Liddell and Scott, Lexicon (1996) ³⁸ , 123 s.v. ἀνα-τμήγω, = ἀνατέμνω	ἀνα-τμητικός, -ἡ, -όν, <i>fit for cutting up</i> , Sm. Ps. 54(55).22.
Adrados, et al., DGE II (2003), 273	ἀναμητικός, -ἡ, -όν, <i>cortante de las palabras</i> , Sm.Ps.54.22. ³⁹
Montanari, GI (2013) ³ , 240 ⁴⁰	ἀναμητικός -ἡ -όν [ἀνατμήγω] <i>pronto a tagliare</i> VT. (Sym.) Ps. 54.22.
Montanari, Dictionary (2015), 158	ἀναμητικός, -ἡ, -όν [ἀνατμήγω] <i>ready to cut</i> VT (Sym.) Ps. 54.22.
Montanari, Wörterbuch (2023), 150	ἀναμητικός, -ἡ, -όν [ἀνατμήγω] <i>bereit zu schneiden</i> VT. (Sym.) Ps. 54.22.

The adjective ἀναμητικός is a compound of the preposition ἀνά and the relatively common adjective τμητικός, ἡ, ὄν, “able to cut, cutting.”⁴¹ The latter is not attested in a biblical context. However, the related adjective τμητός

³⁸ However, the lemma is not included in Franz Passow, *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Neu bearbeitet und zeitgemäß umgestaltet von V.C.F. Rost und F. Palm*, 5th ed., vol. III (Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1841), “which the Oxford scholars took as the basis of their work” (Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and Augmented Throughout by S. Jones et al. With a Revised Supplement* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996], preface 1925, p. iii). It is therefore clear that LSJ have adopted this lemma from the revised TLG, which in turn is based on Schleusner.

³⁹ Spanish “*cortante de las palabras*” (Francisco R. Adrados, Elvira Gangutia, and Javier López Facal, *Diccionario Griego-Español*, vol. 1–8 [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980–2019], II, 273) means in English “*cutting words*”.

⁴⁰ GI 1995, 190; GI 2004, 199.

⁴¹ Cf. Wilhelm Pape, *Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1902) s.v. τμητικός: “schneidend, zerschneidend, trennend.”

in the Septuagint with the verb “to open,” and semantically, it is also connected to translations involving the nouns “gate” or “door.” However, the situation in the Greek Psalter is somewhat different; while the verb ἀνοίγω (“to open”) is indeed the most frequent translation, there are several instances where the translation varies depending on the context.⁴⁹ In one particular instance, the Greek exhibits a similar semantic range as in Ps 54:22d LXX (55:22d MT), namely in the translation of Ps 37:14 MT: רִשְׁעִים פָּתְחוּ הַרְבֵּי. The Septuagint renders this as (Ps 36:14 LXX): ῥομφαίαν ἐσπάσαντο οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ (“a sword the sinners drew,” NETS).⁵⁰ Unfortunately, no Hexaplaric material has survived that could be used for comparison. However, comparable to Ps 36:14 LXX (37:14 MT) is Ezek 21:33, where σπάω is also used to render the Hebrew פתח.⁵¹ Otherwise, in the Septuagint, σπάω is typically used to translate the Hebrew הִלֵּךְ (“to draw [a weapon; τὴν μάχαιραν or ῥομφαίαν]”).⁵²

2.1.4 Index Entry for “ἀνα-τμητικός, ἦ, ὄν”

This results in the following provisional index entry:

Lemma:	ἀνα-τμητικός, ἦ, ὄν	Etymology:
Related:	–	ἀνα-τέμνειν
English transl.:	<i>fit for cutting up</i>	
German transl.:	<i>schneidbar, schneidend</i>	

⁴⁹ The Hebrew root פתח is 21 times used in the Greek Psalter. It is mostly rendered by the verb ἀνοίγω (Ps 5:10; 37:14; 38:10; 48:5; 50:17; 77:2.23; 103:28; 105:17; 108:2; 117:19; 145:16), and in addition by διαρρήγνυμι (Ps 29:12; 104:41; 115:7), ἀφίημι (Ps 104:20), and λύω (Ps 101:21). Furthermore, the nouns πύλη (Ps 23:7.9) and δῆλωσις (Ps 118:130) occur.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ps 151:7: ἐγὼ δὲ σπασάμενος τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ μάχαιραν—“But I, *having drawn* the dagger from him” (NETS). Unfortunately, this verse section is absent in the Hebrew text from Qumran (11Q5).

⁵¹ In two other instances in the Greek book of Ezekiel where σπάω occurs, a different Hebrew source text is underlying: Ezek 21:(33)28 LXX reads ῥομφαία ῥομφαία ἐσπασμένη εἰς σφάγια καὶ ἐσπασμένη εἰς συντέλειαν; MT reads: הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי פָתְחוּ לְטַבַּח מְרוֹטָה לְהַכִּיל. Ezek 26:15 LXX reads ἐν τῷ σπάσαι μάχαιραν; MT reads: הִרְגָה הִרְגָה.

⁵² This usage is found, for instance, in Num 22:23.31; Josh 5:13; Judg A-Text 8:10.20; 9:54; 20:2.15.17.25.35.46 (Judges B-Text employs this verb in 8:10.20 and in 9:54, while in chapter 20, Judges B-Text instead uses the verb ἔλκω); 1 Sam 31:4; 2 Sam 24:9; 2 Kgs 3:26; 1 Chr 10:4; 21:5(*bis*).16; and Sir 22:21 (Hebrew manuscript C, cf. Renate Egger-Wenzel, ed., *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira with a Synopsis of the Hebrew Manuscripts. Incorporating contributions by Ingrid Krammer, Stefan C. Reif, Friedrich V. Reiterer and Aho Shemunkasho*, CBET 101 [Leuven: Peeters, 2022], 274–275). An exception is found only in 1 Chr 11:20, where the root עור is used.

Evidence:	ἀνατμητικοί (noun, nom. pl. masc.)	Ps 54:22d σ' (Eusebius)	פתיח
Equivalents:	LXX (ἡ) βολίς, -ίδος <i>missile, thrown weapon</i>	Ps 54:22d	
	MT תִּיהֶתֶּן (fem. Pl.) <i>swords</i>	Ps 55:22d	
	Hexapla (ἡ) λόγχη, -ης <i>spear</i>	Ps 54:22d α' (Thdt)	
Bibliography: Lust, <i>Lexicon</i> (2000). http://jbt.org/v05/Lust2000.html , s.v. ἀνατμητικός: “fit for cutting up, sharp” פתיח.			

Nota bene: One cannot speak of a *hapax legomenon* of the entire Greek language in the case of Symmachus, if Eusebius in his commentary on the Psalms is the original source, and this lexeme is mentioned there at least *three* times, albeit always as a quotation from Symmachus' version of Psalm 54:22d.

2.2 ἀσυνθηκεῖν

Our second example is ἀσυνθηκεῖν. The lexeme ἀσυνθηκεῖν is also to be considered a *hapax legomenon* of the entire Greek language. It occurs in the Symmachus version of LXX Psalm 77:57.⁵³ This verse reads in Hebrew (Psalm 78:57) as well as according to the Septuagint (Psalm 77:57):

LXX Ps 77:57a–b, ed. A. Rahlfs	MT Ps 78:57a–b, ed. H. Bardtke (BHS)
^a καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν ^{αβ} καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν ^{αγ} καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ^β καὶ μετεστράφησαν εἰς τόξον στρεβλόν	וַיִּסְגּוּ וַיִּבְגְּדוּ כְּאֲבוֹתָם וַיִּהְיוּ כְּקֶשֶׁת רְמוּיָהּ:
English translation by NETS:	English translation by NJPS:
and turned away <i>and were faithless</i> as also their fathers; they were twisted into a crooked bow.	They fell away, <i>disloyal</i> like their fathers; they played false like a treacherous bow.
German translation by LXX.D:	German translation by Elberfelder:
Und sie wandten sich ab <i>und brachen den Bund</i> wie auch ihre Väter und verwandelten sich in einen krummen Bogen	Sie wurden abtrünnig <i>und handelten treulos</i> wie ihre Väter. Sie versagten wie ein schlaffer Bogen.

⁵³ Cf. Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 475.

2.2.1 Hexaplaric Evidence for ἀσυνθηκεῖν (σ' Ps 77:57aβ)

The Hexaplaric attestation for LXX Psalm 77:57a (in.) is as follows, and this can also be seen in the beta version of our Göttingen Hexapla Database.

<i>LXX Ps 77:57a α–β</i>		<i>MT Ps 78:57a α–β</i>	
<i>LXX</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>α' ε'</i>	<i>σ'</i>
^{αα} καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν	וַיִּטְּוּ	–	ἀπέ νευον Ra 1173
^{αβ} καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν ⁵⁴	וַיִּטְּוּ	καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν Ra 1173 καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν Field	καὶ ἠσυνθήκουν Ra 1173 καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν Field
and were faithless	and acted treacherously	and were faithless	and broke a covenant

<https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.77.57>

The Masoretic Text reads וַיִּטְּוּ (waw consecutive plus verb). It is a Qal form in the 3rd person masculine plural of the root טָטַו, “to act treacherously.” The LXX uses the verb ἀσυνθετέω (“to be unfaithful / faithless”) for its rendering ἠσυνθέτησαν (3rd person plural Indicative Aorist Active): “they were unfaithful,” or as NETS translates it: “were faithless.”

Aquila and the *Quinta* use the same rendering as the LXX, as testified by Field and manuscript Ra 1173. According to Field, Symmachus also reads ἠσυνθέτησαν in agreement with the LXX, with Aquila, and the *Quinta*. However, Ra 1173 (and Ra 1122) attests differently with ἠσυνθήκουν for Symmachus, which has been adopted by both José Ramón Busto Saiz and Johan Lust.⁵⁵

The testimony of the Göttingen Hexapla Database in its beta version is based so far on Field’s data as well as Schenker’s edition of the hexaplaric readings from the Psalter catena Ra 1173 (*Cod. Vat. gr. 752*).⁵⁶ Field notes for verse 57a: “Οἱ πάντες· καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν.”⁵⁷ As the only evidence, Field quotes Jerome’s Epistle 106,50. The testimony of Jerome requires a thorough evaluation, which Michael Graves has recently undertaken in a monograph

⁵⁴ Ra 1173 provides ἠθέτησαν as LXX reading.

⁵⁵ See Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 475; Lust, “Lexicon (2000)” s.v. ἀσυνθηκέω: “to break a covenant.”

⁵⁶ See Adrian Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke. Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62*, OBO 8 (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 75.

⁵⁷ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta II*, 229 with note 64.

dedicated to this epistle.⁵⁸ When consulting Hilberg’s critical edition, it becomes apparent that consideration of the preceding context leads to a significant shift in meaning compared to Field. As the following comparison between Field (left column) and Hilberg (right column) shows:⁵⁹

Quotation by Field—1875 (used by Rahlfs in <i>Septuaginta-Studien II</i> —1907)	<i>Jerome’s Epistle 106,50</i> ed. Hilberg (CSEL)—1912
<p><i>Et non servaverunt pactum.</i> Scio quod <i>pactum</i> non habeat in Hebraeo; sed quando omnes voce simili transtulerunt, ἡσυνθέτησαν, et apud Graecos συνθήκη <i>pactum</i> dicitur, ex uno verbo significatur, <i>non servaverunt pactum</i>; licet LXX ἡθέτησαν posuerint.</p>	<p>ergo secundum Hebraicam proprietatem interpretatus est Symmachus: montem, quem adquisiuit dextera eius. in eodem: et auerterunt se et non seruauerunt pactum, quemadmodum patres eorum. scio, quod ‘pactum’ non habeat in Hebraeo, sed, quando omnes uoce simili transtulerunt ἡσυνθέτησαν et apud Graecos συνθήκη ‘pactum’ dicitur, ex uno uerbo significatur: non seruauerunt pactum, licet Septuaginta ἡθέτησαν posuerint.</p>

Michael Graves translates this passage as follows:⁶⁰ “And so Symmachus translated according to the Hebrew idiom: ‘the mountain that his right hand acquired.’ 50.6. In the same (psalm): ‘They turned themselves away and they did not maintain the covenant, just like their fathers.’ I know that ‘covenant’ is not present in Hebrew, but since all with similar voice translated ἡσυνθέτησαν, and among the Greeks συνθήκη means ‘covenant,’ by this one word⁶¹ it signifies: ‘they did not maintain the covenant.’ Yet the Seventy put ἡθέτησαν.”

In Field’s abbreviated presentation, it gives the impression that the reading “*et non servaverunt pactum*” is that of the *Septuagint*. However, the context shows that Jerome is quoting the *Psalterium Gallicanum* here:⁶² “Therefore, according to the Hebrew peculiarity, Symmachus interpreted it as: the

⁵⁸ Cf. the commentary by Michael Graves, *Jerome, Epistle 106 (On the Psalms). Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 47 (Atlanta: SBL, 2022), 238–240.

⁵⁹ Edited by Isidor Hilberg, ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae, pars II: epistulae LXXI–CXX. Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi opera sectio I, pars II*, CSEL 55 (Vienna et al.: F. Tempsky, 1912), 247–289 (Ep. 106), here: 273 (Ep. 106,50).

⁶⁰ Graves, *Jerome*, 119.

⁶¹ We are translating “verb”, see below.

⁶² The *Psalterium Gallicanum*, ed. Biblia sacra, *Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem* [...] Cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti edita. *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione sancti Hieronymi cum praefationibus et Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1953), 183, reads: “*et auerterunt se et non servaverunt pactum quemadmodum patres eorum.*”

mountain, which his right hand acquired. In the same (*in eodem*) [i.e. *Psalterium Gallicanum*]⁶³: and they turned away and did not keep the covenant, as their fathers did. I know that ‘covenant’ is not in the Hebrew, however, since everyone has translated with a similar voice ἡσυνθέτησαν [...].”

One point that, in our opinion, has been overlooked or not precisely captured is the fact that Jerome speaks of a “similar” rendering or voice (*voce simili*), but not that all Jewish recensions of the Hexapla would read the same. Graves translates “all with similar voice”⁶⁴, however, interprets it in his commentary as follows: “According to Jerome, ‘all’ the Greek versions rendered this word as ἡσυνθέτησαν.”⁶⁵ In our view, Graves’ and Field’s evaluations go too far. The wording of Jerome’s letter as transmitted to us does not allow us to assume that α’, σ’, and ε’ all read ἡσυνθέτησαν without distinction.⁶⁶ What Jerome has preserved for us, however, is, in our opinion, the σ’ reading ἡθέτησαν, which is here not identical with the rendering of the *Psalterium Gallicanum*.

Jerome quotes “*et non servaverunt pactum*” as the translation of the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. The reading that he has adopted turns out to be the Symmachus reading. For him, this reading “*et non servaverunt pactum*” is the basis for his comparison with the Hebrew. Jerome explains that the word “*pactum*” is not explicitly mentioned in the Hebrew—‘Hebrew’ is here evaluated upon the basis of Symmachus—(“*scio, quod ‘pactum’ non habeat in Hebraeo*”). However, he states that the Greek rendering he has chosen (sc. based on Symmachus)—uses a single verb (*unum verbum*) to express the phrase “*non servaverunt pactum*.”⁶⁷ It is worth considering whether

⁶³ Graves, *Jerome*, 119, understands “*in eodem*” as always referring to the *Psalms*.

⁶⁴ Graves, *Jerome*, 119.

⁶⁵ Graves, *Jerome*, 238–239. However, Graves continues (ibid. 239): “This appears to be a case where Jerome collapsed the hexaplaric versions together because he takes them all to support his general point, even though they do not read precisely the same. Manuscript evidence suggests that Aquila had ἡσυνθέτησαν, but Symmachus translated ἡσυνθήκουν (from ἄσυνθηκέω).”

⁶⁶ Rahlfs also apparently assumes that they all read the same text, cf. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien I–III. Vermehrt um einen unveröffentlichten Aufsatz und eine Bibliographie, mit einem Nachruf von Walter Bauer*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 225 = Alfred Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalter. Nebst einem Anhang, Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W.E. Crum*, *Septuaginta-Studien 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 121: “In Ps. 77₅₇ hat Hieronymus im Anschluß an »alle«, d. h. A etc., ἡσυνθετησαν ins Lateinische übersetzt, »licet Septuaginta ηθετησαν posuerint«.”

⁶⁷ Jerome’s dependence on Symmachus is a fundamental and well-known phenomenon. Graves, *Jerome*, 240, also pointed this out, although he did not mention Symmachus directly in his conclusion: “The most likely scenario is that for this passage in the Gallican Psalter Jerome followed the hexaplaric versions rather than the hexaplaric LXX.”

the Latin term *verbum*, typically translated neutrally as “word,” might in this context carry the grammatical meaning of “verb,” which *verbum* can also denote.⁶⁸ Consequently, Jerome’s statement can be interpreted as referring to “one single verb” with the meaning “*non servaverunt pactum*.”

The adversative sentence following Jerome’s statement “I know that ‘covenant’ is not in the Hebrew” requires closer analysis: “*sed, quando omnes voce simili transtulerunt ἡσυνθέτησαν et apud Graecos συνθήκη ‘pactum’ dicitur, ex uno verbo significatur: non servaverunt pactum [...]*.” The sentence reads “*sed [...] ex uno verbo significatur: non servaverunt pactum [...]*.” Embedded in this sentence is a causal clause introduced by “*quando*,” which splits into two paratactic statements connected by the conjunction “*et*”:

- 1.) *quando omnes voce simili transtulerunt ἡσυνθέτησαν*
- 2.) *et apud Graecos συνθήκη ‘pactum’ dicitur*

In our opinion, the initial observation holds true that ἡσυνθέτησαν is only a “*vox similis*,” meaning similar but not equal rendering, and Jerome did indeed notice slight differences without detailing them. Regarding the second part of the sentence, Graves is right in highlighting that:⁶⁹ “Jerome’s point is that the Greek verb is etymologically related to the noun συνθήκη” and that “His argument [...] is that the Greek verb ἀσυνθετέω entails the idea of ‘covenant.’”

What has caused considerable irritation—Graves speaks of a “surprising statement”⁷⁰—is the fact that Jerome ultimately names ἡθέτησαν as the Septuagint reading: “yet the Septuagint has rendered it as ἡθέτησαν” (“*licet Septuaginta ἡθέτησαν posuerint*”). We believe that ἡθέτησαν can be identified here as the *o*’ reading, i.e., the reading of the fifth column of the Hexapla. Even Alfred Rahlfs attributed this reading to the *O*-group, though he did not

⁶⁸ See Peter G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2032 s.v. *verbum*: “2 (gram., spec.) A verb.”; cf. also Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, And in Great Part Rewritten* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 1972 s.v. *verbum*: “II. In partic. [...] C. In gram., a verb.”

⁶⁹ Graves, *Jerome*, 239.

⁷⁰ Graves, *Jerome*, 239: “In a surprising statement at the conclusion of his discussion, Jerome says: *licet Septuaginta ἡθέτησαν posuerint*, ‘Yet the Seventy put ἡθέτησαν.’ Does Jerome mean by this that the authentic (i.e., hexaplaric) LXX gave ἡθέτησαν? [...]” Graves does not understand the tradition correctly. He discusses Caloz’ assumption that “the hexaplaric LXX read ἡθέτησαν” (cf. Masséo Caloz, *Étude sur la LXX origénienne du Psautier. Les relations entre les leçons des Psaumes du manuscrit Coislin 44, les fragments des Hexaples et le texte du Psautier gallican*, OBO 19 [Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978], 372–373) and continues (ibid. 239–240): “The only alternative interpretation would be to suggest that by Septuaginta Jerome means the ‘popular’ LXX; whereas the ‘true’ (= hexaplaric) LXX was included in the ‘all’ who gave ἡσυνθέτησαν.”

rule out an error: “*O* (teste Hi[eronymi], cf. S.-St.2, p. 121: per errorem?)”.⁷¹ Rahlfs has mentioned this passage in his study on the text of the Septuagint Psalter explicitly as an example of cases where the *Psalterium Gallicanum* did not precisely preserve the Hexaplaric Septuagint text, i.e., the *o*’ reading.⁷² Surprisingly without referring to Rahlfs, this is also *cum grano salis* the conclusion of Masséo Caloz.⁷³ In any case, the reading ἠθέτησαν (3rd person plural indicative aorist active of ἀθετέω⁷⁴) is otherwise attested as a variant to ἠσυνθέτησαν (3rd person plural indicative aorist active of ἀσυνθετέω⁷⁵) in the tradition.⁷⁶

In a recently published study, the *O*-group in the Psalter has been more narrowly defined as:⁷⁷ Manuscripts Ra 1098(*o*’)-1121-1209 plus *Psalterium Gallicanum*. Regarding manuscript Ra 1121, this witness covers only Psalms 1–50. Manuscript Ra 1209, on the other hand, contains Psalms 51–100, although fragmentarily, as this manuscript was severely damaged in the fire of the Turin National Library in 1904. However, this particular verse is fully preserved, so we have the reading from Ra 1209, allowing us to reconstruct the wording of the *o*’-text.

It reads: καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν καὶ ἠθέτησαν (Ra 1209, f. 61r)—“and they turned away and dealt treacherously / broke faith.” Regarding Jerome, he has thus preserved for us not only indirectly the Symmachus reading (*σ*’) in his *Psalterium Gallicanum* but also the Hexaplaric text of the fifth column (*o*’) in the Greek wording. The manuscript evidence and the Patristic testimony of Greek Ps 77:57a, are summarised in the following.

⁷¹ Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis* 3rd ed., Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum X (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 217 in the apparatus to LXX Ps 77:57.

⁷² Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* 2nd ed. 1965, 225 = Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* II, 121: “Das zweite, was der völligen Genauigkeit des Gall etwas Eintrag tut, ist der Umstand, daß Hieronymus, wie wir gleichfalls aus seinem Briefe an Sunnia und Fretela nachweisen können, sich öfters an \mathfrak{W} und die übrigen Hex.-Kolumnen gegen den hexaplarischen \mathfrak{S} -Text angeschlossen hat.”

⁷³ Caloz, *Étude*, 372–373, on Ps 77:57a, here 373: “[...] nous pouvons conclure que sur ce point, de l’aveu même de Jérôme, le Ga ne suit pas exactement la LXX hexaplaire.”

⁷⁴ Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, 31 s.v. ἀθετ-έω: “3. deal treacherously with, break faith with, τινά Plb. 9.36.10, LXX Is. 1.2, Ev.Marc. 6.26; εἰς τινα LXX 3 Ki. 12.19; ἐν Ἰσραήλ 4 Ki. 1.1: abs., IG 12(5).129 (Paros).”

⁷⁵ Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, 31 s.v. ἀσυν-εχής κτλ.: –θετέω: “break covenant, be faithless, LXX Ps. 72(73).15, al.; opp. εὐσυνθετέω, Chrysipp.Stoic. 2.63.”

⁷⁶ Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, 217, cites the following text witnesses in the apparatus to LXX Ps 77:57, which read ἠθέτησαν: R O [...] L’Su-1046(uid.) 1219’.

⁷⁷ Cf. Felix Albrecht, “Origen’s Fifth Column/Old Greek of Psalms, Recovered from Two Important Witnesses of the Palestinian Catena,” in *The Forerunners and Heirs of Origen’s Hexapla*, ed. John D. Meade, De Septuaginta Investigationes 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2024), 93.

2.2.2 Manuscript Attestation and Patristic Evidence (Hex Ps 77:57a)

Two catenae have preserved Aquila, Symmachus and *Quinta* readings; in addition, the previously mentioned testimony of Jerome and the Palestinian catena Ra 1209 should be added as witnesses to the *o'*-text:

Ra 1173	f. 250r	<i>α' ε'</i> Ps 77:57a βγ <i>σ'</i> Ps 77:57a αβγ
Ra 1122	f. 86v	⟨ <i>σ'</i> ⟩ Ps 77:57a αβγ
Ra 1209	f. 61r	<i>ο'</i> Ps 77:57a αβγ
Jerome	Ep. 106, ed. CSEL	<i>σ'</i> Ps 77:57a αβγ <i>ο'</i> Ps 77:57a β

A refined representation of the reading in question and its attestation looks like this:

<i>LXX Ps 77:57a α-β</i>		<i>MT Ps 78:57a α-β</i>		
<i>LXX</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>ο'</i>	<i>α' ε'</i>	<i>σ'</i>
^a καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν	אָפֶּסְטְרֵפְּסָן	καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν Ra 1209, f. 61r (s.n.)	—	ἀπένευον Ra 1173 ^(p.1) , f. 250r (c.n. <i>σ'</i>); Ra 1122, f. 86v (s.n.); Hi (<i>et averterunt se</i>) (c.n.)
^β καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν	אֶסְיִן־בְּרִיָּהּ	καὶ ἠθέτησαν Ra 1209, f. 61r (s.n.); Hi	καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν Ra 1173 ^(p.1) , f. 250r (c.n. <i>α' ε'</i>)	καὶ ἠσυνθήκουν Ra 1173 ^(p.1) , f. 250r (c.n. <i>σ'</i>); Ra 1122, f. 86v (s.n.); Hi (<i>et non servaverunt pactum</i>) (c.n.)
and were faithless	and acted treacherously	and dealt treacherously / broke faith	and were faithless	and broke a/the covenant

<https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.77.57>

c.n. = cum nomine (nominibus), i.e. with the clear attestation to a certain column/recension/version.
s.n. = sine nomine (nominibus), i.e. without a clear attestation to a certain column/recension/version.

2.2.3 Analysis of *σ'* καὶ ἠσυνθήκουν

Symmachus thus uses καὶ ἠσυνθήκουν instead of καὶ ἠσυνθέτησαν (LXX) to render the Hebrew אֶסְיִן־בְּרִיָּהּ. The Greek verb ἠσυνθήκουν can be traced back to the base form ἀ-συνθήκεω. This is composed of the *alpha privativum*

(augmented in the aorist) and the verb συνθήκω, which can be hypothetically reconstructed from the noun ἡ συνθήκη, “the convention, the covenant” (derived from συντίθημι, “to convene”).⁷⁸

The verb ἄ-συνθήκω had been discussed already by Bernard de Montfaucon in 1713.⁷⁹ Afterwards, Schleusner, in 1788 and again in 1812, in the context of his studies on the Hexapla of the book of Isaiah, quoted Montfaucon but criticised his hypothesis of modifying ἄσυνθηκούντες to ἄσυνθετοῦντες.⁸⁰

In his second study on the Hexapla of the book of Isaiah (1812), Schleusner used almost the same words⁸¹, which we can find summarised—with the reference to the adjective ἄσύνθηκος—in his dictionaries (1820 and 1822) under the lemma ἄσυνθηκέω. This lemma is—again (s. above, ἀναμνητικός)—neither mentioned in Muraoka’s *Lexicon* (2009) nor in Lust–Eynikel–Hauspie’s *Lexicon* (1992/96, 2003, 2015), which is—once more—a clear shortcoming:⁸²

⁷⁸ The verb συν-θήκω is not attested according to current knowledge. Yet, interestingly, a similar verbum συν-θηκίζω does exist, which, however, is rarely used: (1) Eduard Schwartz, ed., *Collectio Sabbaitica. Contra Acephalos et Origeniastas destinata. Insunt acta synodorum Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae a. 536*, ACO 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1940), 86: μετὰ σοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ συνθηκίζει τοὺς ἐπισκόπους (“he is with you and makes a commitment to the bishops”); and (2) Karl Wilhelm Ernst Heimbach, ed., *Basilicorum libri LX* (Leipzig: Joh. Ambrosius Barth, 1850), 415: ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ συνθηκίζειν ἕξεισιν. In our opinion, Heimbach’s Latin translation (*in his namque sponsionem facere licet*—“for in these matters, it is permitted to make a commitment”) is accurate, as “sponsionem facere” can indeed be understood in a legal context as making a legal obligation or promise. Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1331, however, suggests a different meaning (“to intrigue with”), which seems inconsistent with both the contexts in which this verb is used and its etymology.

⁷⁹ Bernard de Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt, multis partibus auctiora, quam a Flamínio Nobilio & Joanne Drusio edita fuerint [...]* (Paris: apud Ludovicum Guerin, viduam Joannis Boudot, et Carolum Robustel, 1713) II, 189–190. In the *notae et variae lectiones* to πλὴν λαός μου εἰσὶν υἱοὶ ἄσυνθηκούντες (Is. 63.8) Montfaucon says (p. 190): v. 8, Σ. πλὴν λαός etc. Curterius ex Ms. Jes. In versione Symmachi forte legendum, οὐκ ἄσυνθετοῦντες.

⁸⁰ See Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Observationes criticae in Versiones graecae Oraculorum Jesaiae* (Göttingen: J. Christ. Dieterich, 1788), 21: “Cap. LXIII, 8. [...] Σ. πλὴν λαός μου εἰσὶν υἱοὶ ἄσυνθηκούντες. Iam Montfaucon in notis subiectis monet fortasse in Symmacho legendum esse οὐκ ἄσυνθετοῦντες quia nempe rationem, qua haec versio cum verbis hebraicis conciliari possit, non videbat. Sed quo ad illud οὐκ attinet coniecturae non locus esse potest, sed potius ex Procopii Commentario p. 727. Necessario inserendum erit ante ἄσυνθηκούντες. Altera vero coniecturae e qua ἄσυνθηκούντες vocabulum in nullo scriptore graeco obvium in usitatius ἄσυνθετοῦντες mutandum esset, ideo non arridet, quia partim receptam lectionem Procopii auctoritas tuetur, partim in versionibus graecis multa vocabula nova et inusitata reperiri constat.” Cf. also Schleusner, *Opuscula*, 362–363.

⁸¹ The only changes which should be noted can be found in the last sentence: “partim in versionibus graecis V. T. multa vocabula nova et inusitata reperiri satis constat”.

⁸² Muraoka, *Lexicon* (2009), 99, however, does include the lemma ἄσυνθετέω, and adds at the end of this lemma entry: “Cf. ἄσυνθεσία, ἄσυνθετος, συνθήκη.”—The lemma ἄσυνθηκέω is also not attested in e.g. Lampe, *Lexicon*.

Schleusner, Thesaurus I (1820), 478; Schleusner, Thesaurus I (1822), 387	ἌΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΨ, <i>fœdus frango, perfide ago</i> . [...] Symm. Ies. LXIII.8 [...] [...] Adj. Ἀσύνηκος occurrit ap. Onesandrum Strateg. C. 37 Οὐκ ἀσύνηκον ἐν σπονδαῖς εἶναι.
Stephanus, Thesaurus II (1865), 2301 (with quotation from Schleusner, Thesaurus I [1822], 387)	[Ἀσυνθηκέω, <i>Fœdus frango, Perfide ago</i> . Symm. Es. 63, 8 [...]] [Ἀσύνηκος. V. Ἀσυνθηκέω.]
Bailly, Dictionnaire (2000; first published in 1895), 296	ἀσυνθηκέω-ῶ, c. ἀσυνθετέω, Symm. (ἀσύνηκος). ἀ-σύνηκος, ος, ον, infidèle à une convention, ONOS. 37 (ἀ, συνθήκη).
Dimitrakos, Λεξικόν II (1949), 1106–1107	ἀσυνθηκεί πάπ. κατὰ παράβασιν τῆς συνθήκης ἢ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀσύνηκος -ον μτγν. ὁ παραβαίνων τὴν συνθήκην, ὁ παρασπονδῶν· Ὁνήσανδρ. 37,2 ἀσυνθηκῶ-έω μτγν. παραβαίνω τὴν συνθήκην.
Liddell and Scott, Lexicon (1996) ⁸³ , 265 s.v. ἀσυν-εχίης κτλ.	-θηκέω, = ἀσυνθετέω, Sm. Is. 63.8. -θηκος, ον, = ἀσυνθετος II, Onos.37.2. Adv. -θηκεί, <i>through breach of contract</i> , POxy. 904.2 (V A.D.).
Adrados, et al., DGE III (2006), 574	no entry for ἀσυνθηκέω. ἀσυνθηκεί adv. <i>dolosa, fraudulentamente</i> ἀ. διαπεπονηθῶς καὶ χλεύην <i>que ha sido objeto de dolo y hurta</i> , POxy.904.2 (V d.C.). ἀσύνηκος, -ον <i>que falta a lo convenido</i> δεῖ ... οὐκ ἀσύνηκον ἐν σπονδαῖς εἶναι Onas.37.2
Montanari, GI 425 ⁸⁴	ἀσυνθηκέω, <i>contr.</i> [ἀσύνηκος] VT. (Sym.) Is. 63.8. f[alsa] l[ezione] per ἀσυνθετέω. ἀσύνηκος -ον [συνθήκη] <i>fedifrago</i> ONOS. 37.2.
Montanari, Dictionary (2015), 326	ἀσυνθηκέω, <i>contr.</i> [ἀσύνηκος] VT. (Sym.) Is. 63.8. f[alsa] l[ectio] for ἀσυνθετέω. ἀσύνηκος -ον [συνθήκη] <i>oathbreaker</i> ONASAN. 37.2.
Montanari, Wörterbuch (2023), 309	ἀσυνθηκέω, <i>kontr.</i> [ἀσύνηκος] VT. (Sym.) Is. 63.8. f[alsa] l[ectio] für ἀσυνθετέω. ἀσύνηκος -ον [συνθήκη] <i>wortbrüchig</i> ONASAN. 37.2.

⁸³ However, the lemma is not included in Passow, *Handwörterbuch III*, “which the Oxford scholars took as the basis of their work” (Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, preface 1925, p. iii). It is therefore clear that LSJ have adopted this lemma from the revised TLG, which in turn is based on Schleusner.—Here it is the same as in the case of the lemma ἀνατηρικός, see above.

⁸⁴ 1995, 347; ²2004, 365.

Montanari's thesis—and previously Montfaucon's hypothesis—that ἀσυνθηκέω is a false reading (*falsa lectio*) for ἀσυνθετέω, is incorrect.⁸⁵ After all, Montanari lists ἀσύνθηκος as a separate lemma! (The same applies, incidentally, to LSJ, which list the verb and adjective as identical to ἀσυνθετέω and ἀσύνθητος, but provide the adverb (already mentioned in Dimitrakos), attested in *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 904.2 (5th century CE) as a separate lemma without such an indication). The derivation of the adverb ἀσυνθηκεί is supposedly from ἀσύνθηκος.⁸⁶

Regarding Montanari's lemma ἀσύνθηκος, there are also problematic discrepancies in the given meanings between the English and German versions of the lexicon. Montanari's English version gives "oathbreaker," a noun (German "Eidbrecher"), which is not the same as Montanari's German "wortbrüchig." A correct English rendering for ἀσύνθηκος would be "oathbreaking," and a better German rendering for ἀσύνθηκος would be "eidbrüchig" or "bundbrüchig." In this direction goes the meaning of this adjective in Onosander, as said by Ercolani in her study on the *hapax legomena* in this author.⁸⁷

In any case, ἀσυνθηκέω is not a false reading (*falsa lectio*), as the hexaplaric testimony for Psalm 77:57a shows, which recognizes ἀσυνθηκέω as the Symmachus reading, while Aquila and the *Quinta* have ἀσυνθετέω. Additionally, the hexaplaric evidence for Isaiah 63:8 (ἀθετήσωσι LXX [*< ἀθετέω* "to reject"] shows that the verb ἀσυνθηκέω is also attested as the Symmachus reading there (ἀσυνθηκοῦντες σ' [*< ἀσυνθηκέω* "to break a covenant"]; MT יִרְבְּזוּ: "they will lie / act falsely" [root רבז in the piel]).⁸⁸ Already

⁸⁵ Cf. also Henricus Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, vol. 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 2300; Bailly, *Dictionnaire*, 296.—This word occurs in LXX Ps 72:15.

⁸⁶ Cf. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908), 241–243, 243: "ἀσυνθηκεί is presumably an adverb from ἀσύνθηκος, a form occurring in Onosander. *Strateg.* I. 37. ἀσύνθηκα would have been more normal with καὶ χλεύην following."

⁸⁷ Lucia Ercolani, "La lingua di Onasandro. Ricerche sugli ἄπαξ λεγόμενα," *Università di Siena. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1997): 43–53, 49: "Durante la statuizione dei patti di tregua il generale dovrà guardarsi dall'assalire il nemico, ma non dovrà rilassarsi. Userà la stessa prudenza che osserverebbe in guerra, *ma non deve venire meno ai patti stabiliti* (= ἀσύνθηκος) e muovere per primo contro il nemico, travalicando così i limiti dell'onestà (*Strateg.* 37.2). Questo aggettivo in *α* privativa, presente soltanto nell'opera di Onasandro, è semanticamente equivalente alla forma ἀσύνθητος usata da Polibio in 29.21.5. Il sostantivo ἡ συνθήκη (= lat. *pactum, foedus*) è attestato già in Senofonte (p. es., *HG* 7.5.4)."

⁸⁸ Cf. Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaias*, 3rd ed., Septuaginta. *Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* XIV (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 355, second apparatus with reference to Eusebius only. Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam* II,54 (ed. J. Ziegler, GCS) reads the following: διὸ κατὰ τὸν Σύμμαχον εἴρηται· πλὴν λαὸς μου εἰσιν, υἱοὶ οὐκ ἀσυνθηκοῦντες. ἀπήλεγχεν δὲ αὐτοὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς προφητείας λέγων· ὕψους ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν.—"Therefore, according to

Schleusner, as seen, defended this reading in his first studies on the Hexapla of the book of Isaiah against Montfaucon.

Finally, the aforementioned adjective ἀσύνθηκος is attested as the Symmachus reading for Isaiah 48:8 (LXX: ἄνομος).⁸⁹ However, this adjective should be treated in a separate lexicon entry.⁹⁰ It seems that Symmachus used ἀσύνθηκος instead of the common ἀσύνθετος in his vocabulary.⁹¹

2.2.4 Index Entry for “ἀ-συν-θηκέω”

This results in the following provisional index entry:

Lemma:	ἀ-συν-θηκέω	Etymology:
Related:	ἀ-σύν-θηκος → (see there)	alpha privative, preposition, stem
English transl.:	<i>to break a covenant</i>	opposite of hypothetic *συν-θη-κεω
German transl.:	<i>bundbrüchig sein</i>	< ἡ συν-θήκη
Evidence:	ἡσυνθήκουν (verb, 3rd pl. aor. ind. act.)	Ps 77:57a σ' בגד qal (Origenes, Hexapla)
	ἀσυνθηκοῦντες (verb, nom. pl. masc., pres. part. act.)	Is 63:8 σ' שקר pi. (Eusebius, Procopius)

Symmachus, it is said: *But they are my people, sons who do not break the covenant.* He reproved them at the beginning of the prophecy, saying: ‘I have brought up and raised sons, but they have rejected me.’” Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam* (PG 87/2, 2672), attests very similarly: Διὸ κατὰ Σύμμαχον εἴρηται· Πλὴν λαὸς μου εἰσιν υἱοὶ οὐκ ἀσυνθηκοῦντες. Οὐδὲ ἀπήλεγγεν ἐν ἀρχῇ λέγων· ‘Υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα, καὶ ὕψωσα· αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν’.—“Therefore, according to Symmachus, it is said: *But they are my people, sons who do not break the covenant.* He reproved them at the beginning, saying: ‘I have brought up and raised sons, but they have rejected me’.”

⁸⁹ Cf. Ziegler, ed., *Isaias*, 302 second apparatus, with reference to Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam* II,33 (ed. J. Ziegler, GCS): διὸ κατὰ τὸν Σύμμαχον εἴρηται· καὶ ἀσυνθηκος ἐκ κοιλίας ἐκλήθης.—“Therefore, according to Symmachus, it is said: *And you were called a covenant breaker from the womb.*”

⁹⁰ In the background stands Isa 48:8 MT with a Qal participle פשע פשע (root פשע “to rebel”). In the immediately preceding context, the Hebrew root בגד “to act treacherously” is used twice, which the Septuagint renders both times with ἀθετέω. Therefore, the use of the verb ἀθετέω in the Isaiah Septuagint must be addressed separately, as not only פשע פשע (Isa 1:2; 27:4) and בגד (Isa 21:2 bis; 24:16 bis; 33:1 bis, but see in the same verse MT שוּדָר, LXX οἱ ἀθετοῦντες; Isa 48:8 bis) are in the background (see Isa 31:2 MT ירִסֶה, LXX ἀθετηθῆ; Isa 63:8 MT וְשָׁקַרְוּ, LXX ἀθετήσωσι), making the situation more complex.

⁹¹ On ἀσύνθετος, with the German meaning “bundbrüchig, treulos,” cf. Walter Bauer and Kurt Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th ed. (Berlin et al.: De Gruyter, 1988), 238.

Equivalents:	LXX	ἀσυνθετέω <i>to be faithless, unfaithful</i>	Ps 77:57a; Is 63:8
	MT	בגד qal <i>to act disloyal</i>	Ps 78:57a
		שקר pi. <i>to act disloyal</i>	Is 63:8
	Hexapla	ἀθετέω <i>to reject</i>	Ps 77:57a ο' (Hi)
		ἀσυνθετέω <i>to be faithless, unfaithful</i>	Ps 77:57a α' ε' (MSS)
Bibliography: Lust, <i>Lexicon</i> (2000). http://jbt.org/v05/Lust2000.html , s.v. ἀσυνθετέω: “to break a covenant” בגד (qal).			

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the two examples we have presented underscore a significant issue: the lexica for the Septuagint by Lust–Eynikel–Hauspie and Muraoka inadequately cover the Jewish recensions. Even the commonly used lexica account for the obscure lexemes of the Jewish recensions, as evidenced by the two Symmachus lexemes. This is largely because the older lexica relied on Schleusner, whose now over 200-year-old lexicon captured the Septuagint and its reception history far more comprehensively than modern specialised lexica. Therefore, modern dictionaries of the Septuagint have a notorious blind spot concerning the Jewish recensions.

Johan Lust, co-author of one of the Septuagint lexica, recognised this shortcoming and intended to compile a lexicon of the Jewish recensions. His Symmachus lexicon was a promising start. However, little progress has been made in this area, leaving a comprehensive lexicon that includes the Jewish recensions as a critical research desideratum. This is a challenge we aim to address in Göttingen. It seamlessly integrates with our ongoing work on the Greek Psalter, which began in 2020.

From the outset, our work on the Psalter has incorporated the Hexapla of the Psalms. This is primarily because a second, so-called hexaplaric apparatus for the future Psalter edition will be necessary.⁹² The hexaplaric remnants of the Psalter are the most extensive among all books of the Septuagint, despite

⁹² Additionally, these data will serve as the foundation for the ‘New Field’ (*Origen’s Hexapla: A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments*, Leuven: Peeters, 2020 ff.) of Psalms.

being fragmentary. Therefore, the Psalms Hexapla provides the richest material foundation for creating such a lexicon.

Our goal is to expand the Göttingen Hexapla Database to include books outside the Psalter, based on the published and forthcoming Göttingen Septuagint editions and their hexaplaric material. Additionally, we aim to exhaustively include, tag lexicographically, and network all the new data on the Psalms Hexapla. This tagging will proceed in parallel with the development of an index, and finally a “Digital Lexicon of Jewish Revisions of the Septuagint.”⁹³

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⁹³ Ultimately, this *digital* lexicon will culminate in a comprehensive revision of the Turner-Reider Index to Aquila.

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