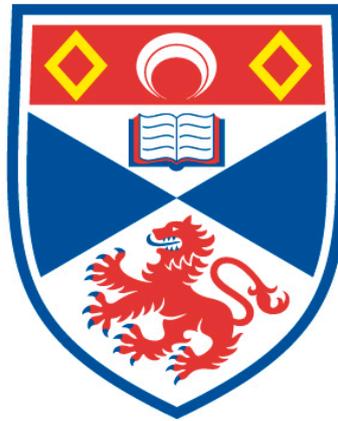


A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXT
FORMS OF JEREMIAH 10:1-18

James Seth Adcock

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2015

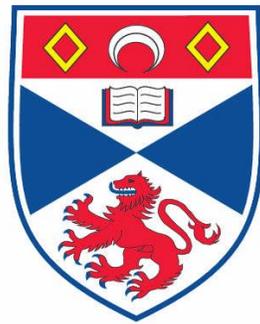
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A Comparative Study of the Hebrew and Greek Text Forms of Jeremiah 10:1-
18

James Seth Adcock



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

15 April, 2015

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ABSTRACT

I wish to argue the following points:

1. MT Jeremiah gives a more complex text form in its more intricate poetic structure and, therefore, represents a more ancient or earlier form of verses 10:1-18.
2. LXX Jeremiah demonstrates later interpretative and textual developments in its logical structure of verses 10:1-18, which gives emphasis to verse 11 in its structural placement of verse 9 within that of verse 5, along with the necessary deletions of verses 10:6-8 and 10.
3. Qumran, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphical material demonstrate the cultural and scribal milieu that readily explains the alterations evident in the Septuagint text form of 10:1-18.

These three primary arguments will be expressed in greater detail in chapters 2, 3, and 4. Chapter 2 concerns the Masoretic text form of 10:1-18 and explicates its text form's structure. Chapter 3 discusses the Septuagint text form of 10:1-18 and analyzes its textual developments and translation technique. Chapter 4 surveys Second Temple Period Jewish literature that contains the text of Jer 10:1-18 or references its material. I will study Jeremiah 10:1-18 with the traditional tools of textual criticism along with other biblical criticisms as well. In this thesis, I wish to argue that the texts of 4Q71 (4QJer^b) and LXX Jer 10 show evidence of a secondary nature in comparison to the MT tradition as reflected in 4Q70 (4QJer^a). The abbreviation of the passage and the transposition of 10:9 within 10:5 reflected in 4Q71 and LXX 10 demonstrate an easier and later textual variant in comparison to the more original text form of MT Jer 10. I shall observe that 4Q71 and LXX Jer 10:1-18's alterations to MT's older text form were done for the sake of attempting to smooth out the logical flow of the pericope.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ALB	Analecta Biblica
ASOR	<i>American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ANET	James Pritchard's <i>Ancient near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ASBR	Amsterdam Studies in Bible and Religion
ATDA	Das Alte Testament Deutsch Apokryphen
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BCE	Before the Common Era
BDB	<i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> by Brown, Driver, and Briggs

BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMS	Bible Monograph Series
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	Biblica et Orientalia
<i>BR</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
BST	Basel Studies of Theology
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CB</i>	<i>Cultura Biblica</i>

CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CE	Common Era
CHAL	<i>A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> by William L. Holladay (year 2000 printed edition)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Concordia Journal</i>
CJEL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
COS	The Context of Scripture
CSS	Jan Joosten's <i>Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond</i>
CTAT	<i>Critique Textuelle de L' Ancien Testament</i> by Dominique Barthélemy
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testamentum
FES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
FOTL	<i>The Forms of the Old Testament Literature</i>
FSBP	Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam Pertinentes
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
GELSL	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> , Revised edition by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie
GELSM	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> by T. Muraoka.
GHB	<i>The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on Septuagint</i> by E. Tov
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> by Koehler and Baumgartner, A Two Volume Study Edition translated into English.
HAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HBGBQ	<i>Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays</i> by E. Tov

HBI	Frederic Putnam's <i>Hebrew Bible Insert: A Student's Guide to the Syntax of Biblical Hebrew</i> (second edition)
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HR	<i>A Concordance to the Septuagint</i> by Hatch and Redpath
HRLXXJ	The Hebrew <i>Vorlage</i> redaction translated by LXX Jeremiah, which represents a rewritten proto-MT text form.
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUBP	The Book of Jeremiah of The Hebrew University Bible Project
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBHS	Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor's <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAJ	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JM Paul Joüon's *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. *Subsidia biblica* 14/1–2. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2000.
- JNSL* *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
- JSJSS Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplement Series
- JSOT* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
- JSOTSS Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- LD Lectio Divina
- LMB Le Monde de la Bible
- LNTSS Library of New Testament Studies Series
- LXX The Septuagint text of Jeremiah as published in J. Ziegler's edition.
- MASJ Hermann Josef Stipp's *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*
- MJSB Münsteraner Judaistische Studien Band
- MSU *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*

MT	The Masoretic Text of <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> edited by A. Pietersma.
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OTE	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
PTGHB	The Parallel Aligned Text of the Greek and Hebrew Bible (of <i>Accordance Software version 11</i>).
POE	Pretoria Oriental Series
QS	Quaderni di Semitistica
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RBFY	<i>Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes</i> edited by József Zsengellér and Károli Gáspár.
RE	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature

SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SIAG	<i>Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Gebetsliteratur</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>The Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SOTI	Studies in Old Testament Interpretation 2
SSCW	Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings
SLL	Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STZ	<i>Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
SVT	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
SZJ	Hermann-Josef Stipp's <i>Studien zum Jeremiabuch</i>
TCS	Text-Critical Studies
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTG	Vetus Testamentum Graecum
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplements (Series)
WMANT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1. The Textual Plurality of the Book of Jeremiah

As is often stated, the text of LXX and that of MT Jeremiah vary considerably from one another in many places,¹ with most of the divergence between them being minuses or lacunae in the LXX text form. A prominent example of divergence between LXX and MT Jeremiah occurs in MT 10:1-18. The Qumran manuscript 4Q71 (or 4QJer^b) seems² to agree in its textual structure with LXX 10:1-18, in that it gives a more concise text form which places verse 10:9 within v. 5 and skips over vv. 6-8 and 10 in its progression to v. 11. Scholarship now sees reason to assume that a shorter Hebrew version of Jeremiah existed at Qumran, to which 4Q71 is a witness with 4Q72a (4QJer^d).³ 4Q71 may indicate a different “Pre-MT”⁴ text form as opposed to the proto-MT text forms found in 2Q13 (2QJer), 4Q70 (4QJer^a), 4Q72 (4QJer^c), and 4Q72b (4QJer^e).⁵

¹ For a comprehensive list, cf. Young Jin Min, *The Minuses and Pluses of the LXX Translation of Jeremiah as Compared with the Massoretic Text: Their Classification and Possible Origins* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), 108-39.

² For an attempted reconstruction of its full text, cf. Richard J. Saley, “Reconstructing 4QJer^b According to the Text of the Old Greek,” *DSD* 17 (2010), 1-12.

³ Emanuel Tov, *GHB*, 363-64.

⁴ Arie van der Kooij describes a “Pre-MT” text when he writes: “Mit Prae-MT meine ich eine ältere Textform, die sich einerseits orthographisch vom Proto-MT unterscheidet, andererseits auch in gewissen Fällen einen älteren, von Qumran und LXX bezeugten Text darstellt, der nachher bearbeitet worden ist.” Cf. idem, “Zum Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik: Überlegungen anhand einiger Beispiele,” in *Congress Volume Cambridge 1995* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTS 66; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 201.

⁵ 4Q72a has a debatable textual character. It seems to display a mixed or non-aligned text form, rather than one which is overtly underlying the LXX. G. J. Brooke notes that “not all the variants in 4QJer^d are straightforward representations in Hebrew of the readings of LXX, since it seems that in Jer 43,5 4QJer^d was closer to the MT than to the LXX which lacks a phrase at this point.” Cf. idem, “The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception: Le Livre de Jérémie et Sa Réception* (ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer; BETL 128; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 187. Moreover, 2Q13 and 4Q72 might be classed as “semi-MT” texts. Cf. Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer: Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 297-319.

Much of scholarship today discusses the existence of two editions of Jeremiah, one reflected in the LXX *Vorlage* and the other found in MT. Scholars debate often as to which version of Jeremiah is the prior or earlier text form of the book and their respective relationship to one another. I shall examine the text of 10:1-18 as it appears in MT (HUBP; see chapter II),⁶ LXX (Old Greek; see chapter III),⁷ 4Q70, 4Q71, 4Q72,⁸ and in a rewritten form within 11Q5 (11QPs^a; see chapter IV, section 1). My references to Qumran textual evidence derive from the DJD volumes. In the second section of chapter IV, I shall analyze the Second Temple Period literature to observe if the variations between MT and LXX Jer 10:1-18 can be easily explained or expected. In the following section, I shall give some preliminary remarks on attempts to date the text form of LXX Jeremiah.

2. Dating Issues

When comparing LXX with MT Jeremiah, the question of when the Septuagint was translated naturally arises. Although MT 52:31-34 implies a compositional dating shortly after 562 BCE for MT's⁹ final chapter,¹⁰ scholars assume that LXX Jeremiah's translation was rendered long after this period, at a time around the turn of the second century BCE,¹¹

⁶ Chaim Rabin, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah* (Hebrew University Bible Project; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998). Hereafter, HUBP.

⁷ Joseph Ziegler, *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, and Epistula Ieremiae* (3d ed.; Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum XV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

⁸ Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan, and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XV: The Prophets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). Hereafter, DJD XV.

⁹ LXX Jer 52:31-34 describe King Jehoiakim as residing in Babylon and not the original King Jehoiachin of MT 52:31-34. Thus, the final dating of LXX Jeremiah would seem to differ from that of MT's edition. However, there may be issues of 1 Baruch representing an appendix to LXX Jeremiah's narrative. Cf. chapter IV.

¹⁰ Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37–52: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21C; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 538.

¹¹ E.g. cf. Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénique au christianisme ancien. Initiations au christianisme ancien* (2d ed.; Paris: Éditions du Cerf/Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1994), 110-11.

but sometime at least before 132¹² or 116 BCE.¹³ Since Septuagint scholars assume a third century BCE time frame for the LXX Pentateuch,¹⁴ a *terminus post quem* for LXX Jeremiah's translation would be assigned with that of other prophets in the early part of the second century BCE.¹⁵ Therefore, LXX Jeremiah could have been completed at any time roughly within 200-116 BCE. However, with the comparative evidence of 4Q71 now available, the earliest date at the end of the third century or the beginning of the second century seems more plausible for the rendition of LXX Jeremiah.¹⁶

The probable date of 4Q71's composition, despite apparent consensus, has proven difficult to state firmly (cf. chapter IV). Frank Moore Cross never gave a published palaeographical dating for 4Q71, nor for any other related fragments (e.g. 4Q72a and 72b), although he (not John Strugnell) was the originator of the classification of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b as 4QJer^{b,d,e} respectively.¹⁷ Moreover, Cross placed 4Q71, 72a, and 72b together as one manuscript or scroll of Jeremiah in contrast to Tov later.¹⁸ Cross dated 4Q70 famously

¹² Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 23-25.

¹³ Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (HSM 8; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), 165 and 176. Also cf. Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 134-35.

¹⁴ Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 40; and Swete, *Introduction*, 16. Dorival, Harl, and Munnich give a dating circa 280 BCE for the LXX Pentateuch translation (idem, *La Bible*, 110). The LXX Pentateuch must have been translated sometime during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, due to the fact that the Letter of Aristeas connects the composition of the LXX Pentateuch to the rule of Philadelphus (and for other reasons, e.g. cf. Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible*, 1–111; and Joosten, CSS, 185).

¹⁵ Swete, *Introduction*, 23; Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible*, 110-11; and Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament, Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSB 9; Münster: Lit. Verlag, 2001), 34-43. Andreas Vonach gives an early date when he writes: "Die Übertragung des Textes ins Griech. dürfte nur kurze Zeit nach jener des Pentateuch, also noch am Anfang des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. in Alexandrien vorgenommen worden sein." Cf. idem, "Jeremias," in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen zum griechischen Alten Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; vol. 2; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2696.

¹⁶ E.g. cf. Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible*, 110-11.

¹⁷ According to personal communication with Frank M. Cross.

¹⁸ J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 181-84. Cross gave permission to Janzen to publish the fragments and gave Janzen the palaeographical groupings of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b together. In personal communication Cross related to us that 4Q71, 4Q72a and 4Q72b were all from the same scroll and had affiliation close enough to indicate identity both with regard to the scribe and with regard to the physical scroll itself, i.e., there was only a single scroll written by a single scribe. According to Cross, John Strugnell placed 4Q72a and 4Q72b together, but separated them from 4Q71.

to circa 200 BCE.¹⁹ It is clear that Cross considered 4Q70 to be earlier than 4Q71, since he placed 4Q70 in a group of “Archaic Jewish” formal hand fragments from Qumran dated somewhere within 250-150 BCE,²⁰ but he did not include 4Q71 in this collection. Since Cross did not declare 4Q71, 72a, or 72b to be in this group of early texts, he seems to imply that they should be dated later than 150 BCE.²¹ To complicate things further, the paleographic dating of 4Q71 is also questionable, with Tov²² noting significant divergence of thought among scholars such as Ada Yardeni, Joseph Naveh, Émile Puech, Frank Cross, and Tov’s own assessment.²³ However, I am inclined to follow Tov’s manuscript separation²⁴ of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b due mainly to the palaeography of both Puech and Yardeni. The lack of grouping of 4Q71, 72a and 72b together might raise questions as to the general textual character of each Jeremiah fragment in that one may determine their textual character more easily under the assumption of their textual affinity. However, such is not the case with the given supposition of separation in Tov’s analysis, though even this theory is questionable (cf. chapter IV). Despite the contention of Tov’s 4Q71 description, it seems best to date 4Q71 to a period of time slightly after the original Greek translation of

¹⁹ Cross states 200 BCE, “or slightly later.” Cf. idem, “The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran,” *JBL* 74, no. 3 (1955), 164; and idem, “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 308 note 8. Cross has also dated 4Q70 to the time range of 225-175 BCE in his last word on the matter in his student’s work. Cf. David Noel Freedman and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 55. James Davila in personal communication stated that one should always consider a generation before or after Cross’ palaeographical dating to be real possibilities, thus, the dating could have a range of 230-170 BCE.

²⁰ Cross simply placed 4Q70 in a group of Archaic Jewish formal hand, dating between 250-150 BCE. Perhaps this is the safest range to quote Cross’ estimation of the dating of 4Q70. Cf. idem, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East, Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 136 and 140.

²¹ This is only a possible inference. I could not reach Cross for personal comment on this matter.

²² Tov, “The Jeremiah Scrolls from Qumran,” *RQ* 54, no. 14 (1989), 191; and idem, “Three Fragments of Jeremiah from Qumran Cave 4,” *RQ* 60, no. 15 (1992), 531-32.

²³ Tov, DJD XV, 171-76, 203-05, and 207. For a broad range dating of 250-150 BCE, cf. Tov et al., *The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. Emanuel Tov et al.; DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 371. Hereafter, DJD XXXIX.

²⁴ Tov has questioned his decision to separate the three fragments 4Q71, 72a, and 72b in a later publication. He writes: “Are 4QJer^{b,d,e} indeed three manuscripts as was claimed in DJD XV...?” Cf. idem, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert – An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 140.

LXX Jeremiah,²⁵ this is to say, to the early Hasmonean period (roughly 160-110 BCE), based on paleographical dating.²⁶ Whatever the case, 4Q71 and LXX Jeremiah evidence a scribal milieu within a second century BCE timeframe (at least roughly speaking), which also indicates textual plurality for the book of Jeremiah and, thus, has proven to be controversial and thought provoking for modern biblical scholarship.

3. The *Status Quaestionis* in Textual Criticism of Jeremiah

John Gerald Janzen,²⁷ Franz D. Hubmann,²⁸ and Armin Lange,²⁹ have given concise *Forschungsberichte* which describe all subsequent scholarship since Johann Gottfried Eichhorn. Eichhorn perhaps was the first to posit two editions of the book of Jeremiah.³⁰ One was a post-587 BCE Babylonian edition³¹ that was a fuller or longer reworked³² corpus which was intended for the exiles in Babylon. The other was a short, private Palestinian (or Egyptian) edition that came from the prophet's memory and his gradual dictation to the scribe Baruch.³³ Both exemplars were given personally by Jeremiah, who even did his own redactional or editorial changes in the process of dictating this later, second copy of his book.³⁴ The second "edition" then came to make up the longer Babylonian version that was given non-Jeremianic additions (i.e. MT Jeremiah).³⁵ The

²⁵ Van der Kooij posits a time frame of the first half of the second century BCE (idem, "Zum Verhältnis," 199).

²⁶ Per private correspondence with Ada Yardeni.

²⁷ Idem, *Studies*, 1-9.

²⁸ Idem, "Bemerkungen zur älteren Diskussion um die Unterschiede zwischen MT und G im Jeremiabuch," in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"* (ed. Walter Groß and Dieter Böhler; BBB 98; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum 1995), 263–270.

²⁹ Lange, *Handbuch*, 304-14.

³⁰ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 217-22.

³¹ Eichhorn uses the term "exemplar" to describe these editions and not "recension" (ibid., 220-21).

³² Eichhorn states that Jeremiah used the earlier Palestinian edition to aid his memory and to correct or amplify sections of the text for the new audience of Babylonian exiles (ibid., 221).

³³ Ibid., 221-22.

³⁴ Ibid., 221. Eichhorn claims that the Palestinian exemplar of LXX Jeremiah began in the fifth year of Jehoiakim (ibid., 220), as opposed to the Babylonian edition that began after the exile had started in 587 BCE (ibid., 219).

³⁵ For Eichhorn, the actual prophet Jeremiah "published" MT Jer 1-45, only the foreign nation oracles and the appendix of chapter 52 were added or supplemented later to finish the final MT edition of the book (ibid., 220-21).

Palestinian Exemplar was supplemented later by expansions³⁶ and represents what became the LXX edition.³⁷ The idea of two editions of Jeremiah stemming from the prophet's own lifetime did not become popular in subsequent scholarship. However, Frank Cross and his student Janzen advocated similar theories of two Jeremiah editions with a slightly later divergence into their separate editorial traditions.³⁸

Over a century after Eichhorn's theory of two editions and before the publication of 4Q71, William F. Albright espoused Eichhorn's two text (recension)³⁹ theory for several biblical books.⁴⁰ Thus, he asserted the existence of another edition of Jeremiah reflected in the Septuagint. However, with the discovery of 4Q71, Cross felt justified in declaring that Qumran textual evidence supported a different text form reflected in LXX Jeremiah.⁴¹ Cross designated the text form of both LXX Jeremiah and 4Q71 as "a short, pristine form of the text" which "was not exposed to the intense scribal activity which produced the long Palestinian recension."⁴² He labeled LXX Jeremiah as distinct from the Palestinian exemplar, having "branched off very early from the Palestinian textual tradition, perhaps as early as the fifth, or even the sixth century B.C."⁴³ According to Cross, the Egyptian recension of LXX Jeremiah was isolated from heavy editorial or scribal work, being preserved "purely" from an origin close to the time of Jeremiah⁴⁴ by later Persian and Hellenistic, isolated, Jewish communities in Egypt.⁴⁵ Janzen,⁴⁶ likewise, posited that a divergence of two text forms of Jeremiah happened around 500 BCE, "or slightly later,"

³⁶ Ibid., 219-20.

³⁷ Ibid., 221.

³⁸ James Adcock, "Did Eichhorn Originate the Theory of Local Texts?" *ZAW* 125, no. 2 (2013), 305-6.

³⁹ Albright uses the term "recension," whereas Eichhorn used the term "Exemplar."

⁴⁰ William Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955), 28.

⁴¹ Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (2d ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1961), 187. Cross later writes with similar comments in his third edition. Cf. idem, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 137.

⁴² Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 309.

⁴³ Cross, "Evolution," 309.

⁴⁴ Cross states that the Egyptian Jewish community that received Jeremiah's pristine text, had preserved a copy which could have dated to "within a generation or two of Jeremiah's death" (ibid.).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Janzen, *Studies*, 128-31.

from which MT and LXX Jeremiah represent only “snapshots” in these editorial processes.⁴⁷ Eichhorn’s two edition theory of Jeremiah, thus, became modified by Cross and Janzen, with Janzen claiming that copies of Jeremiah had left the hands of the prophet and had split in their textual transmission centuries after Jeremiah’s lifetime. LXX and MT Jeremiah, thus, evidence the two recensions of Janzen’s hypothesized split.⁴⁸ As for chapter 10 of Jeremiah, Eichhorn stated that Jeremiah’s two editions contained different versions, with the Palestinian (or Egyptian) edition containing the shorter LXX text, and the Babylonian containing the full MT text of Jer 10:1-16.⁴⁹ Eichhorn gives no reason for the “natural reflection” of Jeremiah in 10:6-8 and 10 as the oracle’s speaker addresses Yahweh directly in hymn-like prayer.⁵⁰

Subsequent scholarship of Jeremiah left Eichhorn’s two edition theory and has argued for the priority of either the LXX or MT textual traditions within a mutual redactional transmission.⁵¹ The modern scholarly trend to prefer LXX priority began with Frank Karl Movers,⁵² who was followed by Anton von Scholz⁵³ and G. C. Workman.⁵⁴ Movers reacted to the abbreviation theory of Spohn⁵⁵ before him and defended the basic fidelity of the LXX translator(s) to the *Vorlage*. For Movers, LXX Jeremiah represents an older Hebrew text that MT expanded upon by means of many elaborations, especially doublets.⁵⁶ Scholz mainly reacted to the harsh criticism of the LXX translation by Karl Heinrich Graf,⁵⁷ and affirmed Movers’s position. Scholz expressed implicit trust in the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 132.

⁴⁸ Bernard Gosse, for example, posits more redactions (three stages) occurring in times which are implied to be subsequent to Janzen’s proposal. Cf. idem, “La rédaction massorétique du livre de Jérémie,” *Transeuphratène* 42 (2012), 141-170; and idem, “Trois étapes de la rédaction du livre de Jérémie,” *ZAW* 111 (1999), 508-529.

⁴⁹ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 198 and 217-21.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 198.

⁵¹ At least to some point of bifurcation within the mutual transmission lines.

⁵² Idem, *De utriusque recensionis Vaticinorum Ieremiae, graecae, alexandrinae et hebraicae masorethicae, indole et origine commentatio critica* (Hamburg: Fridericus Perthes, 1837).

⁵³ Idem, *Der Massorethische Text und die LXX-Uebersetzung des Buches Jeremias* (Regensburg: George Joseph Manz, 1875).

⁵⁴ George Coulson Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1889).

⁵⁵ M. Gottlieb Lebrecht Spohn, *Ieremias Vates e versione Iudaeorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpretum graecorum emendatus notisque criticis illustrates* (vol. 1; Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1794).

⁵⁶ Janzen, *Studies*, 3.

⁵⁷ Idem, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1862).

typical literalness of LXX Jeremiah's translation technique and in his ability to reconstruct the Hebrew of the LXX *Vorlage*.⁵⁸ He also maintained that LXX Jeremiah did not have a motive to delete or shorten his *Vorlage*, but wished to preserve its message, so that MT must represent an expanded text form.⁵⁹ Similarly, George Coulson Workman⁶⁰ advocated LXX priority and may be considered an extreme articulation of the view of Movers. Workman reconstructed much at variance from MT, and made no allowances for issues of translation technique when assuming retroversions from the LXX *Vorlage*. Following Workman, Annesley William Streane⁶¹ attempted to represent a more moderate approach towards LXX Jeremiah's rendition patterns and their retroversions.

Scholars advocating essentially Movers' position after 4Q71's discovery are Emanuel Tov, Pierre Maurice Bogaert,⁶² Adrian Schenker,⁶³ Yohanan Goldman,⁶⁴ and Hermann-Josef Stipp.⁶⁵ Tov represents the most prolific scholar, in recent times, to attempt a theory of two editions⁶⁶ of Jeremiah in both the LXX and MT recensions respectively.⁶⁷ He asserted that the Qumran fragments of 4Q71 and 72a demonstrated compelling evidence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* for the literary stratum of "Edition 1" of LXX Jeremiah,⁶⁸ which represents an earlier version that later MT reworked expansively. In Tov's full articulation of this proposal,⁶⁹ LXX 10:1-18 becomes a primary example of the differences

⁵⁸ Janzen, *Studies*, 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁰ *Idem*, *The Text of Jeremiah* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1889).

⁶¹ *Idem*, *The Double Text of Jeremiah (Massoretic and Alexandrian Compared) Together with an Appendix of the Old Latin Evidence* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell and Company, 1896).

⁶² *Idem*, "De Baruch à Jérémie les Deux Rédactions conservées du Livre de Jérémie," in *Le Livre de Jérémie* (ed. P. M. Bogaert; BETL 54; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 168-73.

⁶³ *Idem*, *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel* (FRLANT 212; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

⁶⁴ *Idem*, *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil: Les origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie* (OBO 118; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

⁶⁵ *Idem*, MASJ.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, GHB, 363-384. Gosse suggests three Deuteronomistic rewritings of Jeremiah, so as to go beyond Tov's two editions (*idem*, "Trois étapes.").

⁶⁷ E.g. Tov, "Exegetical Notes on the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX of Jeremiah 27 (34)," ZAW 91 (1979), 73-93; and *idem*, GHB, 315-331. Tov was not the first scholar to propose a two edition theory of LXX and MT Jeremiah. E.g. cf. Workman, *Text*.

⁶⁸ Tov, GHB, 317 and 363-64.

⁶⁹ Tov, GHB, 363-84; and *idem*, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of its Textual History," in *Empirical Models of Biblical Criticism* (ed. Jeffrey H. Tigay. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 211-37.

between both literary editions of MT and LXX.⁷⁰ The greatest advantage of Tov's theory, perhaps, lies in its ability to portray LXX Jeremiah as a more faithful translator of the source text,⁷¹ without the need to posit abandonment from his normal habit of literal rendition.

The "Abbreviation" theory claims that LXX Jeremiah shortened or abbreviated its *Vorlage* text for various possible reasons. St. Jerome first proposed this position⁷² and it was given its modern argument by Joanne Ernesto Grabe.⁷³ Both Jerome and Grabe posited a shortening in the scribal tradition behind LXX Jeremiah, though scholars subsequently often placed blame on the translator(s)' *Tendenz*.⁷⁴ K. H. Graf, for example, declared LXX Jeremiah to be an arbitrary and distorted adaptation of MT for a Hellenized readership.⁷⁵ Graf denounced the character and worth of LXX's faithfulness to the text.⁷⁶ He inspired much reaction to his extreme view, and he may be said to represent a very negative view of the LXX translator(s).⁷⁷ In more recent times, scholars who claim that LXX Jeremiah represents an abbreviation of MT include: Arie van der Kooij,⁷⁸ Georg

⁷⁰ Tov, GHB, 382-383.

⁷¹ Tov notes that some MT material not found in LXX Jeremiah could be very old and pertain to the original prophetic material (idem, GHB, 365-84).

⁷² Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 172.

⁷³ As cited and critiqued by Eichhorn (ibid., 171-89). Also cf. Sven K. Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah* (JSOTSS 47; Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, University of Sheffield, 1985), 11.

⁷⁴ Soderlund gives the examples of J. Wichelhaus, K. H. Graf, C. F. Keil, and C. von Orelli (idem, *Greek Text*, 11).

⁷⁵ Idem, *Jeremia*, lvi.

⁷⁶ Janzen, *Studies*, 3-4.

⁷⁷ Graf, *Jeremia*, lvi.

⁷⁸ Idem, "Jeremiah 27:5-15: How do MT and LXX Relate to Each Other?" *JNSL* 20/1 (1994): 59-78; and idem, "Zum Verhältnis," 185-202. Van der Kooij has recently proposed that LXX Jeremiah possibly represents "a rewritten form of the book." Cf. idem, "Preservation and Promulgation: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Nórá David, Armin Lange, Kristin De Troyer, and Shani Tzoref; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 39. Elsewhere, Van der Kooij describes the proto-MT text of 4Q70 as the "official" or "temple" edition of the book of Jeremiah. Cf. idem, "Standardization or Preservation? Some Comments on the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Josephus and Rabbinic Literature," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible: From the Rabbis to the Masoretes* (ed. Elvira Martín-Contreras and Lorena Miralles-Maci; JAJS 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 71.

Fischer,⁷⁹ Andreas Vonach,⁸⁰ and Jack R. Lundbom.⁸¹ These scholars would lay much blame on the LXX Jeremiah's translator(s) for its divergence from MT, but would allow for the *Vorlage* to have possessed variation possibly.⁸² For example, Lundbom asserts that the great majority of the LXX minuses are due to haplography, or lacunae caused by parablepsis in both the Hebrew and Greek text transmission.⁸³ However, many scholars are not convinced that haplography can explain most of the LXX omissions.⁸⁴ The "Abbreviation" theory possesses greater antiquity and past popularity in comparison to the LXX priority theory, although it has lost favor in recent times in the wake of 4Q71.

There also exists a mediating "eclectic" position between the "extremes" of LXX abbreviation and that of MT expansion among many Jeremiah commentaries, perhaps beginning with Wilhelm Martin de Wette in 1807.⁸⁵ The most influential of modern scholars to first give careful argumentation for such a compromising perspective was Ferdinand Hitzig.⁸⁶ After Hitzig, F. Giesebrecht⁸⁷ attempted to articulate the rationale for a middle position using a method similar to Graf in doing a careful analysis of the translation technique of LXX Jeremiah.⁸⁸ Other scholars who have taken an "eclectic" text-critical method include Bernhard Duhm,⁸⁹ D. Paul Volz,⁹⁰ Wilhelm Rudolph,⁹¹ John Bright,⁹²

⁷⁹ Idem, *Jeremia: Der Stand der Theologischen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007).

⁸⁰ Idem, "Jer 10, 1-10: Crux Interpretum für die kürzere LXX-Version?," in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Olivier Munnich; OBO 238; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 204-16.

⁸¹ Idem, *Jeremiah 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21A; New York: Doubleday, 1999); idem, *Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21B; New York: Doubleday, 2001); and idem, *Jeremiah 37–52*.

⁸² An exception would be Fischer who lays all textual divergences at the hands of LXX Jeremiah's translator. E.g. cf. idem, *Der Prophet wie Mose: Studien zum Jeremiabuch* (ed. Eckart Otto; BZABR 15; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 64-72.

⁸³ Idem, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 885-87; and idem, *Jeremiah 37-52*, 549-63.

⁸⁴ See the many reviews of Lundbom's commentaries.

⁸⁵ Janzen, *Studies*, 89.

⁸⁶ Idem, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866).

⁸⁷ Idem, *Das Buch Jeremia und die Klagelieder Jeremia* (2d ed.; HAT III: 2/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV-XL.

⁸⁹ Idem, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KEHAT 11; Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901).

⁹⁰ Idem, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (2d ed.; KAT 10; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1983).

⁹¹ Idem, *Jeremia* (3d ed.; HAT 1/12; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1968).

⁹² Idem, *Jeremiah* (2d ed.; AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965).

William L. Holladay,⁹³ William McKane,⁹⁴ Robert P. Carroll,⁹⁵ and other recent commentators.

I shall employ a reasoned “eclectic” textual critical method to the two text forms of Jeremiah,⁹⁶ which is intertwined with literary criticism, so as “to apply both approaches simultaneously and in interaction with each other.”⁹⁷ My methodology will be a simultaneous marriage of redactional, literary,⁹⁸ and form critical methods to the traditional tools of textual criticism for defining Jeremiah’s original text (e.g. Richard Weis).⁹⁹ Normally, every textual decision needs to take into consideration that the solution offered for the earliest textual reading should be one from which all existing variants might be explained. However, this rule is not that helpful for Jeremiah’s text forms due to the fact that the differences between MT and LXX or 4Q71 go beyond the realm of textual variants and include scribal processes such as shortening, expanding, and even re-organization. In my text critical method, therefore, I shall emphasize the context of LXX 10:1-18¹⁰⁰ due to its prominence in modern scholarly discussion since 4Q71’s discovery.¹⁰¹ Although the assumed retroverted *Vorlage* text of LXX 10:1-18 (hereafter, HRLXXJ) and 4Q71 are

⁹³ Idem, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1986); and idem, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1989).

⁹⁴ Idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah I–XXV* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986); and idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah XXVI–LII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark: 1996).

⁹⁵ Idem, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1986).

⁹⁶ Retroversions from LXX Jeremiah to its *Vorlage* must be used with great caution (cf. chapter III).

⁹⁷ Arie van der Kooij, “The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible Before and After the Qumran Discoveries,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 172; and idem, “Zum Verhältnis,” 200-02.

⁹⁸ Tov also advocates the marriage of textual criticism with literary criticism, especially in the case of Jeremiah. Cf. idem, *The Text–Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1997), 240-44. Hermann-Josef Stipp notes the difficulty of distinguishing between textual criticism and literary criticism, especially in Jeremiah, but he attempts to establish some guidelines. E.g. cf. idem, SZJ, 11-54, especially 32-33.

⁹⁹ Idem, “The Textual Situation in the Book of Jeremiah,” in *Sofer Mahir: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker* (ed. Yohanan A. P. Goldman, Arie van der Kooij, and Richard D. Weis; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 269–93.

¹⁰⁰ Vonach notes that Jer 10 possesses a *Crux Interpretum* for the book’s textual criticism (idem, “Jer 10, 1-10,” 204).

¹⁰¹ E.g. Tov, GHB, 363-64.

possible witnesses to a parent text form which developed into the structure of MT Jer 10:1-18, I shall attempt to argue the opposite, namely, that a reworked proto-MT text form became the basis of the text forms of both LXX Jer 10:1-18 and that of 4Q71.

4. Manner of Argumentation with Comparison to Current Approaches

4.1. An Outline for a Method of Argumentation

I shall demonstrate that LXX 10:4-16's lack of strophic parallels and contrastive themes can be found originally in MT 10:6-16. Genre elements not found in the text of LXX 10:1-18 are essential components to the associated motifs within the hymnic units of MT 10:4-16. Since the *Leitmotif* (or theme) of holy war permeates the entire pericope of MT Jer 10:1-18,¹⁰² one must interpret the structure of 10:4-16 as a hymnic vow or promise of Yahweh's victory¹⁰³ over idolaters. Thus, one could describe MT 10:4-16 as something similar to Gunkel's "eschatological hymn,"¹⁰⁴ although it contains a mixture of similar formal elements to hymns like those of Ps 65,¹⁰⁵ 135,¹⁰⁶ and Ex 15:1-18.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² For the genre motifs of holy war, cf. Gerhard Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (trans. Marva J. Dawn and John H. Yoder; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996). For analysis of the forms of the call to flee and the call to fight, cf. Robert Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch* (ed. Gunther Bornkamm and Gerhard Von Rad; WMANT 9; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962); and John MacLennan Berridge, *Prophet, People, and the Word of Yahweh: An Examination of Form and Content in the Proclamation of the Prophet Jeremiah* (BST 4; Zurich: EVZ-Verlag, 1970), 94-5.

¹⁰³ For the classical forms of the victory song (or hymn), cf. Judg 5:3-5 and Ex 15:1-18.

¹⁰⁴ Hermann Gunkel, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (ed. Joachim Begrich; trans. James D. Nogalski; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 54-55. However, Gunkel notes that elements of an eschatological hymn are similar to those of a "victory song" (*ibid.*, 57).

¹⁰⁵ Frank Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* (WMANT 32; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 201-02 and 286-94.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 126-31.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 19-24, 125, 206-08, etc.

Thematic associations observable in other “victory” hymnic songs (e.g. Ex 15:1-18;¹⁰⁸ Ps 68;¹⁰⁹ and Hab 3¹¹⁰) indicate that MT Jer 10:4-16’s hymn contains similar motifs of Yahweh’s theophanic victory as a structural element of promise¹¹¹ for Israel’s future¹¹² within a larger war oracle structure of vv. 10:1-18. To be specific, MT 10:7a indicates the future appearance of the “King of the Nations” (מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם), who then comes in retribution for Zion finally in MT 51:14-24.¹¹³ The indictment of Yahweh against Zion focuses on a theophany description (MT Jer 10:10-13),¹¹⁴ inspired from the Sinai tradition¹¹⁵ and clothed in the garb of ancient mythic¹¹⁶ or creation elements.¹¹⁷ MT 10:12-13 also betrays, in its wet weather imagery, a contextual concern for a lack of rain during periods of drought¹¹⁸ (e.g. cf. the water descriptions of MT Jer 10:13; Hab 3:9-10, 15; Ps 65:9-12; and 68:10). Such associated motifs or themes listed above would favor the supposition that MT 10:4-10’s material is original or, at least, comprises earlier complements to LXX 10:11-16 as a poetic unit. It is also striking that LXX 10:1-18 lacks common concepts like the kingship of Yahweh (MT 10:7a and 10אγ)¹¹⁹ and the absence of

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 206-08.

¹⁰⁹ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations* (FOTL XV; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 537.

¹¹⁰ E.g. cf. Theodore Hiebert, *God of My Victory: The Ancient Hymn in Habakkuk 3* (HSM 38; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholar’s Press, 1986).

¹¹¹ Edgar W. Conrad, *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of ‘al tira’ Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures* (BJS 75; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 15, 40, 45, and 168.

¹¹² Von Rad notes that holy war gave surety of certain victory to Israel (idem, *Holy*, 44).

¹¹³ This is to say, MT Jer 10:4-16 presents a promise of the nations’ King to come and He, then, finally comes victoriously in MT 51:14-24.

¹¹⁴ Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (2d ed.; WMANT 10; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 19-21, 24, and 66-7; and Helga Weippert, *Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde, Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Jeremiabuches* (ed. Helmut Merklein and Erich Zenger; SBS 102; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 30.

¹¹⁵ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 156-57.

¹¹⁶ Frank Moore Cross Jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 147-94; Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); and John Gray, “The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms,” *VT* 11, no. 1 (1961), 20.

¹¹⁷ Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 30.

¹¹⁸ H. A. J. Kruger, “Ideology and Natural Disaster: A Context for Jeremiah 10:1-16,” *OTE* 6, no. 3 (1993), 367-383.

¹¹⁹ Miller, *Divine*, 174.

the sound (קול)¹²⁰ of thunder (MT 10:13a) to complete the storm theophany language¹²¹ of MT 10:12-13. LXX 10:1-18 is, thereby, wanting an adequate theophanic description of Yahweh's coming, which is felt most acutely in its lack of MT 10:10, so that the LXX poetic structure has little (e.g. vv. 11 and 15b), if any, connection to the holy war tradition of the "Day of Yahweh."¹²² LXX 10:1-18, thus, lacks an adequate theophanic description of Yahweh's coming against the nations or idolaters (only in MT 10:10), which is a crucial thematic element of the pericope and of the prophetic vision of the "Day of Yahweh" motif (e.g. Isa 2:12-22) from the Israelite "holy wars" tradition.¹²³

LXX Jer 10:12-16's creation motif naturally accompanies sapiential material lacking in LXX 10:4-11 (e.g. MT 10:6-8), since wisdom is "the self revelation of creation,"¹²⁴ besides contextual preoccupations with wisdom in Jer 8-10.¹²⁵ Thus, one expects the sapiential hymnic elements of MT 10:6-10 to counterbalance the idol polemics (*Götzenpolemik*) of LXX 10:3-5, 9, and 11-16, since they represent rational argumentation in other wisdom material,¹²⁶ especially those which resemble motifs of Deuteronomy.¹²⁷ MT 10:6-10 alone forcefully articulates the fact that the "Creator offers the only possibility for creation"¹²⁸ (e.g. 10:10). The hymnic elements of LXX 10:12-16 would better suit a

¹²⁰ The difficult syntax of MT 10:13a's text with קול is confirmed by 4Q70's reconstructed manuscript reading (Tov, DJD XV, 158).

¹²¹ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89.

¹²² Gerhard Von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh," *JSS* 4 (1959), 97-108.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Roland E. Murphy, "Wisdom and Creation," *JBL* 104, no. 1 (1985), 9. Murphy references the words and thought of Von Rad.

¹²⁵ Gerlinde Baumann, "Jeremia, die Weisen und die Weisheit," *ZAW* 114, no. 1 (2002), 59-79.

¹²⁶ Gerhard Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. James D. Martin; London: SCM Press, 1972), 177-85.

¹²⁷ E.g. Deut 33:26 mirrored in MT Jer 10:6-7 and Deut 32:31 echoed in MT Jer 10:16. Artur Weiser simply describes MT 10:1-16 as "liturgical speech" developed from Deuteronomistic *Heilgeschichte* oral exhortation. Cf. *idem*, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1961), 67.

¹²⁸ Walter Brueggemann, *Like Fire in the Bones: Listening for the Prophetic Word in Jeremiah* (ed. Patrick D. Miller; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2006), 55.

prior context with MT 10:6-10's antithetical strophes.¹²⁹ The subgenre¹³⁰ of a *Götzenpolemik* would expect statements of the incomparability of Yahweh (MT 10:6-7)¹³¹ and wisdom motifs (MT 10:6-8 and 10), both of which demonstrate their original literary genre's matrix.¹³²

Besides the above mentioned themes found lacking in LXX 10:1-10, perhaps the strongest argument for the priority of MT 10:1-18 over that of LXX 10:1-18 may be found in the more elaborate and intricate poetic structure¹³³ only observable fully in the intricate antithetical parallelism of MT 10:4-16.¹³⁴ Likewise, MT 10:4-16 displays in full form the thematic elements corresponding to some Psalms (e.g. Ps 115¹³⁵ and 135¹³⁶), as well as containing a mixture of formal hymnic genre components (e.g. cf. Ps 65¹³⁷ and 135¹³⁸). Similar motifs (or poetic imagery) found in other warfare hymns (e.g. Ex 15:1-18; Ps 68;

¹²⁹ For a careful hymnic structure that represents the contrast, cf. Karin Finsterbusch, "Gegen die Furcht vor den Göttern der Welt: Eine Art 'Psalm' Jeremias für Israel in MT-Jer 10, 1-16," in *Ich will dir danken unter den Völkern (Ps 57,10), Festschrift für Bernd Janowski* (ed. Alexandra Grund, Annette Krüger, and Florian Lippke; SIAG; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 356-72. Frank Crüsemann states that the two forms of the participial hymn and of a *Götzenpolemik* genre combine in Jer 10:16d's refrain (idem, *Studien*, 111-14).

¹³⁰ Horst Dietrich Preuß states that idol polemics like that of MT Jer 10:4-16 are not independent genres, but serve to complement other genres, as a subgenre. Cf. idem, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT 92; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971), 269.

¹³¹ C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (POE 5; Leiden, Brill, 1966), 73-74.

¹³² Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 177-89; and Leo G. Perdue, *The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 149.

¹³³ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 22.

¹³⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 336; and Jože Krašovec, *Antithetic Structure in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (SVT 35; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 76-85.

¹³⁵ Scholars debate whether the Psalms should be categorized into genres (or literary types) by their thematic elements or by strictly formal or linguistic characteristics. I shall incorporate analyses that incorporate either critical approach (or both, as in Gunkel).

¹³⁶ Robert Davidson, "Jeremiah X: 1-16," *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions XXV* (1976), 53.

¹³⁷ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 201-02 and 286-94.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 126-31.

and Hab 3¹³⁹) suggest that MT Jer 10:1-18 possesses a “victory”¹⁴⁰ battle hymn to Yahweh which functions as a victory promise¹⁴¹ within its war oracle’s context. Like the statements of MT 10:6-7 and 16, the doublet hymn of MT 51:15-19¹⁴² (almost identical to 10:12-16) confirms “the incomparability of Yahweh.”¹⁴³ Thus, one has confirmation from the second usage of MT 10:12-16 in MT 51:15-19 for the parallel usage of 10:4-16’s hymn to announce a promise of Yahweh’s future victory against idolatry and idolatrous humanity.

Although Jeremiah incorporates and mixes genres freely,¹⁴⁴ one sees enough material in LXX 10:11-16 to establish the need for its lacking motifs found only in MT 10:1-18. I shall consult form critical studies of hymns so as to establish that the more original text structure of MT 10:4-16 was truncated secondarily in LXX 10. I shall observe that MT 10:4-16’s hymn has greater thematic similarity to other victorious battle hymns (e.g. Ex 15:1-18¹⁴⁵ and Hab 3).¹⁴⁶ Thus, given the context of 10:4-16’s hymn, MT 10:11’s Aramaic content gives every indication of being a war taunt spoken against Israel in

¹³⁹ E.g. MT Jer 10:10’s title links directly to Ex 15:18 and Ps 29:10. Jer 10:10’s **יְהוָה** links to Hab 3:12.

Likewise, Jer 10:10’s **רַעַשׁ** links to Ps 68:9 and Judg 5:4.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Gunkel labels portions of Ps 68 as a “victory song” (ibid., 57), but describes the Psalm as an “eschatological” hymn (ibid., 55). Thus, the labels are artificial and only serve to describe aspects of the hymnic content or themes. There is a definite “victory” ideal or motif in the overthrow of Babylon envisioned in MT Jer 51:14-24, whose doublet of 51:15-19 intentionally recalls the message and context of MT 10:1-18 (i.e. 10:12-16). I use the description of “victory” because there is debate on what exactly constitutes a “victory song” or *Siegelied* (Crüsemann, *Studien*, 206-08). I would rather label MT 10:4-16’s poetry an “eschatological” hymn, but this carries with it Gunkel’s *Sitz im Leben* notions, which are debated and I would not endorse either (Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44).

¹⁴¹ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 15, 40, 45, and 168 note 13.

¹⁴² Martin Kessler, *Battle of the Gods: The God of Israel Versus Marduk of Babylon: A Literary/Theological Interpretation of Jeremiah 50–51* (SSN; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 112-15. Kessler identifies the doublet of MT 51:15-19 as a doxology which describes “YHWH’s emphatic assurance of victory” which praises Yahweh as “warrior” (ibid., 112-13). Macchi notes the same context of judgment for idolatry in both 10:12-16 and 51:15-19. Cf. Jean-Daniel Macchi, “Les Doublets Dans Le Livre De Jérémie,” in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception* (ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer; BETL 128; Leuven-Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 138. Macchi’s conclusions are confirmed by the survey of Goldman of the MT Jeremiah doublets (Goldman, *Prophétie*, 53). Hill thinks the doublet was intended to recall the same context of MT 10:12-16. Cf. John Hill, *Friend or Foe? The Figure of Babylon in the Book of Jeremiah MT* (BIS 40; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 175-76.

¹⁴³ Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases* (SBLMS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 180.

¹⁴⁴ Berridge, *Prophet*, 211; and Kessler, *Battle*, 37-52.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. cf. Frank M. Cross, Jr. and David Noel Freedman, “The Song of Miriam,” *JNES* 14, no. 4 (1955), 237-250; and Gunkel, *Introduction*, 22.

¹⁴⁶ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 22.

judgment for her idolatry.¹⁴⁷ My interpretation of verse 10:11 finds confirmation in MT 51:15-19's doublet, which follows a divine vow¹⁴⁸ of military victory over and against Babylon's idolatry (MT 51:14). I shall also propose that Jer 10:11 demonstrates a key hinge for the interpretation of the entire pericope of 10:1-18, since its structure reflects a derived interpretation of the proto-MT form of 10:1-18, which was probably intended to be implied by HRLXXJ's redactional and transmissional changes reflected in LXX 10:1-18's structure.

There is good reason to perceive redaction in LXX 10:1-11 motivated by interpretation which is not present in the full text of MT 10:1-11. HRLXXJ¹⁴⁹ altered the aspect of the direct address to Yahweh (MT 10:6-7) from MT 10:4-16's hymn's comparison and contrast with idols to an overtly corporate exilic community's denunciation of idols (or their spirits)¹⁵⁰ in LXX 10:1-16. The concise construal of LXX 10:2-11's pericope and more argumentative tone must have been motivated by a certain type of midrashic interpretation of verse 10:11's Aramaic. A polemical exegesis derived from MT 10:11 manifests itself in the Second Temple Period Judaism's literature¹⁵¹ of the Epistle of Jeremiah and 1 Baruch,¹⁵² as well as in the tradition of Targum of Jonathan on Jer 10:11-16.¹⁵³ Targum Jonathan's interpretation has full expression in the commentary of

¹⁴⁷ Meshullam Margalioth describes 10:11 as a "theologoumenon" with a "polemical" tone. Cf. idem, "Jeremiah 10:1-16: A Re-examination," *VT* 30, no. 3 (1980), 303.

¹⁴⁸ Or MT 51:14 is a "divine oath" (Kessler, *Battle*, 112). For similar interpretations, also cf. Fischer, *Jeremia* 26-52, 606; and Lundbom, *Jeremiah* 37-52, 448.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. chapter III's analysis for the distinction between LXX Jeremiah's translation and HRLXXJ.

¹⁵⁰ There exists the very real possibility that LXX 10:11 interpreted the Aramaic as a magical incantation against demons or evil spirits, which is an idea original to Duhm (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

¹⁵¹ Carey A. Moore dates the "Epistle of Jeremiah" to the "late fourth century B.C." Cf. idem, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Double Day & Company Inc, 1977), 327-28.

¹⁵² Since verse 10:11 was written in Aramaic and seemed to address an issue that was prevalent in Babylon (idolatry), it gave interpreters sufficient reason to explain 10:11 as a command to speak against idolatry in Babylon. Thus, Jewish scribes and teachers presented 10:11 as a letter (or remnant of a letter) that was written to Babylonian exiles threatened with Babylonian idolatry. This interpretation is made clear in the Aramaic translation of Targum Jonathan of 10:11. Cf. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), III:160. The Epistle of Jeremiah was influenced directly and unmistakably by the Aramaic verse of 10:11, the entire letter being an exercise in reiterating the arguments of Jer 10:1-16 (Moore, *Daniel*, 326).

¹⁵³ Sperber, *Bible*, III:160-61.

Rashi and Kimhi.¹⁵⁴ HRLXXJ and 4Q71, at least in their logical framework and flow of thought, give overt emphasis to LXX 10:11 as a type of epistolary communication to the Jewish diaspora.¹⁵⁵ An exilic epistolary context bears witness to an idea noticeably derived from exegesis (or midrash) and does not seem native or intrinsic to the sense of MT 10:1-18, as I shall argue in chapter II. Thus, it is manifestly easier to explain HRLXXJ's deletion and the altered directive of 10:11's content within an exilic context than it is to posit MT additions or redactional layers during the Second Temple Period. Such is the nature of the case especially in the second century BCE, which seems to be approximately the time frame for the composition and transmission of both LXX Jeremiah and 4Q71 (cf. section 2 of chapter I).

4.2. Argumentation against Current Redactional Theories for MT Jer 10:1-18

For scholars such as Tov¹⁵⁶ and Bogaert,¹⁵⁷ Jer 10:1-18 presents a MT pericope unique in its theological motivations from that which might be discerned in other MT redactional accretions or textual differences. Janzen,¹⁵⁸ Goldman,¹⁵⁹ Stipp,¹⁶⁰ and Tov¹⁶¹ all posit that much of the MT plus material predominantly repeats or clarifies already existing content in the form of *Wiederaufnahme*. This is to say, MT pluses, as *Wiederaufnahme*,

¹⁵⁴ A. J. Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume One, A New English translation* (Miqraot Gedalot Series; New York: The Judaica Press, 1985), 93-94.

¹⁵⁵ Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography* (ed. Jörg Frey et al.; WUNT 298; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 154-60 and 190-94.

¹⁵⁶ Tov, GHB, 382.

¹⁵⁷ P. M. Bogaert, "Les Mécanismes Rédactionnels en Jér 10, 1-16 (LXX et TM) et La Signification des Suppléments," in *Le Livre de Jérémie* (ed. P. M. Bogaert; BETL 54; Leuven-Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 222-38.

¹⁵⁸ Idem, *Studies*, 68.

¹⁵⁹ Goldman, *Prophétie*. Goldman attempts to defend a thematic redaction of MT Jeremiah from the MT plus material of MT 25, 27, 29, and 33, which he supposes occurred at the time of Zerubbabel.

¹⁶⁰ Stipp attempts to establish idiolect redactional evidence from several editors who worked on MT Jer alone (idem, MASJ, 92-144). Later, Stipp has described an MT redactional inclination which underlines Yahweh's sovereign control of history and over his people in MT 10:16 and 51:19. Cf. idem, "Gottesbildfragen in den Lesartendifferenzen zwischen dem masoretischen und dem alexandrinischen Text des Jeremiabuches," in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint* (ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp; VTSS 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 247-248; 269-70; and SZJ, 209-10 and 231-33.

¹⁶¹ E.g. Tov, GHB, 381-82.

essentially rehearse material already existing elsewhere in the book, or, in this case, content which exists in both LXX and MT Jeremiah. Yet, such a description of MT pluses does not adequately describe the textual differences between LXX and MT 10:1-18 due to the nature of the complexity of the changes in this pericope.

The most elaborate attempt to explain the textual differences between LXX and MT Jer 10:1-18 has been developed by Bogaert,¹⁶² although others have followed some of his arguments.¹⁶³ Bogaert claims that a simple redactional process may be discerned within MT 10:9's additional wording,¹⁶⁴ as well as verse 10:9's placement (with that of 10:8) within a doxological alteration accompanied with the additions of vv. 6-7 and 10.¹⁶⁵ For Bogaert, three redactional motivations may be discerned in MT Jer 10's modifications (or additions), which include a polemic against the wise of the nations, the universal kingship of Yahweh, and a priestly orientation.¹⁶⁶ Bogaert maintains that these scribal inclinations are evident throughout the book,¹⁶⁷ although he admits that one pericope cannot bear the entirety of evidence for scribal motivations within a book.¹⁶⁸ Yet, one may note that the first supposed redactional motivation is also evident in LXX 10:14-15¹⁶⁹ (parallel to MT

¹⁶² Bogaert, "Mécanismes."

¹⁶³ Christian-Bernard Amphoux, Mathilde Aussedat, and Arnaud Sérandour have endorsed Bogaert's redactional explanations with emphasis on the sacerdotal or priestly legitimacy or rule. Cf. idem, "Jr 10, 1-10: les enjeux des deux forms," in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Olivier Munnich; OBO 238; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 192-203.

¹⁶⁴ Bogaert, "Mécanismes," 226-27.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 228-29.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 233-37.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 233.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 237.

¹⁶⁹ Parallel in content to MT 10:14-15.

10:14-15) and Bogaert attempts to bolster his argument with a different reconstruction¹⁷⁰ of the LXX *Vorlage* than that of DJD¹⁷¹ for 4Q71, incorporating Patristic citation support.¹⁷²

The LXX textual evidence negates Bogaert's proposal of Yahweh's universal kingship as one of the book's scribal tendencies, which contains the same theme of divine international kingship (e.g. LXX 28:57). Likewise, the MT plus of שְׁבַט נְחֻלְתּוֹ in 10:16c also does not support such a scribal motivation, in which one sees Yahweh's possession of all peoples narrowed down to that of Israel alone. Bogaert's redactional process of MT's polemic against pagan wisdom seems to miss the obvious fact that the context of LXX Jer 8-10 (like MT) contains the same textual evidence of a wisdom critique against Israel herself.¹⁷³ Furthermore, other Jeremiah texts common to both MT and LXX also possess identical international wisdom themes.¹⁷⁴ The sacerdotal scribal tendency, subsequently articulated by Amphoux,¹⁷⁵ is also negated by 10:16c's "pluses"¹⁷⁶ and by its heavy reliance on other MT pluses (e.g. MT 33:14-26), so as then to have any real argumentative substance.

¹⁷⁰ Bogaert, "Mécanismes," 230.

¹⁷¹ Tov, DJD XV, 176.

¹⁷² Bogaert uses primarily a long sermon quotation of St. Augustine (and others) to modify LXX Jer 10's wording in part. Cf. idem, "De la *vetus latina* à l'hébreu pré-massorétique en passant par la plus ancienne Septante: le livre de Jérémie, exemple privilégié," *RTL* 44 (2013), 230-37. The most pertinent variation offered by Bogaert's Greek reconstruction of LXX Jer 10:2-9/5 is the removal of ἀργύριον προσβλητὸν from LXX 10:9 (ibid., 235-36), but this is not supported by the Greek witnesses. I shall discuss a little more Bogaert's textual variations in my analysis of the Greek text in chapter III, although it is difficult to take any of Bogaert's emendations for LXX Jer 10:2-9/5 seriously, due to a lack of Greek manuscript support. The Old Latin text of Petrus Sabatier follows the shorter text form structure of LXX for the most part. Cf. idem, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae* (Florence: Remis apud Reginaldum Florentain, 1743), 662-64. However, it is interesting to note the rendition of merely *quia confixibilia sunt* for LXX 10:5a's longer clausal material of ἀργύριον τορευτὸν ἐστὶν οὐ πορεύονται (ibid., II:663).

¹⁷³ Baumann, "Jeremia."

¹⁷⁴ Bogaert even admits this point (idem, "Mécanismes," 233-34).

¹⁷⁵ Christian-Bernard Amphoux argues from MT 10:1-16 and from other MT plus material for a MT redactional proclivity to emphasize sacerdotal or priestly concerns connected to the Hasmoneans. Cf. idem, "Les réécritures du livre de Jérémie (LXX)," in *Écritures et réécritures. La reprise interprétative des traditions fondatrices par la littérature biblique et extra-biblique* (ed. Claire Clivaz et al.; BETL 248; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 218-19 and 221-25.

¹⁷⁶ Bogaert himself notes that the MT plus of שְׁבַט נְחֻלְתּוֹ in 10:16c would not necessarily claim special privilege for the Levites over other tribes (idem, "Mécanismes," 232).

In short, the primary problem with Bogaert's artifice of redactional processes in MT 10 is that it assumes a MT scribal work done on one occasion to the entirety of the LXX *Vorlage*, but then begs this very question when he appeals to other MT textual evidence elsewhere for confirmation of this proposed scribal motivation. Furthermore, what is the evidence that LXX Jeremiah simply represents the rough draft for the textual production of MT? More nuanced approaches, such as that of Stipp's idiolect proposal¹⁷⁷ would make better argumentation for LXX priority over that of MT Jeremiah.

Bogaert's proposal of scribal considerations and logical steps of build-up to create MT Jer 10 sounds convincing, yet it does not adequately explain how MT 10:9's verse ever became separated from LXX 10:5's natural context of idol description, which Bogaert admits is clearer in its logical order.¹⁷⁸ Bogaert's explanation for redactional rearrangement does not treat the logical jump from MT 10:9 to either v. 10 or v. 11, as demanded by the logic of his MT redactional process.¹⁷⁹ Bogaert also does not attempt an argument for the original reference of לְהִוָּדֵם in MT 10:11a, since LXX 10's general description of idols in the order of 10:3-5a-9-5b would indicate a command for Israel to speak against metallic religious objects in v. 11.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the reverse process of Bogaert's redactional steps may be argued with greater weight. This is to say, the insertion of LXX 10:9 into LXX 10:5 is a more natural redactional choice than the complicated insertion of LXX 10:9 into MT 10:5-11. I shall present HRLXXJ's redactional process or logical procedure in chapter III's analysis.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Stipp, MASJ; and idem, "Linguistic Peculiarities of the Masoretic Edition of the Book of Jeremiah: An Updated Index," *JNSL* 23, no. 2 (1997), 181–202.

¹⁷⁸ Bogaert, "Mécanismes," 229.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 228-29.

¹⁸⁰ It may well be the case that LXX 10:11 interpreted the Aramaic as a magical incantation against demons or evil spirits, which is an idea original to Duhm (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

¹⁸¹ There are many reasons to see later redactional alterations in LXX 10:1-18, which give emphasis to verse 10:11 in its structural placement of v. 9 within that of v. 5, along with the necessary deletions of vv. 6-8 and 10. Perhaps two very important redactional motivations for HRLXXJ were 1) to link LXX 10:5a with 10:9a's metallic silver imagery and connect a common thematic subject together, and 2) to allow for a smoother flow of logical thought from LXX 10:9's content to that of 10:5bc, which then allows the "fear not" prohibition of LXX 10:5ca to function with its basis of assurance (v. 5cβ) as a convenient "build up" to LXX 10:11a's directive to speak v. 11bc's theologoumena for various possible reasons (cf. chapter III).

Evidently, for LXX Jer 10 to have been the parent text tradition of MT, a redactor would have had to have created the first half of a hymn (MT Jer 10:6-10) and give perfect parallelistic and chiasmic strophic elements to the entire structure of MT 10:4-16. The parallelism of MT 10's poetry manifests an author's original grand design, since it possesses textual qualities which are much too complicated for scribes to collectively build up over time. Moreover, MT 10:4-16's poetical antithesis demonstrates sharp contrast with idolatry's gods in a sophisticated parallelism that scarcely seems likely to have been constructed by editors through any amount of redactional layers, but seems intrinsically original as a literary unit. In summary, I recognize many indications to argue for the greater originality or priority of MT 10:1-18's text form when compared to that of LXX 10:1-18 (cf. chapter II and III).

4.3. A Proposed Line of Argumentation

I shall carry out in depth three primary arguments in each respective chapter of this study. In chapter two I shall argue for the coherence of MT Jer 10:1-18's text using an analysis of the genres present in MT 10:1-18. In chapter three I will evaluate the translation technique of LXX Jer 10:1-18, arguing that there are two layers evident in the LXX Old Greek text. I observe, on the one hand, that there may be found fairly straightforward translations of the assumed Hebrew text. However, on the other hand, I discern that there also exists instances of apparent disparity between the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage* and MT Jer 10:1-18's Hebrew text (as elsewhere in Jeremiah). I label the latter textual variation "HRLXXJ," since, in my view, this layer represents redactional changes in the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage* by a redactor with more freedom than ordinary scribes (these redactional changes by HRLXXJ can include both omissions and transpositions and not just singular words or phrases). Thus, I see two layers in LXX Jer 10:1-18's text. The first layer remains simply at the level of translation technique description. It contains the assumed Hebrew retroversions that can adequately be described as translations of content which derives predominantly from the MT text and is demonstrably parallel to LXX Jeremiah's Old

Greek text. The second layer of LXX Jer 10:1-18 has been termed “HRLXXJ,” and assumes a different LXX Hebrew *Vorlage* text that apparently varies from MT Jer 10:1-18’s Hebrew text. Such disparity or lack of parallel textual material between the text forms of MT and LXX Jeremiah suggests with Emanuel Tov (and others) that there are two different editions of the book of Jeremiah (i.e. MT and LXX Jeremiah).

In chapter four I will demonstrate that the textual differences and deliberate variations implied in the Hebrew of MT Jer 10:1-18 and of HRLXXJ can be detected in the Qumran manuscript evidence. I shall also show that other Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period might provide clues as to the scribal intentions behind their textual alterations of (proto-)MT Jer 10:1-18, especially observed in HRLXXJ and 4Q71. Thus, chapter four first surveys the Qumran material that contains the text of Jer 10:1-18, but, in the second section, I examine the Epistle of Jeremiah, 1 Baruch, and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C fragments as early witnesses to the interpretation of the book of Jeremiah and 10:1-18. In my conclusion of chapter five, I shall conclude that MT 10:1-18’s content contains no evidence of linguistic or thematic material foreign to the thought of the original composition’s author or that cannot be dated to the sixth century BCE along with the rest of MT Jeremiah.¹⁸² Thus, in chapter five, I shall observe what has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters and what implications the study then has for future

¹⁸² Aaron D. Hornkohl has recently argued for a sixth century BCE dating of MT Jeremiah. Cf. idem, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition* (ed. A. D. Rubin and C. H. M. Versteegh; SSSL 74; Leiden: Brill, 2014). However, Hornkohl allows for some MT expansive layers to have occurred later in the fifth century BCE or even possibly later (ibid., 366-369). Bob Becking notes that MT Jer 10:1-16’s language seems to be original material to the book. Cf. idem, “Jeremia’s beeld van God en zijn strijd tegen de godenbeelden,” *Kerk en theologie* 43, no. 4 (1992), 283-84. Both Stephen Kaufman and Bezalel Porten have confirmed that the Aramaic of Jer 10:11 can be dated to the prophet Jeremiah’s lifetime, which represents the latest material of the pericope for many scholars (Per private correspondence with Kaufman and Porten). Also cf. Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: 1, Letters; Appendix: Aramaic letters from the Bible* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1986), 130-31. Porten and Yardeni date MT 10:11 to the “End (sic) 7th Cen. B.C.E.” and they describe the verse as an Aramaic letter “To the Exiles from Jeremiah” (Ibid., 130). MT 10:7 has two words (i.e. verbal root יִאֵד and the noun מִלְכוּת) that have Aramaic affiliations (Hornkohl, *Ancient*, 318-20), but this does not necessarily prove a later date than the sixth century BCE, especially since מִלְכוּת of MT 52:31 is translated in LXX Jeremiah and cannot be considered to have not existed in the LXX edition as well (e.g. cf. LXX 10:11’s Aramaic *Vorlage*). MT 52:31-34 indicates that the book’s final chapter was completed shortly after 562 BCE (Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37-52*, 538).

scholarship. If my arguments for the relationship of Jer 10:1-18's text forms become accepted by later scholarship, then the study's conclusions have profound implications for further study of other sections of Jeremiah's two text forms and their results' have weighty bearing on notions of "rewritten scripture."¹⁸³

¹⁸³ József Zsengellér, and Károli Gáspár, eds., *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes* (SJSJ 166; Leiden: Brill, 2014). Hereafter, RBFY.

CHAPTER II

Analysis of the Formal, Thematic, and Poetic Genre as well as a Structure of Jer 10:1-18
within Its Context, with Special Attention to 10:11.

Section 1: Formal Structure and Context of MT 10:1-18

I shall now present my structural outline of MT 10:1-18 (1.1), discuss its context (1.2), and offer a justification of my delineation of MT 10:1-18 within its context (1.3).

1.1. A Formal Structural Analysis of MT 10:1-18

I. Instructions for Israel to Listen	1-2a
A. Call to the House of Israel to Listen	1
B. Messenger Formula of God's Speech	2a
II. Instructions for the Exiles with Reasons	2bcd-3
A. Double Instruction and Concession	2bcd
1. Don't Learn the Way of the Nations	2b
2. Don't Fear the Signs of Heaven	2c
3. Concession that the Nations are Afraid of Them	2d
B. Emphasized Reasons to not Learn or Be Dismayed	3
1. Since the Customs of the Nations are a Vanity	3a
2. <i>It is</i> Even Wood Cut from the Forest	3b
3. <i>Or</i> the Work of a Craftsman's Hands with an Adze	3c
III. A Hymn Describing a Victorious Theophany of Yahweh	4-16
A. Description of the Work of a Carpenter	4-5a
1. They Beautify them with Silver and Gold	4a
2. They Affix Them to the Stand	4b
3. So That They will not Totter	4c
4. They are Like a Scarecrow	5aα

a. They Do not Speak	5aβ
b. They are Carried	5aγ
c. They Also Do not March	5aδ
B. Specification of the Instruction to Not Fear the Idols	5b
1. Don't Fear Them	5ba
2. Because They Cannot Harm You	5bβ
3. They also Cannot Benefit (You)	5bγ
C. Address to Yahweh	6-7
1. Praise: No One is like You Yahweh	6a
a. Great are You	6b
b. Great is Your Name in Power	6c
2. Rhetorical Question: Who Does not Fear You, King of the Nations?	7a
3. Reasons for Praise of Yahweh	7bc
a. <i>This Honor</i> is Surely Due to You	7b
b. For Among All the Wise of the Nations and in Their Kingdoms; There is No One Like You	7c
D. Ironic Description of Foolish or Idolatrous Mankind	8-9
1. <i>They</i> are Instantly Stupified and Made Foolish	8a
2. Their Instruction of Vanity is Wood	8b
a. (<i>It is only</i>) Hammered Silver from Tarshish	9a
b. (<i>It is only</i>) Gold Brought from Uphaz	9b
c. A Work of a Craftsman and a Smelter's Hands	9c
d. Dyed Violet and Purple is Its Clothing	9d
e. All of Them are the Work of Skilled Persons	9e
E. Description of Yahweh as the True, Living, and Eternal King who Judges the Nations	10
1. Description of God	10αβγ
a. But, <i>He is</i> the God of Truth	10α
b. <i>He is</i> the Living God	10aβ

c. (and) <i>He is</i> the Eternal King	10ay
2. Description of His Anger and Curse	10bc
a. At His Anger the Earth Shakes	10b
b. But the Nations Cannot Endure His Curse	10c
F. The Aramaic Verse	11
1. Call to Speech: Thus You Shall Say to Them	11a
2. Contents of the Aramaic Statement	11bc
a. The Gods that Did Not Create the Heavens and Earth	11b
b. These Will Perish from the Earth and Heavens	11c
G. Description of Yahweh and his Acts	12-13
1. <i>He is</i> the Maker of the Earth Through His Power	12a
2. He Makes Firm the World Through His Wisdom	12b
3. He Stretches Out the Heavens Through His Understanding	12c
4. Abundant Waters Arrive in the Heavens at His Command	13a
5. He Raises Fog from the Extremity of the Earth	13b
6. He Makes Lightning Come with the Rain	13c
7. He Brings Out Wind from His Treasuries	13d
H. The Futility and Outcome of Idolaters with Their Idols	14-15
1. Every Man is Proved Stupid, Lacking Knowledge	14a
2. Every Smelter is Shamed by his Idol	14b
3. For His Molten Object is a Lie	14c
4. <i>Because There is</i> no Breath in His Idols	14d
5. <i>The Idols</i> are Nothing	15aα
6. They are a Work of Derision	15aβ
7. They will Perish at the Time of Their Visitation	15b
I. Conclusion Concerning the Uniqueness of Israel's God	16
1. Not like These is the Portion of Jacob	16a
2. Because <i>He is</i> the Creator of All	16b
3. Israel is the Tribe of His Inheritance	16c

4. Yahweh of Hosts <i>is</i> His Name	16d
IV. Instruction to Gather Things with Announcement of Purpose	17-18
A. Gather Your Things, Mistress Who Dwells under Siege	17
B. Announcement of Yahweh's Purpose to Sling the Nation into Exile	18
1. Messenger Formula	18a
2. Contents of the Speech	18bcd
a. See, I am Slingshotting Out the Inhabitants of the Land at This Moment	18b
b. And I will Distress Them	18c
c. So That They will Find (Me/Yahweh)	18d

1.2. The Context of MT 10:1-18

Carl Heinrich Cornill noted little continuity between MT 10:1-16 and chapters 7-9 when he wrote: "Dass ein Stück dieses Inhalts und Charakters mindestens nicht in den Zusammenhang von Cap 7-9 passt, liegt auf der Hand."¹⁸⁴ However, recent research has confirmed thematic links of MT 10:1-16 to other parts of chapters 7-10, such as the theme of false security¹⁸⁵ in a deceitful cult¹⁸⁶ with a comparison to that of Shiloh's sanctuary's fate (7:12-15). Moreover, MT 7-10 focuses on the temple (e.g. MT 7:1-4) and the indictment of Zion's idolatry (7:30), whose guilt mirrors that of other nations (MT 9:24-25 and 10:14-15). A holy war motif links chapters 2-6 to those of 7-10,¹⁸⁷ especially a destructive focus on Zion,¹⁸⁸ such as the link of Zion's lament in 4:19-21 and 10:19-21.¹⁸⁹ Chapter 10 presents a contextual bridge for chapters 2-9 and 11-20, since 10:23-25 opens

¹⁸⁴ Idem, *Das Buch Jeremia* (Leipzig: Chr. Herm. Tauchnitz, 1905), 133.

¹⁸⁵ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25* (HTKAT; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 287 (following the thoughts of Volz and Rudolph); and Douglas Rawlinson Jones, *Jeremiah* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1992), 171-2.

¹⁸⁶ Carroll writes: "Only the circumcised heart can protect from Yahweh's wrath. The unit should be considered along with the critique of cultic means of security in 7:1-8:3" (idem, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 252).

¹⁸⁷ Kathleen M. O'Connor writes: "In 4:5-6:30 (and less abundantly 8:4-10:25) a military metaphor replaces the domestic one, and a rhetoric of terror overtakes the rhetoric of shaming." Cf. idem, "The Tears of God and Divine Character in Jeremiah 2-9," in *God in the Fray: A Tribute to Walter Brueggemann* (ed. Tod Linafelt and Timothy K. Beal; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 175.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 177.

¹⁸⁹ F. Kenro Kumaki, "A New Look at Jer 4, 19-22 and 10, 19-21," *AJBI* 8 (1982), 113-22.

the thematic tie of Jeremiah's disputation with God, which reaches even to chapter 20.¹⁹⁰ Mark E. Biddle writes: "Jeremiah 7-10 share several features with Jeremiah 11-20, then, and can best be considered an integral segment of the larger unit Jeremiah 7-20. More precisely, Jeremiah 7-10 may best be characterized as a bridge unit linking Jeremiah 2-6 and 11-20."¹⁹¹ Thus, the literary unit of chapters 7-10 has characteristics of a *Janus* figure, in that it looks back to the possibility of repentance in chapters 2-6 and looks forward to the inevitable destruction and deportation of Zion into exile (e.g. 20-21). Biddle states that a "striking feature of Jeremiah 1-19... involves the framing of virtually every section of material as dialogue between YHWH and the prophet,"¹⁹² although LXX 10:1-10 lacks MT 10:6-7's dialogue with Yahweh. Furthermore, Biddle notes that the "confessions of Jeremiah" material in 11-20 actually "dominate only chapters 17-20," since "the interchange between the frightened, pleading people and their heartbroken, resigned God dominates chapters 7-16"¹⁹³ (e.g. 10:19-25).

Within the thematic unit of MT 7-20, one sees that the "relationship between Yahweh and Jeremiah serves as a vehicle for expressing the breakdown in the relationship between Yahweh and Israel."¹⁹⁴ Later, one observes that the "tone of sympathy in chapters 7-10 belongs less to Yahweh than to the prophet; chapters 11-20 mark the loss of the prophet's sympathetic identification with the people."¹⁹⁵ After 7-10, one discerns that the prophet's relationship to Yahweh grows stronger in chapters 11-20 as Jeremiah's "hurt" (10:19) becomes that of Yahweh's and not the people's¹⁹⁶ (cf. 10:19-25). As the author takes on the persona of Zion and her concerns in 2-10, the prophetic voice agrees in 11-20

¹⁹⁰ Mark E. Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony in Prophetic Literature: Rereading Jeremiah 7-20* (SOTI 2; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996), 124.

¹⁹¹ Biddle, *Polyphony*, 13.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹⁴ Mark S. Smith, *The Laments of Jeremiah and Their Context: A Literary and Redactional Study of Jeremiah 11-20* (ed. Adela Yarbro and E. F. Campbell; SBLMS 42; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990), 61.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

with the divine in judgment of the people,¹⁹⁷ so that one sees that the “necessity of the exile is evident”¹⁹⁸ most poignantly in 7-10.¹⁹⁹

A key means of triggering the reader’s agreement with the prophet’s indictment of exile is in the use of rhetorical questions,²⁰⁰ or in a question and answer format²⁰¹ (e.g. 7:9-11, 17-19; 8:4-5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 22; MT 9:8 and 11). Both rhetorical devices serve to undergird the pedagogical nature of 7-10 and elicit a proper response from the audience (typically negative for rhetorical questions).²⁰² The unique question of 10:7a, for example, demands one acknowledge Israel’s lack of circumcision expressed in MT 9:24-25.²⁰³ The wisdom tradition manifests an influence on the entire book,²⁰⁴ though MT 8:4-10:25 displays a tension between true and false wisdom, or “gewandelte Weisheit.”²⁰⁵ Zion’s predicament of a lack of wisdom becomes a predominant theme in 8:4-10:25,²⁰⁶ so that one finds instruction to learn (לִמֹּד) as a motif of the pericope’s context (MT 9:4, 13, 19; and 10:2).²⁰⁷ A motif of חֵכְמָה (MT 8:9; 9:22; and 10:12) also emphasizes notions of knowledge (or יָדַע cf. 8:7, 12 [twice]; MT 9:2, 5, 15, 23; 10:23, and 25) which center upon knowledge of Yahweh (MT 9:2 and 5), or true wisdom (e.g. Prov 9:10). MT Jer 7:1-

¹⁹⁷ Kathleen M. O’Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1-25* (SBLDS 94; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1988), 123-48.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, *Laments*, 61.

¹⁹⁹ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 92-132.

²⁰⁰ Walter Brueggemann notes that in Jeremiah’s rhetorical questions, the prophet “appeals to an agreement on obvious teachings, much in the manner of the wise.” Cf. idem, “Jeremiah’s Use of Rhetorical Questions,” *JBL* 92, no. 3 (1973), 374.

²⁰¹ Klaus Koenen, “Wem ist Weh? Wem ist Ach? ... Wer hat trübe Augen? Zur Funktion von Rätselfragen im Alten Testament,” *BN* 94 (1998), 79-86. Koenen demonstrates that questions and answers differ from rhetorical questions in that they give an answer and are directed at agreement in order to strengthen the sense of the audience’s community (ibid., 86). For example, MT 10:7-10 would fit the type of rhetorical question described by Koenen.

²⁰² Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 18.

²⁰³ Ibid., 27.

²⁰⁴ T. R. Hobbs, “Some Proverbial Reflections in the Book of Jeremiah,” *ZAW* 91, no. 1 (1979), 72; and Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 29.

²⁰⁵ Baumann, *Jeremia*, 77-78.

²⁰⁶ Henry McKeating writes: “Though this large unit 8.4-10.25 is composed of very disparate materials, nevertheless, reference to ‘wisdom’ and the ‘wise’ run like a linking thread through the whole of it.” Cf. idem, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1999), 70.

²⁰⁷ Jones writes: “The wisdom theme of chapters 8-9 is present in ‘learn not’ i.e. ‘do not be disciples’ (v. 2), ‘the wise ones of the nations’ (v. 7), ‘the work of skilled men’ (lit. ‘wise men’) (v. 9), ‘who established the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding stretched out the heavens’ (v. 12)” (ibid., *Jeremiah*, 172).

10:25 also possesses the themes of the lack of truth versus that of the presence of falsehood and vanity.²⁰⁸ The nine occurrences of **שָׁקֶר** in chapters 7-10²⁰⁹ contrast with the two occurrences of **אֱמֶת** (MT 9:4 and 10:10).²¹⁰ MT 9:1-9 suggests that the deception of the people resulted in the lack of knowledge of Yahweh²¹¹ (MT 9:22-23). Thus, MT 10:1-16 becomes a “further elaboration of the theme concerning the true knowledge of God,”²¹² and is metaphorically described in relation to Israel as a lack of circumcision in MT 9:22-25,²¹³ with circumcision representing Israel’s only security against Yahweh’s wrath (4:4).²¹⁴

Jeremiah links wisdom and creation themes to chaotic visions of destruction by the “Foe from the North” (MT 9:14 and 21) so as to critique Judah’s corporate lack of wise behavior which has led to a break with the cosmic order and true security or peace (8:4-15).²¹⁵ Thus, one sees that Jeremiah’s question in MT 9:12 of “Who is the wise man that can understand this?” culminates in no wisdom being found and the divine determination to scatter Zion in exile (MT 9:15 and 10:17-18). Ironically, only female mourners have wisdom²¹⁶ to lament the reality of Zion’s destruction (MT 9:16-21). The terrifying scene of unburied cadavers (MT 9:21) juxtaposes a wisdom aphorism of MT 9:22-23. This juxtaposition has caused some exegetes to remove all intervening material between MT 9:21 and 10:17 as later interpolation²¹⁷ and join the destructive imagery in 10:17-22 and 9:21 primarily by means of the root **קָטַף** (MT 9:21 and 10:17).²¹⁸ However, MT 9:22-23’s

²⁰⁸ Thomas W. Overholt, *The Threat of Falsehood: A Study in the Theology of the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1970), 86-104.

²⁰⁹ MT 7:4, 8, 9; 8:8 (twice), 8:10; 9:2, 4; and 10:14.

²¹⁰ Jones, *Jeremiah*, 172.

²¹¹ Overholt, *Threat*, 102.

²¹² R. E. Clements, *Jeremiah* (Interpretation; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1988), 68.

²¹³ Carroll defines circumcision of the heart as “the receptivity of the mind to Yahweh (cf. 4.4; 6.10)” (idem, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 251-252). He notes that even circumcision cannot protect the people.

²¹⁴ Jones, *Jeremiah*, 171; and Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 252.

²¹⁵ Perdue, *Collapse*, 148-49.

²¹⁶ Baumann, “Jeremia,” 77-78.

²¹⁷ Graf, *Jeremia*, 169; Duhm, *Jeremia*, 103; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 70-76; and Bright, *Jeremiah*, 67-80.

²¹⁸ E.g. Holladay notes that “the catchword ‘gather’ (**קָטַף**) links several of these passages (8:13, 14; 9:21; and 10:17)” (idem. *Jeremiah 1*, 340).

description of true boasting gives a literary structure to MT 9:22-10:18. The three sources of self-boasting in MT 9:22 (חִכְמוֹהָ “wisdom,” גְּבוּרָהּ “might,” and עֲשָׂרָה “riches”) permeate thematically 10:1-16’s entire structure. Thus, one observes these themes in the negation of strength, riches, and wisdom among the nations. The pedagogical tone²¹⁹ of MT 9:22-10:25 probably reflects Deut 4’s aniconic instruction from the Sinai tradition²²⁰ (especially 10:1-18)²²¹ and seeks to instruct Judah concerning true boasting (MT 9:22-23). Israel may either learn the way of the nations (10:2b), or determine to know her God Yahweh (MT 9:23). MT 9:23 establishes how Yahweh accomplishes his three delights by means of judgment of all nations which lack true circumcision (MT 9:24-25). With the announcement of Yahweh’s coming punishment on Israel (9:25 and 10:15), 10:2-18 expresses hope for Zion’s remnant to survive the exile (17-18) in the midst of MT 9:24-25’s accusation and indictment.

Contrary to some commentators,²²² there is little reason to doubt that MT 9:22-10:16 was originally present along with its surrounding context of 9:21 and 10:17-25. One may note various common motifs of MT 10:4-16’s hymn with its surrounding material (especially 10:17-25). For example, one sees 10:24’s root יָסַר linking 8b’s מוֹיֶסֶר to a wisdom theme. Likewise, one notes the root בָּעַר in 8a, 14a, and 21, along with the metaphorical use of הִרְרָהּ in 10:2b and 23. Other lexical links include: קוּל in 13a and 22; the root רָעַשׁ in 10:10 and 22; אָדָם in 14a and 23; גָּוִי in MT 9:25; 10:2 (twice), 7 (twice), 10, and 25; the root כּוּן in 10:12b and 23; שֵׁם of Yahweh in 10:6c, 16d, and 25; and,

²¹⁹ This may be seen in the vocabulary for “wisdom,” (10:12) or its adjective form (10:7, 9), the verb “to learn” in v. 2, “religious statutes” in 3, “craftsman” in 3 and 9, “religious instruction” in 8, “truth” in 10, “understanding” in 12, “to stupefy” in 8 and 14, “knowledge” in 14, and “false” in 14.

²²⁰ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 383; and Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 19-21, 67, 123-24, and 156-57.

²²¹ Angelika Berlejung posits textual priority of Deut 4:15ff. over that of Jer 10:1-16. Cf. idem, *Die Theologie der Bilder: Herstellung und Einweihung von Kultbildern in Mesopotamien und die alttestamentliche Bilderpolemik* (OBO 162; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 399. But Reinhard Kratz states the opposite conclusion for 10:1-16’s relationship to Deut 4. Cf. idem, *Kyros im Deuterobuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jesaja 40-55* (FAT 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 202-05.

²²² E.g. Graf, *Jeremia*, 169; and Duhm, *Jeremia*, 103.

lastly, various “wrath” references (MT 10:10bc and 24-25). One may note some homophonic similarities that bind 10:19-25 to 10:1-18. For example, one notes that 10:19 connects to 10:16c with the homophones of the *Niphal* form of חלה and the noun נחלה (10:16c). Likewise one observes that the noun צַעַד (10:23) recalls the verb צעד of 10:5aδ, as well as the similar sounding noun מַעֲצָר of 10:3c.

Perhaps the logical or thematic connection of MT 10:17-18 to 10:16 is the greatest burden of proof for my structure, given the fact that it is innovative.²²³ Besides larger genre implications which link 10:17’s besieged mistress to MT 10:4-16’s hymn in Zion, one may note similar military motifs connecting 10:16 and the modified²²⁴ *Aufforderung zur Flucht*²²⁵ of 10:17-18. Thus, for one to understand 10:17’s term פְּנֵעֹתַי “modest hand luggage,”²²⁶ one must recall 10:16a’s previous חֶלֶק יַעֲקֹב “portion of Jacob,” although a “wandering” warfare scenario pictured in 10:17 seems artificial to experience.²²⁷ One notes that in 10:18 Yahweh flings out besieged Zion so that she will find an elided object of MT 10:18d’s מַצָּא – namely, Yahweh himself as referenced in 10:16a and פְּנֵעָה of 10:17. It does not make sense for a besieged lady to grab a bag, but once she has begun travel, she must find what she had brought along on her trip – i.e. her God. In other words, MT 10:17b’s Mistress Zion should understand what she already seems to own in 10:16a.

²²³ This is to say, most commentators and studies of the pericope terminate the unit at 10:16 and not at 10:18. I would understand 10:16 to end the hymn to Yahweh of vv. 4-16, but it does not terminate the pericope’s entire unit of thought or argumentation, since the oracle looks to place Judah into exile, as only explicitly stated in vv. 17-18.

²²⁴ Bach does not list examples like MT Jer 48:9 and 46:19 which are similar to 10:17.

²²⁵ Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 20-21. David J. Reimer slightly modifies Robert Bach’s original analysis of the *Aufforderungen* when he states that they are “primarily a means of announcing destruction. Later they came also to express the hope of restoration.” Cf. idem, *The Oracles Against Babylon in Jeremiah 50-51: A Horror Among the Nations* (San Francisco, Calif.: Mellen Research University Press, 1993), 168.

²²⁶ Lundbom, *Jeremiah* 1-20, 602. Jer 10:17’s term פְּנֵעֹתַי finds parallel expressions in MT 46:19 and Ez 12:3.

²²⁷ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 103.

Clearly, notions of possession transfer from 10:16's related terms of חֶלֶק²²⁸ and נַחֲלָה²²⁹ that carry overtones of ownership. Likewise, 10:16c's שֹׁבֵט can also signify a shepherd's possession (i.e. staff).²³⁰ Furthermore, reference to אֶרֶץ in 10:17 links back to both חֶלֶק and נַחֲלָה²³¹ as inheritance terms for the Promised Land²³² and a probable pun on כְּנָעַן "Canaan."²³³

The enigmatic verb מִצָּא can have multiple nuances in Jeremiah (e.g. 2:24-26).²³⁴ No doubt מִצָּא carries a *double entendre* overtone in MT 10:18d,²³⁵ since the meaning and verbal object resembles MT 29:13's מִצָּא, in which the verb takes on a characteristic notion of discovery,²³⁶ which is the finding of wisdom itself (Prov 3:13). MT 10:18d's phrase לְמַעַן יִמְצְאוּ has caused such difficulty that interpreters have often resorted to textual emendation,²³⁷ although Deut 4:27-30²³⁸ and MT Jer 29:12-14 present parallel contexts of Israel's return to Yahweh from exilic idolatry.²³⁹ Likewise, 16:19-20 suggest that Israel and the nations recognize the futility of the idols and then acknowledge the

²²⁸ M. Tsevat, "חֶלֶק," in TDOT (trans. David E. Green; ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren; vol. 4; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 447-51.

²²⁹ E. Lipinski, "נַחֲלָה," in TDOT (trans. David E. Green; ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; vol. 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 319-335.

²³⁰ H. J. Zobel, "שֹׁבֵט," in TDOT (trans. Douglas W. Stott; ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; vol. 14; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 304.

²³¹ The word pair of אֶרֶץ and נַחֲלָה is commonly associated in Ugaritic texts. Cf. Stan Rummel, *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible* (vol. 3; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1981), section 44, 34-35.

²³² Tsevat, "חֶלֶק," 451; and Lipinski, "נַחֲלָה," 331-33.

²³³ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 341; and Volz, *Jeremia*, 126-27.

²³⁴ Anthony R. Ceresko, "The Function of Antanaclasis (mš' 'to find' // mš' 'to reach, overtake, grasp') in Hebrew Poetry, Especially in the Book of Qoheleth," *CBQ* 44 (1982), 558.

²³⁵ Dominique Barthelemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 2:546-47. Hereafter, CTAT.

²³⁶ S. Wagner, "מִצָּא" in TDOT (trans. Douglas W. Stott; ed. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; vol. 8; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 468.

²³⁷ E.g. Volz, *Jeremia*, 127; and Duhamel, *Jeremia*, 103-04.

²³⁸ Cf. מִצָּא in Deut 4:29 and MT Jer 29:14.

²³⁹ Graf, *Jeremia*, 164-65; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 179-80; and Fischer, *Jeremia I-25*, 391.

name of Yahweh (16:21). My interpretation of the object of the verb **יִמְצֵאֵי** as Yahweh Himself²⁴⁰ finds support in the surrounding context, especially in MT 9:22-23's claim that legitimate boasting solely belongs to an individual with knowledge of Yahweh, in contrast to many others (MT 9:24-25) or Judah's shepherds (10:21).

Dominique Barthelemy²⁴¹ follows the interpretations of Johann David Michaelis²⁴² and Friedrich Böttcher²⁴³ in seeing a military metaphor throughout MT 10:18's imagery. This is to say, the three verbs of **קָלַעַ** "sling" (1 Sam 25:29²⁴⁴ and Isa 22:17-19),²⁴⁵ **צָרַר** "wrap up or tighten,"²⁴⁶ and **מָצָא** "hit the mark" (1 Sam 31:3)²⁴⁷ are technical terms within the military science of a slingshooter. One may note assonance in **מִצֹּר** (Jer 10:17b) with the verb **וַהֲצִרֹתִי** (18c), which "may suggest that the enemy siege is itself regarded as Yahweh's preliminary loading of the weapon before the shot is discharged."²⁴⁸ Along with a probable wordplay of **מִצֹּר** (17b) with **מָצָא** (18d), a holy war metaphor is kept throughout MT 10:2-18. However, despite the condemnatory tone of MT 9:24-25's **רִיב** indictment,²⁴⁹ MT 10:18 implies that Israel shall realize her **דַּרְךָ** (10:2b and 23) and possess wisdom to leave her idolatry and **מָצָא** "find" her God. Likewise, one notes that Israel could **מָצָא** her soul's rest in Yahweh (6:16) if she should choose the "good way."²⁵⁰

²⁴⁰ Or, at least, the knowledge of Yahweh.

²⁴¹ Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:547; and Allen, *Jeremiah*, 130.

²⁴² Johann David Michaelis, *Observationes philologicae et criticae in Jeremiae vaticinia et Threnos* (ed. Johannes Friedericus Schleusner; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1793), 100-101.

²⁴³ Julius Friedrich Böttcher, *Neue exegetisch-kritische Aehrenlese zum Alten Testamente* (Neue exegetisch-kritische Aehrenlese zum Alten Testamente; Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1864), 2:157 note 819.

²⁴⁴ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 131.

²⁴⁵ Michaelis, *Observationes*, 100; and Graf, *Jeremia*, 164-65.

²⁴⁶ HALOT II gives two root meanings for the *double entendre* (also cf. CHAL, 311). HALOT's first root means "to wrap (up), envelop" and the second root means "to treat with hostility, attack" (HALOT II:1058-59).

²⁴⁷ Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:547.

²⁴⁸ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 131.

²⁴⁹ Michael De Roche, "Yahweh's RÎB against Israel: A Reassessment of the So-Called 'Prophetic Lawsuit in the Preexilic Prophets,'" *JBL* 102, no. 4 (1983), 563-574.

²⁵⁰ **דַּרְךְ הַטוֹב**

Although the nations (10:2b) and Zion's shepherds (10:21) do not seek Yahweh's path, one sees that Israel shall find a good path as she leaves Jerusalem and its idolatry (17-18). Thus, 10:18d's **יִמְצְאוּ לְמַעַן יִמְצְאוּ** gives obvious logical and thematic closure for MT 10:1-18's pericope.

1.3. The Delineation of MT 10:1-18 within its Context

Having established that 10:18d's **יִמְצְאוּ** gives a logical conclusion to MT 10:1-18, I shall now defend the traditional section break between MT 9:25 and 10:1, as indicated by the Aleppo Codex's *Petucha*.²⁵¹ MT 10:1's *verbum dicendi* phraseology²⁵² corresponds exactly to none other in Jeremiah (e.g. 2:4 and 7:2). Amos 3:1, however, provides parallel wording with a similar thematic context in its speech introduction.²⁵³ The previous introductory *verbum dicendi* phrase of MT Jer 7:1, moreover, corresponds exactly²⁵⁴ in form to 11:1, so as to suggest section divisions at 7:1 and at 11:1 which envelope MT 7:1-10:25²⁵⁵ as a unit of accusatory indictment of Israel.²⁵⁶

10:1's introductory quotation formula in its context serves to demarcate or make emphatic the vocative **בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל** as the addressee in 10:1²⁵⁷ (MT 9:25) from among the list of uncircumcised nations in MT 9:24-25. However, the entity comprising the **בֵּית** is not referenced explicitly again until the titles of **יִשְׂרָאֵל** and **יַעֲקֹב** in 10:16. Furthermore, there is no reason to doubt that those addressed in 10:1 are not the people of "Israel" in the

²⁵¹ HUBP, 55.

²⁵² **שְׁמַעוּ אֶת-הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם:**

²⁵³ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 378. E.g. cf. the verb **פָּקַד** in MT Jer 9:24 and Amos 3:2.

²⁵⁴ **הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה לֵאמֹר:**

²⁵⁵ Giesebrecht, *Jeremia*, 45; Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 86; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 92; etc.

²⁵⁶ Robert B. Chisholm Jr. notes that the unit of 7:1-10:25 is characterized as accusation with imminent doom. Cf. idem, *Handbook on the Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2002), 164-69.

²⁵⁷ H. Van Dyke Parunak notes that the "Hear the Word of the Lord" formula in Jeremiah is "always associated with a designation of the addressee in the vocative. This distribution suggests that the primary function of [Hear the Word of the Lord] is to name the addressee within the message." Cf. idem, "Some Discourse Functions of Prophetic Quotation Formulas in Jeremiah," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics* (ed. Robert D. Bergen; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 507.

sense of Judah and its cities like Jerusalem (e.g. MT 7:2). Furthermore, the singular term **בֵּית** sometimes has plural verbs which demonstrate that the title functions grammatically as a plural notion²⁵⁸ in reference to the people of Israel.²⁵⁹ The total number of all Israelite peoples must be implied in MT 10:16c's **שֵׁבֶט** "tribe"²⁶⁰ and MT 9:25's **בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל** to include²⁶¹ both the diaspora community and inhabitants of Judah (10:18b)²⁶² which leave for exile in 10:17.

Although it is commonly claimed, the last verse of the hymnic poetical unit of 10:4-16 does not conclude the literary unit of 10:1-16. MT 10:16 simply reiterates 10:6-7's sentiments of Yahweh's incomparability,²⁶³ and, thus, 10:16 forms the poetical *inclusio* to 4-16's hymn without terminating the pericope's central theme of a preparation for the exilic journey in 10:17-18. However, 10:19a's phrase **אֲוִי לִי** (cf. 15:10)²⁶⁴ commences a complaint which clearly demarcate a new section, since a different speaker contrasts with MT 10:1-18's divine oracle speech (even 10:6-7's direct address of Yahweh is part of the pericope's divine oracle, perhaps like MT 51:20-23 with 15-19).

With regard to the end of my unit's pericope, although 10:19-21 form a lament, only 10:18a²⁶⁵ finishes the unit of divine speech with the messenger formula²⁶⁶ repeated from 10:2a.²⁶⁷ In addition, 10:18a's messenger formula "calls attention to the divine origin

²⁵⁸ Oliver Glanz, *Understanding Participant Reference Shifts in the Book of Jeremiah: A Study of Exegetical Method and its Consequences for the Interpretation of Referential Incoherence* (SSN 60; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 256-58.

²⁵⁹ Besides Jer 10:1, Glanz notes other examples in MT 48:13 and 2:26 (ibid., 256-57).

²⁶⁰ CHAL, 358.

²⁶¹ Chisholm notes that 10:1's address of the House of Israel may reflect the pattern of the pericope of 7:1-10:25 to refer to the "the entire covenant community with Judah being the primary focus (see 7:12; 9:26; 10:16)" (idem, *Handbook*, 168 note 36).

²⁶² **אֶת־יּוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ**

²⁶³ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 12 and 67-69.

²⁶⁴ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "Jeremiah's Complaints: Observations on Jer 15:10-21," *JBL* 82, no. 4 (1963), 407.

²⁶⁵ **כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה**

²⁶⁶ Samuel A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible* (VTS 46; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 258-72 and 262.

²⁶⁷ **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**

of the expressions”²⁶⁸ Therefore, it seems justifiable to conclude that the duplication of divine messenger formulas (10:2a and 18a) unites the entire pericope of 10:1-18 together as a war oracle presented prophetically from Yahweh.

Scholars debate the identity of the speaker(s) in 10:19-25, with some describing the poetry as a female Zion (or “Jerusalem”)²⁶⁹ poetic voice,²⁷⁰ or that of the Zion community,²⁷¹ or that of the prophet,²⁷² or even a combination of the community and the prophet as one entity.²⁷³ I shall not attempt a form critical identification of the material of 10:19-25,²⁷⁴ nor outline its structure.²⁷⁵ The pertinent point only being found in the sudden contrast of 10:19’s complaint voice with the previous material of a divine oracle. Moreover, clearly the imperative to travel to exile in 10:17 along with 18’s announcement of purpose and results are logically distinct from the tone and focus of 10:19-25. Furthermore, a pretentious prayer²⁷⁶ becomes manifest in 10:23-25 which contrasts starkly with 10:6-7’s address of Yahweh (or, perhaps, a pious prayer).²⁷⁷ Thus, 10:19-25’s material should be kept distinct from its *raison d’ être*, or basis of contention, in 10:1-18. 10:1-18 serves as the grounds for the complaint and conversation between the human and divine in 10:19-25 that continues throughout 11-20.²⁷⁸

²⁶⁸ Parunak, “Discourse,” 506.

²⁶⁹ Nancy C. Lee, *The Singers of Lamentations: Cities under Siege from Ur to Jerusalem to Sarajevo* (BIS 60; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 66-73.

²⁷⁰ F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (BO 44; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 140; Kumaki, “A New Look,” 113-22; Fischer, *Jeremiah 1*, 389-91; etc.

²⁷¹ Biddle describes 10:19-21 as a “community lament” (idem, *Polyphony*, 46). Cf. also Allen, *Jeremiah*, 131; and Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 339.

²⁷² McKane, *Jeremiah I-XXV*, 230; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 73; etc.

²⁷³ Smith, *Laments*, 65. O’Connor states a combination of community and prophetic voice in the “I” of the confessional material in Jer 11-20 (idem, *Confessions*, 81-85 and 124-25).

²⁷⁴ Michael H. Floyd notes that there is much debate on the genre and structure of a complaint form in Jeremiah. Cf. idem, “Prophetic Complaints about the Fulfillment of Oracles in Habakkuk 1:2-17 and Jeremiah 15:10-18,” *JBL* 110, no. 3 (1991), 407.

²⁷⁵ Artur Weiser divides 10:22-25 from 10:19-21 due to his assertion that 10:22 serves as the basis of the prayer in 10:23-25. Cf. idem, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia* (4th ed.; ATD 20/21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 91.

²⁷⁶ Fischer, *Jeremiah 1-25*, 393-397; and idem, *Der Prophet*, 378-79.

²⁷⁷ Fischer, *Der Prophet*, 382-83 and 388.

²⁷⁸ Biddle notes the thematic connection of 10:23-25 with the confession material in 11-20 (idem, *Polyphony*, 124).

Section 2: Genres of and Use in the Structure of MT 10:1-18

2.1. The Hymnic unit of MT 10:4-16

MT Jer 10:1-18 has been subject of a long history of redactional critical theories that have influenced the way its form, genre, and content have been perceived.²⁷⁹ This is to say, the text as it stands in MT Jeremiah has been altered to fit various redactional theories, with some claiming 10:1-16 is a later addition to the context of 9:25-10:17,²⁸⁰ or that only a portion of 10:1-16 is authentic to the prophetic tradition.²⁸¹ However, J. A. Thompson notes that “we are in danger of destroying an ancient pattern which has its own peculiar emphasis.”²⁸² Although the syntax and structure of the pericope seems disjointed or “dizzying,”²⁸³ the message is unified and possesses characteristics of other contrastive parallelism²⁸⁴ and themes²⁸⁵ of Jeremiah.

Gunkel’s analysis of biblical hymns indicates that they usually “begin with a pronounced ‘introduction,’” which often possesses examples of a “plural imperative.”²⁸⁶ Such is the case for the prior context of MT 10:6-16 in 10:1-5 of both MT and LXX. Three plural commands occur in 10:2 and 10:5b so as to establish a customary contextual beginning for the hymnic units. One must ask whether the hymnic poetry encompasses the

²⁷⁹ Paul Volz theorized that four original strophes in vv. 2-4, 5 with 10, 12-13, and 14-16 were supplemented by the material of vv. 8b and 9, 6 and 7, and 8a (idem, *Jeremia*, 121-23).

²⁸⁰ C. W. E. Nägelsbach, *Jeremiah* (trans. Samuel Asbury and Philip Schaff; vol. 12; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1899), 117; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 70-71; etc. Duhm would also remove MT 9:22-25 with 10:1-16 from his “B” redaction of the book (idem, *Jeremia*, 97). Sigmund Mowinckel hypothesizes that 10:1-16’s material is an additional layer subsequent to his source “D” expansion, which itself follows chronologically after the main components of the book of Jeremiah (i.e. Mowinckel’s A, B, and C layers). Jer 10:1-16, for Mowinckel, has two respective layers in itself. One layer consists of some prose instruction on the vanity of idols. The other layer contains the hymnic elements that have been spliced together. He conjectures that the hymnic elements were originally found in a marginal note that a scribe combined with some *Götzenpolemik* elements. Cf. idem, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1914), 48-9.

²⁸¹ E.g. B. M. Wambacq sees only verse 2 as original to Jeremiah’s prophecy. Cf. idem, “Jérémie, x, 1-16,” *RB* 81 (1974), 56-62.

²⁸² Idem, *The Book of Jeremiah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 325.

²⁸³ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 336.

²⁸⁴ Jože Krašovec, *Antithetic Structure in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (SVT 35; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 76-95.

²⁸⁵ T. W. Overholt advocated a six part alternation between idols and Yahweh. Cf. idem, “The Falsehood of Idolatry: An Interpretation of Jer. X. 1-16,” *JTS* XVI, no. 1 (1965), 8.

²⁸⁶ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 23-24. Gunkel notes that jussives and cohortatives may also be found instead of simply imperative verbs in such “introductions” (ibid.). Such is the case with the jussive verbs of MT Jer 10:2c and 5ba.

entirety of 10:2b-16 or, strictly speaking, only vv. 4-16 (excluding v. 5b's jussive clause as well)?²⁸⁷

Antithetic parallelism²⁸⁸ occurs most prominently throughout 10:4-16, in which the plural "they" are contrasted immediately and in precise juxtaposition with Yahweh. The literary structure might possibly include 10:2-4 with v. 5, so that one forms then four strophes or paragraphs, as originally argued (in part) by David Heinrich Müller²⁸⁹ and Umberto Cassuto,²⁹⁰ but more fully modified and developed by scholars such as Overholt,²⁹¹ Margaliot,²⁹² Becking,²⁹³ Ray Clendenen,²⁹⁴ Garnett Reid,²⁹⁵ Fischer,²⁹⁶ Finsterbusch,²⁹⁷ and Weiser.²⁹⁸ Most debate surrounds where to begin the first paragraph with its strophic divisions, with many following Reid²⁹⁹ and Finsterbusch³⁰⁰ who start the hymn at the injunctive phrase of 10:2b. However, some scholars begin the first strophe,

²⁸⁷ For example, some commentators would limit the original hymn to only 10:12-16. E.g. cf. Jonathan Ben-Dov, "A Textual Problem and Its Form-Critical Solution: Jeremiah 10:1-16," *Textus* 20 (2000), 126. Similarly, Frank Crüsemann perceives 10:12-16 to be an unification of genre elements and not just a mere hymnic or poetic piece (ibid., *Studien*, 111-14). The desire to demarcate the hymnic elements of MT Jer 10:2-16 has been a perennial scholarly issue and evidences the difficult thought contrast of the pericope's poetic syntax, which does not seem to allow syllabic counting to be any criteria for distinguishing the literary units.

²⁸⁸ Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 1-18.

²⁸⁹ Müller divided 10:1-16 into three units of five verses. 10:1-5 being part "A," vv. 6-10 being part "B," and 12-16 constituting part "C." Cf. idem, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form : Die grundgesetze der ursemitischen poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie* (Wien: Holder, 1896), I:101-105.

²⁹⁰ Cassuto followed Müller's structure, noting that "three stanzas parallel one another in form and content, in accordance with Biblical poetic usage." Cf. idem, *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, (trans. Israel Abrahams; Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts, vol. 1; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1973), 148-49.

²⁹¹ Idem, "Falsehood," 8.

²⁹² Margaliot argued for a four paragraph structure that is seen essentially in the remaining positions listed here below (idem, "Jeremiah 10:1-16," 298-99).

²⁹³ Idem, "Jeremia's beeld," 284.

²⁹⁴ Idem, "Discourse Strategies in Jeremiah 10:1-16," *JBL* 106, no. 3 (1987), 401-408.

²⁹⁵ Idem, "'Thus you will say to them': A Cross-Cultural Confessional Polemic in Jeremiah 10:11," *JSOT* 31, no. 2 (2006), 221-38.

²⁹⁶ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 376-77.

²⁹⁷ Finsterbusch sees the basic four parts of Margaliot but understands them as interactions between two voices (idem, "Gegen," 356-72).

²⁹⁸ Weiser, *Jeremia*, 87-90. Weiser theorizes an antiphonal liturgical hymn sung to Yahweh by the community. Similarities of MT Jer 10's hymn to the communal complaint or congregational prayer of Psalm 86 favorably supports Weiser's claim (Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 132-38). Gosse notes similarities in MT Jer 10's hymn to Ps 86 (idem, "La rédaction," 157-158). Fischer also notes Jer 10's similarities to Ps 86 (idem, *Jeremia 1-25*, 380-381). Gerstenberger describes Ps 86 as a "liturgical prayer," but notes that the Psalm has aspects of a "communal" hymn (idem, *Psalms, Part 2*, 135-37).

²⁹⁹ Idem, "Thus," 225.

³⁰⁰ Idem, "Gegen."

following Margaliot,³⁰¹ with 10:3a's³⁰² **בְּ** sentence (what I label as the “Basis of Assurance”). For example, in Clendenen’s antithetic structure, contrast is seen “by strophes whose topic entities alternate between Yahweh and the pagan gods.”³⁰³ Clendenen gives essentially³⁰⁴ the same structure to that of Margaliot’s earlier organization,³⁰⁵ which has the following divisions (with strophic labels imitating that of Clendenen’s³⁰⁶):

Paragraph I

strophe a vv. 3-5 On the gods

strophe b vv. 6-7 On Yahweh

Paragraph II

strophe a vv. 8-9 On the gods

strophe b v. 10 On Yahweh

Paragraph III

strophe a v. 11 On the gods

strophe b vv. 12-13 On Yahweh

Paragraph IV

strophe a vv. 14-15 On the gods

strophe b v. 16 On Yahweh³⁰⁷

³⁰¹ Idem, “Jeremiah 10:1–16,” 298-99.

³⁰² Clendenen, “Discourse,” 402. Louis Stulman also essentially follows the structure of Margaliot (or Clendenen), alternating the themes of the “Impotence of Foreign Deities” (3-5, 8-9, 11, and 14-15) with that of “Praise to Yahweh” (6-7, 10, 12-13, and 16). Cf. idem, *Jeremiah* (AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 107.

³⁰³ Clendenen, “Discourse,” 402. Clendenen labels the antithetical divisions of verses as strophes, whereas Margaliot simply describes four antithetical units in combination with one another’s parallel contrast as simply “paragraphs” (idem, “Jeremiah x 1-16,” 298-99).

³⁰⁴ Clendenen’s structure overtly places the chiasmic center and focus on verse 11, which is not obvious in Margaliot’s nomenclature or division labels (Clendenen, “Discourse,” 402-03).

³⁰⁵ Margaliot, “Jeremiah x 1-16,” 298-99.

³⁰⁶ Clendenen, “Discourse,” 402.

³⁰⁷ Margaliot, “Jeremiah x 1-16,” 298-99; and Clendenen, “Discourse,” 402. Clendenen’s structure is similar to the four paragraph system originating with Margaliot. In contrast, A. A. da Silva divides MT Jer 10:1-16 into six stanzas instead of the eight of Margaliot and Clendenen. Da Silva begins the first stanza at 10:2b (up through v.5) and he then labels stanza II as 10:6-7, III as 10:8-11, IV as 10:12-13, V as 10:14-15, and VI as 10:16. Cf. Idem, “Die Teologie van Jeremia 10:1-16,” *OTE* 7, no. 3 (1994), 396-399.

Thus, both Margaliot and Clendenen note a constant alteration of parallel contrastive units of thought, which give the primary structural backbone of the hymn from, essentially, 10:2b on to 10:16's final refrain of hymnic affirmation. Additionally, Clendenen posits a chiasmic structure centered thematically upon verse 11,³⁰⁸ which is echoed later by Reid.³⁰⁹ I wish to make a similar structural proposal to that originally given by Margaliot, although I begin the hymnic poetry precisely at 10:4³¹⁰ and I have a slightly different chiasmic thematic center from that of the logical structure of Clendenen. In contrast, Clendenen focuses his chiasmic and thematic focus upon 10:11³¹¹ (e.g. the LXX structure), instead of my combined antithetical concentration upon the theologoumena of both vv. 10-11 as a chiasmic center unit (in *strophe b* of paragraph II and *strophe a* of paragraph III above).

The phrase **בְּמַעַזְר** (10:3c) begins a pattern of poetic alliteration or artistic wordplay that is then followed in 10:4a's **וּבְזָהָב וּבְכֶסֶף** prepositional phrases.³¹² Therefore, I observe poetic language indications that seem to distinguish itself formally as a unit of “promise”³¹³ within vv. 10:4-16, although it is very close thematically to the “Basis of Assurance” unit of 10:3's **כִּי** clause material (cf. **כִּי** of MT 10:3a). Furthermore, one notes two primary distinguishable units of contrast³¹⁴ within the four strophic paragraphs,³¹⁵ which represent different voices or thematic description independent of one another.³¹⁶ They are logically culminated in military imperatives (10:2c, 5ba, and 17)

³⁰⁸ Clendenen, “Discourse,” 403.

³⁰⁹ Reid, “Thus,” 226.

³¹⁰ In order to obtain the pure hymnic form in all of its absolute contrast of antithetical parallelism, one must remove the jussive clauses of 10:2-3 and 5b along with their following **כִּי** clauses. Thus, it appears that HRLXXJ “corrected” the hymnic structure so as to allow for the “fear not” clauses to enclose the material of vv. 3-5 with v. 9 and give a powerful “build up” to LXX 10:11a's directive to speak v. 11's content. It is important to note, moreover, that Gunkel allows for both cohortative and jussive clauses to be included with surrounding hymnic material or structures (idem, *Introduction*, 23-27).

³¹¹ Clendenen, “Discourse,” 403-04.

³¹² **בְּמַעַזְר** also represents an etymological pun on **עַז** in 3b (Reid, “Thus,” 227).

³¹³ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 15 and 168 note 13.

³¹⁴ In the language of Jeremiah (MT 13:25), it is the contrast between Judah remembering her true God, Yahweh, or simply trusting in **שֶׁקֶר** or “a lie” (HALOT II:1648-49). Overholt has developed this simple contrast in the book of Jeremiah most fully (idem, *Threat*).

³¹⁵ Margaliot, “Jeremiah 10:1-16,” 298-99.

³¹⁶ Finsterbusch, “Gegen,” 358-65; and Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 376-77.

followed with reasons or basis of exhortation (vv. 2d-3, 5bβγ, and 18). Hence, there is a need to repeat 10:2c's "fear not" within the context of the *Götzenpolemik* (10:5bα). The larger pericope indicates that every battle call uttered has an accompanying logical reason for its command, as in vv. 2-3, 5b, and 17-18. MT 10:4-16's hymnic elements constitute an elaboration upon the original grounding reason of 10:3.³¹⁷ However, it seems clear that the pattern of exhortation followed by a basis or reason of assurance occurs twice (vv. 2-3 and 5b) with surrounding hymnic poetry in 10:4-5a and 6-16. One might also label 10:4-16 simply as a hymnic unit of "eschatological"³¹⁸ promise due to its full assurance in an eschatological victory occurring on the future "Day of the Lord" military scenario.³¹⁹

In contrast to the antithetical parallelism noted above, one can present the poetic structure of 10:4-16's hymn in chiasmic form that centers upon the thematic contrast most starkly obvious between 10:10 and 11, since Jeremiah's book evidences chiasm frequently.³²⁰ A chiasmic organization has the advantage of marking clearly 10:10's theologoumena as the core thought,³²¹ with 10:11 as an antithesis or negative thematic counterpart. Thus, MT's chiasmic center in verse 10:10 would contrast distinctly with HRLXXJ's focus on LXX 10:11's theological content (cf. chapter III),³²² in this structural outline:

³¹⁷ Or a "Basis of Assurance" to the prior assurances of 10:2.

³¹⁸ I use the term found in Gunkel's analysis of "eschatological" type of hymns, although I would not necessarily advocate the *Sitz im Leben* or life setting proposed by Gunkel for these types of hymns (idem, *Introduction*, 44).

³¹⁹ Von Rad has developed the notion that the prophetic concept and description of the "Day of the Lord" derives from the holy war traditions of Israelite warfare (idem, "Origin," 97-108).

³²⁰ Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (2d ed.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 82-146.

³²¹ Even Rudolph admits verse 10 is essential to Jer 10's thought structure (idem, *Jeremia*, 73). Contra: Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101.

³²² LXX Jeremiah's concentration on verse 11 is contrary to modern scholarship's consensus that 10:11 is a later gloss (e.g. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101).

- 1-2a (Call for House of Israel to Listen to Yahweh’s Oracle)
 2bcd-3 (Call to War in “Do Not Learn or Be Afraid” with v. 3’s Basis of Assurance)
 4-5 (Impotent Idols that Can Do No Good or Ill) [Unit of Promise I]
 6-7 (The Incomparable Yahweh) [Unit of Promise I Continued]
 8-9 (The Instruction of Nothings are Only Materials) [Promise II]
 10 (The True, Living God and the Eternal King) [Promise II]
 11 (Nations Admit that Their Gods Perish) [Promise III]
 12-13 (Yahweh Creates the Natural World and Meteorology) [III]
 14-15 (Mankind Proves Foolish like His Idols) [Unit of Promise IV]
 16 (Yahweh of Hosts, as Creator, Possesses Israel as an Inheritance) [Promise IV]
 17-18 (Call to Flee Directive with v. 18’s Basis of the Directive or the Purpose)

Thus, this thematic structure builds on each antithetical element, such as facets of idolatry (e.g. 10:4-5) compared in following manner to Yahweh (10:6-7) within the first “Unit of Promise” for an assurance to the prior prohibitions of 10:2c and 10:5ba. The assurance of a future triumph in 10:4-16’s hymn finds its surety of victory in the promise of Yahweh’s retribution against idolaters in “holy wars” theology of the “Day of Yahweh.”³²³ MT 10:6-7 seems to reiterate arguments of the incomparability of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g. 40:18, 25; 46:5, and especially 9) and introduces Yahweh as the “King of the nations” (MT 10:7; cf. below).

Subsequently, the idolatrous world of 10:8-9 is compared to the true God of v. 10 in the second unit of promise. The perishing of the idols in 10:11 are then contrasted with the creative work of Yahweh in vv. 12-13 as a third unit of promise. Finally, the last antithetical pair of 10:14-15 contrasts the idol makers (or their idols) with Yahweh and His people in v. 16, thus completing a fourth unit of promise. Each contrastive strophe builds thematically on the next thought, as explained in Margaliot³²⁴ and Krašovec.³²⁵

³²³ Von Rad, “Origin,” 104.

³²⁴ Margaliot, “Jeremiah X:1-16,” 299.

³²⁵ Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 81-84.

An overarching development may be noted in the progression of the idols from being placed upright and secured in position (10:4), to that of standing as a scarecrow (5aα), but not speaking (5aβ), and, then, to that of being carried and not marching (5aγδ). After 10:4-5's strophe, 10:8-9's following strophe then progresses to describe the idol makers themselves and their process of clothing the idols. Thus, the hymn leaves the realm of making the idol merely stand up to that of what the idol fashioners create to enliven their fabrications with elaborate accoutrements. Finally, in 10:14-15, the movement of the passage goes on to describe the humans fooled by their idols and how such folly effectively demonstrates the shame of their future ruin (15b).³²⁶

Although there is contrastive parallelism in an antithetical structure throughout MT 10:4-16, yet, one perceives a gradual progression of thought which leads to a logical climax in v. 16. This is to say, there is not just a contrast of antithetical notions in each strophe, but rather, an image of war preparation becomes established and is consummated throughout 10:4-16. Furthermore, the nations busily construct their idols, propping them up in 10:4-5, but the idols have no power since they must be carried (5aγ) and cannot walk (5aδ). Despite the fact that no one among the nations is like Yahweh in His strength as their King (10:6-7), the nations continue their foolishness in that they continue to teach that their idols are worthy of worship (8) and they proceed to expensively clothe their gods (9). But, in contrast to the vain pursuits of the nations, Yahweh exists truly as God and comes in anger against the nations (10:10), who then admit that their gods perish and accomplish nothing (11). Yahweh, on the one hand, marshals His army (MT 10:13a's **הַצְּבָאוֹת**)³²⁷ of creative wonders (10:12-13) by His divine military command (MT 10:13a's **קוֹל**),³²⁸ but

³²⁶ Jer 10:15b's description of perishing indicates primarily that humans as idolaters will die as false claimants to be true creators. Dominic Rudman notes that MT 10:15aβ's phrase **מִעֲשֵׂה תַעֲתָעִים** indicates a "work of disrespect," whose contempt is directed "towards God in his role as Creator." Cf. idem, "Creation and Fall in Jeremiah X: 12-16," *VT* 48, no. 1 (1998), 72. LXX Jeremiah, on the other hand, translates MT 10:15aβ's phrase assumed to be behind both LXX 10:15a and 28:18 with perfect, passive participles that imply mockery directed at the idols themselves. Cf. ἐμπαίζω "to mock" (GELSM, 227) for LXX 10:15 and μωκάομαι "to do or make in jest" (GELSM, 470) for LXX 28:18.

³²⁷ MT Jer 10:13a's **הַצְּבָאוֹת** "army" (HALOT I:250-51) has military connotations, such as in Judg 4:7 and Dan 11:11-13.

³²⁸ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 385.

the nations, on the other hand, pursue their stupidity despite the manifest evidence of creation from their Creator (MT 10:8-10 and 14-15).

The nations become shamed by their manufacture of idols and then perish³²⁹ along with their mocking creations (10:14-15). At the end of the day, Yahweh is proven to be the Victor in an imagined eschatological battle, due to the fact that He is the last one “left standing,” in contrast to the “gods” which easily wobble (10:4c). The nations are left with nothing to stand on, metaphorically speaking, not even having a “scarecrow” to frighten away anyone (10:5aa). In the final antithetical contrast, Yahweh wins and possesses His tribe of Israel as His triumphal reward (10:16). The spoils of victory then belong to the rightful Owner, who created all of it (10:16b). The people of Yahweh must await the results of Yahweh’s military triumph until they hit the target of Yahweh’s catapult of them into exile (i.e. the finding of a knowledge of Yahweh expressed in 10:18).³³⁰

My chiastic structure of MT 10:4-16 reveals a central focus upon the theme of Yahweh’s theophanic appearance in judgment upon idolaters and their pagan gods in 10:10 and 11. The mirror framework clearly demonstrates that the nations’ gods cannot stand (vv. 4-5) as Yahweh remains victoriously standing (v. 16). One sees that the humanity of idolatry in 10:8-9 and 14-15 surrounds the “showdown” between Yahweh and the gods of humanity in vv. 10-13. The reality of Yahweh and His creative acts in the heavens and earth in 10:10-13 is surrounded by the nations’ accoutrements as they busy themselves with the detritus of empty riches (vv. 4-9 and 14-15). The chiastic theme of Yahweh’s victory over idols only appears explicitly in the hymn at MT 10:10-11 and provides the central motif of the entire poetical unit. 10:16 serves more as a conclusion to the hymn’s logical argumentation and displays the results of Yahweh’s victory since, unlike the pagan deities or their makers, Yahweh does not perish (10:10-11 and 10:15-16) as מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם (MT 10:10ay), or “King of the World.”

³²⁹ Rudman, “Creation,” 72.

³³⁰ In a very real sense, many of the “fear not” passages of MT Jeremiah (e.g. 1:8; 10:2, 5; 30:10; and 46:27-28) find their assurance or basis of confidence in the fact that Yahweh wins His final victory over Babylon and the nations in the oracle against Babylon (MT 50-51). Thus, Yahweh truly becomes the “King of the Nations” (cf. MT 10:7a) after defeating Babylon and the nations at the end of the book of Jeremiah (e.g. cf. MT 51:57).

The intricacy of the poetic hymn of MT 10:4-16 astounds the reader through its detailed poetic construction. The initial *Beth* prepositions of 10:4a's **בְּכֶסֶף** and **וּבְזָהָב** link phonetically in their alliteration to the prior of **בְּמַעֲצָר** of 10:3c. Bilabial stops become a frequent tool of the poet of MT 10:4-16, as is apparent from simply a quick glance at 10:4's string of *Beth* and *Peh* initial words.³³¹ The bilabial stop consonants occur throughout the poetical hymn of 10:4-16, such as in the *Beth* and *Peh* initial words.³³² Perhaps the most obvious sound assonance in MT 10:4-16's hymn is that of the alliteration of the letter *Mem*, which occurs 35 times in the pericope (i.e. words which begin with the letter *Mem* either in its original form or with its preposition). Such "memation" words occur throughout the entire poem in vocabulary such as **מִקְשָׁה** (5a), **מֵהֶם** (5b), **מֵאֵין** (6a), **מוֹסֵר** (8b), etc.³³³ However, the primary means of the hymn to demonstrate its poetical nature is in its thought or thematic contrast between its antithetical strophes.

The poetic structure repeats itself thematically³³⁴ with variation of vocabulary sometimes. Thus, one sees the description of the idols as wood (10:3 and 8) or metallic

³³¹ Note these: **יִפְיֵק**, **בְּמִסְמְרוֹת** וּ**בְּמִקְבוֹת**, **בְּכֶסֶף** וּ**בְּזָהָב**.

³³² The full list includes: **בְּגִבּוֹרָה**, **יִפְיֵק** (4c), **בְּמִסְמְרוֹת** וּ**בְּמִקְבוֹת** (4b), **בְּכֶסֶף** וּ**בְּזָהָב** (4a), **בְּחֶכְמָתוֹ** (12b), **בְּכַחוֹ** (12a), **יִבְאֵ** (9a), **וּבְאַחַת יְבַעְרוּ** (8a), **בְּכָל־חֲכָמָי** (7c), **בְּבָם** (14d), **מִפְסָל** (14b), **הַבֵּישׁ** (14b), **נִבְעַר** (14a), **בְּרָקִים** (13c), **בְּשִׁמּוֹם** (13a), **וּבְתִבּוֹנָתוֹ** (12c), **בְּעַת** (15b), **פְּקַדְתָּם** (15b), **בְּמַצֹּר** (17b), **בְּפַעַם** (18b). One might also mention **יִיפְהוּ** of 10:4a.

³³³ The full list of 35 words include: **בְּמַעֲצָר** (3c), **מַעֲשָׂה** (3b), **מִיַּעַר** (2d), **וּמֵאֲתוֹת** (2c), **מִלְדָּ** (7a), **מֵי** (7a), **מֵאֵין** (6a), **מֵהֶם** (5bα), **מִקְשָׁה** (5aα), **וּבְמִקְבוֹת** (4b), **בְּמִסְמְרוֹת** (4b), **מַעֲשָׂה** (9b), **מֵאֲוִפֵּז** (9a), **מִתְרַשֵּׁישׁ** (9a), **מִרְקָע** (8b), **מוֹסֵר** (7c), **מֵאֵין** (7c), **מִלְכוּתָם** (7a), **מִכִּין** (12b), **וּמִן־תַּחֲוֹת** (11c), **מֵאֲרַעָא** (10b), **מִקְצָפוֹ** (10aγ), **וּמִלְדָּ** (9e), **מַעֲשָׂה** (9c), **מַעֲשָׂה** (14c), **מִפְסָל** (14a), **מִדְּעַת** (13d), **מֵאֲצְרָתָיו** (13c), **לְמֹטֵר** (13b), **מִקְצָה** (13a), **מֵיִם** (15aβ), **לְמַעַן** (18d), **יִמְצָאוּ** (18d). This list does not include words like **שִׁמּוֹם** that have multiple *Mems* in their form (**שִׁמּוֹם** occurs three times in the pericope, excluding its twice occurrence in the Aramaic of verse 10:11). Given such affinity for memation and bilabial plosives, it is very interesting that MT 51:20 begins with **מִפְּיֵן** subsequent to MT 51:15-19's doublet material from 10:12-16.

³³⁴ For a list of MT 10:1-16's repeated rhetorical strategies, cf. Reid, "Thus," 224-31.

(10:4, 9, and 14),³³⁵ repeated mention of craftsmen (10:3, 9, and 14), the verbal notion of “shaking” (רעשׁ of 10b) with that of “wobbling” (פּוֹק of 4c), references to humanity (גּוֹי in 10:2 [twice], 7 [twice], 10, עַם in 3, and אָרָם in 14), the continued use of words for “earth” (10:10, 11, 12, and 13) and “heavens” (10:2, 11, and 12-13), a repeated switch in person, number, or voice (*enallage*),³³⁶ such as in the personal pronouns (אֲנִי or its variants in 10:2, 5, and 15; suffix forms in 10:9 and 15; אֲלֵהּ in 10:11 and 16), or the pronoun כָּל (10:7, 9, 14, and 16)³³⁷ in contrast to the singular God of Israel who created all (10:16).

The reader may find MT 10:4-16’s thematic or logical links difficult³³⁸ to connect in their strophic units throughout such harshly contrastive notions, although rhetorical and literary connections are easily observable.³³⁹ For example, the movement logically from a description of the idols as unable to stand themselves, speak, or move (10:4-5a) becomes contrasted immediately with Yahweh’s unique גְּבוּרָה (10:6c),³⁴⁰ linguistically linked by the repetition of יָרָא (10:5bα and 7a).³⁴¹ The switch from אֵין אֹתָם: (10:5bγ) to the מֵאֵין (6a), in similar fashion, demonstrates both phonetical and lexical repetition by the poet. Since one need not fear the pagan gods (10:5b), the hymnist switches to a focus upon Yahweh and asks rhetorically how anyone could not fear Yahweh (10:7a), so as to evidence an alternative perspective from that of 10:4-5.

A progression of thought develops in MT 10:4-16’s hymn. First the nations build their army of idols in 10:4-5 and then they, subsequently, face an incomparable Yahweh in 10:6-7, who, as becomes evident, finds no true rival throughout MT 10:8-16. MT 10:4-7’s truth establishes a foundation for statements of shame and mockery later in the hymn

³³⁵ There may be an underlying thematic unity with other passages of Jeremiah which discuss metallurgy or metal refinement, such as MT 6:27, in which Jeremiah is an assayer of Israel.

³³⁶ Often *enallage* entails a change of person or voice, as in 10:11 (cf. analysis of v. 11 below).

³³⁷ There are a total of six instances in the hymn.

³³⁸ Holladay notes that the poetry’s antithetical parallelism is “dizzying” (idem, *Jeremiah 1*, 336).

³³⁹ Reid, “Thus,” 224-31; and Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 81-84.

³⁴⁰ Note also the reference to כָּן in MT 10:12a, which indicates a link across verse 11 to earlier hymnic material.

³⁴¹ Reid states that the contrastive connotations of יָרָא “helps to heighten the contrast intended in the two sections between Yahweh and the pagan gods” (idem, “Thus,” 227).

(10:8-9 and 14-15). The satire of MT 10:8-9's folly comes from the fact that the nations humorously continue to build their army of tottering gods (10:4-5). The foolishness inherent in such an enterprise is starkly contrasted with Yahweh's reality of existence and his anger (10:10), so as to produce the wisdom or logic of 10:11's judgment. MT 10:11, thus, "does not really disturb the whole structure of the passage. Its contents fit quite well into its context... creating an additional antithetic pair."³⁴²

MT Jer 10:11 is a crucial verse to MT's hymnic structure, as it is to a greater extent to LXX 10:4-16 (cf. chapter III). Without MT 10:11, one has no connection to introduce the concept of "heavens" and its meteorological phenomena (10:12-13), which are the means by which Yahweh displays his attributes of truth, life, and eternal royalty (10:10). MT 10:10 culminates aptly with "nations" which contrasts with 10:12-13, so that the nations' activity under the heavens and on the earth contrasts with Yahweh's activity in the heavens and over the earth. Thus, only verse 10:11 describes how Yahweh displays his anger upon the nations, a thought which otherwise would be lost in the hymnic participles describing Yahweh's activity in the heavens. 10:11 also preserves a thematic paradigm throughout 10:10-13 with "earth" repeated in Aramaic (10:11bc) linking with three occurrences³⁴³ of אַרְעָא (excluding תַּבְלָא of 10:12b), and is phonetically connected with אוּצְרָא (MT 10:13d).

Without MT 10:11, there is no other occurrence of the pronoun אֱלֹהֵא besides that of MT 10:16a. The phonetic similarity to MT 10:11's אֱלֹהֵיא (or Hebrew אֱלֹהִים) allows 10:16a's contrastive logic to be contextually established and have its rhetorical effect as a concluding statement.³⁴⁴ Thus, MT 10:11 connects poetically and antithetically to its context by a direct address of 10:10c's nations in the previous clause. A chiasm is formed within verse 10:11 itself,³⁴⁵ which mirrors the larger chiasm of 10:4-16, which centers

³⁴² Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 83.

³⁴³ "Earth" is mentioned once in 10:10 and twice in 10:12-13 (excluding תַּבְלָא).

³⁴⁴ MT 10:16a's pronoun אֱלֹהֵא probably refers most directly to 10:15b's description of the idolaters' judgment.

³⁴⁵ Volz, *Jeremia*, 122; Clendenen, "Discourse," 404; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 325; and Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 593.

thematically upon both MT 10:10 and 11 as an antithetical unit of thought.³⁴⁶ One may also note 10:11's contextual links of sound, such as **נִרְקָע** (10:9a) with **אֲרָקֵא** (10:11b)³⁴⁷ and in **עִבֵר** (10:11b) with **אִבֵר** (10:11c and 15b).³⁴⁸ In summary, I have noted only some of the literary and phonetic connections manifest in 10:4-16's hymn so as to demonstrate the hymn's need of 10:11 to be present in the poetry's antithetical parallelism. My chiasmic structure of MT 10:4-16 and its delineation of vv. 4-16 seems preferable over that of others, predominantly due to the fact that it properly places 10:11 as the antithetical element of 10:10-11's thematic center.³⁴⁹

In terms of common themes within similar hymnic forms, MT Jer 10:4-16's hymnic structure has close thematic ties to MT Ps 115 and 135 in which, like MT Jer 10:4-16, one sees "twin elements of satire on idolatry and the hymnic praise of Yahweh" which are "skillfully woven together."³⁵⁰ Besides the obviously similar *Götzenpolemik* of Ps 115:4-8 and 135:15-18, one notes similarities to MT Jer 10 in Ps 115 and 135's praise descriptions of Yahweh (e.g. cf. Ps 115:1-3, 12-18; and 135:1-14), direct address of Yahweh (cf. Ps 115:1; 135:13; and MT Jer 10:6-7), the theme of humanity perishing (cf. Ps 115:8, 17; and MT Jer 10:14-15), poetic *enallage*³⁵¹ (cf. Ps 115:1-3; 135:13-14; and MT Jer 10:6-7), a focus on worship in Zion (cf. Ps 135:21 and MT Jer 10:16-17), and a war taunt spoken by the nations (cf. Ps 115:2³⁵² and MT Jer 10:11). The notion of Israel's election and future with Yahweh (MT Jer 10:16) also has parallels in Ps 115 and 135 (cf. Ps 115:9-18; 135:8-14, and 19-21). Thus, MT Jer 10:4-16's text form finds obvious

³⁴⁶ William L. Holladay, "The Recovery of Poetic Passages of Jeremiah," *JBL* 85, no. 4 (1966), 434.

³⁴⁷ Yair Hoffman, *Jeremiah: Introduction and Commentary* (vol. 1; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004), 292.

Hoffman also notes the similarity of MT 10:5's **יִרְעוּ** to **יִרְאֶה** of MT 10:7 (ibid.).

³⁴⁸ Ibid.; and Hitzig, *Jeremia*, 83 with reference to Mover's similar comments.

³⁴⁹ My structure assumes the originality and appropriateness of the Aramaic verse to the hymnic context.

³⁵⁰ Davidson, "Jeremiah X: 1-16," 56. Gunkel gives a similar hymnic grouping of MT Jer 10 material with Ps 115 and 135 (Gunkel, *Introduction*, 22). For an analysis of the structure of MT Jer 10:1-16 as a hymnic Psalm, cf. Finsterbusch, "Gegen," 356-72.

³⁵¹ Or, a sudden change of voice or person.

³⁵² Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 286.

parallels in hymnic Psalm material,³⁵³ with greatest thematic affinity to Ps 135 (especially 135:8-12's "victory" theme).³⁵⁴

Crüsemann's analysis of hymnic genres demonstrates that MT Jer 10:4-16 is most like Ps 135³⁵⁵ in terms of strictly formal elements (besides the comparable themes observed above).³⁵⁶ Although many have observed that MT Jer 10:4-16 is most like Deutero-Isaiah in its themes and concepts,³⁵⁷ it is difficult to prove a direct borrowing of lexemes by MT Jer 10:1-18's author from Deutero-Isaiah, since the Hebrew words and phrases often differ³⁵⁸ and MT Jer 10:1-18 has a definite Jeremianic flavor.³⁵⁹ Similar to Ex 15:1-18³⁶⁰ and Ps 65,³⁶¹ MT Jer 10:4-16's contains a combination of formal elements in similar categories outlined by Crüsemann, who finds the participial hymnic material of 10:12-13 and its refrain of 10:16d³⁶² to be the purest type of the hymnic components within the pericope. Thus, besides the jussive and ׀ clauses³⁶³ of 10:2-3 and 5b added to the pure antithetical parallelism of MT 10:4-16, one also might distinguish various genres with Crüsemann, such as the *Götzenpolemik* sections,³⁶⁴ the hymnic participial unit of 10:12-13,³⁶⁵ the direct

³⁵³ Finsterbusch, "Gegen."

³⁵⁴ In terms of genre formal elements, Crüsemann notes that Ps 135 essentially contains an imperatival hymn along with hymnic participles like Jer 10:12-13 (idem, *Studien*, 126-29). Ps 135 also has elements of an individual thanksgiving hymn (ibid., 214).

³⁵⁵ Idem, *Studien*, 126-31.

³⁵⁶ Scholars debate whether the Psalms should be categorized into genres (or literary types) by their thematic elements or by strictly formal or linguistic characteristics. I shall incorporate analyses that incorporate either critical approach (or both, as in Gunkel).

³⁵⁷ E.g. cf. Berlejung, *Theologie*, 391; Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 379; etc.

³⁵⁸ Davidson, "Jeremiah X:1-16," 42-52.

³⁵⁹ Overholt, "Falsehood," 9-12.

³⁶⁰ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 19-24, 125, 206-08, etc.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 201-02 and 286-94. Both Ps 104 and 1 Sam 2 possess direct address and participial hymns as "hymns of the individual" in Crüsemann's analysis (ibid., 285-304).

³⁶² Ibid., 108-14. Crüsemann describes the refrain of MT Jer 10:16d as an "Unterschrift" (ibid., 113-14). The fact that such an "Unterschrift" is common to other hymnic units (such as those of Amos) indicates, according to Crüsemann, that MT Jer 10:16d's similar formulas indicate a common expression as a "Grundform" of participial hymns (ibid., 95-114).

³⁶³ Gunkel notes that these elements can be considered part of the hymn itself, or at least a formal element of a hymnic structure (idem, *Introduction*, 23-41). Similarly, Crüsemann states that the cohortative and jussive can substitute for the imperative verb in hymnic units at times (idem, *Studien*, 33, 72, 79, 200, 248, 275, and 301).

³⁶⁴ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 113-14.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 108-14.

address of Yahweh in MT 10:6-7,³⁶⁶ and 10:16d's refrain "Yahweh of Hosts is His name."³⁶⁷ Therefore, MT 10:2-16 evidences a complex mixture of hymnic elements.

The hymn of Ex 15:1-18, like that of Judg 5, has victory song elements,³⁶⁸ direct address of Yahweh,³⁶⁹ Crüsemann's "Unterschrift" refrain,³⁷⁰ a focus on the name of Yahweh (Ex 15:3 and MT Jer 10:6), Yahweh's kingly reign in Zion (Ex 15:17-18 and MT Jer 10:10-17), and the hymnic imperative with a יָצֵא clause (Ex 15:21³⁷¹ and MT Jer 10:2c and 5bα's jussives). Furthermore, Ex 15:11 has a hymnic participle like those of MT Jer 10:12-13³⁷² and Ps 86:10.³⁷³ Ex 15:1-18 also has obvious general thematic similarities besides the "victory" motif over other nations, such as the incomparability of Yahweh (Ex 15:11) and the kingship of Yahweh (15:18). Thus, like Ps 135, Ex 15:1-18 has many formal hymnic equivalents to MT Jer 10:2-16 in Crüsemann's analysis.

Hab 3:1-19's "victory" hymn³⁷⁴ represents a more positive portrayal of Yahweh as a victorious Warrior for His people, as opposed to the constant negative barrage of *Götzenpolemik* in MT Jer 10:2-16.³⁷⁵ In other words, Hab 3's hymn describes the actions and feats of the one true Warrior on Israel's behalf, but MT Jer 10:4-16 focuses heavily on the negative portrayal of idols as non-combatant opponents. However, Hab 3:1-19 is preceded by a *Götzenpolemik* in 2:18-19 and a description of Yahweh in his temple for a stark contrast (2:20). Thus, the antithetical parallelism of MT Jer 10:4-16 finds a thematic counterpart in Hab 3:1-18 with its contrast of 2:18-20. There are other similar motifs between MT Jer 10:2-16 and Hab 3, such as Yahweh providing rain (MT Jer 10:13; Hab

³⁶⁶ Like that of Ps 65 (ibid., 202 note 2).

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 95-114.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 206-08.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 193.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 95-114.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 19-24.

³⁷² Ibid., 111-14.

³⁷³ Ibid., 125. For comparison of Ps 86 to MT Jer 10:2-16, cf. Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 380-381.

³⁷⁴ Hiebert, *God of My Victory*.

³⁷⁵ But, note the *Götzenpolemik* of Hab 2:18-20 prior to 3:1-19.

3:9-10 and 15; e.g. cf. Ps 65:9-12 and 68:10) or Yahweh coming in theophanic retribution (MT Jer 10:10, 15; and Hab 3:3-12).

Both Ps 65 and Hab 3 possess Crüsemann's formal elements of the "Danklied" or thanksgiving psalms,³⁷⁶ but also contain direct address of Yahweh,³⁷⁷ just as Ps 135 does as well (cf. Ps 135:13).³⁷⁸ Yet, Ps 135, for Crüsemann, is a participial hymn³⁷⁹ which has elements of an individual thanksgiving hymn³⁸⁰ and also of an imperatival hymn.³⁸¹ However, Crüsemann's categorizes Hab 3:2's genre as that of a "Jahwe-anredender Hymnus,"³⁸² along with Ex 15:1 (of Ex 15:1-18); MT Ps 65; and Ps 104,³⁸³ which would then mirror MT Jer 10:6-7's direct address of Yahweh as well. In summary, formal hymnic elements tie MT Jer 10:4-16 to other hymns like that of Ex 15:1-18, MT Ps 65, and Ps 135, but thematic elements (especially those of theophany) heavily favor a comparison of MT Jer 10:4-16's material and context to those of Hab 2:18-3:19's similar motifs. In conclusion to this section, MT Jer 10:4-16's hymn contains a mixture of hymnic and genre elements³⁸⁴ in a type of "eschatological" hymn³⁸⁵ that focuses thematically upon Yahweh's theophany in MT 10:10. The hymn contains a complicated antithetical structure throughout vv. 4-16, which has few parallels in the book of Jeremiah (e.g. cf. MT Jer 17:5-13;³⁸⁶ 18:7-

³⁷⁶ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 201-02.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 160, 192-95.

³⁷⁸ For the formal element of "Der Jahwe-anredende Bericht-Stil im Hymnus" in Crüsemann's analysis, cf. *ibid.*, 191-99.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 127-29.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

³⁸² Thus, Crüsemann indicates that Hab 3:1-19 might be termed a hymn of direct address to Yahweh (*ibid.*, 180 and 195-97). But, like Ps 65, Hab 3 evidences the genre of a "Danklied" or thanksgiving hymn as well (*ibid.*).

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 285-304

³⁸⁴ Kessler states of Jer 50-51 that "we are not dealing here with genuine genres, but with literary creations which imitate earlier genres" (*idem, Battle*, 51).

³⁸⁵ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44 and 54-55.

³⁸⁶ Robert P. Carroll writes of Jer 17:5-13: "A series of poems using wisdom motifs contrasts the difference between those who are cursed and those who are blessed (17.5-8), with further poems stressing the fate of those who forsake Yahweh (17.9-13; each element here is essentially a working out of the contrasts of vv. 5-8)." Cf. *idem, Jeremiah. T & T Clark Study Guides* (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 45.

10; and MT 30:5-17) and, perhaps, rivals the most complex among the prophets (e.g. cf. Ezekiel).³⁸⁷

2.2. The Framing of the Hymn within vv. 1-3 and 17-18

Following Jer 10:1's address of Israel, the hymnic poetry of MT Jer 10:4-16 requires the prior context of an assurance against an object of fear (10:2cd and 5b) and 10:3's "Basis of Assurance" in 10:3ab's **יְיָ** clauses.³⁸⁸ The primary speech units are, thus, those of the prohibitions in MT 10:2c and 5b α and the imperative of v. 17a, while vv. 3-16 and 18 offer explanatory material so as to provide reasons for the primary injunctives. Technically speaking, the content of MT 10:4-16's hymn does not represent the primary message of the pericope, but rather gives an amplified or expanded "Basis of Assurance" to that of 10:3 and the prior concessive clause of MT 10:2d (i.e. "although the nations are dismayed of them"). Therefore, MT 10:2-3's descriptions of pagan religion provide the thematic (or bipolar) opposition to Israel's true God that continues with amplified contrast in MT 10:4-16's hymn. For example, MT 10:7a provides the proper reverential fear that is only due to Yahweh, but 10:2 describes the nations' fear of the "signs of the heavens" (10:2c).

The "dizzying"³⁸⁹ antithetical parallelism of MT 10:4-16 sums up concisely, or, rather, gives a brief synopsis of the thematic contrasts found in Deutero-Isaiah's mixture of its *Götzenpolemik* with other theological motifs and similar genre elements (e.g. hymnic participles).³⁹⁰ For example, Deutero-Isaiah asks rhetorically "Who is like Yahweh?" (e.g. Isa 40:18, 25; and 46:5), but MT Jer 10:1-18 states emphatically that no one is like Yahweh (MT 10:6-7, 16; and Isa 46:9). The contrastive themes of Deutero-Isaiah, thus, become focused in MT Jer 10:2-16 to amplify the disparity between human idolaters, who

³⁸⁷ Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 76.

³⁸⁸ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 168 note 13.

³⁸⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 336.

³⁹⁰ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 86-95.

make lifeless idols, and the true Creator Yahweh, who makes His theophanic appearance (MT 10:10 and 15). MT 10:1-18, thus, focuses on the reality of the “Day of the Lord,” which, for the prophetic author, represents greater authenticity than that of the sham of idolatry’s deities among the heathen nations. However, only MT 10:4-16’s “victory” hymn actually describes either Yahweh as מֶלֶךְ “King” or His future theophanic coming to judge the nations. The reality of Yahweh’s existence and incomparability centers upon MT 10:10-11’s theophany and judgment of the nations within an “eschatological”³⁹¹ type of hymn (MT 10:4-16).

The motif of מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם (“King of the Nations” in MT 10:7)³⁹² gives to MT 10:1-18 an essential link to chapters 50-51’s Babylonian oracles (e.g. cf. MT 51:57 or LXX 28:57). MT 51:15-19’s doublet reminds the reader of MT 10:4-16’s hymnic descriptive contrast of Yahweh with idolaters, as well as MT 10:11’s war taunt parallel with the themes of MT 51:14.³⁹³ MT 10:7’s term מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם is “unique” “as a comprehensive expression”³⁹⁴ in both Jeremiah’s book and the entire Hebrew Bible, thus giving the hymn special uniqueness in this regard. MT 10:10a, however, not only affirms Yahweh as עוֹלָם (cf. 10:7’s similar title), but also describes the divine King as אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת “the God of truth.”³⁹⁵ The distinction between the true existence of Yahweh versus pagan idolatry’s falsehood (MT 10:14c’s שֶׁקֶר) represents a crucial contrastive concept to MT 10:1-18’s entire context, which centers thematically upon religious comparison and the nations’ shameful fear (e.g. cf. MT 10:2d; 8; and 14-15).³⁹⁶ For Jeremiah, all other religious

³⁹¹ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44 and 54-55.

³⁹² MT 10:10’s מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם represents also a similar notion (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 334).

³⁹³ Alice Ogden Bellis notes that the “battle cry” of MT 51:14 has strong parallels with the divine warrior motif of Isa 63:1-6 in its “vintage shout.” Cf. idem, *The Structure and Composition of Jeremiah 50:2-51:58* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Biblical Press, 1995), 133-35. Fischer describes MT 51:14 as “Gottes Schwur,” which hearkens back to Am 6:8’s divine vow to punish Jacob’s city (idem, *Jeremia 26-52*, 606).

³⁹⁴ Jones, *Jeremiah*, 174.

³⁹⁵ One could take אֱמֶת “truth” to be in grammatical apposition to the preceding noun “God” (e.g. Graf, *Jeremia*, 159; Cornill, *Jeremia*, 137; etc.).

³⁹⁶ Overholt, *Threat*, 86-104.

perspectives could be reduced to two simple alternatives for Judah, either to remember her God, Yahweh, or to trust in a שֶׁקֶר or “falsehood”³⁹⁷ (cf. MT 13:25). MT 10:4-16 most forcefully distinguishes and displays the contrast of Judah’s simple choices between either her true King Yahweh and His future theophanic victory, or the false objects of fear which the nations hold in reverence (MT 10:2d-3) to their own future demise (10:11 and 15).

Both Thomas W. Overholt³⁹⁸ and Gerhard Von Rad³⁹⁹ note that Israel’s wisdom sought the proverbial “bottom of things”⁴⁰⁰ in contrast to the groundless falsehood of שֶׁקֶר (cf. MT Jer 10:14c). Wisdom desired the truth of the community’s human existence,⁴⁰¹ especially in a legal or jurisprudence sense.⁴⁰² In contrast, Jeremiah’s שֶׁקֶר conveys notions contrary to the community’s “unity,” “survival,” and its collective well-being, or “peace”⁴⁰³ that אֱמֻנָה represents (cf. MT Jer 10:10a). Moreover, MT 10:14c’s שֶׁקֶר indicates the “ineffectiveness” of the nations’ idols,⁴⁰⁴ especially in Jer 10:1-18’s general message with MT 10:4-16’s hymnic center. Yahweh alone provides actual existence in His own being (cf. MT 10:10), but also to His creation that He made (10:16), which is an aspect evidently lacking in the handcrafted products of idolatry (10:2-16). Such a picture of the harsh reality of paganism’s שֶׁקֶר is most powerfully demonstrated in the antithetical parallelism of MT 10:4-16’s poetry, so as to demonstrate the “eschatological” hymn’s needed placement within vv. 2-3 and 17-18.

In MT Jer 10:1-18, Yahweh is more real to any other alternative for Judah’s trust, since all else is mere שֶׁקֶר and cannot give Judah salvific victory from her enemies,⁴⁰⁵ nor

³⁹⁷ CHAL, 383.

³⁹⁸ Idem, *Threat*, 91.

³⁹⁹ Idem, *Old Testament Theology, Volume I, The Theology of Israel’s Historical Traditions* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 418-28.

⁴⁰⁰ Overholt, *Threat*, 91; and Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Volume I*, 428.

⁴⁰¹ Overholt, *Threat*, 91.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 90. This is especially the case in biblical contexts which focus on the “false witness” concept. E.g. cf. Prov 12:17 (ibid.).

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 93 and 101-04.

⁴⁰⁴ Overholt, “Falsehood,” 12; and idem, *Threat*, 102. E.g. cf. MT Ps 33:17.

⁴⁰⁵ Overholt, “Falsehood,” 11-12.

her community true “peace.”⁴⁰⁶ Thus, Yahweh and his future retributive coming seems more actual than any false image which does not possess true existence, as evidenced in MT Jer 10:2-16’s *Götzenpolemik* material. Therefore, the “victory” hymn of MT 10:4-16 belongs between vv. 2-3 and 17-18 because of the context’s demand to link the “fear not” jussives of 10:2c and 5ba (also cf. v. 17’s military injunction) to concepts in other similar sections of Jeremiah (cf. MT 1:8, 17-19; MT 30:10-11; and MT 46:27-28). The book of Jeremiah’s frequent injunctive to “fear not” foreshadows the reality of Yahweh’s final judgment over the nations and their idolatry (e.g. cf. MT 51:14-23). However, without MT 10:4-16’s “eschatological” hymn in the book, the “fear not” prohibitions of 10:2c and 5ba would only find their basis of assurance in the simple statements of 10:2d-3. Thus, MT 10:1-18’s pericope, without MT 10:4-16’s hymn, would lack the development of the שָׁקַר concept in full contrast to the reality of Yahweh as divine Warrior coming in judgment of Judah’s and the nations’ idolatry.⁴⁰⁷ The falsehood of the nations’ idolatry, thus, cannot be left to only a description of them as mere axed trees or hand carved wood (10:2d-3). Rather, MT 10:1-18’s pericope must bring out idolatry’s שָׁקַר nature by means of vivid contrast with Yahweh in imagined theophanic retribution, as one sees in MT 10:4-16’s antithetical parallelism.

MT Jer 2:8-13, 26-28; 3:1-5; 5:20-25; and 14:22 all give reasons to see an inherently “Jeremianic” conceptional framework for MT 10:1-16’s argumentation against the cultic idolatry popular in Judah during the lifetime of the prophet.⁴⁰⁸ Furthermore, one notes that הַבֵּל occurs ten times in similar contexts of religious controversy within the book of Jeremiah (i.e. cf. MT 2:5 [twice]; 8:19; 10:3, 8, 15; 14:22; 16:19; 23:16; and MT 51:18). Such occurrences indicate contexts of dispute with false gods (9 of 10 instances) or deceitful perceptions of the divine voice (cf. MT 23:16). The term הַבֵּל demonstrates an apt parallel description of the “no gods” (cf. Deut 32:21 and Jer 16:20) which Jeremiah

⁴⁰⁶ Overholt, *Threat*, 101-04.

⁴⁰⁷ Von Rad notes that the “Day of Yahweh” concept and its imagery arose from a “holy war” military *Sitz im Leben* or context, which conforms to other aspects of MT 10:1-18’s pericope (idem, “Origin,” 97-108).

⁴⁰⁸ Overholt, “Falsehood,” 9-12.

faced amidst his own time and society. In a very tangible sense, the entire structure of MT 10:2-16 is a rhetorical and poetical contrast between the true God of Israel and the false reality (שִׁקְרָה)⁴⁰⁹ of the nations' divinities as הַבֵּל or "non-existent" entities.⁴¹⁰ Thus, technically MT 10:2-16 contains a very unique hymn, whose structure must be considered *sui generis*, or idiosyncratic to its own prophetic context and within the Jeremianic rhetorical strategy as a whole. For example, the speaker of Jer 14:22 directly addresses Yahweh just as one finds in MT 10:6-7. Moreover, direct address of Yahweh as אֱתָהּ⁴¹¹ has frequent occurrence in Jeremiah (e.g. cf. MT 2:27; 3:4, 22; 12:1-3; 14:8-9, 22; 15:15; 17:14, 16-17; 18:23; MT 31:18; 32:17; MT 51:20 and 62).⁴¹²

As in MT 10:1-16, the "manufacture of the idols" is a common thematic element to the book of Jeremiah, which represents a contrastive object of worship to Israel's true God (e.g. cf. 1:16; 2:28; and 16:19-20).⁴¹³ In Jer 3:23, Overholt notes that the hills of idolatrous practice only present delusion (שִׁקְרָה) for Judah, but Yahweh promises actual "deliverance" or "victory"⁴¹⁴ to His people. The "victory" portrayed in MT 10:4-16's hymn only comes to real fruition in the context of the retribution pictured in MT 50-51's destruction of Babylon, especially in the surrounding context of 10:12-16's doublet of MT 51:15-19.⁴¹⁵ The "fear not" context of 10:2c and 5b α becomes much more meaningful in MT 51:15-

⁴⁰⁹ Overholt, *Threat*, 86-104.

⁴¹⁰ E.g. cf. 2 Kings 17:15.

⁴¹¹ The direct address of Yahweh occurs in an assumed prayer, but the prayer could be pretentious in attitude.

⁴¹² The LXX also has these verses listed as well (save 3:4's variations). It is very possible that MT 51:20-23 is a direct reference to Yahweh as a "Warrior against Babylon." If this is the case, then the direct reference to Yahweh in MT 10:6-7 could be referenced or hearkened to once again with the doublet of 10:12-16 in MT 51:15-19.

⁴¹³ Overholt, "Falsehood," 12. In MT 1:16 one finds the phrase לְמַעַשֵׁי יְדֵיהֶם "to the works of their hands" in a parallel phrase with "unto other gods." MT 2:28 asks the question: "Where are the gods which you have made?" Finally, MT 16:19-20 contrasts the nations' divinities with הַבֵּל and asks Judah if she will make for herself "gods" which are not really gods (v. 20).

⁴¹⁴ Overholt notes the term in a "military sphere" can signify either "deliverance" or "victory" (idem, "Falsehood," 11).

⁴¹⁵ John Hill demonstrates that the doublet was intended to recall MT 10:12-16's message and context (idem, *Friend*, 175-76).

19's context, just as it does also in MT 30:10-11 and MT 46:27-28.⁴¹⁶ Thus, MT 10:4-16 essentially presents a “hymn of assured victory,”⁴¹⁷ which envisions in theophanic form the promised victorious coming of 10:7's מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם or, the “King of the Nations” who overcomes Babylon finally in MT 51:15-23.

As for the final section of my structure of MT 10:1-18, one notes that only vv. 17-18 properly place Judah (or the Zion community as Israel) in the exile, due to the result of the divine verdict pronounced with its purposed result in MT 10:18. As noted above, MT 10:18d's זָנַח verb has a *double entendre* implication,⁴¹⁸ but aside from the metaphorical sense derived from Deut 4:29 and MT Jer 29:13 (cf. chapter III), the literal act of “throwing” Zion into exile in the manner of a military slingshot has obvious pertinence and ramifications for MT 10:2c and 5b α 's injunctions to “not fear” in a new foreign context. In fact, the intended effect of the admonitions in MT 10:2c and 5b α must be to prepare Judah for the harsh language of 10:17-18. Thus, it is necessary to envelope the “pure” hymnic unit of 10:4-16 around its surrounding material of vv. 2-3 and 17-18. Doing so, thus, allows one to properly give MT 10:4-16's poetry contextual meaning and applicatory significance in an envisioned exilic location at the end of verse 18. Without MT 10:4-16's hymn, any hope of a future victory over Babylon and the nations would not be explicit to MT 10:1-18's context which, for the most part, merely anticipates a bleak experience in exile, without any connection to MT 51:14-23's related hymnic material.

In conclusion, my macro-structural outline of MT 10:1-18 includes vv. 17-18 because only these verses give the addressed object of the “calls to war” in both 10:2c and 10:5b α as 10:17b's “Besieged Zion.” 10:17-18 must be included in my outline also due to the fact that only these verses provide (especially 10:18d) the ultimate reason for 10:2bc's two prohibitions – i.e. the directive to leave Zion (10:17a) and, secondly, to find the

⁴¹⁶ E.g. cf. Kimhi's comments on Israel's future restoration promise in the “fear not” prohibition. Cf. A. J. Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume Two, A New English translation* (Miqraot Gedalot Series; New York: The Judaica Press, 1985), 353; and Menachem Cohen, *Mikra'ot Gedolot: “Haketer”: Jeremiah* (small ed.; Jerusalem: Bar Ilan University Press, 2012), 226-27.

⁴¹⁷ Perhaps this is the best title given the idiosyncratic character of the hymn in relationship with MT 51:14-23.

⁴¹⁸ CTAT, 2:546-47.

wisdom of knowing Yahweh (MT 10:18d and 9:22-25).⁴¹⁹ My structure of 10:4-16's hymn unites beautifully the "Basis of Assurance" of 10:3 to that of 10:17's "Call to Flee," as well as to 10:18's "Basis of the Directive."

If one assumes a predominantly military motif in 10:1-18, one may easily establish the war oracle context of 10:1-18 in vv. 2-3 and 17-18 which surrounds the victory hymn of 4-16, although it is difficult to lay claim to only one genre element in any part of Jeremiah.⁴²⁰ Moreover, the holy war motif surrounding MT 10:1-18's material allows one to understand the incorporation of theophanic imagery and antithetical *Götzenpolemik* elements within its "eschatological"⁴²¹ "victory" hymn.⁴²² In the following section, I shall now demonstrate the overall structure of MT 10:1-18 as containing a war oracle genre with its unified theme of holy war or battle imagery.

2.3. The Overall Structure of 10:1-18 as a War Oracle

It seems justifiable to conclude that the duplication of divine messenger formulas in 10:2a and 18a unite the entire pericope of MT 10:1-18 together as a war oracle from Yahweh, although there is a mixture of disparate genre material in the verses. MT Jer 10:4-16's hymnic elements present a "dizzying"⁴²³ antithetical parallelism rarely rivaled elsewhere. Its thought juxtaposition gives a brief synopsis of similar thematic contrasts found in Deutero-Isaiah's mixture of its *Götzenpolemik* elements with other theological motifs (e.g. hymnic participles).⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ I take 10:17 to be a directive and 10:18 to be a type of basis of the directive or another form of assurance to verse 17's call to flee. For similar structures of "fear not" texts, cf. Conrad, *Fear Not*, 6-62.

⁴²⁰ Kessler writes: "We are not dealing here with genuine genres, but with literary creations which imitate earlier genres – but they lack a *Sitz im Leben*; they have become, in effect, motifs, which serve as rhetorical building blocks" (idem, *Battle*, 51).

⁴²¹ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44 and 54-55. I would not assume the same *Sitz im Leben* as Gunkel does for his "eschatological hymns," though I incorporate his terminology at times.

⁴²² E.g. Gunkel labels portions of Ps 68 as a "victory song" (ibid., 57), but describes the Psalm as an "eschatological" hymn (ibid., 55). Thus, the labels are artificial and only serve to describe aspects of the hymnic content or themes. There is a definite "victory" ideal or motif in the overthrow of Babylon envisioned in MT Jer 51:14-24, whose doublet of 51:15-19 intentionally recalls the message and context of MT 10:1-18.

⁴²³ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 336.

⁴²⁴ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 86-95.

Unfortunately, many approach MT 10:1-18 with an undue emphasis on its tangential element, or subgenre,⁴²⁵ of the *Götzenpolemik* material and not the overriding genre of “victorious”⁴²⁶ hymnic praise of Yahweh (10:6-7; 10; 12-13; and 16). MT 10:4-16’s hymn gives primarily a message of Yahweh’s future victory over idolaters within its holy war oracle setting, which continues a predominant military motif found throughout chapters 8-10.⁴²⁷ One must recognize, rather, that MT 10:4-16’s genre contains a primarily theological message against idolatrous Judah, with the *Götzenpolemik* essentially being present for a mere contrastive “counterpart” as essentially “negative hymns,”⁴²⁸ as also observable in the disparate units of Deutero-Isaiah’s hymnic contexts⁴²⁹ (e.g. the *Götzenpolemik* of Isa 40:19-22; 41:6-7, 29; 44:9-20; and 46:5-8). Although scholarship debates concerning which genre is the more original to the text form of 10:1-18,⁴³⁰ there is little doubt that “victory” hymns and *Götzenpolemik* were both originally born out of Israel’s confrontation with other nations.⁴³¹

The modern trend to compare Jer 10:1-18 with Deutero-Isaiah became popular with Movers,⁴³² who posited that sections of Deutero-Isaiah and Jer 10:1-16 were from the same

⁴²⁵ Preuß states that *Götzenpolemik* like that of MT Jer 10:4-16 are not independent genres, but serve to complement other genres, as a subgenre (idem, *Verspottung*, 269).

⁴²⁶ I write “victory” because there is debate on what exactly constitutes a “victory song” or *Siegeslied* (Crüsemann, *Studien*, 206-08). I would rather label MT 10:4-16’s poetry an “eschatological” hymn, but this carries with it Gunkel’s *Sitz im Leben* notions, which are debated and I would not endorse either (Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44).

⁴²⁷ Carroll compares 4-6 and 8-10 to the Oracles of MT 46-51 (idem, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 754-7). For similar comparison, cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep*, 137-42.

⁴²⁸ Wolfgang M. W. Roth, “For Life, He Appeals to Death (Wis 13:18) A Study of Old Testament Idol Parodies,” *CBQ* 37 (1975), 31.

⁴²⁹ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 86-95.

⁴³⁰ E.g. Crüsemann asserts that the participial hymnic material of Jer 10:12-13 precede the accretions of the *Götzenpolemik* material, such as 10:14-15 and the concluding refrain of 16 (idem, *Studien*, 113).

Crüsemann’s conclusion is the opposite to that of Preuß, who postulates that the hymnic material of MT 10:6-7 and 10-16 was added to the idol polemical material (Preuß, *Verspottung*, 168). For example, Preuß prefers the order of verses 1-4a, 9, 4b-5, 8 which was then followed by the addition of 14-16. He rejects verses 10:6-7 and 10-13 as later additions to the original text that possessed entirely a *Götzenpolemik* genre and not a hymn to (or of) Yahweh (ibid.). Although many scholars see 10:12-16 to be the original hymnic core (e.g. cf. Ben-Dov, “Jeremiah 10:1-16,” 126), it seems that LXX 10 focused on verse 11 in its structure (cf. chapter III).

⁴³¹ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 113-14 and 308; and Gunkel, *Introduction*, 38 and 50. Both Crüsemann and Gunkel describe the conflict as a religious one.

⁴³² Movers assigns these “fear not” prohibition pericopes of MT Jer 46:27-28 and 30:10-11 to the author of Deutero-Isaiah, as he does those of 10:2 and 5b (idem, *De utriusque*, 43-44).

author.⁴³³ It is certainly true that Deutero-Isaiah has many similar thematic elements to Jer 10:1-18.⁴³⁴ However, MT 10:4-16's hymn has closer thematic parallels in hymnic poetry like that of Ps 47, 86,⁴³⁵ 93, 95-99, 115, 135,⁴³⁶ Hab 3.⁴³⁷ Thematic similarities of MT Jer 10:4-16 to various foreign hymnic material, especially those of Babylonian⁴³⁸ and Ugaritic hymns (cf. below), might help explain the presence of creation and rain motifs in the hymn as well.

One might well label⁴³⁹ MT 10:4-16 as a *Theophaniebericht* (e.g. Ps 68),⁴⁴⁰ or even as a Yahweh-Kingship Psalm (e.g. Ps 47, 93, and 95-99)⁴⁴¹ due to its similar motifs like that of the hymn's two occurrences of מְלִיכָה (MT Jer 10:7a and 10ay).⁴⁴² Likewise, the divine name refrain of 10:16d finds parallel in Ex 15:3 within the literary features of this "victory" song (Ex 15:1-18).⁴⁴³ However, one must admit that Deutero-Isaiah does furnish ample comparison also to Jer 10:2c's and 10:5ba's "fear not" commands⁴⁴⁴ (e.g. cf. MT 30:10-11 and 46:27-28), so as to hint of war oracle language elsewhere (e.g. Josh 8:1)

⁴³³ Modern scholars typically see Jer 10:1-16 as the later textual development to that of Deutero-Isaiah's thought. E.g. cf. Berlejung, *Theologie*, 391; Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 379; and Marvin A. Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (FAT 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 77. However, others see the reverse. E.g. cf. Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989), 166, 69, 258, 316-17, and 319.

⁴³⁴ For example, one could mention the *Götzenpolemik* material, or the "Fear Not" motif (e.g. Isa 41:10, 13; 43:1, 5; and 44:2), or the theme of the incomparability of Yahweh (e.g. Isa 40:18, 25; 46:5 and 9).

⁴³⁵ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 380-81; and Gosse, "La rédaction massorétique," 157-58.

⁴³⁶ Davidson writes: "When we review the hymnic sections it is evident that the main links are with the Psalms, with a wide variety of Psalms including those which celebrate the kingship of Yahweh, Pss. 47, 93, 95ff. In particular there are close links both structurally and linguistically between Jer. 10:1-16 and Pss. 115 and 135" (idem, "Jeremiah X: 1-16," 53).

⁴³⁷ It is interesting that Hab 3's victory hymn follows the contrastive material of a *Götzenpolemik* section in Hab 2:18-19.

⁴³⁸ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 137 and 141. For Crüsemann's full list of participial hymns with thematic parallels to Babylonian hymns, cf. idem, *Studien*, 135-51.

⁴³⁹ This assumes that hymns or psalms can be distinguished by thematic material or motifs, but this might be debated. Some scholars (e.g. Crüsemann) would favor classification of hymns by formulaic phrases or syntactical elements.

⁴⁴⁰ Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 533.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 538-39.

⁴⁴² Crüsemann asserts that participial hymns (10:12-13) and the refrain **יְהוָה (צְבָאוֹת) שְׁמוֹ** (10:16) derive originally from the royal Psalms' genre (idem, *Studien*, 123-24 and 308).

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 95-97 and 206-08. Cf. also the comparison of Yahweh with other national gods in Ex 15:11 (ibid., 153).

⁴⁴⁴ Joachim Becker, *Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament* (ALB 25; Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1965), 54; Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (BZAW 177; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 142; and Von Rad, *Holy*, 45.

which expresses “the utterly unshakeable certainty of victory.”⁴⁴⁵ Such “fear not” language contains hints of a “proto-apocalyptic eschatology” (e.g. Isa 10:24-27; 41:8-16; and Zeph 3:16-18),⁴⁴⁶ so that the placement of an eschatological hymn in MT Jer 10:4-16 might be expected, though war oracles in Jeremiah often contain form elements that appear logically incongruous.⁴⁴⁷

If one reads MT 10:1-18 at a synchronic literary level, then the pericope contains a diversity of war oracle elements that seem to the reader to be mutually self-contradictory or logically incongruent. This is to say, MT 10:1-18 contains both a call to battle⁴⁴⁸ in 10:2c’s and 5bα’s “fear not” prohibitions, and also has 10:17’s *Aufforderung zur Flucht*.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, one observes that two military commands are given simultaneously to the same community of Israel (10:1 and 17) in seemingly mutual contradiction. This predicament of apparently self-contradictory battle imperatives⁴⁵⁰ becomes apparent in other contexts of Jeremiah (e.g. MT 4-6 and 46-51), so that Bach has postulated a third party to explain the different parties addressed.⁴⁵¹ For example, in MT Jer 49:28-33 Reimer notes that Jeremiah’s war oracle “uses both summons to battle (given to the enemies of these tribes) and summons to flight as an announcement of their destruction,”⁴⁵² which finds parallel literary features to the oracle addressed against Judah (e.g. cf. 4:5-8⁴⁵³ and 6:1-5⁴⁵⁴).

⁴⁴⁵ Von Rad, *Holy*, 44.

⁴⁴⁶ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 108-23 and 168 note 13.

⁴⁴⁷ Berridge, *Prophet*, 94-95.

⁴⁴⁸ E.g. Josh 8:1; 10:8, 25; 11:6, etc. This is a type or alternative form to the analyzed *Aufforderung zum Kampf* in Bach (idem, *Aufforderungen*, 51-91).

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 15-50. The exact form of Jer 10:17’s call to flee is not found in Bach, but it does find parallel elements in his study (cf. MT Jer 48:9 and 46:19).

⁴⁵⁰ Within MT Jer 10:1-18’s literary unit, one notices that Yahweh addresses the covenant community in vv. 10:2c and 5bα so that she stands without fear in the face of her attackers. However, 10:17 then tells the community to escape imminent danger by taking away her possessions from the besieged city. The parallel instructions of MT 10:1-18 (10:2, 5b, and 17) are seemingly mutually exclusive to one another but addressed to the same people. Bach’s hypothesis of a third party addressed in similar contexts does not fit the scenarios of other war oracle passages in Jeremiah, such as those of 4:5-6 (Berridge, *Prophet*, 95).

⁴⁵¹ Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 37-39; and Berridge, *Prophet*, 94-95.

⁴⁵² Reimer, *Oracles*, 165-66.

⁴⁵³ Reimer notes that the *Aufforderungen* of Jer 4:5-6 announce “coming destruction” (ibid., 166). E.g. cf. Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 19-21. Duane L. Christensen examines Jer 4:5-8 as evidencing a war oracle genre. Cf. idem, *Prophecy and War in Ancient Israel: Studies in the Oracles Against the Nations in Old Testament Prophecy* (BMS 3; Berkeley, Calif.: Bibal Press, 1975), 188-90.

⁴⁵⁴ Christensen notes that Jer 6:1-5 has a “Summons to Flight” (1-3) and a “Summons to Battle” (4-5) in the same war oracle (idem, *Prophecy*, 191).

Bach approaches the war oracles of Jeremiah form-critically so as to find their genre's original *Sitz im Leben* before its incorporation into the text and not on the synchronic level of the text.⁴⁵⁵ However, more literary approaches such as that of Conrad⁴⁵⁶ and Christensen⁴⁵⁷ allow one to understand the logical flow of thought in 10:1-18's holy war oracle's mixture of genres⁴⁵⁸ applied in a reverse manner against Zion's own population.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, throughout Jeremiah one must observe that the prophet turns the classic war oracle form originally uttered against the foreign nations (Amos 1:2-2:3) onto his own people (e.g. Jer 21).⁴⁶⁰ Clearly Bach's label of *Aufforderung zur Flucht* applies straightforwardly to 10:17, though he does not list every occurrence of the form (e.g. MT Jer 48:9 and 46:19).⁴⁶¹ Without a doubt, 10:17 must be interpreted as a call for Judah to leave Jerusalem when attacked by invaders,⁴⁶² thus establishing the final result of 10:1-18's war oracle. However, one must ask how 10:2c's and 5ba's "fear not" imperatives

⁴⁵⁵ Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 14 and 92-112.

⁴⁵⁶ Conrad suggests that the war oracle genre as the closest parallel to that of what exists in Jer 10:1-16 (idem, *Fear Not*, 168 note 13).

⁴⁵⁷ Christensen writes: "The ideology of holy war was formative in the prophet's self-understanding. His call and confirmation into the prophetic office, his trust in Yahweh, his rejection of trust in human resources, his prophetic intercession, his rejection of the inviolability of Zion, his relation to the false prophets, and his 'pacifism' must all be understood in light of the fact that Jeremiah understood himself primarily as the herald of the Divine Warrior, proclaiming holy war against Judah and Jerusalem, and by extension, to foreign nations as well" (idem, *Prophecy*, 193).

⁴⁵⁸ The distinction between a "war oracle" and the concept of "holy war" as a genre is difficult to define or distinguish in Jeremiah's book, especially due to the fact that the book incorporates both elements against Israel (e.g. *ibid.*, 184-87).

⁴⁵⁹ As to the origins of the genre in holy war as described in the Pentateuch and Joshua, Christensen notes that this is reversed or transformed into an oracle form from Yahweh against the covenant people of Israel themselves. He writes: "In the execution of divine judgment against Judah... Yahweh is no longer the Divine Warrior waging battle in Israel's behalf; he is the divine suzerain of the nations coming in judgment against his own people... In Jeremiah, as was the case in the oracles of Isaiah, Yahweh is employing foreign armies as unwitting partners in his chastisement of disobedient Israel" (*ibid.*, 186).

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 184-88. Christensen notes that Yahweh addresses his own people as a warrior in holy war when he sends his prophet Jeremiah to proclaim coming invasion and punishment at the hands of nations like Babylon. Jer 21 for Christensen represents a case of the inversion of the classical holy war tradition upon Israel in judgment (*ibid.*, 186-87).

⁴⁶¹ Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 20-21.

⁴⁶² E.g. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 130. Duhm notes that 10:17's imperative seems somewhat awkward or unrealistic to actual events. He writes that verse 17 "wird übersetzt: raffe auf von der Erde dein Bündel, die du in der Belagerung sitzt! Das klingt wie eine Aufforderung an eine wandernde Person, die irgendwo Rast hält und ihr Bündel niedergelegt hat – aber wie kann sie dann zugleich in der Belagerung sitzen?" (idem, *Jeremia*, 103).

function form critically in this context, since Bach does not list such examples in his analysis.⁴⁶³

Conrad, in contrast to Bach, would describe the אֶל-תִּירָאוּ imperatives of 10:2c (verb תָּתַח) and 10:5b α as an alternate version of an *Aufforderung zum Kampf* because they classically⁴⁶⁴ appear in war oracle contexts which directly address Israel among the nations.⁴⁶⁵ Conrad also notes that Deutero-Isaiah uses the “fear not” imperatives to address a “passive”⁴⁶⁶ community that dwells in exile. Yahweh himself becomes the holy warrior on Israel’s behalf,⁴⁶⁷ with the actual battle context of the “fear not” command conveying the same meaning as that of Joshua’s book, due to the altered circumstances that the exile had brought to Israel’s condition. Thus, one may detect the flavor of a “salvation oracle” (cf. Deutero-Isaiah) in Jer 10:2c and 5b α ,⁴⁶⁸ though scholars debate the original function of such a form.⁴⁶⁹ Therefore, I feel it justifiable to include 10:2c and 5b α as containing an *Aufforderung zum Kampf* that has lost its original literal implication of an actual call to combat.⁴⁷⁰

MT Jer 10:2-5’s context is “similar to that of Isa 41:8-16 in which Israel receives war oracles from Yahweh, in contrast to the nations who are building idols.”⁴⁷¹ In such a context, the “fear not” passages function as alternate versions of Bach’s *Aufforderung zum*

⁴⁶³ Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 62-63.

⁴⁶⁴ For example, God commands Joshua to attack Ai with dual “fear not” imperatives, using the two verbs found in MT Jer 10:2c and 5b α . E.g. cf. Josh 8:1’s אֶל-תִּירָאוּ וְאֶל-תִּחַת. Also cf. 10:8, 25; 11:6; etc.

⁴⁶⁵ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 2-5.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 79-107.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ Joachim Begrich, “Das priesterliche Heilsorakel,” *ZAW* 52 (1934), 81-92; and Philip B. Harner, “The Salvation Oracle in Second Isaiah,” *JBL* 88, no. 4 (1969), 418-434. For criticism of Begrich’s fundamental points, cf. Martti Nissinen, “Fear Not: A Study on an Ancient Near Eastern Phrase,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. M. A. Sweeney and E. B. Zvi; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 125-61. Nissinen gives much evidence that the “fear not” prohibition cannot be considered to be indigenous to Israel’s prophets, but that it was a commonly used, international expression.

⁴⁶⁹ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 1-2; Harner, “Salvation Oracle,” 423-24; and Nissinen, “Fear Not.”

⁴⁷⁰ Or, MT Jeremiah’s “fear not” war language has been resignified by the exile into a metaphorical language, which differs from the literal implication of the book of Joshua (e.g. Josh 8:1).

⁴⁷¹ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 168 note 13.

Kampf,⁴⁷² since holy war studies treat the phrases as such.⁴⁷³ Moreover, Köhler posits the origin of “fear not” imperatives within the numinous experience of the theophany of Yahweh, so that a “day of the Lord” scenario for MT Jer 10:2-5b’s exhortation would imply the coming of the divine presence to Zion and the need of the prophet to comfort the people for this supernatural experience.⁴⁷⁴ The “fear not” pericopes of MT 1:8-19; 10:1-18; 30:10-11; and 46:27-28, furthermore, all seem to recognize⁴⁷⁵ Israel in a passive stance of the exilic situation, in comparison to nations like Egypt (46:3-4 and 9)⁴⁷⁶ and Babylon (50:14-15, 21, 26-27, 29; 51:3-4 and 27-28), which have more active forms of calls to battle.⁴⁷⁷ However, 10:1-18’s war oracle finds most similar formulaic language in the context of Jer 4-6,⁴⁷⁸ MT 30, and 46-51, although 10:4-16’s complicated hymnic structure is truly unique to the book.

MT 10:1-18 display a literary genre of a war oracle that possesses its own unique features. Jeremiah’s war oracles often incorporate a holy war tradition which borders on the fringe of apocalyptic,⁴⁷⁹ especially in its description of a “day of Yahweh”⁴⁸⁰ type of scenario of Zion’s theophanic retribution.⁴⁸¹ MT 10:1-18’s holy war oracle permeates in and around the theophanic antithesis with the *Götzenpolemik* material within an

⁴⁷² Bach, *Aufforderungen*, 51-91.

⁴⁷³ Kang writes: “It is probable that this was given as a divine oracle for victory in battle” (idem, *Divine War*, 142). Cf. also Becker, *Gottesfurcht*, 54; and Von Rad, *Holy*, 45.

⁴⁷⁴ Ludwig Köhler, “Die Offenbarungsformel ‘Furchte dich nicht!’ im Alten Testament,” *STZ* 36 (1919), 38-39.

⁴⁷⁵ Or, at least envision Israel as in an exilic future.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Kimhi’s comments on Israel’s future restoration promise in the “fear not” prohibition. Cf. A. J. Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume Two, A New English translation* (Miqraot Gedalot Series; New York: The Judaica Press, 1985), 353.

⁴⁷⁷ The compelling point in MT Jer 50-51’s war oracle is that the defeat of Babylon establishes the context for Israel to return to Zion, not the need to fight or prepare for further conquests and wars. Israel is ordered to leave the exile in Babylon and return to her land (e.g. MT 50:4-8 and 51:45).

⁴⁷⁸ Perhaps the closest parallel to Jer 10:1-18’s literary context exists in the nearby context of Jer 6:1-26, which also ends with a negative verdict of Judah with Zion’s demise (6:27-30 like 10:19-25). Christensen, for example, notes that Jer 6:1-5 has a “Summons to Flight” (1-3) and a “Summons to Battle” (4-5) in the same war oracle (idem, *Prophecy*, 191). Holladay labels 6:16-26 as “Yahweh Rejects Their Sacrifices” (idem, *Jeremiah I*, 218-26).

⁴⁷⁹ Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1975), 313-15, 321, 331, 373-25, and 379.

⁴⁸⁰ Von Rad, “Origin,” 104. Von Rad states that “the entire material for this imagery which surrounds the concept of the Day of Yahweh is of old-Israelitic origin. It derives from the tradition of the holy wars of Yahweh, in which Yahweh appeared personally, to annihilate his enemies” (ibid.).

⁴⁸¹ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 19-21, 89, and 123-30.

“eschatological”⁴⁸² hymn of victory.⁴⁸³ Two dominant themes of in a victory song or hymn are that of the incomparability⁴⁸⁴ and the kingship of Yahweh,⁴⁸⁵ as is evident also in 10:4-16’s poetry. Thus, one sees a complete negation⁴⁸⁶ (מֵאֵין) of Yahweh’s comparability with other entities in MT 10:6a and 7c that is summed up in the repetition of MT 10:16a (cf. Deut 4:32 and 32:31).⁴⁸⁷ The *Götzenpolemik* units reinforce the uniqueness of Yahweh as incomparable, since it describes the pagan gods as merely הֵבֶל⁴⁸⁸ or with materials of human manufacture.⁴⁸⁹ Yet, Jer 10:11 is an exception to such a descriptive rule due to its nature as a quotation of the nations who affirm their deities’ real existence.

The repetition of the negation of comparison (MT 10:6a and 7c) contrasts with the repeated adjective נִדְרֹל in MT 10:6b and 6c, which commonly occurs with statements of incomparability (Ps 47:3; 95:3; and 96:4; e.g. cf. Ex 15:11 and 15:16).⁴⁹⁰ Likewise, direct address to Yahweh, such as in MT Jer 10:6-7, often coincides with rhetorical statements (e.g. Ex 15:6 and 15:11)⁴⁹¹ or creedal confessions of Yahweh’s incomparability (e.g. 2 Sam 7:22 and 1 Kings 8:23),⁴⁹² besides also occurring in descriptions of Yahweh in theophany (e.g. Ps 68:8, 10, 19; Hab 3:2, and 8-15).⁴⁹³ Thus, one naturally would expect LXX

⁴⁸² Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44 and 54-55. I would not assume the same *Sitz im Leben* as Gunkel

⁴⁸³ There is a definite victorious future envisioned in MT Jer 51:14-24, whose doublet of 51:15-19 reminds the reader of MT 10:1-18. However, MT 10:4-16’s hymn really deserves to stand alone as its own type, or *sui generis*. One might also describe the hymn by its own descriptive contrast of Yahweh versus the nations’ idols, or, in other words, by what God is versus what God actually is not.

⁴⁸⁴ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 38 and 50.

⁴⁸⁵ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 103-4.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 10-12. The form is a very strong or assertive negation found also in MT Jer 30:7. Labuschagne’s interpretation is echoed by Mitchell Dahood who proposes that מֵאֵין is an emphatic form consisting of two negatives employed to balance the repetition of נִדְרֹל in 10:6. Cf. Mitchell Dahood, “The Emphatic Double Negative *m’yn* in Jer 10:6-7,” *CBQ* 37 (1975), 458-9.

⁴⁸⁷ Labuschagne notes that Deut 4:32 and 32:31 have a similar negative comparison connotation to that of the form of MT Jer 10:16a (*idem*, *Incomparability*, 14-15).

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. the הֵבֶל occurrences of Jeremiah in MT 2:5 [twice]; 8:19; 10:3, 8, 15; 14:22; 16:19; 23:16; and MT 51:18.

⁴⁸⁹ Overholt, “Falsehood,” 12.

⁴⁹⁰ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 99.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. the parallel repetition of כְּמוֹתָהּ in Ex 15:11 and כְּמוֹתָהּ of MT Jer 10:6-7.

⁴⁹² Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 86-89 contains other examples for both rhetorical questions and statements of incomparability.

⁴⁹³ Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 37; and Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 123-27 and 179-80.

10:16a's hymnic affirmation to have a context of direct address to Yahweh and to be a repetition of earlier material in its antithetical hymnic strophes.⁴⁹⁴

Hymnic rhetorical questions (e.g. Ex 15:11) like that of 10:7a expect a negative answer which frames the proper response of the audience to the author's conviction of Yahweh's incomparability.⁴⁹⁵ Thus, the reader must understand the function of MT 10:6a and 7c's incomparability statements so as to adequately reach the affirming conclusions of LXX 10:16a. The creedal reaffirmation of 10:16 appropriately concludes MT 10:4-16 in its display of complete antithetic or poetic symmetry in order to reach the primary intention of the hymnic confession, i.e. "the driving home of a conviction" of faith.⁴⁹⁶ MT 10:6c describes Yahweh's incomparability in his name itself, like 10:16d's refrain, which links to the divine reputation with His people and the events of the exodus (e.g. Ex 15:3).⁴⁹⁷ Thus, MT 10:6c and 16d surround 10:6-16's hymnic elements so as to negate collectively any comparison of Yahweh's name to other false divinities. However, the primary level of MT 10:4-16's comparison with Yahweh descends to that of the human inequivalence of idol fabricators (MT 10:4-5, 8-9, and 14-15).

MT Jer 10:16b makes clear that the level of comparison is between humans that create their idols with no רִיזָן (cf. 10:14d and Gen 1:2)⁴⁹⁸ and the living God (MT Jer 10:10) who possesses storehouses of רִיזָן (10:13d).⁴⁹⁹ Although the comparison of 10:16b

⁴⁹⁴ James L. Crenshaw indicates evidence that a refrain like that of MT 10:16d typically contains motifs of theophany, creation, and idolatry. Cf. idem, *Hymnic Affirmation of Divine Justice: The Doxologies of Amos and Related Texts in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 24; Missoula, Mo.: Scholars Press, 1975), 87-90. Crenshaw's analysis demonstrates that hymnic affirmation like that MT 10:16d comes in "conflict between Yahwism and alien faiths" (ibid., 145).

⁴⁹⁵ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 23.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 23-24.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 92-95.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Gen 2:7 in which God breaths into mankind the breath of life. Perhaps Jer 10:2c's reference to the "signs of the heavens" recalls the motifs of Gen 1:14 as well (e.g. Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 378).

⁴⁹⁹ Rudman demonstrates the wordplay of רִיזָן in 10:13 and 14 (idem, "Creation," 66-67). Berlejung notes that 10:15's לִבְבָל also links in wordplay with רִיזָן of vv. 13-14 (idem, *Theologie*, 398-99). Crüsemann asserts that the difference of nuance of רִיזָן in both 10:13 and 14 suggests that two separate genre materials have been linked together (idem, *Studien*, 112).

primarily focuses on humans and the only unique Creator⁵⁰⁰ of living beings,⁵⁰¹ the quotation of 10:11 also denounces idols as lacking the ability to create the heavens and the earth (10:11b). Therefore, the idols' lack of creation demonstrates Yahweh's incomparability by means of the fact that he is the only true Creator described throughout all of 10:4-16's content.⁵⁰²

Similar types of Yahweh comparisons to that of MT Jer 10:1-16 are reflected in a survey of biblical rhetorical questions⁵⁰³ and of incomparability statements which require Yahweh to be unique⁵⁰⁴ among all non-existent divinities.⁵⁰⁵ Correspondingly, the pedagogical motif of MT 10:1-18 obtains a statement of Yahweh's incomparable instruction of wisdom (MT 10:6-8), which finds parallels (e.g. Job 36:22).⁵⁰⁶ The incomparability of Yahweh also sometimes descends to the human level of his people of Israel, who are lauded as unique among all nations (e.g. Deut 4:7 and 32-35),⁵⁰⁷ as one also sees in MT 10:16, but not in LXX 10:16. Furthermore, Yahweh has incomparable attributes as a King dispensing justice,⁵⁰⁸ which only MT 10:7a and 10ay link with MT Jer 9:23's themes explicitly by means of the royal divine epithets (e.g. cf. Ps 96-99).⁵⁰⁹ Thus, one sees that MT 10:16d's divine epithet has implications of Yahweh's kingship,⁵¹⁰ as well as military connotations,⁵¹¹ so that it "is not possible to talk of God as King without talking of God as warrior"⁵¹² (e.g. cf. Ex 15:18). Likewise, one discerns a similar connection in MT 10:16d's "Yahweh of Hosts" linking with the royal titles of 10:7a and 10ay, which

⁵⁰⁰ Von Rad notes that the rationale of the *Götzenpolemik* "denies to the creature [humanity] the possibility of providing a representation of the Creation" (idem, *Wisdom*, 185).

⁵⁰¹ Rudman notes that the chief contrast of 10:12-16 is between those who claim to create life and the true creator of life. He writes: "The hymnist avers that Yahweh has a monopoly on this kind of knowledge: he alone is a creator of living things" (idem, "Creation," 73).

⁵⁰² Ibid., 64-73.

⁵⁰³ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 23-24.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 121-23.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 113-14. Also cf. Job 35:11; Ps 25:8-12; 94:12; and Isa 28:26.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 149-53.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 99-103.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 104.

⁵¹⁰ J. P. Ross, "Yahweh Seba'ot in Samuel and Psalms," *VT* 17, no. 1 (1967), 92; and Gray, "Kingship," 20.

⁵¹¹ Miller, *Divine*, 145-55; and Cross, *Canaanite*, 94. Rudolph, for example, asserts that the divine title expresses Yahweh's rule over the heavenly and earthly powers (idem, *Jeremia*, 75).

⁵¹² Miller, *Divine*, 174.

both give the kingly rule of Yahweh an international perspective,⁵¹³ much like that of the title מֶלֶךְ “King” in the Yahweh Kingship Psalms (Ps 47; 93; and 95-99).⁵¹⁴

The notion of Yahweh as a Warrior derives from holy war traditions poetically described in old victory hymns⁵¹⁵ like that of the Song of Deborah (Judg 5),⁵¹⁶ or “the archaic victory song of Ex 15:1b-18,”⁵¹⁷ which Cross dates to “premonarchic”⁵¹⁸ times. Thus, one sees Warrior Yahweh described as אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה a “Man of War” (Ex 15:3) or as the “King of Glory” הַכְּבוֹד מֶלֶךְ in Ps 24:7-10.⁵¹⁹ Furthermore, “storm god” theophany descriptions like that of Ps 29 (cf. MT Jer 10:12-13) have similar warrior and “voice”⁵²⁰ motifs to Ugaritic texts or hymns to Baal.⁵²¹ Scholars, likewise, have noted

⁵¹³ MT 10:10aγ’s title of מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם is similar to others in Gen 21:33 and Isa 40:28, so that Holladay translates the epithet as “King over the whole expanse of time filled with history” (idem, *Jeremiah 1*, 334).

⁵¹⁴ Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 538-39.

⁵¹⁵ Von Rad, Cross, and Jeremias all place great importance in the holy war tradition’s earliest description of Yahweh appearing as a Warrior in ancient victory songs (or hymns) like that of Judg 5 and Ex 15. Cf. Von Rad, *Holy*, 72-73; Cross, *Canaanite*, 121-44; and Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 148-64. Gunkel describes Judg 5:3-5 and Ex 15:1-18 as literary hymns (idem, *Introduction*, 22).

⁵¹⁶ P. C. Craigie, “The Song of Deborah and the Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta,” *JBL* 88, no. 3 (1969), 253-65.

⁵¹⁷ Cross, *Canaanite*, 121.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 124. Cross and Freedman write: “Climactic or repetitive parallelism, in a variety of forms, is a characteristic device of the oldest Israelite poetry, as also of Ugaritic. It fell out of use in later Hebrew poetry, being replaced by a formal and stilted repetitiveness; thus climatic parallelism serves as an indication of the archaic nature of the poems in which it occurs.” Cf. Frank M. Cross Jr. and David N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (SBLDS 21; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975), 11. Cross gives a detailed analysis of Ex 15:1-18’s prosody (ibid., 45-65).

⁵¹⁹ Cross, *Canaanite*, 91-99. Cross examines similar theophanic description in Ps 18, 29, 46, 48, 68, 89, 93, 97, 114, etc. (ibid., 91-194).

⁵²⁰ Cf. קוֹל in both Ps 29 and MT Jer 10:13a.

⁵²¹ Cross, *Canaanite*, 147-94.

parallels to Ugaritic poetry in the LXX minus of MT 10:13a,⁵²² which contains the battle hymn's only קוֹל occurrence⁵²³ (cf. MT 51:16a).

MT Jer 10:10aγ's title of Yahweh as "Eternal King" (מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם) ⁵²⁴ has parallels in Ras Shamra texts.⁵²⁵ The word pair association of עוֹלָם with חַיִּים in Ugaritic texts⁵²⁶ reminds one of the parallel descriptions of Yahweh as both "living God" and "eternal King" in MT Jer 10:10. Likewise, the direct address of Yahweh as נְדוּל in a hymnic context (MT 10:6b) also occurs in Ugaritic material.⁵²⁷ Sumero-Akkadian⁵²⁸ and numerous Egyptian hymns⁵²⁹ demonstrate that the deity is addressed directly in second person,⁵³⁰ which mirrors MT 10:6-7's second person address of Yahweh (i.e. LXX minuses). Religious texts from Rash Shamra,⁵³¹ Mesopotamia,⁵³² and Egypt⁵³³ also express the incomparability of their deities in similar manner to that of 10:6-7. Similarly, MT 10:6c's

⁵²² David J. Reimer, "A Problem in the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah X 13, LI 16," *VT* 38, no. 3 (1988), 348-54; and Robert Althann, "The Inverse Construct Chain and Jer 10:13, 51:16," *JNSL* XV (1989), 7-13. Althann comes to the opposite conclusion as that of Reimer, arguing that MT Jer 10:13a's לְקוֹל תִּתְּנוּ is the more original text form, based on parallel linguistic inversion, or reversed phraseology, in Ugaritic texts and in other Hebrew examples. Althann writes: "There is no need to follow the Septuagint in omitting the phrase which exemplifies the practice of inverting normal word order" (*ibid.*, 11). This is contrary to many commentators, as in the emendation of Walter Cloete based upon a supposed metathesis of the words in MT Jer 10:13a. Cf. *idem*, *Versification and Syntax in Jeremiah 2-25: Syntactical Constraints in Hebrew Colometry* (SBLDS 117; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 163.

⁵²³ The motif is typical for meteorological descriptions in hymns (Gunkel, *Introduction*, 51). It is also a typical element of the theophanic hymns (Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89). MT 51:16a's parallel occurrence proves the textual reading's antiquity.

⁵²⁴ Pierre E. Bonnard posits that Ps 29:10 borrowed from Jer 10:10. Cf. *idem*, *Le Psautier selon Jérémie. Influence littéraire et spirituelle de Jérémie sur trente-trois psaumes* (LD 26; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1960), 263.

⁵²⁵ Cross, *Canaanite*, 16 note 23.

⁵²⁶ Rummel, *Ras Shamra*, 126 section 239.

⁵²⁷ Cross, *Canaanite*, 16. E.g. cf. Nick Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (2d ed.; London: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 2002), 101.

⁵²⁸ *ANET*, 385-90. They are entitled: "Hymn to the Moon-God," (385-86), "Hymn to the Sun-God," (387-89), and "Psalm to Marduk" (389-90). Also cf. *COS*, 1:416-19.

⁵²⁹ *ANET*, 365-75. These are various hymns to gods or related objects of worship. Also cf. *COS* 1:37-46.

⁵³⁰ Crüsemann analyses the formal characteristics of "Der Jahwe-anredende Bericht-Stil im Hymnus" or hymns that directly address Yahweh as a formal trait (*idem*, *Studien*, 191-99). For example, Crüsemann notes that the *Siegeslied* of Ex 15:1-18 has elements of direct address of Yahweh (*ibid.*, 193).

⁵³¹ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 62-63. Labuschagne quotes text 51, IV, 43-44, which reads: "King is powerful Baal, Judge, and there is none above him" (*ibid.*, 63).

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 33-57.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 58-62.

association of **גְּבוּרָה** with Yahweh resembles other descriptions of Yahweh (e.g. Ps 29:1⁵³⁴ and 89:14) and poetical compositions from Ugarit⁵³⁵ and Mesopotamia.⁵³⁶

MT Jer 10:4-16's hymn incorporates creation⁵³⁷ motifs within its central war oracle theme by means of the meteorological language description of Yahweh (cf. 10:12-13 and Ps 29). MT 10:12-13's meteorological phrases are directly related to the Levantine deity's (Baal's) theophanic portrayals in climatic disruption of storm.⁵³⁸ The motif of Baal's storm theophany in Ras Shamra hymnic texts⁵³⁹ has clear parallels in Jer 10:4-16's hymnic material,⁵⁴⁰ which echoes the language of a hymn of Yahweh's victory over the natural elements (e.g. cf. Ps 29).⁵⁴¹ Yahweh, like Baal, is enthroned as King (MT Jer 10:6, 10, and Ps 29:10), He utters his voice (**קוּל**)⁵⁴² that causes the earth to shake (MT Jer 10:10, 13; and Ps 29:8),⁵⁴³ and His appearance produces climatic changes of rain and lightning (10:10, 13; and Ps 29:3).⁵⁴⁴ Therefore, MT 10:4-16 portrays Yahweh in imitation of deities, such as Baal, who conquers and controls the chaotic waters of mythic tradition (e.g. cf. Hab 3:13-15 and Ps 68:23).⁵⁴⁵

Although MT Jer 10:4-16's hymn contains Canaanite descriptive themes, one sees that traditional wisdom motifs prevail throughout⁵⁴⁶ (e.g. MT 10:6-8, 10, and 12-16). Unlike the storm theophany texts of Ugarit concerning Baal, Yahweh conquers His foes by means of wisdom in MT 10:12-13's creative acts, as noted in the use of two synonyms for

⁵³⁴ Bonnard posits that Ps 29:10 borrowed from Jer 10:10 (idem, *Psautier*, 263).

⁵³⁵ Wyatt, *Religious*, 398; and *ANET*, 129-55.

⁵³⁶ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 44.

⁵³⁷ Weippert notes that the wisdom motif utilizes creation descriptions (idem, *Schöpfer*, 29).

⁵³⁸ Cross, *Canaanite*, 156-63; and Kang, *Divine War*, 77-79.

⁵³⁹ Cross, *Canaanite*, 147-56.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 169-70. Cross writes: "The language of theophany in early Israel was primarily language drawn from the theophany of Ba'1" (*ibid.*, 156-57).

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 151-56; and Bonnard, *Psautier*, 263.

⁵⁴² Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89. Jeremias here notes Ugaritic parallels.

⁵⁴³ Cf. Ps 29 (Cross, *Canaanite*, 151-56).

⁵⁴⁴ Cross notes that Jer 10:10 and 13 have parallel Ugaritic hymnic theophany traits (*ibid.*, 170).

⁵⁴⁵ Herbert G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of Mayim Rabbîm, 'Many Waters,'" *JBL* 74, no. 1 (1955), 9-21.

⁵⁴⁶ Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 29.

wisdom in 10:12.⁵⁴⁷ Despite the fact that a wisdom theme continues throughout Jer 8-10, yet one finds that Yahweh conquers and controls creation as a weapon at his command⁵⁴⁸ against chaos⁵⁴⁹ in 10:12-13. Thus, creation establishes a “limit to chaos, thus providing a safe, viable, fruitful place for human habitation.”⁵⁵⁰ 10:4-16’s hymn, therefore, alters mythical “storm god”⁵⁵¹ language in a fusion of the war oracle’s hymn with the wisdom tradition of creation.⁵⁵²

The modifications of 10:4-16’s hymn go beyond merely the wisdom motifs, but also encompass the manner of Yahweh’s epiphany, in that it lacks common “Divine Warrior” battle hymnic traits,⁵⁵³ such as the victorious coming of Yahweh to his sanctuary (Ex 15:1-18) or the triumphal procession of God with His people (Hab 3 and Judg 5:3-5).⁵⁵⁴ Instead, one only finds lifeless idols that are carried (10:5aγ), manufactured (10:4 and 9), and do not “march” (10:5aδ),⁵⁵⁵ so that only humans (10:8 and 14) and Yahweh perform any actual actions (10:10-13 and 15-16). Thus, there is no real battle, yet Yahweh still obtains His “battle spoils” in the end (MT 10:16d’s נְחֻלָּה)⁵⁵⁶ primarily by virtue of his angry presence (10:10) and His creative acts (10:12-13). Therefore, MT 10:4-16’s hymn represents a more developed battle hymn which looks forward to an aniconic theophany of

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid. Weippert also notes that the theophanic description of Yahweh as a storm god of “thunder” and “lightning” has been lost to that of a wisdom description that seems similar to that of Job 36:27-28 (ibid., 30).

⁵⁴⁸ Fischer notes that MT 10:13 reads as if the pronouncement of military orders at which everything falls into formation (idem, *Jeremia 1-25*, 385). Similarly, MT 10:13a’s הַצְּבָאוֹת “army” (HALOT I:250-51) has military connotations, such as in Judg 4:7 and Dan 11:11-13.

⁵⁴⁹ Perdue, *Collapse*, 142-43.

⁵⁵⁰ Brueggemann, *Fire*, 42. E.g. cf. Jer 5:22.

⁵⁵¹ Cross, *Canaanite*, 156.

⁵⁵² Perdue, *Collapse*, 149.

⁵⁵³ Cross lists basic elements of the archaic mythic pattern of the “Divine Warrior” battle hymn (Cross, *Canaanite*, 162-63).

⁵⁵⁴ Cross observes in early Canaanite and Hebrew poetry motifs of “(1) the march of the Divine Warrior to battle, and (2) the return of the Divine Warrior to take up kingship” which form “an archaic mythic pattern” (ibid., 162).

⁵⁵⁵ Amphoux (et al.) notes the military nature of the LXX Greek equivalent for צִעַר verb in 10:5. (idem, “Jr 10,” 199), which occurs in military contexts of victory hymns. Cf. Judg 5:4; Hab 3:12; and Ps 68:8.

⁵⁵⁶ Lipinski, “נְחֻלָּה,” 331. MT 10:16d’s phrase יִשְׁבְּטוּ נְחֻלָּה connotes the people of Zion in Isa 63:17 and MT Jer 51:19, but seems to indicate the temple location in Ps 74:2.

Yahweh in an apocalyptic genre,⁵⁵⁷ which stems possibly from the holy war tradition⁵⁵⁸ or a Sinai theophany tradition.⁵⁵⁹

Cross notes that in storm theophanies (e.g. Ps 29)⁵⁶⁰ “we find the coming of the Divine Warrior in eschatological warfare with imagery drawn from Israel’s old hymns and from the royal cultus. The transformations of the old forms and language were not inconsiderable. The language of nature’s response or uproar, in the presence of the warrior-god, in particular was reutilized. The explicit language of lightning and thunder is used, but relatively infrequent.”⁵⁶¹ MT Jer 10:4-16 similarly uses meteorological language (10:12-13) to describe Yahweh’s theophanic retribution (10:10) of idolatry, though its wisdom motif alters typical warfare elements with creation terms.⁵⁶²

In MT 10:4-16, theophany descriptions in the “holy war” tradition take on the universal extent of nature itself, as is common to prophets⁵⁶³ like Jeremiah⁵⁶⁴ (e.g. cf. MT 4-6 and 46-51). MT 10:1-18’s hymn imagines a theophanic appearance of Yahweh.⁵⁶⁵ Israel’s God appears and judges the nations in his wrath (10:10 and 15),⁵⁶⁶ condemns all of

⁵⁵⁷ Cross argues that the old hymns of Yahweh’s military victories and their theophanies represent the matrix for the birth of apocalyptic literature (idem, *Canaanite*, 105 and 169-70; and Hanson, *Dawn*, 292-333).

Concerning 10:2c and 5b^a’s “fear not” commands, cf. Conrad, *Fear Not*, 108-23, and 168 note 13.

⁵⁵⁸ Von Rad describes the day of Yahweh as a pure event of war (with war like language) taken from Israelite tradition which eventually turned against Israel herself. The concept was not originally eschatological, but the prophets viewed it as an universal or cosmological event (idem, “Origin,” 97-108).

⁵⁵⁹ Jeremias sees the origin of theophany depictions to be in the holy war genre of victory songs (idem, *Theophanie*, 144-45) which describe Yahweh’s theophanic appearance (ibid., 147) inspired by Sinai (ibid., 55-57) that was later influenced by international conceptions (ibid., 156-57). Cross reverses the historical development of the Sinai theophany so that the form developed from a storm description of Baal’s theophany and not from Sinai originally (Cross, *Canaanite*, 162-64).

⁵⁶⁰ Cross, *Canaanite*, 151-56.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 170. Cross lists Jer 10:10 as an example.

⁵⁶² Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 26-37.

⁵⁶³ Hanson, *Dawn*, 32-401. Cross notes that the “old songs of the Wars of Yahweh were transformed into descriptions of eschatological battle (Isaiah 34; 63)” (idem, *Canaanite*, 144).

⁵⁶⁴ Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; vol. 2; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 2:123-25; and Hanson, *Dawn*, 313.

⁵⁶⁵ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 130-33.

⁵⁶⁶ Patrick D. Miller Jr. writes concerning Joel 4:9ff.: “The apocalyptic holy war is for the purpose of bringing about Yahweh’s judgment of the nations. Here is strong indication of the close connection between the imagery of Yahweh as warrior and Yahweh as judge. His judgment and justice are expressed in activities of war.” Cf. idem, “The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War,” *VT* 18, no. 1 (1968), 104. These same statements may be applied to Jeremiah in certain contexts, as Miller applies them to Babylon of Jer 51:27-28 (ibid., 104-5).

humanity as idolatrous (10:7-8 and 14), and, as Creator, controls and wields the elements of His cosmos (10:12-13). In contrast, the nations' idols merely perish along with their manufacturers (10:10-11 and 14-16).⁵⁶⁷ The logic of the theophany on the “day of their visitation” (10:15b)⁵⁶⁸ may be said to describe Yahweh's victorious coming (“march”)⁵⁶⁹ upon Zion in 10:4-16, which requires the defeat of the idols, just as it does for Babylon in the same hymnic material of MT 51:15-19⁵⁷⁰ (e.g. cf. MT 51:14 and 24).⁵⁷¹

Yahweh proves himself to be unlike the nations' deities (MT 10:16) in that as the “King of the World”⁵⁷² (10:10aγ), His appearance causes the earth to shake (10:10b) and the pagan gods to perish (10:15b) at his victory over them in an eschatological battle. But, unlike Ex 15:13-18's bliss, the divine Warrior comes in lamentable judgment of his own sanctuary in Jer 10:1-25.⁵⁷³ Such language is overtly “mythic-historic”⁵⁷⁴ and apocalyptic in its eschatology,⁵⁷⁵ analogous to motifs in 4:23-28 in various ways.⁵⁷⁶ Similar apocalyptic elements describe the “Foe from the North” tradition of Jeremiah (e.g. cf. רַעַשׁ

⁵⁶⁷ For the creation language of Jer 10:1-16, cf. Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 26-37.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. MT Jer 8:12.

⁵⁶⁹ The verb פָּקַד (cf. MT Jer 9:24 and 10:15b [noun form]) becomes a technical term for the coming of Yahweh at the time of His judgment in apocalyptic literature. Wolfgang Harnisch writes: “‘Heimsuchen’ ist terminus technicus für Gottes Kommen zum eschatologischen Akt.” Cf. idem, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 308 note 3. G. André notes that the noun פְּקֻדָּה in temporal expressions (e.g. cf. MT Jer 10:15b) can refer to the time of “punishment itself.” Cf. idem, “פָּקַד,” in TDOT (trans. Douglas W. Stott; ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; vol. 12; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 61.

⁵⁷⁰ Reimer notes that in MT Jer 51:15-19 “the sovereignty of Yahweh over creation contrasts with the impotence of idols” (idem, *Oracles*, 76).

⁵⁷¹ MT 51:24 states clearly that Babylon's judgment pertains also to her evil and destruction done unto Zion.

⁵⁷² Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 334 gives more of the nuances of the title's probable meaning.

⁵⁷³ Zion becomes Yahweh's kingly sanctuary that laments her destructive judgment in Jer 10:19-25. Compare the similar language of Jer 10:25 and Ex 15:13.

⁵⁷⁴ Miller describes the “victory” song of Ex 15:1-18 (idem, *Divine*, 169).

⁵⁷⁵ Hanson describes the victorious elements of theophany and how they relate to the genre of apocalyptic imagery. (idem, *Dawn*, 292-333, 373-75, and 379).

⁵⁷⁶ Victor Eppstein, “The Day of Yahweh in Jeremiah,” *JBL* 87, no. 1 (1968), 93-97.

of MT 10:10 and 22), which incorporates mythical terminology in an eschatological warfare scenario.⁵⁷⁷

As is the case elsewhere in Jeremiah,⁵⁷⁸ often the prophet's battle imagery transcends any historical battle and becomes eminently apocalyptic (cf. 10:11-15 and Isa 2:12-21).⁵⁷⁹ The holy war tradition, thus, meets the theophanic elements of apocalyptic in MT Jer 10:1-18, perhaps with intent to echo the Sinai epiphany of Ex 19-20⁵⁸⁰ and Deut 4:1-40,⁵⁸¹ as elsewhere in the prophets.⁵⁸² It is clear that Jer 10:4-16's eschatological battle hymn and its war oracle context hearken back principally to the aniconic message of Deut 4:1-40⁵⁸³ in various ways,⁵⁸⁴ such as its negations of Yahweh's comparability,⁵⁸⁵ its emphasis on pedagogy or instruction,⁵⁸⁶ its hope of a future for Israel,⁵⁸⁷ its descriptions of idolatry,⁵⁸⁸ and its remembrance of the formless voice (קול) ⁵⁸⁹ from the Sinai theophany (Deut 4:15-24).

⁵⁷⁷ Brevard S. Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL* 78, no. 3 (1959), 187-98. Note similar analysis in: Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 18-24, 89, and 123-164; and Hanson, *Dawn*, 303 and 374-75. On this note, it is interesting to see that LXX 25:14-19 replaces MT 25:14-38's apocalyptic context with oracle material against Elam (MT 49:34-39), possibly due to an interpretation of the "Foe from the North" as the nation of Elam.

⁵⁷⁸ For example, universal language, appropriate to apocalyptic contexts of an universal or global judgment, become apparent in Jer 4:23-28; 12:14-17; MT 25:1-38; and 46-51, all of which describe an universal cataclysmic destruction.

⁵⁷⁹ A. S. Peake writes of verse 10:15: "The author looks forward to 'a visitation,' i.e. a judgement on the images, presumably when the Day of Yahweh breaks upon the world; cf. Isa ii. 12-21 (especially 18, 20)." Cf. idem, *Jeremiah I-XXV* (ed. Walter F. Adeney; vol. 1; The New Century Bible; New York: Henry Frowde, 1910), 174.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. Ex 20:20's "Fear not" prohibition.

⁵⁸¹ Or also Ex 34, cf. Fischer, *Jeremia I-25*, 383.

⁵⁸² Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 156-57.

⁵⁸³ Kratz, *Kyros*, 204-05.

⁵⁸⁴ There is no mention of fire in Jer 10:1-18 as is found in Deut 4's description of the Sinai theophany. However, Holladay notes that there probably is a playful allusion to the action of burning in the language of MT Jer 10:8 (idem, *Jeremiah I*, 332). Moreover, perhaps the creation motif of rain did not allow the poet a description of fire as at Sinai, which may have seemed at odds to the context's desire to emphasize Yahweh as the God who gives rain to Canaan (Kruger, "Ideology.")

⁵⁸⁵ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 72-74; e.g. cf. Deut 4:35 and 39.

⁵⁸⁶ E.g. Deut 4:1-6, 9, and 36.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. MT Jer 10:16c with Deut 4:29-31, 38, and 40.

⁵⁸⁸ E.g. cf. קול of Deut 4:16, 23, 25; and Jer 10:14b.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. MT Jer 10:13a with Deut 4:12, 30, 33, and 36.

MT 10:1-18's literary connection with Deut 4:1-40 provides many reasons to require the material of the LXX minuses only found in MT's war oracle and complete battle hymn. Besides similar contexts of battle preparation (although MT Jer 10:2-18 is not literal like that of Deut 4's preparation for Joshua's conquests), MT 10:4-16's literary dependence upon Deut 4:1-40 would necessitate that the chiasmic antithesis of MT 10:10-11 possess the earlier hymnic strophes of 10:4-9 so as, then, to establish the prior context of its central theological arguments.⁵⁹⁰ Therefore, without MT 10:10, there really seems to be no original need for its intended antithesis of 10:11, but even 10:10 requires MT's earlier hymnic context for its primary argumentation of the "Day of Yahweh" type of theophany and its literary placement in the hymn's context of a war oracle.⁵⁹¹ Put simply, without MT 10:10 (or even vv. 6-8), one then does not have a theophany, which would eliminate a key war oracle element of the more original pericope's message and its intended line of argumentation. I shall now develop more precisely the nature of 10:11's Aramaic theologoumena.

2.4. Is MT 10:11 a War Taunt?

MT 10:11 represents a parenthetical remark⁵⁹² that is not only crucial to the thematic structure of MT 10:4-16's hymn, but also represents an antithesis to its core thought⁵⁹³ of 10:10. MT 10:11's Aramaic, however, represents a key to interpreting 10:1-18's entire pericope with its polemical theology against idolatry.⁵⁹⁴ Carroll notes various

⁵⁹⁰ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 376-377.

⁵⁹¹ For example, one could extend my line of argumentation also to all of MT 10:4-9's material, such as that of v. 8, which alone (cf. also vv. 14-15) indicates most explicitly the folly or stupidity of the nations' idolatry, which then requires the retributive appearance of Yahweh's "day of judgment."

⁵⁹² Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 83.

⁵⁹³ As Fischer notes, MT 10:10 gives unique titles to Yahweh found nowhere else in Jeremiah or the Hebrew Bible (idem, *Jeremia 1-25*, 382-83). However, אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים is simply rare (e.g. Deut 5:26; 1 Sam 17:26). Yet, Gosse notes similar divine titles to אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת in the Psalms (31:6) and Chronicles (2 Chron 15:3) (idem, "La rédaction," 158). Wambacq understands verse 10:2 to be the pericope's core idea (idem, "Jérémie, x, 1-16," 56-62), while LXX Jeremiah, contrary to modern scholarly notions, saw greatest importance in verse 10:11, along with v. 5b's "fear not" build-up to v. 11.

⁵⁹⁴ Margaliot, "Jeremiah 10:1-16," 303.

explanations for 10:11's purpose, which include: "a banal point about the contrast between Yahweh and the gods, a chauvinistic assertion of superiority, or a marginal echo of the poem's sentiments... a curse uttered against the gods of the nations... or it is a protective formula."⁵⁹⁵ Bernhard Duhm's *Beschwörungsformel* or *Bannformel*⁵⁹⁶ interpretation represents the latter option, which seems to have greater weight of possibility in light of Qumran magical incantation material⁵⁹⁷ (e.g. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc.),⁵⁹⁸ but probably represents a later development in demonology,⁵⁹⁹ since one must posit that demonic spirits were associated with stars or omens in the sky⁶⁰⁰ (cf. MT Jer 10:2c with

⁵⁹⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 256.

⁵⁹⁶ Idem, *Jeremia*, 101.

⁵⁹⁷ Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69-88; and idem, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen - Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395-415.

⁵⁹⁸ Such material represents the genres of both magical incantations and apotropaic prayers, yet the distinction between this material is not great, though Eshel attempts to separate the genres (idem, "Apotropaic Prayers," 84-88). It seems likely that LXX Jeremiah interpreted 10:11 as a somewhat mild expression of both genres due primarily to the aorist imperative rendition of **יִאבְדוּ** in v. 11c. However, Gideon Bohak does not reference Jer 10:11 as a magical incantation in his survey. Cf. idem, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁵⁹⁹ Philip S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331-53. Hermann Lichtenberger notes that in Qumran theology of demons, that their "time ranges from primeval times to the present, and on to the eschaton. In the eschaton God will definitely destroy all negative powers (bad spirits, evil angels, demons, Belial, Mastema). The present age, however, is the time of the reign of Belial, to whom in his inscrutable mysteries God gives *space* and *time* for his reign." Cf. idem, "Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Text, Thought and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Clements and D. R. Schwartz; STDJ 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 270. 1QH^a 9:7-15 explicitly reference angels or divine spirits as being associated with celestial stars, winds, and other meteorological phenomena.

⁶⁰⁰ Other biblical passages make metaphorical comparisons of divine or angelic beings with the stars or celestial phenomena (e.g. cf. Judges 5:20; Job 38:7; Isaiah 14:12; and Daniel 8:10). However, LXX Jer 10:2-3 also would imply an associate of the evil spirits behind pagan idols with the **תְּקִוֹת** "customs" or cultural doctrines of the nations in MT Jer 10:3a (or 10:2a's **דְּרָכָם** "way"). MT 10:3 itself implies that **תְּקִוֹת** equal the idols, or, more accurately, the pagan religious activity of building and maintaining idols for their veneration or use in cultic worship. E.g. cf. Nicholas M. Papadopolous, "Ἰερεμίου 10,3α," *Theologia* 34, no. 2 (1963), 256-65. Thus, MT 10:1-18's association of the nations' idols with various notions is famously complex and intricate. Yet, as possibly implied in LXX Jer 10:2-11, demonic or evil spirits are associated with teaching mankind in other books such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees (e.g. cf. 1 Enoch 8:1-4; Jubilees 8:3-4; and 1 Tim 4:1). Moreover, Second Temple Period literature does connect evil spirits directly with the study of the stars or astrological pedagogy (e.g. cf. Jub 8:1-4; 11:7-8; 12:16-21; and 1 Enoch 8:1-4).

Jubilees 8:1-4; 10:1-14; 12:16-21; 1 Enoch 6-8; 15-23; and 85-90),⁶⁰¹ so as to make possible LXX Jer 10:1-11's thematic connection (cf. chapter III).⁶⁰² However, Epistle of Jeremiah 66 explicitly denies any connection of the idols' gods with sky phenomena, yet, perhaps the translator's aorist imperative in LXX 10:11c evidences a magical incantation interpretation of the Aramaic.⁶⁰³ If this is the case, then perhaps LXX 10:11-16 represents a rewritten hymn (in the Hebrew *Vorlage* edited by HRLXXJ) used for some type of

⁶⁰¹ For such associations with demons in Second Temple Period texts, as well as others, cf. Ida Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," in *Evil and the Devil* (ed. Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskeniemi; LNTSS 481; London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 23-50; and idem, "Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts," *Henoah* 32, no. 1 (2010), 101-29.

⁶⁰² One should note that Midrash Lamentations 1:1 does not reference any demons or spirit beings in its address of the idols in a confession of Jer 10:11. Cf. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon, eds., "Lamentations," in *Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy-Lamentations* (trans. A. Cohen; vol. 7; London: Soncino Press, 1939), 68. Thus, Midrash Lamentations 1:1 suggests that one might not have to assume demonology for the "gods" of the idols to be addressed directly. However, both Jubilees (1:11 and 22:17-18) and 1 Enoch (99:6-9) imply that demonic spirits were associated with idols during the Second Temple Period. E.g. cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 402-403. Likewise, George W. E. Nickelsburg dates 1 Enoch 95-102 to the early second century BCE. Cf. idem, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2005), 114. 1 Enoch 1-36, or the Book of Watchers, must have been composed sometime before 175 BCE according to Nickelsburg (*ibid.*, 46-52). James C. Vanderkam gives a date range of 160-150 BCE for the composition of Jubilees. Cf. idem, *The Book of Jubilees* (GAP; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 22. Similarly, Nickelsburg gives a date in the early 160s BCE for Jubilees (*ibid.*, 73). LXX Psa 95:5 (Rahlfs) and LXX Isa 65:3 both give translation equivalents of "demons" for deities or pagan gods in the context, although Deuteronomy has the same notions of comparison (MT Deut 32:16-17; also cf. Psalm 106:36-37).

⁶⁰³ I.e. LXX Jer 10:11's ἀπολέσθωσαν "let them perish" for the imperfect אֲבָרַךְ. Peal Aramaic verb. It is interesting to note a later tradition's usage of Jeremiah as a known conjurer of demonic spirits. The Great Paris Magical Text IV: 3037-045 reads: "I conjure you, every daimonic [sic] spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or..." Cf. Hans Dieter Betz et al., eds., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells, Volume One: Texts* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 96. The paleographical dating is circa third century CE (*ibid.*, lvii).

demonic incantation or apotropaic function, like that proposed also for 11Q11's rewritten version of Psalm 91.⁶⁰⁴

In my opinion, 10:11 belongs to the genre of a "war taunt," as in the example of the Rabshakeh speech by the Assyrian military to a besieged Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:19-37).⁶⁰⁵ Rabshakeh's speech represents key features of a war taunt, namely, a promise to defeat one's foe in battle with the declaration of the victory of one's divinity over that of the adversary's god (e.g. 18:30-35).⁶⁰⁶ A war taunt, thus, frequently spells the assured defeat of the one who is addressed, as when Jeremiah sometimes addresses idolatrous Judah (e.g. Jer 21:5-10 and MT 38:3-6). However, it is difficult to distinguish a "war alarm" message (*Botenanweisung*)⁶⁰⁷ from a "war taunt" since both describe a foe's defeat and Jeremiah always uses the motif on Yahweh's behalf. MT 51:14's "shouts of victory"⁶⁰⁸ with a "divine oath"⁶⁰⁹ represent a pertinent example of a war taunt since, like 10:11, it initiates the same battle hymnic material of 51:15-19 that parallels 10:12-16. 10:11's content

⁶⁰⁴ For the incorporation of biblical citations into Jewish magical incantations, cf. Joseph Angel, "The Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic," *Religion Compass* 3, no. 5 (2009), 785-798. Both Angel and Esther Eshel understand MT Numbers 6:24-26 and MT Psalm 91 to have been edited into text forms for magical or apotropaic usage during the Second Temple Period (cf. the Ketef Hinnom plaque inscriptions for Num 6:24-26 and 11Q11's version of Psalm 91). Cf. Angel, "The Use," 790 and Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 70-74. Gabriel Barkay, in particular, argues that the longer MT text form of Nu 6:24-26 was shortened to the text form of the Ketef Hinnom plaques. Cf. idem, "The Priestly Benediction on Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem," *Tel Aviv* 19 (1992), 177. However, for an analysis of 11Q11's text form of Psalm 91, cf. Mika S. Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon: Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko; FES 108; Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 128-61; and idem, "Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis," in *Scripture in Transition* (ed. A. Voitiola and J. Jokiranta; SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 591-605. It is interesting to note that the Great Paris Magical Text IV mentions Jeremiah as a conjurer of demons, but also contains conjurations with similar weather and creation motifs to those of MT Jer 10:11-16 within its magical incantation genre (Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 96-97). Thus, perhaps LXX 10:11-16's hymnic text form evidences a similar magical incantation genre that has echoes in later tradition.

⁶⁰⁵ Holladay conjectures that Jeremiah might have had the scene in mind when composing MT 10:11 (idem, *Jeremiah 1*, 329-30).

⁶⁰⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 329; and Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 398.

⁶⁰⁷ Berridge, *Prophet*, 94-99. I propose that war taunts similar to 10:11 appear in the following verses: MT 50:2-3; 49:2; 49:13; 49:17-18, 20, 27, 32-33; 50:9-13, 23-25, 30-32, 35-40, 45; 51:1-2, 13-14, 25-26, 37-40, and 57-58.

⁶⁰⁸ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37-52*, 448.

⁶⁰⁹ Kessler, *Battle*, 112; and Fischer, *Jeremia 26-52*, 606.

resembles a מִשָּׁל “taunt song”⁶¹⁰ genre⁶¹¹ (e.g. Isa 14 and Nu 23-24), which has a similar literary context to the מִשָּׁל of Hab 2:⁶¹² (cf. Hab 3’s “victory” hymn), since it possesses a *Götzenpolemik* (2:18-20). Moreover, Jer 10:11 essentially describes the idols’ destruction or final judgment, just as Nu 21:27-30’s מִשָּׁל describes Moab’s military defeat. However, MT Jer 10:11’s Aramaic also fundamentally expresses a comparison of the idols to the true Creator Yahweh, which prove to be human works which mock their creators⁶¹³ and primarily disrespects Yahweh himself (10:15aβ).⁶¹⁴ In summary, some type of comparison represents the most basic trait of the מִשָּׁל form⁶¹⁵ in the wisdom tradition.⁶¹⁶

The aniconic mockery of 10:11 which pervades all of the *Götzenpolemik* in MT 10:1-18 must be understood not as directed to the nations,⁶¹⁷ but to an Israel that was “enticed into the worship of idols.”⁶¹⁸ 10:1-18 clearly does not intend to convert the heathen from their wayward idolatry, but addresses Israel so as to convert her back to Yahweh. Furthermore, Deutero-Isaiah’s “idol parodies hardly were instruments of religious polemic directed to non-Jews,”⁶¹⁹ but to the Jewish world at large. Deutero-

⁶¹⁰ A. S. Herbert notes that a מִשָּׁל can denote “a total reversal of fortune.” Cf. idem, “The ‘Parable’ (Māšāl) in the Old Testament,” *SJT* 7 (1954), 189. A. R. Johnson notes that taunt songs (e.g. Hab 2:6 or Isa 14) can convey derision but the primary purpose was “that of forecasting the plight of an individual or a group of people in terms which imply the creation of a public example.” Cf. idem, “מִשָּׁל,” in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Martin Noth and D. Winton Thomas; VTS 3; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 166.

⁶¹¹ Karl Martin Beys notes that it is difficult to determine if a מִשָּׁל is a literary term (or genre) in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. idem, “מִשָּׁל,” in TDOT (trans. David E. Green; ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; vol. 9; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 66

⁶¹² Francis I. Andersen, *Habakkuk* (AB 25; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 225-258.

⁶¹³ Giesebrecht, *Jeremia*, 66; and Cornill, *Jeremia*, 139.

⁶¹⁴ Rudman, “Creation,” 71. Rudman notes that the primary mockery is aimed against the true Creator (ibid.).

⁶¹⁵ Beys states that a מִשָּׁל is fundamentally a comparison or negation of comparison as a type of wisdom proverb (idem, “מִשָּׁל,” 67).

⁶¹⁶ Herbert notes that a מִשָּׁל has the purpose of “quickening an apprehension of the real as distinct from the wished for” or a purpose “of compelling the hearer or reader to form a judgment on himself, his situation or his conduct” (idem, “Parable,” 196).

⁶¹⁷ Blaženka Scheuer, *The Return of YHWH: The Tension between Deliverance and Repentance in Isaiah 40-55* (BZAW 377; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 103-04.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 96.

⁶¹⁹ Roth, “For Life,” 30.

Isaiah's *Götzenpolemik* material, like that of Jer 10, seeks to describe the fabrication and veneration of idols to Jewish readers with the aim of "shattering their faith in these idols."⁶²⁰ Moreover, Deutero-Isaiah's *Götzenpolemik* genre would have no significant effect upon its readers unless its audience in some part were tempted by idolatrous influences.⁶²¹ Likewise, the *Götzenpolemik* subgenre seeks to "expose the nations as Yahweh's adversaries"⁶²² while still hearkening Israel back from her predilection to follow the pagan nations religiously. Thus, like Deutero-Isaiah's similar *Götzenpolemik* context (i.e. to that Jer 10:1-18), 10:11's genre of a war taunt aims at a Jewish audience influenced by pagan notions.⁶²³ The larger structure of MT 10:4-16's hymn reinforces a conclusion that idolatrous Israel lingered on the losing side of a cataclysmic battle of Yahweh with the nations and mankind's idolatry (e.g. Isa 2 and MT Jer 50-51), so that the idol descriptions probably reflect syncretistic practices native to Judah,⁶²⁴ as seen in the Canaanite poetic description of 10:12-13's storm theophany.⁶²⁵

The mockery of the *Götzenpolemik* in Deutero-Isaiah and Jer 10 never descends from its monotheistic rationality⁶²⁶ into the faulty perceptions of pagan divinities (cf. 10:2c), so that one must acknowledge 10:11 to be a pagan quotation when it refers to idols as if they were really "gods"⁶²⁷ (e.g. 16:20). This becomes clear in the sarcastic tone of 10:14-15⁶²⁸ and v. 16a's conclusive הַלְלֵנוּ reference to the idolatrous mankind universally

⁶²⁰ Scheuer, *Return*, 103.

⁶²¹ Scheuer writes: "For some of the Israelites, the Babylonian cult was threatening but they were not tempted by it – to them the prophet spoke words of comfort, describing the Babylonians and their gods as weak and powerless (Isa 41:29; 45:20b; 46:1-3). For others, the Babylonian cult was impressive and tempting – the prophet warns them against falling for the temptation (Isa 40:18; 46:5). Finally there were those who accepted the Babylonian cult because they were seduced by its glory and power – to them the prophet stresses the futility and dangers of idol-worship (Isa 41:24; 42:17; 44:20)" (ibid., 104).

⁶²² Knut Holter, *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages* (BZBET 28; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lange, 1995), 79.

⁶²³ Margaliot, "Jeremiah X 1-16," 303-04; and Kruger, "Ideology."

⁶²⁴ Kang writes: "We should not overlook the fact that the Canaanite religion and culture were under the continuous influence of Mesopotamia" (Kang, *Divine War*, 74-75). For support of native Canaanite idolatry in Jer 10:1-16, cf. Ziony Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallaxic Approaches* (Bath, UK: The Bath Press, 2001), 546; Davidson, "Jeremiah X:1-16," 52-56; and Becking, "Jeremia's beeld," 283.

⁶²⁵ Gray, "Kingship," 20.

⁶²⁶ Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 177-85.

⁶²⁷ Fischer notes that only 10:11 references the idols as gods (idem, *Jeremia 1-25*, 384).

⁶²⁸ Rudman, "Creation," 65-72.

judged in v. 15b (cf. Isa 2:22⁶²⁹ and 40-48). Yet, 10:16a's אֱלֹהֵי הָאֲדָמָה hearkens back⁶³⁰ to v. 11c's אֱלֹהֵי הָאֲדָמָה pronoun in some sense as well.⁶³¹ The pagan divinities only exist in the mind of humans, since they are mere figments of imagination and fabricated materials.⁶³² Like 10:17's *Aufforderung zur Flucht*'s "hint of a taunt,"⁶³³ 10:11's war taunt mockingly goads idolatrous Zion to recognize that her false perception of idols are known to be such among the pagans (Deut 32:31).⁶³⁴ The nations recognize the fact that their gods perish amidst the divinely created heavens and earth (e.g. Jer 16:19).

At least since the Targum of Jeremiah's original composition, the primary interpretation of 10:11 has been that of a message for the exiles in response to the idolatry of their exilic destination. This is most evident in the Targum's long preamble paragraph material⁶³⁵ of 10:11-12 which introduces vv. 11-16.⁶³⁶ 10:11-12's Targum prologue details the setting for the following verses as a "copy of the letter which Jeremiah the prophet sent

⁶²⁹ Peake writes of verse 10:15: "The author looks forward to 'a visitation,' i.e. a judgement on the images, presumably when the Day of Yahweh breaks upon the world; cf. Isa ii. 12-21" (idem, *Jeremiah I-XXV*, 174).

⁶³⁰ Alan D. Corré interprets 10:11's אֱלֹהֵי הָאֲדָמָה pronoun as a quotation marker. He writes: "Here the *sic* draws the reader's attention to the fact that the verse is in Aramaic, and he should not take it as a foreign language gloss inserted in the text. This proposal squares away the meaningless 'these heavens' and explains the presence of a pure Hebrew word in an Aramaic verse." Cf. idem, "'elle, hemma = sic (*)," *Biblica* 54 (1973), 263.

Although Corré's proposal of the pronoun being a marker of the end of a quotation is interesting, it would be the only demonstrable use of the pronoun in this instance and, thus, seems unlikely to be the case.

⁶³¹ 10:15b also logically concludes 5b's assertion concerning the inability of the idols to intervene for their devotees. Cf. Werner H. Schmidt, *Das Buch Jeremia: Kapitel I-20* (ATD 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 219. However, the primary significance of 10:15b's description of perishing refers to

humans who are mocked by 10:15aβ's מְעֵשָׂה תַּעֲתֵעִים creations, which cannot help them. Rudman notes that the mockery is primarily disrespect directed towards Yahweh Himself (idem, "Creation," 72).

⁶³² Some would call this a distortion of paganism. E.g. cf. Michael Dick, "Prophetic Parodies of Making the Cult Images," in *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Michael B. Dick; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 45.

⁶³³ Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 340.

⁶³⁴ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 70-71.

⁶³⁵ For an Aramaic text, cf. Sperber, *Bible*, III: 160-61.

⁶³⁶ There is also a short introduction to verse 12.

to the remnant of the elders of the Exile who were in Babylon.”⁶³⁷ The Targum then declares to the exiled elders how to respond when their people are enticed to idolatrous practices. Thus, both 10:11 and 10:12-16 are placed in the context of Jeremiah’s epistolary communication with the diaspora, like that established in the preface to the Epistle of Jeremiah (Ep Jer)⁶³⁸ and found originally in MT Jer 29:1.

The Targum interpretation of MT 10:11-16 become a declaration or theologoumena to the diaspora in the religiously confrontational environment of the Jewish exile and probably inspired, perhaps in a shared tradition, the composition of Ep Jer (cf. Chapter IV). Such a large interpolatory insertion like that found in Jer 10:11’s text of the Targum appears somewhat unusual, although parallels do exist, such as that of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan’s commentary insertions in Gen 22:1.⁶³⁹ Targum Jonathan probably felt that the peculiar nature or setting of 10:11’s Aramaic required an explanatory contextualization for its “proper” interpretation, although the language was already identical to that of the Targum’s Aramaic. A Babylonian “letter” context to the exiles based on the pattern of MT Jer 29:1, was also followed by the book of 1 Baruch and Ep Jer.⁶⁴⁰ Later, similar

⁶³⁷ Robert Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (vol. 12 of *The Aramaic Bible: The Targums*; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1987), 79. Pinkhos Churgin regards the Targum letter interpolations as a later addition since Codex Reuchlianus quotes verse 10:11 first and then the letter instead of simply beginning the letter in place of v. 11 as it does in later manuscripts. Cf. idem, “Targum Jonathan to the Prophets,” in *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets by Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets By Pinkhos Churgin* (ed. Harry M. Orlinsky; vol. XIV; The Library of Biblical Studies; New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1983), 134-35. Lutz Doering argues, however, that the issue should be studied further due to the strange nature of the Aramaic verse itself in 10:11. Cf. idem, “Jeremiah and the ‘Diaspora Letters’ in Ancient Judaism: Epistolary Communication with the Golah as Medium for Dealing with the Present,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. Kristin de Troyer, Armin Lange, and Christopher R. Matthews; SBLSS 30; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 54 note 52.

⁶³⁸ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 494.

⁶³⁹ Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (ed. Kevin Cathcart, Michael Maher, and Martin McNamara; vol. 1B; Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd, 1992), 77-78.

⁶⁴⁰ The Epistle of Jeremiah was influenced directly and unmistakably by the Aramaic verse of 10:11, the entire Apocryphon being an exercise in reiterating the arguments of MT 10:1-16 (Moore, *Daniel*, 319-26). Jewish commentaries differed as to the extent of the letter to the Babylonian Golah in chapter 10. Rashi, for example, extended the epistle content to 10:16.

interpretations to Jer 10:11's Targum appeared in Midrash Lamentations 1:1,⁶⁴¹ as well as in Rashi⁶⁴² and Kimhi.⁶⁴³

It would seem that if the author intended the audience to be Babylonian exiles, he would not have addressed them in Aramaic, but in the Hebrew of MT 29:1's epistle.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, one would assume that those commanded to speak the Aramaic verse are addressed in Aramaic (10:11a) for a significant reason, leaving aside theories of "an over-enthusiastic traditor"⁶⁴⁵ who inserted an Aramaic marginal gloss introduction.⁶⁴⁶ The fact that 10:11 needs an introductory statement in itself suggests that the audience intended to utter the contents of the verse are not the same people addressed throughout 10:1-18's Hebrew. Rather, it seems that Israel must not dialogue with the nations since she is not to learn their religious customs or perceptions (10:2). Although it may seem possible that the author could address the nations without the need to switch to Aramaic, as in the Hebrew of MT Jer 46-51, yet 5:15 states that a conquering nation of Zion would speak a foreign tongue like that of the Aramaic of the Assyrians (2 Kgs 18:26).

⁶⁴¹ Freedman and Simon, "Lamentations," 68.

⁶⁴² A. J. Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume One*, 93-94. The translation reads: "This is a letter that Jeremiah sent to Jeconiah and those exiled with him in exile, to reply to the Chaldees in Aramaic, a reply if they tell them two worship idols [*literally*, 'to serve those who worship the stars and the zodiacs (my translation).']" (ibid.). Also cf. Menachem Cohen, *Mikra`ot Gedolot: "Haketer": Jeremiah* (small ed.; Jerusalem: Bar Ilan University Press, 2012), 70.

⁶⁴³ Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume One*, 93; and Cohen, *Jeremiah*, 70-71. My translation states: "This is the message of God that Jeremiah sent to Babylon to the sons of exile that they should answer this to the Chaldeans just when they say to them that they should serve their gods, they will answer them "the gods who did not create the heavens and the earth shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens these" and this oracle was written to them in the language of Aramaic that they should say this to the Chaldeans in their language and what it states is that you should thus say to them that this is a warning to them, to Israel, also in the language of Aramaic in order that they not divide the verse in half such that it is half Hebrew and half Aramaic and speak to them in *mems*...[e.g. *mems* as opposed to the words ending in *nuns* as is usual in Aramaic]" (Rosenberg, *Jeremiah: Volume One*, 93). Kimhi extended the letter or epistle to the Babylonian elders all the way to 10:16. However, he interpreted 10:17 to be addressing Babylon and not Jerusalem, and, thus, understands 10:18 to be describing an universal "slinging" or dispersal of the nations (ibid.).

⁶⁴⁴ C. J. Ball notes that Jeremiah would not have written in Aramaic if he wrote MT Jer 29:10ff. in Hebrew. Cf. idem, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah* (ed. William Robertson Nicoll; vol. 12; Toronto: Willard Tract Depository and Book Depot, 1890), 219.

⁶⁴⁵ Daniel C. Snell, "Why is There Aramaic in the Bible?" *JSOT* 18 (1980), 42. Snell writes: "The reason may again be mere attraction; most of the verse was in Aramaic, and an over-enthusiastic traditor may have put the beginning into Aramaic too" (ibid.).

⁶⁴⁶ Carroll states: "Most commentators see it as a gloss coming from a later period when Aramaic had become the *lingua franca* of the empire" (idem, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 256). E.g. cf. Volz, *Jeremia*, 122.

The Aramaic phrase in 10:11a is the equivalent of the Hebrew phrase כה תאמרו with a preposition such as אל or על (e.g. MT 23:35; 27:4; and 37:7), similar to what is spoken to Jeremiah elsewhere (e.g. 14:17's וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם). One would expect something that is like other Hebrew phrases in the context of the book, given the fact that the intended audience of 10:1 had not yet learned Aramaic in the foreign context of the still future exile. Furthermore, Jeremiah himself receives instruction in Hebrew to speak to all the nations with וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם in MT Jer 25:27, just as the Jewish exiles in Babylon are addressed in Hebrew (e.g. MT Jer 50:8-10). Clearly the evidence suggests that if the author wished to address the Jewish exiles directly, he would have used Hebrew and not Aramaic.⁶⁴⁷ One must conclude that those who claim Jer 10:11 intends to address the Jewish diaspora (e.g. Targum Jonathan) must be given the burden of proof for their assumption that future exiles are addressed, especially in light of the fact that Akkadian and not Aramaic would be more appropriate in Jeremiah's time,⁶⁴⁸ although there may be an implied connection to the Jacob patriarchal tradition (cf. Jer 10:16a and Gen 31:47).⁶⁴⁹ One may observe other examples of address to besieged cities alongside address to attackers in Jeremiah, such as Moab (MT 48:17-28), Egypt (e.g. 46:3-4 and 19), or Babylon (50:2 and 8).⁶⁵⁰

My interpretation of MT 10:11 connects well poetically and antithetically to its context, linking to 10c's גוים of the previous clause. Yahweh, in 10:11, commands those besieging Zion to utter what they have come to learn by experience (16:19-20), so that theological truth has become reality (cf. MT 51:14 with 51:15-19). Debate concerning

⁶⁴⁷ For Hebrew spoken in a foreign context in Jeremiah, cf. MT Jer 25:27-38; 27:4; 50:8-10, 14, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29; 51:3, 6, 14, 45, and 50 (cf. Isa 48:20).

⁶⁴⁸ Joseph Halevy notes that "ce n'est pas l'araméen mais l'assyrien qui était la langue officielle à Babylone." Cf. idem, "Le verset araméen de Jérémie, x, 11," *Revue des Études Juives* XI (1885), 69.

⁶⁴⁹ Here one may be "dealing with Israel's relations with a foreigner" (Snell, "Why," 42), along with Jer 10:2-16's connection to the patriarchal promise to "have a future posterity" (Conrad, *Fear Not*, 123 and 167-68).

⁶⁵⁰ Reimer has listed four calls to flee in the midst of eight calls to attack in MT 50-51 (idem, *Oracles*, 161-62).

whether יִאֲבָרֵךְ of 10:11 is a jussive⁶⁵¹ or a future indicative⁶⁵² does not affect my proposed interpretation,⁶⁵³ since the Targum epistolary interpretation imagines a missionary sentiment that idolatrous Judah cannot possess in MT 9:24-25's context. Moreover, if the nations come to Zion to worship Yahweh in the future (3:17; 4:2; and 16:19), then both the jussive and future indicative senses for v.11c's יִאֲבָרֵךְ are technically possible, since my interpretation would describe it as a quotation of conquered peoples who have turned from their idolatry. Yet, the common sentiment which advocates that, in 10:11, Israel speaks an aniconic message to the nations does not, in fact, conform to the surrounding context, which pictures Israel as unable to function as righteous "missionaries"⁶⁵⁴ in any sense of the word.

Chapters 7-10 has cyclically developed the point that Judah does not know Yahweh, so that one sees a demand for her to leave Zion in judgment (10:17). How can Judah be addressed to recite 10:11's supposed missionary verse when she is described so harshly throughout Jer 2-10⁶⁵⁵ as abandoning Yahweh's faithfulness to her? Moreover, as even Kaufmann admits,⁶⁵⁶ why would Yahweh even wish for Israel to speak of monotheism to others, in that the purpose of the exile is not for the nations, but for Israel to find her knowledge of Yahweh (10:18). It is quite apparent that Judah is in no position to be a missionary nation to idolatrous peoples since she herself must be disciplined for her

⁶⁵¹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101-102; Alger F. Johns, *A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1963), 42; Franz A Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (6th ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), §108, 48; etc.

⁶⁵² Margaliot, "Jeremiah X 1-16," 303; and Reid, "Thus," 229 note 30.

⁶⁵³ LXX 10:11c's aorist imperative rendition of יִאֲבָרֵךְ in MT 10:11c may indicate that the Septuagint translator interpreted the Aramaic verse as a magical incantation or apotropaic hymnic prayer of some sort.

⁶⁵⁴ Yehezkel Kaufmann writes: "Jeremiah 10:11 is not only a vision for the future, but a charge to action. The exiles are bidden to speak to the nations in the name of 'the living God and the everlasting King' (vs. 10). Jeremiah here adumbrates the idea of Israel's mission among the nations; he is the father of the missionary idea." Cf. idem, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* (trans. Moshe Greenberg; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 425.

⁶⁵⁵ Chisholm, *Handbook*, 155-69.

⁶⁵⁶ Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah* (trans. E. W. Efroymson; New York: New York Union American Hebrew Congregation, 1970), 136-68 and 199-202. Kaufmann reiterates many times that Israel was never given a mandate to be missionaries to the nations in their exile. He writes, for example, that "nowhere in the Bible is the turning of the gentiles from idolatry considered the 'purpose' of the exile and the dispersion" (ibid., 136).

own idolatry in the “Foe from the North’s” attack of Zion. Thus, Margaliot correctly describes the missionary ideal of 10:11 to be “eisegesis” and not exegesis.⁶⁵⁷ One may perhaps argue that those addressed in 10:11 represent a righteous remnant, but this would demand that one remove the verse from its immediate context as an island to itself, hence one observes the popularity of the marginal gloss theory of the Aramaic content.⁶⁵⁸ In contrast, one sees that Jeremiah’s search for a righteous person in 5:1-3 leads to 5:15’s “Foe from the North”,⁶⁵⁹ who comes in judgment and speaks an unintelligible language (Deut 28:49 and Isa 28:10-12) against Jerusalem. Therefore, I propose that MT Jer 10:11 represents a literary fulfillment of 5:15, spoken in an idealized future or apocalyptic scenario established by the theophany description of 10:10.

My interpretation of 10:11a as a divine call for a war taunt from an imagined “Foe from the North” besieging army assumes a switch of grammatical person, or *enallage*, to the second person from the third person reference in 10:10c of the nations. However, such *enallage* seems more likely than an address to Israel (cf. LXX 10:11), since Israel does not appear in 10:10 and especially given the fact that 10:6-9 only seems to refer to the nations or directly addresses Yahweh in the second person (10:6-7). Moreover, the change of address between 10:10 and v. 11 presents a problem for any interpretation, especially given the complexity of the poetry which almost effortlessly skips over 10:11 in its description of Yahweh throughout 10:10-13. *Enallage*, such as that found in 10:10-12, is a frequent phenomenon in the book of Jeremiah,⁶⁶⁰ just as it occurs between MT 10:5-6 and also between vv. 16-17. *Enallage* can indicate that the prophet is giving a divine speech or voice,⁶⁶¹ while sudden shifts to the second person might also suggest “derision or

⁶⁵⁷ Margaliot, “Jeremiah X 1-16,” 304 note 26.

⁶⁵⁸ E.g. cf. Volz, *Jeremia*, 122.

⁶⁵⁹ The nation described in Jer 5:15-17 seems to picture Babylon, which consumes the people of Jerusalem (5:17), as also the case of the imagery portrayed in MT 10:25.

⁶⁶⁰ E.g. cf. Glanz, *Understanding*, 243-342; John T. Willis, “Dialogue between Prophet and Audience as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Jeremiah,” *JSOT* 33, no. 33 (1985), 63-82; Holladay, *Jeremia 1*, 137-38; Biddle, *Polyphony*, 11; Joseph M. Henderson, “Jeremiah 2-10 as a Unified Literary Composition: Evidence of Dramatic Portrayal and Narrative Progression,” in *Uprooting and Planting* (ed. John Goldingay et al.; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 459; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 123-24; etc. Glanz describes *enallage* as a “PNG shift” to indicate alterations of person, number, or gender (idem, *Understanding*, 243-342).

⁶⁶¹ L. Zogbo, “Enallage: Shifting Persons in Old Testament Texts” (Paper presented at the United Bible Societies Triennial Translation Workshop in Chiang Mai, Thailand; May 1994), 15-16.

mockery.”⁶⁶² Both of these types of *enallage* could easily describe what is taking place contextually in MT 10:10-12.

Those addressed in MT 10:11 resemble MT 51:14’s military forces described as those who utter a victory shout as they destroy a besieged Babylon on Yahweh’s behalf.⁶⁶³ Bellis notes that the “battle cry” of MT 51:14 has strong parallels with the divine warrior motif of Isa 63:1-6 in its “vintage shout.”⁶⁶⁴ Moreover, both Jer 10:11 and MT 51:14 are followed by the same victory hymnic units of 10:12-16 and 51:15-19, so as to suggest a strong contextual connection of an utterance of a divine verdict.⁶⁶⁵ What is more, the context of MT 10:1-18 suggests that 10:17 addresses Zion, but 10:11 addresses the nations who are gathered against Jerusalem in its siege. Thus, 10:11 cannot be a “missionary” message since the besieged people of Judah in 10:17 must flee and are in no position to declare to their besiegers a polemical religious verdict. One would expect those besieging Zion in 10:17 to be those also who could be hypothetical recipients of a directive to pronounce a war taunt against Judah. Thus, the “missionary” context required for the Targum interpretation, does not conform to the scenario of 10:11’s more original warfare genre.

One may ask how foreign nations could utter 10:11’s orthodox denunciation of pagan deities and idols? Halevy, noting such a paradox, asserts a claim of a scribal insertion from material that originally was introduced by a scribe into the mouth of a pious Darius (e.g. Dan 6:26-29) in the king’s edict letter of Ezra 6:3-12, specifically within 6:12.⁶⁶⁶ Halevy proposes, furthermore, that Jer 10:11’s insertion into Ezra 6:12 was deleted by a different scribe when he noticed that it had already been implanted into Jer 10’s context.⁶⁶⁷ However, this elaborate theory by Halevy seems overly complicated and implausible. Yet, it must be admitted that Halevy demonstrates an important insight into the nature of 10:11’s Aramaic, namely, the fact that the Aramaic’s foreign tongue suggests

⁶⁶² Ibid., 24-27.

⁶⁶³ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37-52*, 448.

⁶⁶⁴ Idem, *Structure*, 133-35.

⁶⁶⁵ Kessler, *Battle*, 112; and Fischer, *Jeremia 26-52*, 606.

⁶⁶⁶ Halevy, “Le verset araméen,” 71.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 72.

a non-Jewish source, or that of a foreigner and not that of an exilic Jewish persona. Other passages in Jeremiah (e.g. cf. 3:17; 4:2; and 16:19-21;⁶⁶⁸ or Isa 45:14) describe the nations admitting the failure of their idolatry,⁶⁶⁹ as clearly stated of Judah's similar sin (Jer 16:10-13 and MT 17:1-5). Such comparative biblical evidence gives victorious military significance in the contexts of the parallel "fear not" pericopes of MT 30:10-11 and 46:27-28⁶⁷⁰ (cf. 10:2c and 5b α), since the reader looks forward to a future scenario of worldwide abandonment of idolatry and universal worship of Yahweh at Zion. Although in MT 50-51 the nations declare the destruction of Babylon,⁶⁷¹ in 10:11 one sees Babylon (the presumed "Foe from the North")⁶⁷² taunting Zion with other nations assumed as well (10:10c).

In Jer 10:11, the ancient nation of 5:15 instructs Israel on matters that she has not yet learned (10:2b), since she has yet to realize the futility of the "customs of the nations" (10:3a), and that the idols have no power for good or ill (10:5b). Ironically enough, Yahweh had originally told Jeremiah that He would attack Jerusalem due to her idolatry (1:16), as seen against Babylon later on (MT 50-51).⁶⁷³ 10:11's war taunt, thus, manifests an ironic tone⁶⁷⁴ in that it has no real threat to offer idolatrous Israel, since the gods backing the attack actually perish (10:11c) under the very skies they do not create (10:11b) nor inhabit (10:2c). Such reality contrasts poignantly with the truth that it is King Yahweh (10:7a and 10a γ) who marshals the attack against Zion⁶⁷⁵ in the context of 10:1-18. Therefore, 10:11 is somewhat of a mock war taunt, but such a taunt gives subtle overtones

⁶⁶⁸ Holladay notes that 16:19-21 gives evidence that MT Jer 10:1-16 is genuine material to Jeremiah (idem, *Jeremiah 1*, 330).

⁶⁶⁹ Allen writes of Jer 16:19-20: "Ironically Gentiles here profess the faith that Judah failed to profess (ch. 2) and hopefully would learn to profess in exile (ch. 10)" (idem, *Jeremiah*, 194-95).

⁶⁷⁰ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 108-23.

⁶⁷¹ E.g. cf. MT 50:2-3, 23; 51:6-14, 35, and 41.

⁶⁷² If, as I suggest, MT 10:4-16's hymn is eschatological in its implied context, then 10:11's speakers could be all the nations as a collective group (cf. Jer 3:17).

⁶⁷³ Hill, *Friend*, 205-06 notes that Jer 4-6 and MT 50-51 have deliberate literary parallels in their war imagery. For example, chapters 4-6's often find close parallels with the war oracle literary formulas and imagery in chapters 50-51. E.g. cf. 4:5-6, 19-31; 5:10, 15-17; 6:1-15, 18-19, 22-26, etc. For example, Reimer lists military imperatives in MT 50-51 (idem, *Oracles*, 161-62).

⁶⁷⁴ The fact that foreigners instruct Israel in theology is very ironic and aptly critical.

⁶⁷⁵ Christensen notes that Yahweh may be seen in Jeremiah as "employing foreign armies as unwitting partners in his chastisement of disobedient Israel" (idem, *Prophecy*, 186). Christensen also describes the divine use of foreign armies in holy war (ibid., 184-87).

to the pericope's instructional theme of altered wisdom,⁶⁷⁶ in that even the nations have something to teach Judah that she struggles to learn (e.g. cf. 10:2b).

MT 10:11's pedagogical overtone connects intertextually to Sinai's aniconic instruction in Deut 4, with its demand of exilic punishment (Deut 4:15-28) for Israel's idolatry.⁶⁷⁷ MT Jer 10:1-18 reiterates the punishment for idolatry from Deut 4 (Jer 10:17-18) and contrasts the false gods that perish (10:11) with the true God (10:10a) who alone creates life.⁶⁷⁸ MT 10:4-16's victorious battle hymn ingeniously demonstrates by antithetical contrast that the nations' idols prove to not present any true comparison to 10:16a's חֵלֶק יַעֲקֹב "Portion of Jacob."⁶⁷⁹ In distinction to the pagan gods, Yahweh alone provides a future heritage for Israel (cf. MT 10:16c),⁶⁸⁰ while the idols only perish (10:11c) within Yahweh's creation. It is most ironic, therefore, that the nations must speak 10:11's theologoumena to Israel, who should, of all the nations, know intimately such theological truth.

3. MT 10:1-18's Coherence and Purpose in Contrast to LXX 10:1-18

LXX 10:1-18's text form⁶⁸¹ (probably HRLXXJ and not the LXX translator⁶⁸²) removes substantial proto-MT material, such as that of MT 10:6-8, 10; יָד from 10:3c; מַעֲשֵׂה חַרָּשׁ of 10:9c; לְקוֹל תְּהוֹ of 13a;⁶⁸³ וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל שָׁבַט of 16c; צְבָאוֹת of 16d; and

⁶⁷⁶ Baumann, "Jeremia." Cf. חֵלֶק נְהוֹ in Deut 4:6.

⁶⁷⁷ Kratz, *Kyros*, 204-05.

⁶⁷⁸ Rudman, "Creation," 73.

⁶⁷⁹ Tsevat notes that חֵלֶק may be used in the "broader sense of a primordial apportionment of things, attributes, and destinies, with more or less emphasis on the notion of creation. Instances include 'food'... 'wisdom' (qal: Job 39:17), the portion or 'lot' of individuals and nations (Job 20:29; Isa. 17:14; Jer. 10:16), often a lot that is brought to pass by their own conduct..." (idem, "חֵלֶק," 451).

⁶⁸⁰ P. Albert Condamin writes: "La part de Jacob, c'est-à-dire le vrai Dieu, Iahvé; cf. Lam. 3, 24; Ps. 73:26; 119: 57, etc." Cf. idem, *Le Livre de Jérémie* (Paris: Gabalda, 1920), 89.

⁶⁸¹ LXX 10:1-18's text form, and HRLXXJ's contribution to the LXX Greek text, will be discussed in chapter III's material.

⁶⁸² For the distinction between HRLXXJ and LXX Jeremiah's translation, cf. chapter III.

⁶⁸³ Perhaps the lack of קוֹל represents the most important omission, since this represents a key element of theophanic description (Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89).

בַּפְּעַם הַזֶּה of 18b. One may note also LXX 10:9a's transposition immediately following LXX 10:5a, along with 10:5bc's placement at the end of 10:9. HRLXXJ, by such drastic changes, has transformed MT 10:11 into a direct address to diaspora Jews as some sort of exilic message about idolatry's deities. MT 10:6-8's hymnic poetry, along with 10:10's theophanic descriptions, were thought to interrupt the flow of thought from 10:5 to 10:9 and, then, onto 10:11's war taunt. Thus, one sees evidence of the transposition of verse 10:9 into 10:5, along with the omission of MT 10:6-10's material.

With such substantial alterations and deletions, HRLXXJ has severed MT 10:1-18's literary connection with Deut 4:1-40. Moses' sermon of Deut 4, however, gives compelling evidence for a need of the entirety of MT 10:4-16 to properly focus the theological confession of 10:10⁶⁸⁴ in opposition to its antithesis of 10:11.⁶⁸⁵ Likewise, MT 10:4-16's intertextuality with Deut 4:1-40 demands that the core contrast of MT 10:10-11 possess the earlier hymnic strophes of 10:4-9 so as to establish the prior context of the central argument.⁶⁸⁶ Moreover, without MT 10:10, there is no need for 10:11's antithesis, which becomes emphasized in LXX 10 (cf. chapter III), and one has no explicit description of Yahweh's victory over the nations (10:15b) if 10:10 did not exist originally in the hymn. LXX 10:1-18's missing strophic contrasts are necessary components to the associated motifs within the unique "eschatological" hymn of MT 10:4-16, such as that of wisdom and idolatry polemics established in the book's surrounding context. Arguments whose conclusions are found in LXX 10:14-16 would naturally require basis and argumentation only found in MT 10:6-10, such as the comparison of God as Creator⁶⁸⁷ of life (MT 10:10) with the lack of such power among either humans (e.g. MT 10:6-10;⁶⁸⁸ MT 49:19; and MT 50:44)⁶⁸⁹ or the nations (e.g. MT 10:6-7, 10; MT 25:15-38; and MT 46-51). Furthermore, only MT 10:4-16 maintains a consistent pattern of comparison between false human

⁶⁸⁴ Allen notes that 10:10's "hymnic confession crowns the passage" (idem, *Jeremiah*, 127).

⁶⁸⁵ Krašovec, *Antithetic*, 83.

⁶⁸⁶ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 376-377.

⁶⁸⁷ Perdue, *Collapse*, 141-50; and Rudman, "Creation."

⁶⁸⁸ Clifford notes that the *Götzenpolemik* "portray vivid contrasts essential to preaching – contrasts between Yahweh and idol fabricators." Cf. Richard J. Clifford, "The Function of Idol Passages in Second Isaiah," *CBQ* 42 (1980), 451.

⁶⁸⁹ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 88-89.

perceptions of idolatrous gods and a true conception of Yahweh (LXX 10:14-15),⁶⁹⁰ similar to Jeremiah's arguments elsewhere.⁶⁹¹

LXX 10:1-11, however, implies mere derisive mockery of the idols themselves, seemingly devoid of any human element of thought for the gods behind the physical objects. However, the wisdom motif also observable throughout LXX 10:11-16 lends itself elsewhere to comparative contrast with MT 10:6-10's themes, such as the incorporation of the incomparability statements concerning Yahweh (MT 10:6-7 and 16),⁶⁹² or rhetorical questions (MT 10:7).⁶⁹³ What is more, many needed elements for the context's thematic structure of MT 10:4-16's hymn would be missing without MT 10:10's theologoumena, such as the notions of Yahweh as Creator of life,⁶⁹⁴ as universal King,⁶⁹⁵ and as the God of truth,⁶⁹⁶ which evidence the pericope's fondness for multiple or repeated conceptual units.⁶⁹⁷

Only MT 10:10 describes the anger of Yahweh's wrath which is echoed in LXX 10:24 and throughout Jer 11-20.⁶⁹⁸ The hymnic affirmation of MT 10:16d would suggest a creation theme as it does in other contexts of Jeremiah (e.g. cf. MT 32:18-19),⁶⁹⁹ so that one would expect a structurally completed battle hymn to be presented alongside a

⁶⁹⁰ One may note the parallelism of דַּעַת and פְּסָל in MT 10:14 or the prior parallel concepts of חֲקֻנֹת and אֲתוֹת in 10:2 (all appearing in both LXX and MT, yet LXX removes the similar parallel notions found in vv. 10:6-8 and 10). Papadopolous, for example, defends the traditional understanding of חֲקֻנֹת as referring to traditions or customs. He argues against popular textual emendation (idem, "Ἰερεμίου 10,3α," 256-65).

⁶⁹¹ E.g. cf. MT 2:26-28; 14:22; 16:19-21; etc. Overholt demonstrates, in a more elaborate manner, MT Jer 10:1-16's similar logic of argumentation to that of other contexts of Jeremiah (idem, "Falsehood," 9-12).

⁶⁹² Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 113-14.

⁶⁹³ Labuschagne notes that the *Götzenpolemik* frequently has "rhetorical questions regarding the incomparability of Yahweh" (idem, *Incomparability*, 16-27 and 74). Also cf. Perdue, *Collapse*, 148-49.

⁶⁹⁴ Rudman, "Creation."

⁶⁹⁵ The earth shakes when Yahweh is King, for example, in Ps 99:1 and 97:4, as well as in MT Jer 10:10 (Gray, "Kingship," 20). Deutero-Isaiah also links God as Creator with his status as King (e.g. cf. Isa 41:21; 44:6; and 43:15).

⁶⁹⁶ This represents a contrast to שִׁקָּר of MT 10:14c.

⁶⁹⁷ Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 29; and Baumann, "Jeremia," 75. E.g. הַבָּל is thrice repeated (MT 10:3, 8, and 15).

⁶⁹⁸ Smith, *Laments*, 62.

⁶⁹⁹ Brueggemann, *Like Fire*, 41-55. James Crenshaw says the hymnic affirmation (e.g. MT Jer 10:16d) is "a profound faith in Yahweh as creator and judge," which would be more readily obvious in the full version of MT 10:4-16. Cf. idem, "YHWH *Šebaôt Šemô*: A Form-Critical Analysis," *ZAW* 81 (1969), 175.

doxological confession of faith (cf. LXX 10:16).⁷⁰⁰ Moreover, LXX 10:14-15 give affirmations that read more naturally as conclusions from prior contrast within MT 10:3-10's *Götzenpolemik*. The confirmatory tone of LXX 10:14-15 is so overtly evident that Preuß claims MT 10:10-16 were later redactional additions to an earlier MT 10:1-9.⁷⁰¹

Deutero-Isaiah's similar genre elements assist the interpreter to understand a transformation of MT 10:1-18's holy war oracle into a *Heilsorakel*⁷⁰² which comforts faithful exiles (e.g. cf. MT Jer 30:10-11)⁷⁰³ with assurance of military deliverance in MT Jer 10:4-16's hymn. MT 10:2c and 10:5ba's "fear not" prohibitions,⁷⁰⁴ as elsewhere in Jeremiah,⁷⁰⁵ clearly place the pericope in a holy war context⁷⁰⁶ and give a war-like victory pledge based on Israel's past experience with Yahweh.⁷⁰⁷ MT 10:1-18's war oracle also possesses an *Aufforderung zur Flucht* in MT 10:17, yet in a somewhat unusual form.⁷⁰⁸ Although MT 10:1-18 represents a unit that speaks in a calming manner (e.g. MT 10:2c's and 10:5ba's *Beruhigungsformel*),⁷⁰⁹ it also warns of imminent judgment to Israel (MT 9:24-25; 10:15, and 17-18),⁷¹⁰ so that one finds אִיִּי like⁷¹¹ prophetic material against Judah. Therefore, besides the *Götzenpolemik*, one perceives other elements in common with Deutero-Isaiah, such as the *Heilsorakel*'s "fear not" prohibitions, rhetorical questions

⁷⁰⁰ The motifs common to Jer 10:16d's hymnic affirmation, such as creation, are listed in Crenshaw (idem, *Hymnic Affirmation*, 88-90). Crüsemann notes that the refrain of 10:16d ties the *Götzenpolemik* material with the participial hymn of 10:12-13 (idem, *Studien*, 113-14).

⁷⁰¹ Except for 10:6-7, which Preuß described as additions (idem, *Verspottung*, 168). All of MT 10:10-16 reads very naturally as confirming prior statements or argumentation from earlier in the context.

⁷⁰² Begrich, "Heilsorakel," 81-92. One must temper Begrich's hypothesis with the recent criticism of Nissinen (idem, "Fear Not").

⁷⁰³ Berridge, *Prophet*, 184-98.

⁷⁰⁴ Von Rad, *Holy*, 45; and Conrad, *Fear Not*, 168 note 13. Kang also notes that the prohibition to "fear not" "was given as a divine oracle for victory in the battle" (idem, *Divine War*, 42).

⁷⁰⁵ Conrad, *Fear Not*, 108-23, etc.

⁷⁰⁶ The "fear not" commands substitute as a kind of *Aufforderungen zum Kampf* of Bach, though he did not analyze their form in his analysis of holy war contexts (idem, *Aufforderungen*, 51-91).

⁷⁰⁷ Becker, *Gottesfurcht*, 54-55.

⁷⁰⁸ Reimer slightly modifies Robert Bach's original analysis of the *Aufforderungen* when he states that they are "primarily a means of announcing destruction. Later they came also to express the hope of restoration" (idem, *Oracles*, 168).

⁷⁰⁹ Becker, *Gottesfurcht*, 52. Reimer notes that the language hints of Israel's restoration (idem, *Oracles*, 168).

⁷¹⁰ Berridge notes that such mixed messages of both salvation and woe are common to Jeremiah (idem, *Prophet*, 184-211).

⁷¹¹ De Roche, "Yahweh's RÎB."

(MT 10:7), and statements of Yahweh's incomparability⁷¹² as both universal King and Creator (MT Jer 10:10; Isa 41:21; 43:15; and 44:6).⁷¹³

Deutero-Isaiah provides comparative material for a transformation of the original war oracle "fear not" prohibition into a promise of a future after idolatry's universal judgment (e.g. Isa 42:24-43:5;⁷¹⁴ MT Jer 30:10-11; and MT Jer 46:27-28). Just as Deutero-Isaiah links the *Heilsorakel* "fear not" with return to the divine presence in Zion⁷¹⁵ (e.g. Isa 40-43), MT Jer 10:1-18 also describes a divine presence against idolatry (10:10 and 15). Both MT 4:4 and 9:25, interestingly, accuse Israel of a lack of circumcision and both are followed by holy war oracles (4:5-8⁷¹⁶ and 10:1-18). A military genre in 4:5-8 and 6:1-5⁷¹⁷ carries over into chapters 8-10⁷¹⁸ so that one sees the summons to flight in MT 10:17 and the lamentation of Zion mixed with wisdom elements (10:19-25).⁷¹⁹ Moreover, without assuming MT 10:1-16's war oracle context, it is difficult to understand MT 10:10-13's punitive use of theophany⁷²⁰ or to see the logical connection between 10:16's doxological affirmation and 10:17's call to flee from Zion in order to undergo exile.⁷²¹

MT 10:16c's language implies a future Zion (e.g. cf. Ps 74:2's שְׁבֵט),⁷²² that LXX Jer 17:5-13's⁷²³ wisdom poetry also describes (cf. 17:12).⁷²⁴ LXX 10:16, however, lacks such a concept of a future Zion and focuses heavily on Jerusalem's past demise (cf. chapter III), with little hope for the exile's journey (e.g. cf. MT 10:18d). MT 10:1-18's future

⁷¹² For this material in Deutero-Isaiah's *Götzenpolemik*, cf. Clifford, "Function."

⁷¹³ Gray, "Kingship," 20. Gray notes that 10:10 links with the cosmic conflict language of 10:13 which indicates Canaanite conceptions of the kingship of their god (ibid., 28-29).

⁷¹⁴ Note the contrast from judgment to deliverance in Zion through fire (Conrad, *Fear Not*, 95).

⁷¹⁵ Köhler, "Offenbarungsformel."

⁷¹⁶ Christensen, *Prophecy*, 188-90.

⁷¹⁷ Christensen examines both Jer 4:5-8 and 6:1-5 as war oracle genres (ibid., 188-91).

⁷¹⁸ O'Connor, "Tears," 175.

⁷¹⁹ Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 390-99.

⁷²⁰ Crenshaw describes MT Jer 10:10-13's type of hymnic genre as possessing a "theophany of judgment" (idem, *Hymnic Affirmations*, 63-64). However, retribution only comes to those who are idolaters, since faithful Israel experience victory as in Hab 3 (Christensen, *Prophecy*, 180-81).

⁷²¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 341.

⁷²² Bogaert notes that the expression שְׁבֵט נְחֻלָּתֶךָ of MT Jer 10:16c only occurs elsewhere in MT Ps 74:2 to designate Zion (idem, "Mécanismes," 232-33).

⁷²³ Carroll, *Jeremiah. T & T Clark*, 45.

⁷²⁴ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 35 and 56.

theophany or “Day of Yahweh” imagery seems to transcend its holy war motif and crosses over into an apocalyptic scenario⁷²⁵ of universal retribution upon all of mankind⁷²⁶ (LXX 10:14-15), although Von Rad has argued that Yahweh’s theophanic judgment arose from the holy warfare concept itself.⁷²⁷ Furthermore, MT 10:1-18 implies some sort of future contrast between idolaters with that of faithful Israel (e.g. cf. MT Ps 135:14), so that one expects to find an affirmation of Yahweh’s elective possession of Israel that is lacking in LXX (MT 10:16c), although it is a notion commonly associated with creation in Jeremiah⁷²⁸ and with Deutero-Isaiah’s idolatry polemic.⁷²⁹

Perhaps more significantly, LXX 10:13a omits any reference to the formless voice (קול) of the Sinai theophany (Deut 4:15-24), so as, thereby, to negate a primary theophanic element⁷³⁰ and an Ugaritic hymnic parallel⁷³¹ of the Levantine “storm god” battle imagery.⁷³² Additionally, the LXX omissions of MT 10:6-7 causes a lack of two (of three) statements of Yahweh’s incomparability (i.e. only LXX 10:16a), thereby negating a motif often accompanying mention of Israel as Yahweh’s people,⁷³³ as well as destroying the penchant of the passage for rhetorical repetition.⁷³⁴ LXX also lacks a full **נבאות** divine epithet so as to lose the title’s military connotations⁷³⁵ and its holy war link to warfare against Israel’s idolatry.⁷³⁶ Therefore, the seemingly small deletions of HRLXXJ create a textform of Proto-MT 10:1-18 which omits genre elements both native and

⁷²⁵ Hanson, *Dawn*, 280-401. Frank Cross describes the judgment of MT Jer 10:10 as “proto-apocalyptic” (idem, *Canaanite*, 170 note 99).

⁷²⁶ Hanson writes: “The enemy is no longer a particular historical foe of Israel, rather, the entire world, including nature, is consigned to the *herem*” (idem, *Dawn*, 313).

⁷²⁷ Idem, “Origin,” 97-108.

⁷²⁸ Perdue, *Collapse*, 149.

⁷²⁹ J. Guillet, “La Polemique contre les Idols et le Serviteur de Yahvé,” *Biblica XL* (1959), 428-34. Guillet notes contrast in the idols of the nations with redeemed Zion of Deutero-Isaiah, which Yahweh creates as the only God who makes living things.

⁷³⁰ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89.

⁷³¹ Althann, “Inverse Construct,” 11.

⁷³² Cross, *Canaanite*, 147-63.

⁷³³ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 149-53.

⁷³⁴ For a list of MT 10:1-16’s repeated rhetorical strategies, cf. Reid, “Thus,” 224-31.

⁷³⁵ Kang, *Divine War*, 199-202; Miller, *Divine*, 145-55; and Ross, “Jahweh,” 92.

⁷³⁶ Christensen writes: “The Divine Warrior will lead his hosts in battle against his own people, because they spurned their covenant obligations” (idem, *Prophecy*, 282).

necessary to its literary genre matrix (especially MT 10:13a's קול^{737} link to Levantine “storm god” imagery⁷³⁸).

Like Hab 3:1-19, MT Jer 10:4-16's eschatological hymn envisions a “future victory” which would allow Israel to “experience the jubilation of the end time in advance.”⁷³⁹ MT 10:4-16, moreover, could well be described as an eschatological hymn, since the poetry describes a certain victory of Yahweh,⁷⁴⁰ whose glorious finale may be found described in Jer 17:12's “Zion song.”⁷⁴¹ Although LXX 10:12-13 (Crüsemann's participial hymn⁷⁴²) gives evidence for some hymnic description of God in storm and weather elements,⁷⁴³ only MT gives explicit reference to the common hymnic motifs of the thunders' sound (MT 10:13a) and the quaking of the earth (10:10b).⁷⁴⁴ MT 10:6-7's direct address to Yahweh does not appear in LXX 10:1-18, and evidences the fact that HRLXXJ has created a poetic piece that no longer possesses a crucial quality of a biblical hymn, namely, evidence of composition for the sake of being sung to Yahweh alone.⁷⁴⁵

MT Jer 10:4-16 alone describes an explicitly international perspective familiar to other hymns (MT 10:7c and 10c),⁷⁴⁶ which demonstrates the domination of humanity by Yahweh as King (MT 10:10ay).⁷⁴⁷ MT also uniquely demonstrates a change from a second to a third person description of Yahweh (MT 10:6-7 and 10) as in other biblical hymns.⁷⁴⁸ The contrast of Yahweh with other beings is a common hymnic trait,⁷⁴⁹ but is only fully given in MT 10:6-10 (cf. LXX 10:3-5 and 11-15). Thus, the negations of comparability in

⁷³⁷ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89. Jeremias here notes Ugaritic parallels.

⁷³⁸ Cross, *Canaanite*, 147-63. Crüsemann notes “Babylonian” literary parallels (idem, *Studien*, 141).

⁷³⁹ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 54-55 and 57.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 35 and 55-56.

⁷⁴² Crüsemann, *Studien*, 111-14.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 104; and Gunkel, *Introduction*, 51.

⁷⁴⁴ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 104. Gunkel notes that earthquakes are a common motif to hymns, especially those associated with Yahweh's kingship (idem, *Introduction*, 51).

⁷⁴⁵ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 48. The LXX alternative would be that LXX 10:11-16's hymnic material was to be uttered against evil spirits as a *Bannformel* commencing with v. 11 (Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101).

⁷⁴⁶ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 48. E.g. cf. קול^{746} of MT 10:10c.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., 33.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 38-39.

MT 10:6-7 are given complete negative strophic contrast to LXX 10:3-5 in their typical hymnic pattern elsewhere.⁷⁵⁰ Only MT, likewise, closes the hymnic unit with the same rhetorical elements which it begins,⁷⁵¹ this is to say, with *Götzenpolemik* followed by negations of Yahweh's comparability (10:3-7 and 14-16). Finally, although imperatives or summonses to praise usually initiate hymns,⁷⁵² one observes that MT 10:4-7 begins with a strophic contrast between a *Götzenpolemik* and a rhetorical question (MT 10:7), which is a common introduction to a biblical hymn's structure.⁷⁵³

In hymns, the "conclusion of the whole frequently manifests the forms of the introduction."⁷⁵⁴ Yet, in contrast to LXX Jer 10:4-16, only MT 10:4-16's hymn gives full prior hymnic balance to 10:16's reaffirming deductions, which find their logical counterparts already back in 10:6's introductory conclusions. Since few hymns lack an introduction,⁷⁵⁵ one expects to find either common introductory elements⁷⁵⁶ or the exceptional patterns,⁷⁵⁷ such as rhetorical questions⁷⁵⁸ and descriptive "apposition,"⁷⁵⁹ as MT Jer 10:4-16 alone demonstrates. Moreover, one expects a hymnic introduction to contain a description of Yahweh as "the subject of praise,"⁷⁶⁰ as is only observable in MT 10:6-7 and 10. LXX and MT 10:12-13's participles surely demonstrate a following section within an established hymn, as is common to other Psalms.⁷⁶¹ However, such participial sections must follow logically from a divine name stated previously in the context (cf. MT Jer 10:6-7 and 10),⁷⁶² which LXX 10:12-13 do not possess, but must be supplied in a second hand manner (i.e. LXX 10:12a; cf. chapter III). Moreover, LXX lacks MT 10:10, so

⁷⁵⁰ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 74; and Gunkel, *Introduction*, 38 and 50.

⁷⁵¹ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 40.

⁷⁵² Gunkel notes that hymnic introductions (e.g. MT Jer 10:2-7) often "contain a praise to YHWH in some form" (ibid., 27; e.g. cf. MT 10:6-7).

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., 40.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 23-29.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 29 and 31.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 28.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 39.

⁷⁶² Ibid., 30-31 and 39.

that there is no needed linkage of divine name with the participles of 10:12-13, as is common in biblical hymns.⁷⁶³ In summary, Jer 10:1-18's poetry must begin with hymnic material prior to 10:12-13's participial hymnic unit, so that these verses cannot represent the beginning or introduction of the original hymn⁷⁶⁴ as implied by a great lack of MT 10:6-10's material in LXX's text form.⁷⁶⁵

As Crüsemann notes, MT 10:1-18 has various types of independent hymnic or thematic components that are joined into one unit in a remarkably unique manner.⁷⁶⁶ If one attempts to explain MT 10:1-18's combination of its poetic elements through the perspective of MT 10:16d's **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ** catchphrase, then one does find similar contextual themes elsewhere in MT Jeremiah and Isaiah⁷⁶⁷ linked with this common preexilic refrain.⁷⁶⁸ For example, MT Jer 32:18 contains 10:16d's familiar clause within its context of a prayer to Yahweh. MT 10:6-7's direct address to Yahweh (cf. MT 32:17) also implies a type of prayer, but such an implication is simply lacking in LXX's text form.⁷⁶⁹ Moreover, only MT 10:1-16 gives full poetic articulation to the recognized Jeremianic themes before MT 10:16d's refrain (cf. analysis above).⁷⁷⁰

HRLXXJ's editorial hand has created the nonsensical insinuation that LXX 10:11 should be uttered against the idols themselves (or their evil spirits), an idea that seems

⁷⁶³ Ibid., 30-31.

⁷⁶⁴ Contra the conclusions of Crüsemann (idem, *Studien*, 111-14).

⁷⁶⁵ LXX 10, consequently, finds the need to supply the divine name in verse 12a's context.

⁷⁶⁶ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 111.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. MT Jer 10:16; MT 31:35; 32:18; 46:18; 48:15; 50:34; MT 51:19, 57; Isa 47:4; 48:2; 51:15; and 54:5.

⁷⁶⁸ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 95-114. Crüsemann analyzes the phrase **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ** (e.g. cf. MT Jer 10:16d) and its common relationship to participial hymnic material. His study confirms that similar themes to those found in MT Jer 10:1-16, besides participial hymnic material (e.g. cf. MT 10:12-13), would be expected with the common refrain of MT 10:16d (LXX 10:16d). He thinks that the refrain and the participial hymnic tradition that often accompany it are preexilic, suggesting Canaanite elements (ibid., 103-05).

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 108-11.

⁷⁷⁰ For example, MT 32:18's refrain has a similar **רִיב** legal context to that of MT 10:1-16's judgment against Zion's idolatry (Crüsemann, *Studien*, 109-10). War oracle contexts are common to the contexts of Jeremiah's use of the refrain, as well as the theme of creation or power over nature. Cf. MT 10:16; MT 31:35; 32:18; 46:18; 48:15; 50:34; MT 51:19, and 57. It is especially interesting to note the occurrence of **מֶלֶךְ** "King" for Yahweh in MT 10:7, 10; MT 46:18; 48:15; and MT 51:57.

foreign to the rest of the Hebrew Bible and to Jeremiah's corpus.⁷⁷¹ In a manner similar to that of MT Ps 115 and 135,⁷⁷² MT Jer 10:4-16's hymnic elements have uniquely blended "the spirit of wisdom poem"⁷⁷³ with *Götzenpolemik* material, as well as with creation themes,⁷⁷⁴ as is typical of biblical hymns that describe Yahweh's deeds.⁷⁷⁵ Such is simply not the case for LXX Jer 10:1-18, at least not to the text form's originally intended extent.⁷⁷⁶ In conclusion, LXX 10:1-18's omissions and rearrangement of strophic material severely distort MT 10:4-16's more original hymnic structure and MT 10:1-18's intended literary effect upon its unique warfare context in Jeremiah (i.e. MT chapters 7-10).

4. Conclusions of Chapter II

My analysis of MT 10:1-18 gives a foundation to my demonstration that the MT text form gives a more intricate design in a more complex poetic structure to that found in LXX, so as to represent a more original text form of 10:1-18. The text forms of 4Q71 and LXX Jer 10, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, show evidence of a secondary nature in comparison to the MT tradition (e.g. the proto-MT tradition of 4Q70). LXX's abbreviation of Jer 10:1-18 and its transposition of 10:9 within 10:5,⁷⁷⁷ reflected also in 4Q71 (cf. chapter IV) demonstrates a subsequent interpretive concentration on verse 10:11⁷⁷⁸ popular among contemporaneous Jewish interpretation (e.g. Ep Jer). I have given evidence for the poetical unity of MT 10:4-16's "hymn of assured victory"⁷⁷⁹ and its contextual links to vv. 10:1-3 and 17-18, so as to provide the pertinent points to my arguments for its greater textual originality over that of the other text form structures of

⁷⁷¹ The "missionary" ideal that is perhaps implied in LXX Jer 10:11 also seems foreign to the thought of Jeremiah (contra: Kaufmann, *Religion of Israel*, 425).

⁷⁷² Davidson, "Jeremiah X: 1-16," 53-54.

⁷⁷³ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 60.

⁷⁷⁴ Crüsemann, *Studien*, 104.

⁷⁷⁵ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 52-4.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. chapter III.

⁷⁷⁷ The LXX order, though the exact Hebrew retroversion is often debated, is 10:1-5aβ, shortened verse 10:9, then 10:5aγb, and, finally, 10:11-18.

⁷⁷⁸ As well as MT 10:5b's fear prohibition and basis of exhortation which is followed by verse 11 in LXX 10's text form's structure (cf. chapter III).

⁷⁷⁹ The descriptive title of MT 10:4-16's hymn is my own.

LXX 10 and 4Q71. I shall observe in the next chapters that LXX 10:1-18 bears evidence of HRLXXJ's redactional alterations which eliminated many vital thematic and poetic elements to a more original genre of MT 10:1-18's text, such as the core thought element of MT 10:10⁷⁸⁰ and MT 10:1-18's intertextual ties to Deut 4:1-40. Such textual changes by HRLXXJ, especially that of MT 10:10 and 13a, have created a hymn that is no longer "eschatological"⁷⁸¹ in its war oracle context and which no longer maintains either its antithetical parallelism or its theophanic battle imagery.

If my conclusion that 10:11 is a war taunt against Zion is incorrect, then one might postulate, in contrast, that the Aramaic verse could be a war taunt pronounced by Israel against the nations, given Zion's knowledge of 10:10's retributive theophany (along with the cataclysmic visions later in the book of MT 50-51). However, the context of chapter 10 is far removed from those of 50-51's oracles. Furthermore, Babylon's idolatry is the focus of 51:15-19's doublet material and not the idolatry of the nations as a whole – which is the case for the context of 10:1-18 for Zion.⁷⁸² Nevertheless, however one interprets Jer 10:11, it is clear that MT 10:10 contains the central thought of its hymn and that 10:11 is an antithetical support to 10:10's core content. Therefore, the greatest mistake of HRLXXJ was in his removal of MT 10:10, since the verse provides a most essential theology to the pericope's context, and without it, one does not truly have an "eschatological" hymn in that there is no "Day of Yahweh" type of retributive theophany.

One may take the common interpretation that Israel is to speak 10:11's Aramaic theologoumena, yet my key argument in this chapter's analysis has been that 10:11 must be a contrastive parallel notion to that of 10:10,⁷⁸³ which the structure of LXX 10 lacks (cf.

⁷⁸⁰ Perhaps the minus of MT 10:10 is HRLXXJ's greatest textual "sin." Thus, Rudolph admits that verse 10:10 constitutes an essential element to the thought of Jer 10:1-16's structure and expresses puzzlement as to why its contents (and verse 10:8's) are found lacking in LXX's text form (idem, *Jeremia*, 73).

⁷⁸¹ Gunkel, *Introduction*, 44 and 54-55.

⁷⁸² MT Jer 10:4-16, in order to fully contrast the nations' idolatry with that of Judah's Yahweh, must look forward to the "Day of Yahweh" future event so as to transcend the ignominy of Jerusalem's fall to Babylon or to the nations. Thus, MT 10:6-8, 10 and 13a are especially required to present a full theophany description in the "Day of Yahweh" type of future scenario.

⁷⁸³ The content of MT 10:10 also contrasts with other parts of the hymn's material as well, such as 10:14's

שָׁקֶר with אֲמֹת of 10:10 (e.g. Overholt, *Threat*, 102). Overholt notes that שָׁקֶר denotes "ineffectiveness," in the context of chapter 10 (ibid., 86), but notes the idea of deception comes across in earlier parts of Jeremiah (e.g. MT 8:23-9:8) as well (ibid., 102).

chapter III below). It seems more likely that *enallage* in MT 10:11a's direct address of 10:10c's "nations" would be a more probable meaning original to 10:4-16's hymnic genre rather than the subsequent Jewish interpretation of 10:11 as a type of diaspora epistolary communication. My interpretation of 10:11 as a quotation of the nations in taunt against Zion would favor the altered wisdom theme⁷⁸⁴ found in the pericope's ironic-polemical⁷⁸⁵ context. My explanation of 10:11 would also provide further bathos⁷⁸⁶ as a truthful taunt, or statement of reality, from an unexpected or ludicrous source, especially given the contextual prohibition to Judah to not learn from the nations in MT 10:2b. Yet, whatever interpretation of verse 10:11's Aramaic one may propose, it is clear that MT 10:1-18's content demonstrates, in a more complete way, important nuances which are not found in LXX 10:11's textual framework and implied message. HRLXXJ, in contrast, removes important contextual clues (e.g. especially MT 10:6-8 and 10) in its redactional alterations that focus the pronouncement of MT 10:11's war taunt merely on the pagan gods or idols themselves (cf. chapter III).

⁷⁸⁴ Baumann, "Jeremia."

⁷⁸⁵ Schmidt describes Jer 10:1-16's content as "ironisch-polemisch" (idem, *Jeremia: Kapitel 1-20*, 219).

⁷⁸⁶ Herbert, "Parable," 184.

CHAPTER III

The Abbreviated and Transposed Text as the *Vorlage* of LXX Jer 10:1-18

Section 1: LXX Jeremiah as Translation.

1.1. An Introduction to LXX Jeremiah

My textual analysis of LXX 10:1-18 in this chapter will be based on the Old Greek text of Joseph Ziegler,⁷⁸⁷ although I also consult Rahlfs' text edition, since the quest for the pristine Old Greek original text of LXX Jeremiah, as Bogaert states,⁷⁸⁸ still continues.⁷⁸⁹ Thus, scholars will sometimes emend Ziegler's text in preference, for example, for a *Vetus Latina* or Patristic textual reading of LXX Jeremiah.⁷⁹⁰ In my analysis, however, I shall analyze LXX 10:1-18 as published by Ziegler, whose printed text in this pericope's section agrees with Rahlfs' edition and does not seem to have any serious textual variants.

Bogaert considers the differences between MT (or "proto-MT")⁷⁹¹ and LXX Jeremiah to be minor in terms of quantity,⁷⁹² yet they are "très apparentes"⁷⁹³ and, perhaps, very much qualitative. Although scholars⁷⁹⁴ will typically reconstruct the LXX *Vorlage* from parallel texts of MT, there are prominent examples of divergence between LXX and MT, such as the pericope of Jer 10:1-18. If one excludes variances in the order for the foreign nation oracles of MT Jer 46-51 (LXX 25:15-33:1), one could also list numerous

⁷⁸⁷ Ziegler, *Jeremias*.

⁷⁸⁸ Pierre Maurice Bogaert, "Le Livre de Jérémie en Perspective: Les Deux Rédactions Antiques Selon Les Travaux en Cours," *RB* 101, no. 3 (1994), 373.

⁷⁸⁹ For criticism of Ziegler's textual choices, cf. Vonach, "Jeremias," 2697 note 8; and Soderlund, *Greek Text*, 141-52.

⁷⁹⁰ E.g. cf. Bogaert, "Mécanismes," 230.

⁷⁹¹ More accurately, the label should be "proto-MT" Jer 10:1-18 throughout this chapter, but since the syntax or meaning is not essentially affected by any different vocalizations from MT in this context, it seems simplest to retain the description as simply "MT" 10:1-18 in comparison to LXX 10:1-18. Thus, I use "MT" throughout this chapter, even in reference to material outside of Jer 10:1-18.

⁷⁹² Bogaert, "Livre," 387.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 373.

substantial LXX minuses to be significantly different as well.⁷⁹⁵ LXX 10:1-18's deviations (and transformations⁷⁹⁶) from that of MT's text form has especially become more prominent in light of 4Q71.⁷⁹⁷ Hence, an analysis of Jer 10:1-18's various text forms seems quite pertinent to further scholarship on LXX Jeremiah and textual criticism of the book of Jeremiah.

1.2. Definition and Description of LXX Jeremiah's Translation Technique

Unlike the sentiments of Frank Karl Movers who disparages much scrutiny of a readily assumed "literal" rendition style of LXX Jeremiah,⁷⁹⁸ I shall endeavor to define some nuances of the translation technique of LXX Jer 10:1-18. I remain agnostic⁷⁹⁹ concerning the theory of more than one translator of LXX Jeremiah, as originally argued by M. G. L. Spohn,⁸⁰⁰ P. F. Frankl⁸⁰¹ and Henry St. John Thackeray,⁸⁰² but revised by

⁷⁹⁵ Min, *Minuses and Pluses*, 108-30 and 170.

⁷⁹⁶ I shall argue for redactional rearrangement and purposeful transformation of proto-MT 10:1-18's text form to that of the LXX by HRLXXJ.

⁷⁹⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 171-76.

⁷⁹⁸ Movers, *De utriusque*, 8. Movers writes of LXX Jeremiah's translation work: "Iam quum in eo sit, ut de utriusque textus indole accuratius disputem, praemonendum esse videtur, ad ea potissimum, quibus antiquae versiones nostris quoque temporibus usum praebere possunt, quatenus emendando textui Hebraico sunt idoneae, animum me convertisse, nulla ratione habita hermeneuticae indolis versionis Alexandrinae. Quae ergo interpretes male aut bene verterit, quas litteras vocesque commutaverit, nil curo, harum rerum inquisitionem iis libenter concedem qui, investigandis versionum vitiis sedulo dum occupati sunt, scilicet ut habeant, in quo sagacitatem suam doctrinaeque copiam ostentare possiut, biblicis studiis nescio quid profuisse sibi videntur" (ibid.)

⁷⁹⁹ Vonach, "Jeremias," 2714.

⁸⁰⁰ Idem, *Ieremias Vates*, 9-10. I was unable to check this source, but a citation may be found in: Andrew G. Shead, "Jeremiah," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (ed. James Aitken; Bloomsbury Companions; London: T&T Clark, 2015), 469.

⁸⁰¹ Idem, "Studien über die Septuaginta und Peschito zu Jeremia," *MGWJ* 21 (1872), 448-50.

⁸⁰² Idem, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), 10-16; idem, "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah," *JTS* 4 (1903), 247; and idem, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins: The Schweich Lectures, 1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 31 and 116-17. Thackeray claimed that Jer α translated from 1:1-29:1 (or 29:7); that Jer β translated from 29:2 (or 29:9) to the end of chapter 51, and that Jer γ translated only chapter 52.

Ziegler⁸⁰³ and Tov.⁸⁰⁴ Even Tov's revision theory has suffered criticism by Pietersma⁸⁰⁵ and Stipp.⁸⁰⁶ If there was only one LXX translator of Jeremiah, he is quite innovative at times,⁸⁰⁷ as seen in his renditions of מַגֵּר מַסְבִּיב⁸⁰⁸ in various ways⁸⁰⁹ at each occurrence.⁸¹⁰ Thackeray's division would allow one to view the *Verlegenheitsübersetzungen*,⁸¹¹ or schoolboy "howlers,"⁸¹² to be mainly from Jer β (also in α),⁸¹³ or the latter sections of the book.⁸¹⁴ Thackeray's Jer γ appears the most crassly literal of the three,⁸¹⁵ although LXX 10:1-18 would be from a less literal section of Jer α's

⁸⁰³ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 128 note 1.

⁸⁰⁴ Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 6-7. Tov would describe LXX Jer 10's content as containing the original or Old Greek material, unlike the text of Jer β which is a revision of the original Greek to a more literal Hebrew translation. However, Jer β is "remote" from Kaige-Theodotion and Aquila (Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 167).

⁸⁰⁵ Albert Pietersma, "Divinity Denied: Nebuchadnezzar, Divine Appointee But Not God: Greek Jeremiah Reconsidered," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 351-71; idem, "ἐπίχειρον in Greek Jeremiah," *JNSL* 28, no. 2 (2002), 101-108; idem, "Greek Jeremiah and the Land of Azazel," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint, Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; VTS 101; Leiden: Brill 2006), 403-13; and idem, "Of Translation and Revision: From Greek Isaiah to Greek Jeremiah," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Michaël N. van der Meer, P. S. F. van Keulen, W. T. van Peursen, and R. B. ter Haar Romeny; VTS 138; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 359-387.

⁸⁰⁶ Stipp, *MASJ*, 17-19; and idem, "Offene Fragen zur Übersetzungskritik des antiken griechischen Jeremiabuches," *JNSL* 17 (1991), 117-128. Stipp leaves open the question of a revision or of more than one translator (*ibid.*, 128; and *SZJ*, 153-54).

⁸⁰⁷ Fischer, *Der Prophet*, 65-66 and 71-72. Both Martha Wade and Tony Michael note that translators (e.g. LXX Jeremiah) can sometimes be inconsistent, which means that one cannot assume that lexical differences in a translation require different translators, but other reasons may be found for variation in renditions. Cf. Martha L. Wade "Evaluating Lexical Consistency in the Old Greek Bible," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000), 54; and Tony S. L. Michael, "Bisectioning of Greek Jeremiah: A Problem to Be Revisited?," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006), 97 and 99.

⁸⁰⁸ I.e. "Terror on every side."

⁸⁰⁹ Stipp, *MASJ*, 30.

⁸¹⁰ Cf. MT 6:25; 20:3; 20:10; 46:5; and 49:29.

⁸¹¹ Marcos, *Septuagint*, 23.

⁸¹² Thackeray, *Septuagint*, 32-33.

⁸¹³ E.g. LXX 8:7 and 17:26 (NETS, 880).

⁸¹⁴ Vonach, "Jeremias," 2717-18.

⁸¹⁵ Pietersma, NETS, 876. For criticism of the division of Jer β and γ, cf. Jannes Smith, "Jeremiah 52: Thackeray and Beyond," *BIOSCS* 35 (2002), 55-96.

“indifferent Greek.”⁸¹⁶ However, such translation divisions have been criticized,⁸¹⁷ and I shall attempt a description of translation technique for only 10:1-18.

Translation technique is “a collective name for all the different renderings used by a translator.”⁸¹⁸ It aims to describe “the end-product of a translator’s work,”⁸¹⁹ which includes “techniques used by translators when transferring the message of the source language into the target language.”⁸²⁰ As Thackeray observed, LXX Jeremiah displays a fairly isomorphic or denotative trend of translation technique, which would suggest that its large minuses and verse alterations reflect the Hebrew *Vorlage*, although the isomorphic translation technique can be inconsistent⁸²¹ at times. For example, Stipp writes: “Nach ihrem Gesamtcharakter zu urteilen, wurde die Jeremia-Septuaginta, wie viele andere Bücher auch, im wesentlichen durch eine Wort-für-Wort-Übertragung hergestellt. Sie entspringt allem Anschein nach einer ziemlich mechanischen Prozedur, die nicht von theologischem Gestaltungswillen geleitet war, sondern Routinen folgte der Art: ‘Wenn das hebräische Wort X auftritt, ersetze es durch das griechische Äquivalent Y.’”⁸²² However, Vonach writes: “Insgesamt erweist sich die Jeremia-LXX als eine Übersetzung, die ihre Vorlage zwar möglichst exakt wiederzugeben bestrebt ist, dieses Ansinnen jedoch nicht unbedingt in der Form einer quasi mathematisch-mechanischen Gleichung nach dem

⁸¹⁶ Thackeray, *Grammar*, 13.

⁸¹⁷ E.g. cf. Michael, “Bisectioning,” 93–104; Stipp, “Offene Fragen,” 117-28 (or SZJ, 141-54); and Shead, “Jeremiah,” 471-72.

⁸¹⁸ Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators. Collected Essays* (CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 63.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁰ Tov, GHB, 240.

⁸²¹ A lack of consistency in lexical choices is not necessarily an indication of lack of literality. Staffan Olofsson writes: “To take consistency generally as a sign of literality can be misleading.” Cf. *idem*, “Consistency as a Translation Technique,” *SJOT* 6, no. 1 (1992), 22.

⁸²² Stipp, MASJ, 20.

Schema ‘für hebr. x steht griech. y.’ verwirklicht sieht.”⁸²³ Such is the description of many scholars, such as Thackeray,⁸²⁴ Janzen,⁸²⁵ Tov,⁸²⁶ Stipp,⁸²⁷ Fischer,⁸²⁸ and Pietersma.⁸²⁹

LXX Jeremiah does, despite many exceptions, possess extremely literal renderings, especially later in the book (the second [β] and third [γ] sections of Thackeray’s hypothesis). For example, one finds renditions that are merely Hebrew transcriptions,⁸³⁰ as in LXX 26:17’s (MT 46:17’s) Σαων-εσβι-εμωηδ,⁸³¹ or ασαρημωθ for הַשְׂרָמֹת (Kethiv), and the surprising ναχαλ for נַחַל “wadi”⁸³² in LXX 38:40.⁸³³ Such translations indicate the fact that often LXX Jeremiah did not omit where he could have easily excused himself due to a lack of knowledge of the Hebrew.

One hesitates to ascribe many minuses in LXX to simply a translator’s choice to not render a difficult text.⁸³⁴ Vonach writes: “Grundsätzlich stellt die Jeremia-LXX in jenen Teilen, in denen sie ihrer Vorlage genau folgt, eine wortgetreue und um möglichst kohärente Wiedergabe bemühte Übersetzung dar.”⁸³⁵ But this statement must be tempered with his general observation at the beginning of his section of “Übersetzungstechnik,” when he writes: “muss zunächst einmal festgehalten werden, dass man sich die Tätigkeit der LXX-Übersetzer wohl weniger als rein formale Übertragung eines Textes in eine andere Sprache im Sinne eines ‘Dolmetschens’ vorzustellen hat, als vielmehr als

⁸²³ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2722.

⁸²⁴ Thackeray, *Grammar*, 10-16. Thackeray describes the Greek of Jer α as “Indifferent Greek,” as opposed to that of Jer β’s “Literal or unintelligent” Greek (ibid., 13).

⁸²⁵ Janzen, *Studies*, 128.

⁸²⁶ Tov, GHB, 219-37. Tov calls LXX Jeremiah “relatively literal” (ibid., 236).

⁸²⁷ Stipp, MASJ, 27.

⁸²⁸ Fischer states that LXX Jeremiah “sticks very rigidly to his Vorlage,” but, at times, he is “obliged to change and feels free to do so” (idem, *Der Prophet*, 71).

⁸²⁹ Pietersma qualifies the literal nature of LXX Jeremiah as having a “literalism of the isomorphic type,” which “allows for more interpretation and exegesis” (idem, “Of Translation,” 387).

⁸³⁰ Shead, “Jeremiah,” 476; and Stipp, MASJ, 34-35.

⁸³¹ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2717.

⁸³² HALOT I:686-87.

⁸³³ It is somewhat of a mystery as to why the translator did not render MT 31:40’s נַחַל “wadi” (CHAL, 233-34) with a suitable Greek equivalent, as he does elsewhere in the book (e.g. cf. HR II:940, διῶρυξ of HR I:339, and χείμαρρος of HR II:1457).

⁸³⁴ Even Tov notes that LXX Jeremiah can sometimes use a “general equivalent” (idem, GHB, 215-16).

⁸³⁵ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2713.

schriftgelehrtes Theologietreiben für einen bestimmten Zweck und eine konkrete Adressatenschaft.”⁸³⁶ To be fair, LXX Jeremiah displays “literal” elements along with some “interpretive” features as well, but seldom is simply “paraphrastic.”⁸³⁷

LXX 10:1-18 demonstrates ample evidence of the translator’s compulsion to render all elements, even when it is evident that he did not understand the Hebrew completely. This general observation suggests that LXX variations reflect Hebrew *Vorlage* variations in 10:1-18, yet there may still be exceptions such as that of 10:18b.⁸³⁸ Although 4Q71 survives in meager form for textual comparison, it should be admitted that even if one possessed a fully legible text of 10:1-18 in 4Q71, it is not clear if it would be the same textual *Vorlage* that LXX Jeremiah used to render his text (cf. chapter IV). Although the textual tradition may have actually been more complicated than the simple equation of 4Q71 is equal to LXX 10:1-18’s *Vorlage*, yet Qumran evidence (e.g. 4Q71) still indicates, at least in the case of Jeremiah’s translation, that “the LXX worked fairly literally and elements in their rendering stand for something that was actually there, rather than being free invention or fancy.”⁸³⁹ However, there are exceptions to the norm of LXX Jeremiah’s translation technique which are difficult to explain and suggest to me a second layer of the LXX edition. This second layer remains at the level of the Hebrew *Vorlage* and its assumed divergence from MT Jeremiah’s text, creating what I have termed “HRLXXJ.”

LXX pluses⁸⁴⁰ and so-called “free” renditions reveal theological and interpretive notions specific to the context of LXX Jeremiah,⁸⁴¹ such as a concern for the temple and the priestly sacrificial system,⁸⁴² or a double rendition of כָּתָב “writing”⁸⁴³ as both βίβλος

⁸³⁶ Ibid.

⁸³⁷ Sidnie Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 314-318.

⁸³⁸ Cf. Tov’s reconstruction of 4Q71 (idem, DJD XV, 176).

⁸³⁹ James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 286.

⁸⁴⁰ Min, *Minuses and Pluses*, 130-38.

⁸⁴¹ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2737-2848.

⁸⁴² LXX 38:14 adds υἱὸν Λευι “sons of Levi” for reasons that are difficult to discern. One may also note LXX 40:11 (MT 33:11), which translates a term that does not denote sacrifice as if it were referencing a temple sacrifice. Cf. Wolfram Herrmann, “Zu Jer 33,11,” *BN* 123 (2004), 41-44.

⁸⁴³ HALOT I:766-67.

“written piece”⁸⁴⁴ and ἐπιστολή “letter”⁸⁴⁵ in LXX 36:1.⁸⁴⁶ LXX 1:1 reveals concern for the divine speech bestowed upon the prophet, whereas MT 1:1 simply entitles itself as “the words of Jeremiah,” thus giving a different descriptive framework of the book.⁸⁴⁷ Perhaps LXX 1:1’s plus reading did not exist in the LXX *Vorlage*,⁸⁴⁸ such as may also be the case of other similar LXX divine epithet additions (e.g. cf. LXX 28:59 and LXX 45:27⁸⁴⁹). Although MT 1:1 reflects the more original text,⁸⁵⁰ LXX 1:1’s textual reading probably represents a scribal gloss which reflects other variations found in a different “edition” of the book,⁸⁵¹ since LXX Jeremiah demonstrates more emphasis on the divine message and less interest in the human instrument of the prophetic persona.⁸⁵²

Often LXX Jeremiah renditions for phrases and clauses do not conform straightforwardly to any MT parallels. Thus, one observes nine examples of ψευδοπροφήτης “false prophet”⁸⁵³ in place of MT’s נְבִיא⁸⁵⁴ “prophet.”⁸⁵⁵ Moreover, LXX 2:18’s ὕδωρ Γηων “water of Geon”⁸⁵⁶ renders the MT phrase מֵי שְׂחֹרָה “waters of the river,” which might be

⁸⁴⁴ GELSM, 117.

⁸⁴⁵ GELSM, 281.

⁸⁴⁶ LXX Jeremiah understood MT 29:1’s סֵפֶר as both a βίβλος and an ἐπιστολή although usually he uses the word βιβλίον (HR I:218-19). Doering notes that the terms βίβλος, βιβλίον, and ἐπιστολή become nearly synonymous terms to describe epistolary material (idem, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 131-2).

⁸⁴⁷ Bogaert argues this point in his overall thesis that Baruch is emphasized more in LXX Jeremiah as a scribe of Jeremiah, whereas MT emphasizes the greater role of the prophet in the book’s composition (idem, “De Baruch,” 168-173).

⁸⁴⁸ Shemaryahu Talmon and Emanuel Tov, “A Commentary on the Text of Jeremiah: I. The Text of Jeremiah 1:1-17,” *Textus* 9 (1981), 2-8. Talmon and Tov conclude that the variant was in LXX’s Hebrew *Vorlage*.

⁸⁴⁹ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2724.

⁸⁵⁰ Thiel writes: “Der Text von [MT] an dieser Stelle ist so bemerkenswert und selten, daß er unbedingt als ursprünglich gelten darf.” Cf. Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25* (WMANT 41; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 49.

⁸⁵¹ I am using Tov’s descriptive term. For other similar variations in LXX Jer from MT Jer like 1:1, cf. Bogaert, “De Baruch,” 168-73 (e.g. cf. LXX Jer 28:59 and LXX 45:27).

⁸⁵² Albert Pietersma writes that in LXX Jeremiah, “compared to MT the role of Jeremiah in LXX-H1 [The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX chapters 1-32] is less conspicuous and the Lord’s correspondingly more prominent” (idem, “An Excursus on Bisectioning,” accessed on the 24th of May, 2013 at: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/Jeremias-excursus.pdf>, 8). The same sentiments are expressed by Bogaert, though in general terms for the entire book of LXX Jeremiah (idem, “De Baruch,” 168-73).

⁸⁵³ GELSM, 742.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. LXX 6:13; LXX 33:7; 33:8; 33:11; 33:16; 34:7 [Rahlf’s 34:9]; 35:1; 36:1; and LXX 36:8.

⁸⁵⁵ HALOT I:661-62.

⁸⁵⁶ NETS, 882.

explained with a consonant confusion,⁸⁵⁷ or with reference to an interpretive rendering through a midrashic perspective of Gen 2:13.⁸⁵⁸ Yet, the Hebrew *Vorlage* probably already had LXX 2:18's secondary reading.⁸⁵⁹ One may easily find probable "free" renditions in LXX plus material, as, for example, a more reverential or theological address of God⁸⁶⁰ in the phrase 'O "Ων "[one being] Master"⁸⁶¹ on four occasions.⁸⁶² If one assumes the translator introduced much of the textual variations from MT, then describing LXX Jeremiah's sometimes random translation technique as "most complex,"⁸⁶³ seems quite apropos. However, I submit that many, if not all, of the LXX Jeremiah variations from MT would likely indicate straightforward renditions⁸⁶⁴ and, thus, the Second Temple Period scribal habits of HRLXXJ in which he "rewrites" or "reworks" a text similar to that of proto-MT Jeremiah.⁸⁶⁵

I wish to argue that HRLXXJ 10:1-18 rewrote⁸⁶⁶ (proto-)MT 10:1-18⁸⁶⁷ specifically, although this has further implications for the relationship of the two text forms of MT and LXX Jeremiah as well (cf. chapter V). There seems to be two textual layers to LXX Jeremiah, one layer comprising a fairly straightforward translation from MT equivalents and another stratum that represents HRLXXJ's creation of a new, second edition of Jeremiah's book. The following translation technique analyses will demonstrate my

⁸⁵⁷ Tov, GHB, 302.

⁸⁵⁸ Vonach, "Jeremias," 2742.

⁸⁵⁹ Olofsson, "The Translation of Jer, 2:18 in the Septuagint: Methodical, Linguistic and Theological Aspects," *SJOT* 2 (1988), 181-200.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. LXX 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; and 39:17. Joosten notes that the renditions in these verses demonstrate a misunderstanding of the Hebrew particle אַל־אֱלֹהִים "alas" (HALOT I:18) and indicate that a divine title was construed from Exod 3:14. Thus, the listed renditions of LXX 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; and 39:17 would be literal translations, if one takes Joosten's view in this case (idem, CSS, 78-79).

⁸⁶¹ Georg Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus* (SCS; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 27.

⁸⁶² Cf. LXX 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; and 39:17.

⁸⁶³ Pietersma, "Greek Jeremiah," 402.

⁸⁶⁴ Shead notes that LXX Jeremiah "as a whole is restrained in its use of theologically motivated renderings" (idem, "Jeremiah," 472).

⁸⁶⁵ For Emanuel Tov's description of the proto-MT text group, cf. idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed.; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2011), 24-74.

⁸⁶⁶ I wish to focus on the exegetical "process" aspect found in the term "rewritten scripture," thus, hopefully avoiding some of the criticisms of Moshe J. Bernstein. Cf. idem, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005), 195.

⁸⁶⁷ For this terminology, cf. Van der Kooij, "Zum Verhältnis," 201.

hypothesis of two textual layers. I now shall analyze specific examples of LXX Jeremiah's manner of Greek rendition. I shall discuss the translation technique of both LXX 10:1-18 and that of its surrounding context, starting with the latter in this next section.

1.3. The Translation Technique of the Context of LXX Jer 10:1-18

LXX 10:1-18 has little textual variation in the surrounding sections of LXX 7:2-9:26 and 10:19-11:17⁸⁶⁸ that is remarkable. But, one observes three significant Greek minuses of MT 7:1-2 $\alpha\gamma$ with 2b $\beta\gamma$; 8:10b α -12c γ ; and 11:7a α -8c β ⁸⁶⁹ that probably reflect the Hebrew *Vorlage*, as well as other smaller minuses.⁸⁷⁰ Likewise, one may note some *verbum dicendi* expressions minuses for יהוה נאם⁸⁷¹ “an announcement⁸⁷² of Yahweh.” However, one is hard-pressed to discern if the translator or the LXX *Vorlage* text tradition produced these Greek minuses in the process of translation or if they were in the Hebrew text. The end result of such divine speech deletions is that there are few temporal indications for LXX 10:1-11's context (e.g. cf. LXX 1:1:1-3; 3:6; and 14:1). LXX Jeremiah skips from MT 8:10a β 's לְיִוְרְשָׁיִם “to Jerusalem” (LXX τοῖς κληρονόμοις “to the heirs”⁸⁷³) to a harvest gathering of the heirs in LXX 8:13a α . LXX 8:10a β -13a α 's contextual jump might indicate an unintentional scribal error having occurred in the LXX *Vorlage*'s original lacuna. Likewise, one notes a logical connection between MT 11:6b γ and MT 11:8c γ in which both verses discuss the lack of obedience (עשה “to do”⁸⁷⁴) to the covenant. A jump from MT 11:6b γ to MT 11:8c γ makes logical sense and does not require an explanation of

⁸⁶⁸ I start with 7:2, since LXX chapter 7 begins the temple sermon narrative at this verse and lacks the introductory material of MT 7:1. I end with LXX 11:17, because it is a common dividing point for the transition to the confession material (e.g. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 345-356).

⁸⁶⁹ Only the final two words of MT 11:8c γ occur in LXX.

⁸⁷⁰ E.g. the minus of the final clause of MT 9:12 (LXX 9:13), or MT 11:13's בַּשָּׂתָּה minus.

⁸⁷¹ MT 7:13; 8:3; 8:17; 9:2; 9:5; and 9:21. Also cf. MT 8:12.

⁸⁷² HALOT I:657.

⁸⁷³ GELSL, 343. GELSM, 400 gives the rendition: “one who is entitled to inherit an estate.”

⁸⁷⁴ HALOT I:890-91; and CHAL, 285.

scribal error, like 8:10-12. Both minuses of LXX 8:10b α -12c γ and 11:7a α -8c β probably reflect lacuna original to the hand of HRLXXJ.

LXX Jeremiah renders **יָטַב** “to do well”⁸⁷⁵ thrice (LXX 7:3 and 7:5) with διορθόω “to make straight,”⁸⁷⁶ thus reflecting an unique rendition in the book to contrast the sentiments of LXX 8:5, which desire to return from exile with a sincere morality. LXX plus material in the context of 10:1-18 indicate ready examples of the translator’s theological tendencies, such as that of the supplement of σάρξ “flesh”⁸⁷⁷ in LXX 9:26 to make obvious the distinction in uncircumcision from that of the nations which are “uncircumcised”⁸⁷⁸ of heart” (MT 9:25’s **עֲרֵלֵי-לֵב**). Furthermore, one sees that MT 9:4’s **נִלְאָה** “they will weary”⁸⁷⁹ themselves” becomes LXX 9:5’s οὐ διέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι “they have not ceased to return.”⁸⁸⁰ LXX 9:5, apparently, renders the verbs **עוּה** “to do wrong”⁸⁸¹ and **לָאָה** in tandem theologically,⁸⁸² so as to speak to the exilic situation’s need of penitential return.⁸⁸³

LXX Jeremiah sometimes makes explicit the cause for divine judgment, whereas MT does not make a clear pronouncement. For example, one reads a reason given for unburied corpses in LXX 8:3’s ὅτι “because,”⁸⁸⁴ whereas MT 8:3 only describes a choice between life or death. Likewise, LXX 9:7 supplies πονηρία “wickedness”⁸⁸⁵ as the reason behind the ὅτι clause, although the MT clause merely asks a rhetorical question. Thus,

⁸⁷⁵ HALOT I:408-09.

⁸⁷⁶ GELSM, 171.

⁸⁷⁷ GELSL, 548-49.

⁸⁷⁸ HALOT I:886.

⁸⁷⁹ CHAL, 171.

⁸⁸⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 55. NETS, 890 gives: “and did not pause so as to return.”

⁸⁸¹ HALOT I:796.

⁸⁸² LXX Jeremiah’s renditions of **עוּה** with ἀδικέω “morally to wrong” (GELSM, 10; cf. HR I:24) and ἐπιστρέφω “to reverse the direction of movement and return” (GELSM, 282; cf. HR I:531-34) indicate the pattern that **שׁוּב** “to return” (HALOT II:1429) may be assumed for ἐπιστρέφω often.

⁸⁸³ Cf. 1 Baruch.

⁸⁸⁴ GELSM, 511.

⁸⁸⁵ GELSM, 575.

LXX sometimes simplifies the original tension in MT and might even supply reasons for content, as in 8:9.⁸⁸⁶ LXX Jeremiah also occasionally describes a less pessimistic future. For example, LXX 8:14 renders **וְנָתַתְּנוּ** “and let us perish⁸⁸⁷” with *καὶ ἀπορριφώμεν* “let us be thrown away,⁸⁸⁸ although the implication may be unintended.⁸⁸⁹

Sometimes LXX variations could derive from vocalization differences and scribal consonantal mistakes, such as LXX 9:11’s *δράκων* “snake⁸⁹⁰ for **יָתוֹן**⁸⁹¹ “jackal,⁸⁹² or **הַמִּלְהָה** “crowd⁸⁹³ becoming *περιτομή* “circumcision⁸⁹⁴ in 11:16. However, one notes clear examples that reflect translation technique with implications on LXX 10:1-18. Greek *γενεά* “generation⁸⁹⁵ (LXX 7:29; 8:3; and 10:25) twice renders **מִשְׁפָּחָהּ** “extended family,⁸⁹⁶ while once rendering **דֹּר** “generation⁸⁹⁷ in 7:29.⁸⁹⁸ Perhaps 7:29’s rendition of **דֹּר** influenced the translator to continue the *γενεά* theme in 8:3 and 10:25, which places the divine punishment of the exiles in a past generation. LXX 9:22’s equivalence of **דִּמְיוֹן**

⁸⁸⁶ LXX 8:9 translates **הִנֵּה** “behold” (HALOT I:252) with *ὅτι* “because,” so as to give a theological reason for the shaming of the “wise,” whereas MT simply implies still future bewilderment.

⁸⁸⁷ HALOT I:226

⁸⁸⁸ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 55.

⁸⁸⁹ LXX Jeremiah apparently understood two stems in the bilateral root **מָרַח**, since he uses the verb *ἀπορίπτω* “to throw away” (GELSM, 81) to render roots that signify “casting away” for three correspondences of **רָמַח** “to perish” (HALOT I:226; cf. LXX 8:14 and LXX 28:6) and one for **רָמַח** “to be destroyed” (HALOT I:225; cf. LXX 29:5). Cf. *ἀπορίπτω* in HR I:140.

⁸⁹⁰ GELSM, 177. LXX Jeremiah has *δράκων* “snake” thrice (LXX 9:11 [Rahlfs 9:10]; 27:8; and 28:34), although it seems twice (MT 9:11 and 50:8) to be a mistake for an MT root similar to **תַּנִּינִי** “sea-monster” (HALOT II:1764), or the common LXX equivalent (HR I:348).

⁸⁹¹ The misreading may have been inspired by the serpents of 8:17 (HR I:348).

⁸⁹² HALOT II:1759.

⁸⁹³ HALOT I:251; and CHAL, 81.

⁸⁹⁴ GELSM, 554.

⁸⁹⁵ GELSM, 127.

⁸⁹⁶ HALOT I:651.

⁸⁹⁷ HALOT I:217-18.

⁸⁹⁸ HR I:236-37.

“dung”⁸⁹⁹ with παράδειγμα “example”⁹⁰⁰ occurs thrice in LXX Jeremiah⁹⁰¹ and seems to picture the Babylonian destruction as an example of idolatrous judgment to the diaspora.⁹⁰² LXX Jeremiah attempted to communicate to his readers the guilt of idolatry also in 10:18-19’s πληγή “blow”⁹⁰³ and in LXX 9:14’s εἰδωλον “idol”⁹⁰⁴ for בַּעַל “Baal,”⁹⁰⁵ instead of the normal Greek transcription.⁹⁰⁶ Thus, LXX 9:12-14 explains the punishment of exile as due to idolatry (cf. Ep Jer). A similar religious concern may explain LXX 7:18’s rendition of מְלִכַת “queen of heaven”⁹⁰⁷ with στρατιά “army,”⁹⁰⁸ which is contrary to an usual pattern of βασίλισσα “queen”⁹⁰⁹ for מְלִכַת.⁹¹⁰ LXX Jeremiah’s exilic situation furnishes background for such renditions, as also is the case of LXX 9:11 (Rahlfs’ 9:10)’s μετοικία⁹¹¹ “resettling”⁹¹² provided in place of MT 9:10’s lack of the exilic reality.

The discussion of boasting found in LXX 9:23-24 has a different lesson than that found in MT 9:22-23, since MT 9:23’s second כִּי “because”⁹¹³ is nominalizing⁹¹⁴ and not causal, as implied in LXX 9:24’s ὅτι. MT 9:23 finds true pride in the knowledge of Yahweh, but LXX 9:24 finds genuine boasting in the theological description of God’s

⁸⁹⁹ HALOT I:227.

⁹⁰⁰ GELSM, 525.

⁹⁰¹ Hebrew מִן occurs 4 times in Jeremiah (MT 8:2; 9:21; 16:4; and MT 25:33) and in the first three instances is rendered with παράδειγμα in reference to the Babylonian destruction of Judah. However, in MT 25:33, it becomes κόπριον (HR II:779).

⁹⁰² Frankl, “Studien,” 448-50.

⁹⁰³ GELSM, 562-63.

⁹⁰⁴ GELSM, 192 gives the definition: “manually crafted object of worship.”

⁹⁰⁵ HALOT I:143-44.

⁹⁰⁶ There are eleven transcriptions with three exceptions on MT’s side. On the Greek side, there is one rendition for אֱלֹהִים “gods” (HALOT I:53) in LXX 2:28.

⁹⁰⁷ HALOT I:593; and CHAL, 199.

⁹⁰⁸ GELSM, 639.

⁹⁰⁹ GELSM, 115.

⁹¹⁰ HR I:214.

⁹¹¹ HR II: 917-18. Cf. HR I:130-31’s ἀποικία (“act of being forced to move to a new dwelling-place” or a “group of individuals forcefully moved to a new dwelling-place” in GELSM, 74).

⁹¹² GELSM, 456.

⁹¹³ HALOT I:470.

⁹¹⁴ Putnam, HBI, §3.3.5a, 47.

character, so as to read more like a list of divine attributes to be affirmed or confessed.⁹¹⁵ The slight difference of sense in LXX 9:24 may have an intended significance which finds later echo in LXX 10:18's πληγή in contrast to MT 10:18's lack of it. Furthermore, LXX 10:19 directly addresses MT 10:19's Zion as a passive victim of her πληγή "blow,"⁹¹⁶ which "has overtaken" (κατέλαβέν)⁹¹⁷ her,⁹¹⁸ whereas MT 10:19 presents the speaker himself as actively bearing (נִשְׂאָה)⁹¹⁹ 10:19's woe.⁹²⁰ However, LXX 10:24 alters MT's יִסְרְנֵנִי "teach⁹²¹ me" to παίδευσον ἡμᾶς "correct⁹²² us,"⁹²³ so as to suggest exegetical changes⁹²⁴ by either LXX Jeremiah or HRLXXJ at the initial stage.

In summary, despite the small variations mentioned above, it is important to note that both sections LXX 7:2-9:26 and 10:19-11:17 transfer substantially the same text as that of MT rather straightforwardly. Moreover, the major themes of LXX 7:2-11:17, generally speaking, remain the same as that of MT 7:1-11:17. The slight variations between LXX and MT which I have noted likely extend to the LXX's Hebrew *Vorlage* (HRLXXJ's redactional work) and could probably be considered to be part of the second layer of LXX Jeremiah's text (i.e. HRLXXJ's edition).

⁹¹⁵ MT 9:23's הַשְׂפִּיל יָדַע אֹתִי כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה "to understand me, that I am Yahweh who..." becomes LXX 9:24's συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ποιῶν ἔλεος καὶ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς "that he understands and knows that I am the Lord when I do mercy and justice and righteousness in the earth" (NETS, 890).

⁹¹⁶ GELSM, 562-63.

⁹¹⁷ GELSM, 374 defines καταλαμβάνω as: "to lay hold of."

⁹¹⁸ Cf. ἐπιλαμβάνω "to seize" (GELSM, 275) for קָרָא "to happen" (HALOT II:1131) in MT 44:23 (LXX 51:23).

⁹¹⁹ HALOT I:724 defines נָשָׂא as: to "carry."

⁹²⁰ It seems difficult to assume a different Hebrew *Vorlage* equivalent for καταλαμβάνω here, given its varied use in LXX Jeremiah (HR II: 735).

⁹²¹ HALOT I:418-19.

⁹²² GELSM, 519.

⁹²³ McKane groups LXX 10:24's alterations with those of v. 19 as well, since all demonstrate that LXX Jeremiah "distinguishes more clearly than MT between Jeremiah and those for whom he prays" (idem, *Jeremiah I-XXV*, xxiii).

⁹²⁴ Ibid.; and Shead, "Jeremiah," 478-79.

1.4. The Translation Technique Analysis of LXX Jer 10:1-18

In the pericope of LXX 10:1-18, one encounters omissions along with a transposition of a verse (MT 10:9) within MT 10:5 in an otherwise “isomorphic”⁹²⁵ translation, although exceptions probably exist in LXX 10:2c-5a and 10:16-18. MT 10:5a’s entire clause varies significantly from the sense of LXX 10:5a, although the Hebrew *Vorlage* probably followed MT word for word. Lundbom does not include any part of LXX 10:1-18 as suffering from haplography or parablepsis in the *Vorlage* Hebrew or Old Greek.⁹²⁶ Yet, given the propensity of LXX Jeremiah to render fairly literally, it seems most likely that an earlier Hebrew redactor (HRLXXJ) is responsible for the textual differences between MT and LXX Jer 10:1-18. I shall now attempt a demonstration of this claim from the following translation technique analysis. English translation will be provided in this chapter so as to aid the reader’s analysis of the data.

Section 2: Translation Technique versus LXX *Vorlage*?

2.1. LXX Jer 10:1-18’s Text Form’s Structure

LXX Jeremiah 10:1-18 Text Form’s Structure

I. The Oracle’s Introduction to the House of Israel	1-2a
A. A Call for the House of Israel to Listen	1
B. A Messenger Formula of the Lord’s Speech	2a
II. Instructions for the Exiles with Following Reasons	2bcd-3
A. Double Instructions with their Basis of Reason	2b-2c

⁹²⁵ NETS, 876-77.

⁹²⁶ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 886. Also, cf. Jack R. Lundbom and David Noel Freedman, “Haplography in Jeremiah 1-20,” in *Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (ed. Baruch A. Levine et al.; vol. 26; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 33; and idem, “Haplography in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Jeremiah,” *HS* 46 (2005), 310.

1. Don't Learn the Ways of the Nations	2b
2. Don't Be Afraid of the Signs of the Sky	2c
3. For they are Afraid of Their Faces	2d
B. Emphasized Reasons to not Learn or Be Afraid	3
1. Because the Customs of the Nations are Worthless Material	3a
2. <i>It is</i> a Tree Cut Down from a Coppice	3b
3. <i>This is</i> the Labour of a Carpenter and a Molten Image	3c
C. Description of the Idols, their Manufacture, and Accoutrements 4-5a-9-5cγ	
1. Having been Beautified with Silver and Gold	4a
2. They Make Them Firm with Hammer and Nails	4b
3. So That They will not be Moved	4c
4. It is Engraved Silver, They will not Move Themselves	5a
5. An Elaborated Description of the Idols and Their Accoutrements 9	
a. Overlaid Silver, Having Come from Tharsis	9a
b. Gold of Mophaz and the Hand of Goldsmiths	9b
c. All of them are the Products of Artisans	9c
d. Hyacinth and Purple Fabric Clothe them	9d
6. An Apt Description of the Idols' Lack of Mobility	5b
D. Specification of the Instruction to Not Revere Idols	5c
1. Don't Revere Them	5cα

2. Because They Shall not Cause Harm to You	5cβ
3. And There is no Good in Them	5cγ
III. The Message to be Uttered against the Idols (or their Evil Spirits)	11-16
A. The Idol Adjuration with its Initial Directive to be Spoken	11
1. Call to Speech: Thus You Shall Say to Them	11a
2. Contents of the Idol Adjuration	11bc
a. The Gods that did not Make the Sky and the Earth	11b
b. Let them Perish from the Earth and from under This Sky	11c
B. Description of the Lord and his Acts (Creation and Power)	12-13
1. The Lord is the Fashioner of the Earth by His Strength	12a
2. He Established Firmly the Inhabited World with His Wisdom	12b
3. He Spreads Out the Sky Through His Understanding	12c
4. And a Large Quantity of Water in the Sky	13a
5. He Centralized the Clouds from the Remotest Part of the Earth	13b
6. He Fashioned the Lightning into Rain	13c
7. He Led Out the Light from His Treasuries	13d
C. The Folly of the Manufacture of Idols	14
1. Everyone is Declared As Wanting in Knowledge	14a
2. Every Goldsmith is Shamed Because of his Carved Things	14b
3. For They have Produced False Things with Metal	14c

4. (<i>Because</i>) <i>There is no Breath in Their Idols</i>	14d
D. The Mockery and Destruction of Manufactured Idols	15
1. They are Meaningless Products; Artefacts Laughed Out of Court	15a
2. They will Perish When They have Their Divine Visitation	15b
E. Concluding Refrain Concerning Israel's Unique God	16
1. Such is not the Share for Jacob	16a
2. Because He is the One who Formed Everything	16b
3. He is Jacob's own Possession	16c
4. The Lord is the Name for Him	16d
IV. The Lord Transports Zion into the Difficult Exile to Find Her Plague	17-18
A. He has Gathered from Outside the Property of the Mistress Who Dwells among the Elect	17
B. Announcement of the Lord's Purpose to Distress Zion in the Exile	18
1. Messenger Formula	18a
2. Contents of the Speech	18bc
a. The Lord Causes the Land's Inhabitants' Downfall In Distress	18b
b. With the Result that Zion Finds Her Plague	18c

2.2. Translation Technique: Data and Results

MT 10:1a שְׁמַעוּ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים

LXX 10:1a ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον κυρίου

The verb ἀκούω “to hear”⁹²⁷ mostly renders a form of שְׁמַע “to hear”⁹²⁸ in LXX Jeremiah.⁹²⁹ The overwhelming majority of the occurrences of ἀκούω in the book are translations of the verbal root שְׁמַע in *Qal*, *Niphal*, and *Hiphil* (132 times). However, 19 hits of שְׁמַע in the MT are not rendered. Likewise, LXX Jeremiah translates the nominal form of שְׁמַע as ἀκοή “message”⁹³⁰ five times. Despite a few exceptions, there seems to be little doubt that LXX Jeremiah’s 10:1a’s imperative ἀκούσατε “hear”⁹³¹ renders MT’s שְׁמַעוּ quite well.

As for the noun λόγος⁹³² “word”⁹³³ in LXX Jeremiah, 158 of 168 hits of λόγος render the noun form of דְּבָרִים “word”⁹³⁴ and four⁹³⁵ render a form of the דִּבֶּר “to speak.”⁹³⁶ Among and the six other exceptions to the דְּבָרִים and λόγος correspondence, perhaps the most interesting to note is that of דְּבָרִים (5:13)⁹³⁷ becoming καὶ λόγος κυρίου⁹³⁸ “and a

⁹²⁷ GELSM, 22.

⁹²⁸ HALOT II:1570-74.

⁹²⁹ HR I:48-49.

⁹³⁰ GELSM, 21.

⁹³¹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

⁹³² HR II:885-86 and Rahlfs’ text give 170 instances of λόγος in Jeremiah’s text.

⁹³³ GELSL, 375-76; and GELSM, 434-35.

⁹³⁴ HALOT I:211-12.

⁹³⁵ LXX 9:12 [Rahlfs 9:11]; 20:8; 23:17; and LXX 38:20.

⁹³⁶ HALOT I:210-11.

⁹³⁷ The Hebrew expression is difficult to define with full confidence. Aaron Hornkohl discusses the various issues with the lexical root meaning and with LXX’s interpretation of the word implied by λόγος κυρίου in this case (idem, *Ancient*, 294-97).

⁹³⁸ If one follows HALOT I:212’s definition of Jer 5:13’s דְּבָרִים as “word of God,” then one must conclude that LXX Jeremiah gave a sound translation of the MT Hebrew.

word of the Lord.⁹³⁹ The paraphrastic expression ἔχω λόγον “I have a concern”⁹⁴⁰ renders the verbal notion of אָנַח “to be anxious”⁹⁴¹ in both LXX 45:19 and 49:1. However, LXX 45:20 renders קוֹל “voice”⁹⁴² with λόγοζ “that which is said.”⁹⁴³

Of the remaining exceptions to the exact equivalents of λόγος for דְּבַר, it becomes apparent that sometimes LXX Jeremiah did not understand the Hebrew text properly, but he used λόγοζ to translate דְּבַר predominantly. A search on the Hebrew side of the nominal forms of the root דָּבַר (דְּבַר) reveals the majority to be λόγοζ with few exceptions. There is some variation, however, in that one finds 9 of 11 equivalences with ῥῆμα⁹⁴⁴ “word spoken.”⁹⁴⁵ There are also two correspondences with πράγμα “action,”⁹⁴⁶ as well as 26 non-renderings. One also observes five compound expressions rendered with one Greek word, one equivalence with ἐντολή⁹⁴⁷ “command,”⁹⁴⁸ one correspondence with the verb λέγω⁹⁴⁹ “to say,”⁹⁵⁰ one equivalence of כָּל-דָּבַר with οὐθὲν (οὐθείς)⁹⁵¹ “nobody,”⁹⁵² and that once כָּל-דָּבַר becomes the indefinite pronoun τι in LXX 39:27.

It is apparent that LXX Jeremiah did develop habits, as is clear from the fact that in 10:1; 26:13; and LXX 27:1 he rendered אִשְׁרַ דְּבַר יְהוָה⁹⁵³ in a consistent manner. In both 10:1 and LXX 27:1, the translator renders the Hebrew phrase with simply λόγοζ κυρίου “the word of the Lord,” whereas in LXX 26:13 he translates the same

⁹³⁹ NETS, 886.

⁹⁴⁰ NETS, 920.

⁹⁴¹ HALOT I:207.

⁹⁴² CHAL, 315; and HALOT II:1083-85.

⁹⁴³ GELSM, 434.

⁹⁴⁴ LXX 9:8 [Rahlfs 9:7] and LXX 18:20 are exceptions on the Greek side.

⁹⁴⁵ GELSM, 613.

⁹⁴⁶ GELSM, 581.

⁹⁴⁷ LXX 19:15.

⁹⁴⁸ GELSM, 242.

⁹⁴⁹ LXX 16:1.

⁹⁵⁰ GELSM, 427.

⁹⁵¹ LXX 39:17.

⁹⁵² GELSM, 512-13.

⁹⁵³ “The Word which the Lord spoke.”

Hebrew expression rather freely with the accusative phrase ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος “that which the Lord spoke.”⁹⁵⁴ The fact that LXX Jeremiah’s instances of דְּבַר יְהוָה (total three) are all rendered in a somewhat free manner does demonstrate a translation technique pattern for this particular contextual configuration. Thus, although LXX Jer 10:1a’s translation of τὸν λόγον κυρίου implies דְּבַר יְהוָה (“the word of the Lord”) in customary correspondence elsewhere,⁹⁵⁵ the possibility exists that HRLXXJ⁹⁵⁶ and 4Q71⁹⁵⁷ possessed the same Hebrew text as MT 10:1.⁹⁵⁸ However, the syntax’s meaning is not essentially affected by the transposition⁹⁵⁹ of the divine name into LXX 10:1b’s clause.

MT 10:1b: אֲשֶׁר דְּבַר יְהוָה עָלֵיכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל:

LXX 10:1b ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραηλ

The Greek relative pronoun (ὃν) predominantly corresponds directly to the relative particle אֲשֶׁר “which,”⁹⁶⁰ as here in 10:1b.⁹⁶¹ There is no doubt that ἐλάλησεν “he spoke”⁹⁶² corresponds to *Piel* דְּבַר “he spoke”⁹⁶³ in MT 10:1b.⁹⁶⁴ The verb λαλέω “to speak”⁹⁶⁵ occurs

⁹⁵⁴ The clause ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος occurs twice in LXX Jeremiah, but in LXX 49:19 renders the Hebrew דְּבַר יְהוָה of MT 42:19. Cf. Raymond A. Martin, *The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah, Part I. The Noun, Pronouns and Prepositions in their Case Constructions* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1957), 153.

⁹⁵⁵ HR II:832-35; and Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 21.

⁹⁵⁶ Contra: Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303; and Alexander Varughese, *The Hebrew Text Underlying the Old Greek Translation of Jeremiah 10-20* (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1984), 169.

⁹⁵⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 176.

⁹⁵⁸ The phrase λόγος κυρίου “the word of the Lord” in LXX Jeremiah reveals a total of 44 of 52 having the exact דְּבַר יְהוָה Hebrew equivalent (58 total in MT). Thus, there is some translation variation.

⁹⁵⁹ PTGHB, Jer 10:1.

⁹⁶⁰ HALOT I:98-99.

⁹⁶¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 55-68. Martin notes that the relative pronoun ὃς most often appears in the accusative case (ibid., 59) and the relative pronouns ὃς, ἦ, ὅ, in Old Greek usually agrees in person, number, and gender with its Hebrew equivalent with relatively few exceptions (ibid., 55-68).

⁹⁶² GELSM, 422.

⁹⁶³ HALOT I:210.

⁹⁶⁴ All exceptions to the correspondence in MT represent verbs of speaking.

⁹⁶⁵ GELSM, 422.

81 times,⁹⁶⁶ of which 75 correspond to the *Piel* of **רבר** in MT Jeremiah.⁹⁶⁷ On the Greek side, there are only five exceptions to the *λαλέω* and **רבר** paradigm,⁹⁶⁸ four of which correspond with **אמר** “to say”⁹⁶⁹ in the *Qal*.⁹⁷⁰ On the Hebrew side, one sees that verbal **רבר** becomes *λαλέω* in 76 of 114 occurrences of MT Jeremiah. Of the 38 exceptions to the correspondence with *λαλέω*, most are LXX minuses (15). There are eight correspondences with the verb *λέγω* “to say”⁹⁷¹ and seven with *χρηματίζω* “to prophesy.”⁹⁷² One also observes four correspondences with the noun *λόγος* “word,”⁹⁷³ which probably assumed a different vocalization in the LXX *Vorlage*. Of the remaining four occurrences,⁹⁷⁴ I do not see any particular tendency to abandon the verbal root’s lexical notion of speech or locution.

In summary, it is evident that LXX Jeremiah preferred to use *λαλέω* when rendering *Piel* **רבר** and rarely used *λαλέω* for any other equivalent locutionary verb. Yet, there is a lack of LXX Jeremiah’s use of *λαλέω* in the translation of the **נאם־יהוה**⁹⁷⁵ phrase throughout the entire book.⁹⁷⁶ However, LXX Jeremiah prefers⁹⁷⁷ the verbs *λέγω*⁹⁷⁸ “to say”⁹⁷⁹ and *φημι*⁹⁸⁰ “to say.”⁹⁸¹ Although there are some interesting variant

⁹⁶⁶ HR II:845-46; Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 71; and Pietersma, “From Greek,” 381-82.

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. *Qal* **רבר** also rendered by *λαλέω* (“to speak” GELSM, 422) in LXX 39:42.

⁹⁶⁸ In 2:29 one sees that the *Hiphil* stem of **ריב** (“to dispute” HALOT II:1225) corresponds with *λαλέω* “to speak” in this sole equivalence.

⁹⁶⁹ HALOT I:66.

⁹⁷⁰ LXX 18:10; 23:25; LXX 26:16; and LXX 49:20.

⁹⁷¹ GELSM, 427.

⁹⁷² GELSL, 667. GELSM, 736 gives: “to make a solemn pronouncement.”

⁹⁷³ GELSL, 375-76; and GELSM, 434-35.

⁹⁷⁴ MT 5:15; MT 9:7; 10:5; and 23:28.

⁹⁷⁵ I.e. “The announcement of Yahweh” (HALOT I:657-58).

⁹⁷⁶ Martin, *Syntax*, 119.

⁹⁷⁷ Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 56-58 and 69-70.

⁹⁷⁸ HR II: 869-70.

⁹⁷⁹ GELSM, 427.

⁹⁸⁰ HR II: 1423-24.

⁹⁸¹ GELSM, 713-14.

correspondences,⁹⁸² one may state confidently that LXX Jeremiah understood verbal דבר to correspond with λαλέω and that HRLXXJ retained MT 10:1's Hebrew text.

As for the phrase ἐφ' ὑμᾶς “unto you,” the preposition ἐπί “unto”⁹⁸³ usually has the Hebrew equivalent על “on,”⁹⁸⁴ with exceptions due to syntactical demands.⁹⁸⁵ LXX Jeremiah's use of ἐπί with the accusative case in “reference or respect,” “most frequently occurs with verbs of saying or thinking,” as here in 10:1.⁹⁸⁶ Moreover, “λόγος the accusative may be used with ἐπί to indicate whom the word concerns.”⁹⁸⁷ The literal custom of translating על with ἐπί may be seen in the surrounding instances of על around 10:1, which are rendered ἐπί in MT 9:24-25 (7 times); 10:19; and 10:25 (twice). Thus, LXX 10:1b's context suggests that there is no reason to doubt that Hebrew עליכם⁹⁸⁸ was in the LXX *Vorlage*. A search of the preposition ἐπί with the second person personal pronoun reveals that 31 of 33 occurrences have an equivalent of על with its corresponding suffix. Likewise, the phrase ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (17 of 18)⁹⁸⁹ usually has the Hebrew correspondence of עליכם (17 of 24 in MT), which indicates that the prepositional phrase was rendered literally. Thus, I am confident that the translator had עליכם in his *Vorlage* of 10:1b.

As for the title οἶκος Ἰσραηλ “house⁹⁹⁰ of Israel,” οἶκος renders בית⁹⁹¹ “house” in the majority of the equivalents for οἶκος⁹⁹² in LXX Jeremiah (97 of 110), with the exceptions not establishing a trend.⁹⁹³ The phrase בית ישראל “house of Israel” occurs 20

⁹⁸² Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 71; and Pietersma, “Of Translation,” 381-2.

⁹⁸³ GELSM, 266.

⁹⁸⁴ HALOT I:825.

⁹⁸⁵ Martin, *Syntax*, 226-48.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 244. Cf. LXX 25:1; LXX 26:2; LXX 29:1; and LXX 36:10.

⁹⁸⁸ I.e. “unto you.”

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. LXX 3:12's exceptions.

⁹⁹⁰ GELSM, 489.

⁹⁹¹ HALOT I:124-25.

⁹⁹² HR II:980-81.

⁹⁹³ LXX 16:15; 22:2; 23:7; 27:16; 42:4 (twice); 43:10, 12, 20, and 21.

times⁹⁹⁴ in MT and has fourteen exact equivalents with οἶκος Ἰσραηλ, with exceptions proving little. Moreover, the term **יִשְׂרָאֵל** “Israel”⁹⁹⁵ occurs 125 times in MT Jeremiah, of which 82 are rendered directly into Old Greek.⁹⁹⁶ On the Septuagint’s side, 85 occurrences of Ἰσραήλ “Israel” in LXX Jeremiah render its Hebrew name form, save with three exceptions.⁹⁹⁷ In conclusion, there seems to be no reason to think that LXX Jeremiah did not have MT 10:1’s Hebrew.

MT 10:2a **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**

LXX Jer 10:2a τὰδε λέγει κύριος

The *verbum dicendi* phrase τὰδε λέγει κύριος⁹⁹⁸ in LXX Jeremiah occurs 63 times,⁹⁹⁹ of which 61 correspond exactly with MT **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**.¹⁰⁰⁰ The two exceptions to this phrasal correspondence are found in 2:31 and 7:20. LXX 2:31 represents a minus and LXX 7:20 has the similar **כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי**¹⁰⁰¹ equivalent. Thus, τὰδε λέγει κύριος becomes stereotypically **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**, at least throughout LXX chapters 1-29.¹⁰⁰² The later alteration from this earlier pattern in LXX Jeremiah inspired Thackeray to posit more than one translator.¹⁰⁰³ Tov later revised Thackeray’s theory to that of one translator and one reviser,¹⁰⁰⁴ while Stipp¹⁰⁰⁵ and Pietersma¹⁰⁰⁶ allow for one translator. The verb λέγω “to

⁹⁹⁴ Exceptions include minuses in MT 18:6 (2nd); MT 33:31; and MT 33:33. In LXX 23:8 and LXX 38:27 (MT 31:27), one sees that **בַּיִת** “house” by itself is not rendered, but only **יִשְׂרָאֵל** carries over into the Greek. In 2:26 the phrase becomes υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ “children of Israel.”

⁹⁹⁵ HALOT I:442.

⁹⁹⁶ There are 43 instances of LXX minuses.

⁹⁹⁷ LXX 39:28; LXX 40:4; and LXX 41:13.

⁹⁹⁸ I.e. “Thus says the Lord.”

⁹⁹⁹ Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 56-58; and Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2702 and 2739.

¹⁰⁰⁰ I.e. “Thus says the Lord.” The demonstrative pronoun ὅδε only occurs in the phrase τὰδε λέγει κύριος, with one exception in LXX 3:22.

¹⁰⁰¹ I.e. “Thus says the Master” (HALOT I:13).

¹⁰⁰² Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2739.

¹⁰⁰³ Thackeray, “Greek Translators,” 247.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Tov, *Septuagint Translation*.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Stipp, “Offene Fragen,” 117-28; or SZJ, 141-54.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Pietersma, “Excursus.”

say”¹⁰⁰⁷ usually translates אָמַר “to say”¹⁰⁰⁸ in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰⁰⁹ In regard to LXX 10:2a, there seems to not be any question as to the assumption that כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה of MT 10:2 existed for the translator to render with τὰδε λέγει κύριος.

LXX 10:2b אֶל-דֶּרֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם אֶל-תִּלְמֹדוֹ

MT 10:2b κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἔθνων μὴ μαθηθῆτε

The preposition κατὰ “under”¹⁰¹⁰ demonstrates a remarkable variety of uses.¹⁰¹¹ The preposition with an accusative usually renders כַּ ¹⁰¹² “according to,”¹⁰¹³ but often renders various other prepositions, such as עַל “on,”¹⁰¹⁴ בְּ “in,”¹⁰¹⁵ אֶל “towards,”¹⁰¹⁶ לְ “to,”¹⁰¹⁷ and לִפְנֵי “before,”¹⁰¹⁸ which all depend on the context.¹⁰¹⁹ However, the preposition אֶל is usually rendered with πρὸς “towards”¹⁰²⁰ in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰²¹ Thus, κατὰ is a relatively unusual Greek rendering for a rare use of the אֶל preposition.¹⁰²² Due to the varied use of κατὰ in LXX Jeremiah, there seems to be no reason to question LXX’s attempt to render MT’s אֶל in 10:2. Tov explains κατὰ for אֶל as “a free rendering of an unusual

¹⁰⁰⁷ GELSM, 427.

¹⁰⁰⁸ HALOT I:65-67.

¹⁰⁰⁹ HR II:869-70; and Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 56-58 and 69-70.

¹⁰¹⁰ GELSM, 365.

¹⁰¹¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 248-254.

¹⁰¹² Ibid., 253.

¹⁰¹³ HALOT I:453-54.

¹⁰¹⁴ HALOT I:825.

¹⁰¹⁵ HALOT I:103-04.

¹⁰¹⁶ HALOT I:50.

¹⁰¹⁷ HALOT I:508.

¹⁰¹⁸ HALOT II:942.

¹⁰¹⁹ Martin, *Syntax*, 248-54.

¹⁰²⁰ GELSM, 588-89.

¹⁰²¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 270-82.

¹⁰²² Holladay interprets אֶל with the verb לָמַד “to learn” (HALOT I:531) to have an inchoative meaning of “do not start learning” (idem, *Jeremiah* 1, 322).

construction.¹⁰²³ LXX Jeremiah's ὁδός “way”¹⁰²⁴ usually renders דֶּרֶךְ “way”¹⁰²⁵ (51 of 58 occurrences),¹⁰²⁶ with exceptions that signify little variation.¹⁰²⁷ A MT search of דֶּרֶךְ indicates a majority correspondence to Greek ὁδός (51 of 57), with exceptions that prove insignificant.¹⁰²⁸

As for LXX 10:2, one finds the plural τὰς ὁδοὺς for the singular דֶּרֶךְ of MT. This incongruity seems to imply that LXX 10:2 had דַּרְכֵימָה¹⁰²⁹ “paths.” One finds the reverse phenomenon of MT 12:16's plural דֶּרֶכֶיךָ becoming the singular τὴν ὁδὸν in LXX 12:16 (cf. 17:10 and LXX 39:19).¹⁰³⁰ Moreover, LXX 10:2 is not unique in its translation from the singular דֶּרֶךְ to the plural τὰς ὁδοὺς.¹⁰³¹ Perhaps LXX 10:2's translator attempted to create a plural parallelism with LXX 10:2c's τῶν σημείων “the signs,”¹⁰³² as in MT 10:2c's וּמֵאִתּוֹת “the signs.”¹⁰³³ There is no necessity, thus, to assume the plural of דֶּרֶךְ in LXX 10:2's *Vorlage*. Rather, one could hypothesize more easily that MT 10:2b's singular דֶּרֶךְ was harmonized in its number to the following Greek clause.¹⁰³⁴

The noun ἔθνος “nation”¹⁰³⁵ renders גּוֹי “nation”¹⁰³⁶ mostly in LXX Jeremiah (66 of 69).¹⁰³⁷ In LXX 10:3, ἔθνος renders עַם “people”¹⁰³⁸ uniquely for the book, although LXX

¹⁰²³ Tov, DJD XV, 174.

¹⁰²⁴ GELSM, 485.

¹⁰²⁵ HALOT I:231-32.

¹⁰²⁶ HR II:962-66.

¹⁰²⁷ E.g. ὁδός translates חָוָה “outside” (HALOT I:298-99) in LXX 5:1 and 7:17.

¹⁰²⁸ One finds three minuses in 2:17 and MT 39:4 (twice).

¹⁰²⁹ Saley, “Reconstructing,” 5; Tov, DJD XV, 174; Varagehese, *Hebrew Text*, 57; and Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303.

¹⁰³⁰ Tov, DJD XV, 174.

¹⁰³¹ Cf. MT 2:23 (1st); 2:33; 2:36; 3:21; 4:18; 7:23; and 10:2.

¹⁰³² GELSL, 551-52; and GELSM, 620.

¹⁰³³ HALOT I:26.

¹⁰³⁴ Tov notes that changes in number occur often in LXX translation (idem, *Text-Critical Use*, 158).

¹⁰³⁵ GELSL, 172; and GELSM, 190.

¹⁰³⁶ HALOT I:182-83.

¹⁰³⁷ HR I:371.

¹⁰³⁸ HALOT I:837-39.

28:58 (MT 51:58) translates לְאִשׁוּרָא “nation”¹⁰³⁹ with ἔθνος. A MT search of אִשׁוּרָא reveals a similar majority of equivalence (66 of 87),¹⁰⁴⁰ so as to leave little doubt of the LXX *Vorlage* agreement with MT 10:2. The phrase μὴ μαθησάμενοι “do not learn”¹⁰⁴¹ reveals the relatively infrequent verb μαθησάμενοι in LXX Jeremiah, which always renders לָמַד¹⁰⁴² “to learn.”¹⁰⁴³ The verb לָמַד occurs thirteen times in Jeremiah and is rendered by μαθησάμενοι five times.¹⁰⁴⁴ The remaining occurrences of לָמַד are all rendered by the verb διδάσκω¹⁰⁴⁵ “to teach,”¹⁰⁴⁶ with two exceptions.¹⁰⁴⁷ Thus, לָמַד becomes a verb of learning throughout all of LXX Jeremiah.

There seems to be insufficient textual support to posit μὴ πορεύεσθε “do not walk”¹⁰⁴⁸ with Bogaert¹⁰⁴⁹ in contrast to 10:2b’s reading μὴ μαθησάμενοι “do not learn.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Both Ziegler¹⁰⁵¹ and Field¹⁰⁵² list few manuscripts to support Bogaert’s preferred reading. Bogaert often prefers the textual witness of *Vetus Latina*, especially with regard to LXX

¹⁰³⁹ HALOT I:513.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Of these 87 occurrences, 19 are minuses, though sometimes implied in pronouns or verbs, as in MT 10:2 (2nd); 27:8; and 51:7. Both MT 9:8 and 33:9 are rendered by the Greek λαός (HR II:860-61).

¹⁰⁴¹ GELSM, 441.

¹⁰⁴² HR II:895.

¹⁰⁴³ HALOT I:531.

¹⁰⁴⁴ MT 9:5; 10:2; 12:16 (twice); and 13:23.

¹⁰⁴⁵ LXX 9:14 [Rahlfs 9:13]; LXX 9:20 [Rahlfs 9:19]; LXX 12:16; 13:21; LXX 38:18, 34; and 39:33 (twice) (cf. HR I:317).

¹⁰⁴⁶ GELSM, 164.

¹⁰⁴⁷ 2:33 has a free rendering, 2:24 is a LXX minus.

¹⁰⁴⁸ GELSL, 508; and GELSM, 577-78.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Bogaert, “Mécanismes,” 224 and 230.

¹⁰⁵⁰ GELSM, 441.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 199. Ziegler lists the A-106 group, a marginal reading of codex Barberinus (86), the Coptic witnesses, the Arabic witnesses, and four citations in the Patristic literature. These include *Constitutiones Apostolorum* II: 62:2, Cyprianus, *Liber de divinis scripturis sive Speculum* (CSEL 12), and Clement of Alexandria, all of which quote μὴ πορεύεσθε for this passage (perhaps imitating the Greek of Matthew 10:5). All other witnesses evidence the “correct” reading μὴ μαθησάμενοι here.

¹⁰⁵² Fridericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), II:597. Field lists only Codex 88 (*ibid.*, 597 note 1).

chapter 52.¹⁰⁵³ As for verse 10:2, the *Vetus Latina* has here *nolite incedere*,¹⁰⁵⁴ which would agree with Bogaert's preferred reading.¹⁰⁵⁵ However, it seems that μή πορεύεσθε is derivative from μή μαυθάνετε and, thus, does not actually imply a true variant reading.¹⁰⁵⁶

MT 10:2c וּמֵאֲתוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־תִּתְחַתּוּ

LXX 10:2c καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μὴ φοβείσθε

There does not seem to be any reason to doubt that καὶ “and”¹⁰⁵⁷ renders the conjunctive *waw* and that the preposition ἀπὸ “from”¹⁰⁵⁸ renders MT's מִן “from,”¹⁰⁵⁹ as is often the case for LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰⁶⁰ The use of ἀπό with φοβέομαι “to fear”¹⁰⁶¹ to give a literal rendition for מִן is a common “Hebraism.”¹⁰⁶² Likewise, there is no doubt that אֹת “sign”¹⁰⁶³ becomes σημείον “sign,”¹⁰⁶⁴ as in 4¹⁰⁶⁵ of 8 occurrences in LXX Jeremiah. The noun אֹת occurs only four¹⁰⁶⁶ times in MT Jeremiah and confirms that the LXX *Vorlage* possessed the MT Hebrew. The phrase σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “the signs of heaven”¹⁰⁶⁷ does not occur elsewhere in LXX Jeremiah, as its MT Hebrew counterpart. The Greek word

¹⁰⁵³ P. M. Bogaert, “Les trois formes de Jeremie 52 (TM, LXX, VL),” *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday* (ed. Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano; OBO 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 1-17; and idem, “La Vetus Latina de Jérémie: Texte Très Court, Témoin de la Plus Ancienne Septante et d’une Forme plus Ancienne de l’Hebreu (Jer 39 et 52),” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. Adrian Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 51-82.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae*, II:662-63.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Bogaert, “Mécanismes,” 224 and 230.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Streane, *Double*, 122.

¹⁰⁵⁷ GELSM, 352-55.

¹⁰⁵⁸ GELSM, 69-71.

¹⁰⁵⁹ HALOT I:597-99.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Martin, *Syntax*, 173-186.

¹⁰⁶¹ GELSL, 650; and GELSM, 718.

¹⁰⁶² Martin, *Syntax*, 178

¹⁰⁶³ HALOT I:26.

¹⁰⁶⁴ GELSL, 551-52; and GELSM, 620.

¹⁰⁶⁵ LXX 10:2; 39:20, 21; and 51:29.

¹⁰⁶⁶ MT 10:2; 32:20, 21; and 44:29.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

οὐρανός “sky”¹⁰⁶⁸ occurs 32 times in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁰⁶⁹ and always renders שָׁמַיִם “heaven,”¹⁰⁷⁰ or its Aramaic equivalent (ܫܡܝܐ). MT’s Hebrew שָׁמַיִם or שָׁמַיִן occur a total of 35 times in MT Jeremiah, of which three are minuses in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰⁷¹ Thus, there is little doubt that LXX Jeremiah had MT 10:2c’s וּמֵאֵתֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם “and from the signs of the sky” in its *Vorlage* text.

Of the 24 instances of φοβέομαι¹⁰⁷² “to fear,”¹⁰⁷³ seventeen render a form of יָרָא¹⁰⁷⁴ “to fear.”¹⁰⁷⁵ The verb יָרָא “to be terrified”¹⁰⁷⁶ has two equivalences with φοβέομαι (1:17 and 10:2). The phrase μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπό is a “Hebraism”¹⁰⁷⁷ which occurs nowhere else in LXX Jeremiah, though the imperative of φοβέομαι with negation of μὴ “not”¹⁰⁷⁸ occurs in LXX 26:28.¹⁰⁷⁹ The negative aorist passive subjunctive phrase μὴ φοβηθῆτε or μὴ φοβηθῆς “do not be afraid”¹⁰⁸⁰ occur seven times in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰⁸¹ Every case of the occurrence of the particle μὴ “not”¹⁰⁸² along with φοβέομαι indicates the use of ἀπο, except for the phrases of LXX 26:27 and 28, which also lack the preposition מִן “from”¹⁰⁸³ in their corresponding MT Hebrew.¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, it seems that notions of hortatory prohibitions against

¹⁰⁶⁸ GELSM, 513-14.

¹⁰⁶⁹ HR II:1033.

¹⁰⁷⁰ HALOT II:1559-62.

¹⁰⁷¹ MT 33:22, 25; and 51:48.

¹⁰⁷² HR II:1435.

¹⁰⁷³ GELSL, 650; and GELSM, 718.

¹⁰⁷⁴ LXX 1:8; 3:8; 5:22, 24; 10:5; 17:8; 23:4; LXX 26:27, 28; 33:19; 39:39; 47:9; 48:18; and 49:11 (1st and 3rd). LXX 49:11 (2nd) and LXX 49:16 render the adjective form. There are also four unique renditions (LXX 17:8; LXX 29:22 [Rahlfs 30:15]; LXX 40:9; and 46:17), along with one minus in LXX 2:30.

¹⁰⁷⁵ HALOT I:432-33.

¹⁰⁷⁶ HALOT I:365.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Martin, *Syntax*, 178.

¹⁰⁷⁸ GELSM, 458-59; and GELSL, 400.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Note the same verbal form of LXX 49:11 and 49:16.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 27.

¹⁰⁸¹ LXX 1:8, 17; 10:5; LXX 26:27; 47:9; and 49:11 (twice).

¹⁰⁸² GELSM, 458-59; and GELSL, 400.

¹⁰⁸³ HALOT I:597-99.

¹⁰⁸⁴ This is the case for all the examples, except for 10:5 which has the preposition מִן “from.”

fear carried with them an idea of ἀπο, which usually implied the object of πρόσωπον “face,”¹⁰⁸⁵ as is the case of LXX 10:2d.

The verb תתח “to be terrified”¹⁰⁸⁶ occurs 19 times in MT Jeremiah and has various renditions. However, the *Nifal* stem of תתח is translated as φοβέομαι “to dread”¹⁰⁸⁷ in 4 of 7 occurrences of MT Jeremiah. In 7 of 19 instances, תתח (in various stems) is rendered by πτοέω¹⁰⁸⁸ “to frighten.”¹⁰⁸⁹ Thus, the majority of πτοέω instances in LXX Jeremiah render the תתח verb, since πτοέω only occurs eleven times in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁰⁹⁰ Yet, the correspondence of תתח with φοβέομαι in LXX 10:2c finds ready confirmation and seems incontrovertible.

The results of this survey of Hebrew in MT Jeremiah demonstrates that the translator(s) of LXX Jeremiah understood the basic idea of תתח in the *Nifal* stem to be that of the emotion of fear and, thus, rendered by φοβέομαι or πτοέω. It is also clear that תתח has מן in contexts of exhortation to not fear, which is then rendered by ἀπο after the verb φοβέομαι, as in LXX 1:17 and 10:2 (unlike 10:5cα). The preposition מן must have been in LXX:2c’s *Vorlage*, as it is in MT 10:2, where it was rendered by LXX Jeremiah with ἀπό “from”¹⁰⁹¹ to reflect the literal Hebrew notion.

¹⁰⁸⁵ GELSL, 530-31; and GELSM, 600-02.

¹⁰⁸⁶ HALOT I:365.

¹⁰⁸⁷ GELSM, 718.

¹⁰⁸⁸ LXX 1:17; 8:9; 17:18 (twice); LXX 25:17; 26:27; and 28:56. There are also two minuses occurring for the תתח verb (MT 30:10 and MT 50:2).

¹⁰⁸⁹ GELSM, 606.

¹⁰⁹⁰ LXX 1:17; 4:25; 8:9; 17:18 (twice); 21:13; 23:4; LXX 25:17; 26:5; 26:27; and LXX 28:56.

¹⁰⁹¹ GELSM, 69-71.

MT 10:2d כִּי־יִחַתּוּ הַגּוֹיִם מִהֶמָּה:

LXX 10:2d ὅτι φοβοῦνται αὐτὰ τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν

The rendering of כִּי “because”¹⁰⁹² with ὅτι “because”¹⁰⁹³ in 10:2d maintains the stereotypical rendition which does not vary throughout all of 10:1-18,¹⁰⁹⁴ although this produces meaning contrary to that of the Hebrew particle on the Greek level sometimes.¹⁰⁹⁵ It must be admitted that 10:2d’s כִּי clause in the Hebrew of 10:2 is not a כִּי *causale*, but concessive,¹⁰⁹⁶ however, this nuance is not conveyed by the consistently literal translation technique.¹⁰⁹⁷ LXX Jeremiah has 300 of its 341 ὅτι instances which render the particle כִּי.¹⁰⁹⁸ The כִּי may occur in an expression such as כִּי אֵם “unless,”¹⁰⁹⁹ yet still be woodenly rendered as ὅτι, although אֵם כִּי typically becomes ἀλλ’ ἢ “except”¹¹⁰⁰ (10 of 21).¹¹⁰¹ The conjunctive ὅτι even renders simply אֵם “if”¹¹⁰² itself (LXX 29:10).¹¹⁰³

Sometimes ὅτι represents no apparent כִּי in the MT text, but introduces speech as an ὅτι *recitativum*,¹¹⁰⁴ or it supplies reason or result where there is no Hebrew

¹⁰⁹² HALOT I:470.

¹⁰⁹³ GELSM, 511.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Tov and Wright find that 88.5% of the instances of כִּי are equivalent with either ὅτι or διότι (Tov, GHB, 226-27).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 37 and 68-69.

¹⁰⁹⁶ A concessive כִּי clause rendered: “Though the nations fear them” (Putnam, HBI, §3.3.5f, 48).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Fischer, *Der Prophet*, 71.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 11-30.

¹⁰⁹⁹ HALOT I:471.

¹¹⁰⁰ GELSM, 26-27.

¹¹⁰¹ LXX 7:23, 32; LXX 9:22 [Rahlf’s 9:23]; LXX 19:6; 20:3; 22:17; 38:30; 45:4; 45:6; and LXX 51:14.

¹¹⁰² HALOT I:60-61.

¹¹⁰³ The particle ἐὰν “even if” (GELSM, 183) is the most predominant rendering of אֵם in LXX Jeremiah, at a total of 34 instances, although the particle ἢ is also popular.

¹¹⁰⁴ Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 38.

equivalent.¹¹⁰⁵ On occasion ὅτι might also render מַדּוּעַ “why,”¹¹⁰⁶ as in LXX 22:28 and 33:9. At times, the phrase τί ὅτι “why” also renders מַדּוּעַ in LXX 12:1 and 26:5,¹¹⁰⁷ but corresponds with מַה “what”¹¹⁰⁸ in LXX 2:33. Finally, ὅτι becomes הֵן in LXX 2:37, or is a LXX plus (1:17 and LXX 29:13), to name a few possible renditions.

On the MT Hebrew side, a great majority of כִּי (300 of 433) become ὅτι, with insubstantial variation in διότι “because”¹¹⁰⁹ (26 of 28).¹¹¹⁰ One can combine the total of 326 equivalences of both ὅτι and διότι with כִּי due to their nature as synonyms.¹¹¹¹ Thus, it becomes apparent that LXX Jeremiah mostly understood כִּי in the causal or resultative sense. The greatest exceptions to these usual כִּי correspondences in terms of quantity are that of ἀλλά “but”¹¹¹² (17)¹¹¹³ and that of ἐάν “even if”¹¹¹⁴ (15).¹¹¹⁵ There are also 24 cases of the particle כִּי not being rendered,¹¹¹⁶ and 27 instances¹¹¹⁷ of clear minuses in LXX Jeremiah, although this scenario does not apply to LXX 10:2d’s rendition. However, one

¹¹⁰⁵ LXX 8:9; 13:27; 14:7; 23:16, 35; 27:26, 33, 46; 28:14; 29:22 [Rahlfs 30:15]; LXX 31:3; 37:17, 23; 51:27; and LXX 51:33, as well as in LXX pluses (LXX 7:4 and 27:26).

¹¹⁰⁶ HALOT I:548.

¹¹⁰⁷ The usual rendering for מַדּוּעַ, is that of διὰ τί “why” (GELSM, 148), as in LXX 2:14, 31; 8:5, 19, 22; 13:22; LXX 26:15; LXX 30:1 [Rahlfs 30:17]; LXX 37:6; 39:3; and LXX 43:29.

¹¹⁰⁸ HALOT I:550-52.

¹¹⁰⁹ GELSM, 172.

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. LXX 5:4 and LXX 26:5 for the exceptions. In the case of LXX 26:5, the *waw* seems to be freely rendered with διότι.

¹¹¹¹ Tov writes: “As in the remainder of the LXX, Jer-OG generally used both ὅτι and διότι for כִּי, employing διότι particularly to avoid a hiatus... Jer-R limited himself to ὅτι” (idem, *Septuagint Translation*, 63).

¹¹¹² GELSM, 26.

¹¹¹³ Sometimes in combination with other words. Cf. MT 2:20, 34; 3:10; 7:23, 32; 9:24; 16:15; 19:6; 20:3; 22:12, 17; 23:8; MT 31:30; 38:4; 38:6; 43:3, and MT 44:14 (2nd).

¹¹¹⁴ GELSM, 183.

¹¹¹⁵ MT 3:16; 4:30 (twice); 3:16; 4:30 (twice); 7:5; 13:22; 14:12 (twice); 15:2; 23:33; MT 37:10; 38:15 (twice); and MT 38:25. The case of MT 37:10 is the only parallel rendition of הֵן כִּי with that of καὶ ἐάν and one may justly posit that καὶ ἐάν only renders the particle הֵן in this particular case.

¹¹¹⁶ MT 4:27; 9:18 (3rd), 19; 10:3 (2nd); 11:15, 19; 12:5; 15:5; 16:5; 18:22; 22:21; 24:8; 25:15; 26:11 (2nd); 30:12; 32:5; 32:30 (2nd); 42:20; 48:5 (2nd); 48:7, 37; 49:15; 50:14; and 51:51 (2nd).

¹¹¹⁷ MT 8:10, 12; 10:7 (twice); 11:7; 17:4; 23:10; 25:14; 27:21; 28:16; 29:16, 32; 30:10, 11 (twice); 32:5; 32:30 (2nd); 33:17, 26; 39:12; 42:19, 22; 44:29 (2nd); 48:45, 46; 51:48; and 52:3.

might sometimes expect a γάρ “for”¹¹¹⁸ instead of an ὅτι, but usually LXX Jeremiah maintains the Hebraism of LXX Pentateuch¹¹¹⁹ and only uses γάρ twice in LXX 27:5 without any כִּי correspondence.¹¹²⁰ Thus, one sees in 10:2d’s ὅτι that the logical connection between LXX 10:2c and 10:2d has a causal link, whereas MT 10:2c and 10:2d did not originally.

LXX 10:2d’s φοβοῦνται “they dread”¹¹²¹ reflects straightforwardly MT 10:2d’s יִהְיוּ “they are dismayed.”¹¹²² Apparently LXX 10:2d’s αὐτὰ “they”¹¹²³ represents מֵהֶמָּה “from them”¹¹²⁴ in MT 10:2d.¹¹²⁵ The third person personal pronouns usually render their corresponding MT Hebrew pronouns (usually nominative case for הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, and הֵם) and give a matching emphatic connotation.¹¹²⁶ Of the 70 Hebrew independent pronouns in MT Jeremiah (הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, and הֵם), only 38 are rendered as a third person personal pronoun αὐτός in Old Greek.¹¹²⁷ Other renditions of the independent pronouns are as demonstrative pronouns (i.e. ἐκεῖνος¹¹²⁸ “that”¹¹²⁹ and οὗτος¹¹³⁰ “that”¹¹³¹), or a relative

¹¹¹⁸ GELSM, 125.

¹¹¹⁹ Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 28-29.

¹¹²⁰ Tov, GHB, 226-27.

¹¹²¹ GELSM, 718.

¹¹²² HALOT I:365.

¹¹²³ GELSM, 103-04.

¹¹²⁴ HALOT I:250.

¹¹²⁵ I shall discuss the preposition מִן “from” below.

¹¹²⁶ Martin, *Syntax*, 31.

¹¹²⁷ The predominant use of the third person personal pronoun in LXX Jeremiah seems to be that of the emphatic (Martin, *Syntax*, 29-43).

¹¹²⁸ MT 3:16, 18; 5:18; MT 31:29; 31:33 (2nd); 50:4 (1st); and MT 50:20.

¹¹²⁹ GELSM, 207.

¹¹³⁰ MT 2:11; 12:6; and 16:20.

¹¹³¹ GELSM, 514-15.

pronoun,¹¹³² or the Hebrew pronoun is simply implied in the verbal context¹¹³³ with twelve occurrences being rendered with ἐστίν¹¹³⁴ “is.”¹¹³⁵

LXX Jeremiah’s use of ἐκεῖνος “that”¹¹³⁶ and οὗτος “that”¹¹³⁷ have distinctive features that are both contextual and interpretive. The pronoun ἐκεῖνος is more seldom and is only used adjectively,¹¹³⁸ whereas οὗτος (or αὕτη or τοῦτο) syntactically may be used “both substantively and adjectively.”¹¹³⁹ Martin notes that οὗτος often has an attributive function, referring to that which precedes, follows, or is locationally or temporally nearby,¹¹⁴⁰ whereas ἐκεῖνος refers to that which is usually contextually more remote or removed.¹¹⁴¹ One notes that ἐκεῖνος is used in the expression ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,¹¹⁴² probably due to its remote future connotations. In contrast, LXX Jeremiah’s ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη “this day”¹¹⁴³ renders the expression הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה “this day”¹¹⁴⁴ thrice¹¹⁴⁵ in contexts more immediate.

LXX Jeremiah’s third person personal pronoun αὐτός occurs often with emphatic nuance, just as their MT counterparts do as well.¹¹⁴⁶ They also frequently render a suffixed personal pronoun in the Hebrew text.¹¹⁴⁷ As to 10:2d’s context, there is no apparent reason to doubt an equivalence of αὐτὰ with הַזֶּה of MT. Walser expresses some doubt when he writes: “αὐτῶν could refer to the subject of φοβοῦνται...,” but then notes if “αὐτῶν refers to

¹¹³² Cf. MT 14:15 (2nd) and MT 44:3’s independent pronouns becoming relative on the Greek side.

¹¹³³ E.g. cf. LXX 34:15 (Rahlfs 34:18)’s clause εἰ προφηταὶ εἰσι “if they are prophets” (NETS, 912).

¹¹³⁴ There is a total of twelve with the copulative verb correspondence. I have noted the singular copulative verb usage. Cf. MT 4:22 (1st, 3rd); 5:4; 5:10; 6:28; 7:4 (ἐστίν); 10:5 (ἐστίν); 10:15 (ἐστίν); 16:20; MT 27:18 (LXX 34:15 or Rahlfs 34:18); MT 50:42 (LXX 27:42, ἐστίν); and MT 51:18 (LXX 28:18, ἐστίν).

¹¹³⁵ GELSM, 193-94.

¹¹³⁶ GELSM, 207.

¹¹³⁷ GELSM, 514-15.

¹¹³⁸ Martin, *Syntax*, 51.

¹¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-50 and especially 50.

¹¹⁴¹ Martin writes that ἐκεῖνος “generally refers to that which is remote in place, time or thought” (*ibid.*, 52).

¹¹⁴² “In those days” (NETS, 884). Cf. LXX 3:16, 17, 18; 5:18; LXX 27:4, 20; and LXX 38:29

¹¹⁴³ NETS, 891.

¹¹⁴⁴ HALOT I:263-65 and 399-401.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. LXX 11:5; LXX 39:20; and LXX 51:6.

¹¹⁴⁶ Martin, *Syntax*, 29-43.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

αὐτὰ, which refers to τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, αὐτῶν could refer to the decans of the Zodiac.”¹¹⁴⁸ Correspondingly, Walser remarks that both Paulus Alexandrinus and the commentator Olympiodorus would support the association of “faces” and the possessive αὐτῶν with astrological deities.¹¹⁴⁹ Of the two interpretative options offered by Walser, the latter one is preferred, since the first would require LXX 10:2d’s τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν “with regard to their faces” to have a “instrumental dative”¹¹⁵⁰ sense, which would make “poor sense”¹¹⁵¹ at this point. Rather, in LXX 10:2d’s context, one must logically conclude that τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν “with regard to their faces” refers to the previous clause’s neuter references of τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “the signs of the sky” or even the earlier τῶν ἔθνων “the nations.” This is to say, the object of fear must contextually refer to the deities which represent the heavenly signs, since the nations are the implied third person subjects of φοβοῦνται, which are described as fearing such signs in regard to their “faces” (i.e. τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν).

My assumed equivalence of αὐτὰ “them” with מֵהֶם “them” finds ready confirmation in LXX 17:18’s straightforward rendition,¹¹⁵² which renders הֵם “they” with the corresponding αὐτοί “they” quite clearly. Yet, there is an evident contrast between the grammatical syntax of LXX 10:2d and 17:18. LXX 10:2d’s independent personal pronoun αὐτὰ “them” represents the neuter object which references the astrological personalities of the previous clause, but does not imply the subject as LXX 17:18’s αὐτοί “they” visibly does. Thus, one would expect αὐτοί if LXX Jer 10:2d wished to convey the notion of φοβοῦνται’s subject, as is the case of LXX 17:18. The implied correspondence of MT 10:2d’s מֵהֶם “from them” with LXX 10:2d’s αὐτὰ is further confirmed by the

¹¹⁴⁸ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 259.

¹¹⁴⁹ Walser quotes the astrological author Paulus Alexandrinus, who writes in *Anacephalaeosis*: xxii.3: “for the decans are called the faces of the stars” (idem, *Jeremiah*, 259). Bogaert expresses similar sentiments concerning earlier astrological interpretation (idem, *De la Vetust Latina*, 236 note 31).

¹¹⁵⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 259.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁵² LXX 17:18’s πτοηθήσαν αὐτοί “May they be terrified” (Walser, *Jeremiah*, 79) renders MT 17:18’s הֵם יִתְהַיְתוּ “May they be terrified” (HALOT I:365).

equivalence of *αὐτά* with the idols in 10:4b, as well as in LXX 10:5*α*'s object of fear (*αὐτά* for *מִהֶם* of MT 10:5*בא*), which also lacks the *ἀπό* “from”¹¹⁵³ preposition. Moreover, the repetition of *ἀπό* is not demanded often by the verbal context of *φοβέομαι* “to dread”¹¹⁵⁴ in LXX Jeremiah,¹¹⁵⁵ as in LXX 10:2*d*. In contrast, on the MT side, the preposition *מִן* “from”¹¹⁵⁶ remains obligatory with the accompaniment of a verbal notion of fear. Thus, *מִן* was probably in LXX 10:2*d*'s *Vorlage* text as it is in MT 10:2*d*, since, perhaps, the translator did not wish to give the needless repetition of the original Hebrew. The same translational tendency of omitting to render the preposition *מִן* occurs also in LXX 10:5*α*.

LXX Jeremiah renders *מִן* “from”¹¹⁵⁷ most commonly as *ἀπό*¹¹⁵⁸ “from,”¹¹⁵⁹ as is evident also in the translator's use of *ἀπό* even to translate the comparative *מִן* (MT 3:11).¹¹⁶⁰ One sees *ἀπό* used by LXX Jeremiah in frequent expressions, as for example, in rendering *מִצָּפוֹן* “from the north”¹¹⁶¹ with *ἀπὸ* (*προσώπου*) *βορρᾶ*¹¹⁶² “from the north.”¹¹⁶³ Much variation¹¹⁶⁴ may be employed to render *מִן* by LXX Jeremiah, as in 10:14*b*'s *ἐπὶ* “upon”¹¹⁶⁵ rendition for *מִן* in the phrase *מִפְסֵל* “because of his idol,”¹¹⁶⁶ in contrast to the *ἀπό* of LXX 28:17. On a similar note, the phrase *מִגּוֹר מִסְבִּיב* “terror on every side” represents a classic example in LXX Jeremiah of varied translational technique, since all of

¹¹⁵³ GELSM, 69-71.

¹¹⁵⁴ GELSM, 718.

¹¹⁵⁵ E.g. cf. LXX 5:24; 33:19 and LXX 39:39.

¹¹⁵⁶ HALOT I:597-99.

¹¹⁵⁷ HALOT I:597-99.

¹¹⁵⁸ Martin, *Syntax*, 173.

¹¹⁵⁹ GELSM, 69-71.

¹¹⁶⁰ This is not always the case, as in the particle *ἢ* “or” (GELSM, 317) of LXX 8:3 (Martin, *Syntax*, 182).

¹¹⁶¹ HALOT II:1046-47.

¹¹⁶² Martin, *Syntax*, 184-85.

¹¹⁶³ GELSM, 120.

¹¹⁶⁴ E.g. cf. Fischer, *Der Prophet*, 71-72; and NETS, 876-80.

¹¹⁶⁵ GELSM, 263-67.

¹¹⁶⁶ The sense of the preposition's syntax as “causative” is explained in McKane, *Jeremiah I-XXV*, 226.

its occurrences have different equivalents,¹¹⁶⁷ for various reasons.¹¹⁶⁸ Sometimes alteration of translation technique may be seen in the same context, as in the parallel expressions of LXX 40:10.¹¹⁶⁹ It seems clear, moreover, that LXX Jeremiah did not render his *Vorlage*'s לְפָנֶיךָ with any lexical equivalent in 10:2d (cf. LXX 10:5ca), but that he compensated with a dative expression $\text{τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν}$ ¹¹⁷⁰ “with regard to their faces.”

From an analysis of contexts which have the particle $\mu\eta$ “not”¹¹⁷¹ with the verb φοβέομαι “to dread”¹¹⁷² in an hortatory context, one finds that the translator predominantly¹¹⁷³ uses the preposition $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ in the same clause of a negation of fear.¹¹⁷⁴ Moreover, πρόσωπον “face”¹¹⁷⁵ occurs in every clause of the hortatory verb φοβέομαι with the $\mu\eta$ particle,¹¹⁷⁶ save three exceptions,¹¹⁷⁷ so as to establish an expectance of its occurrence in 10:2d. Moreover, πρόσωπον may occur in fear prohibitives that lack the Hebrew equivalent¹¹⁷⁸ (פְּנֵי or פָּנִים “face”¹¹⁷⁹), but do have the לְפָנֶיךָ preposition,¹¹⁸⁰ so that LXX Jeremiah seems to have felt a need to have πρόσωπον supplied.¹¹⁸¹ Such nonliteral translation must be due to the fact that the Hebrew ear expects to hear לְפָנֶיךָ “before the

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. 6:25; 20:3; 20:10; MT 46:5; and MT 49:29.

¹¹⁶⁸ Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 76-77; and Stipp, MASJ, 30.

¹¹⁶⁹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 209-10. The expression $\text{לֹא אָדָם וְלֹא בְהֵמָה}$ “no man and no cattle” becomes $\alpha\pi\theta\acute{o}$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\tau\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ “from men and cattle” and $\text{παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον καὶ κτῆνος}$ “there is no man and no cattle” in LXX 40:10.

¹¹⁷⁰ E.g. cf. MT 52:25's לְפָנֶיךָ and its equivalent in LXX 52:25.

¹¹⁷¹ GELSM, 458-59; and GELSL, 400.

¹¹⁷² GELSM, 718.

¹¹⁷³ Except for LXX 10:5; LXX 26:27 and 28.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. MT 42:11 and MT 39:17.

¹¹⁷⁵ GELSM, 600-602.

¹¹⁷⁶ LXX 1:8, 17; 10:2; LXX 47:9; and LXX 49:11 (twice).

¹¹⁷⁷ LXX 10:5; LXX 26:27 and 28.

¹¹⁷⁸ In 95 of 104 LXX Jeremiah instances.

¹¹⁷⁹ HALOT II:938-44; and CHAL, 293-94.

¹¹⁸⁰ LXX 47:9 and LXX 49:16 (twice).

¹¹⁸¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 184-85.

face,” so that LXX Jeremiah renders מִן as if it were מִפְּנֵי or ἀπὸ προσώπου “from the face” (cf. 1:13-14).¹¹⁸²

Although פְּנֵים “face”¹¹⁸³ does not occur in LXX 10:1-25 with its usual correspondence of πρόσωπον “face”¹¹⁸⁴ (95 of 132),¹¹⁸⁵ its customary usage in fear prohibitions allows its implication as πρόσωπον in LXX 10:2d. The term πρόσωπον generally represents the person or essential being which is present of an identifiable figure,¹¹⁸⁶ and LXX Jeremiah does utilize it in reference to God¹¹⁸⁷ and in common expressions such as עַל-פְּנֵי “on,” לְפָנַי “before,” and מִפְּנֵי “away from.”¹¹⁸⁸ One sees that לְפָנַי “before” usually becomes κατὰ πρόσωπόν “at the face” (24 of 49),¹¹⁸⁹ עַל-פְּנֵי “on” is always rendered with ἐπί “on”¹¹⁹⁰ (usually before πρόσωπον “face”),¹¹⁹¹ and מִפְּנֵי “away from” becomes stereotypically ἀπὸ προσώπου “from the face” (40 of 45). However, LXX 10:2d’s τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν “to their faces” requires that one explain why LXX Jeremiah switches to the dative case when finding מִן “from”¹¹⁹² with מִהֶמָּה “from them” in 10:2d, since the dative often is an “equivalent of the Hebrew preposition לְ” in a “Hebraism.”¹¹⁹³ However, no לְ “to”¹¹⁹⁴ occurs in 10:2d, but one instead finds a מִן

¹¹⁸² Jer 1:13 has the phrase מִפְּנֵי צְפוֹנָה “away from the north” (Holladay, *Jeremiah I*, 22) rendered with ἀπὸ προσώπου βορρᾶ “from face of the north” (NETS, 27).

¹¹⁸³ HALOT II:938-44; and CHAL, 293-94.

¹¹⁸⁴ GELSM, 600-602.

¹¹⁸⁵ There are five non-renditions and eleven clear minuses.

¹¹⁸⁶ Thackerary, *Grammar*, 43-44.

¹¹⁸⁷ Bernard M. Zlotowitz, *The Septuagint Translation of the Hebrew Terms in Relation to God in the Book of Jeremiah with an Introductory Essay: On Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint and Targum by Harry M. Orlinsky* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1981), 13.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-21. For the meanings and translations, cf. HALOT II:938-44.

¹¹⁸⁹ Elsewhere, πρὸ προσώπου “before the face” renders לְפָנַי “before” in MT 9:12; 15:1; 15:19; and 21:8; or ἐναντίον in MT 1:17 (2nd); 2:22; 15:9; 18:23 (2nd); 19:7; and MT 49:37; along with other variations.

¹¹⁹⁰ GELSM, 263-67.

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. MT 6:7; 8:2; 9:21 (LXX 9:22); 13:26; 16:4; MT 25:26; 25:33; MT 27:5 (minus in LXX 34:4 [Rahlfs 34:5]); and MT 35:7.

¹¹⁹² HALOT I:597-99.

¹¹⁹³ Martin, *Syntax*, 115-122.

¹¹⁹⁴ HALOT I:507-09.

phraseology similar to that of MT 41:18.¹¹⁹⁵ Thus, since there was no מִפְּנֵיהֶם “from the faces” in MT 10:2d’s Hebrew text, only מִהֵמָּה “from them,” the translator must have felt the need for a similar expression to that of ἀπὸ προσώπου “from the face.” Yet, such an expression would have required a repetition of the preposition ἀπό “from”¹¹⁹⁶ in the phrase ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν “from their face” (LXX 48:18), since ἀπό had already occurred in 10:2c. Likewise, LXX Jeremiah did not render הַגּוֹיִם “nations” of MT 10:2d due to its repetitious nature (10:2b) as well, it being the implied subject that is not emphasized in deference to 10:2d’s object αὐτὰ “they.”

LXX Jeremiah has several transitive verbs that take the dative of indirect object,¹¹⁹⁷ just as if פְּנֵים “faces” were the indirect object in LXX Jeremiah 10:2d. Thus, many verbal notions in LXX Jeremiah express their relationship to other personages by use of the dative case, as in Rahlfs 23:16’s interesting rendition of μεταλοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὄρασιν¹¹⁹⁸ “they invent a vain vision for themselves”¹¹⁹⁹ for MT 23:16’s מִהֵבִילִים הַמָּה אֶתְכֶם תִּזְוֶן “[they] filling you as they do with nothingness, a vision.”¹²⁰⁰ In Rahlfs 23:16, one has the dative ἑαυτοῖς “themselves” which suggests a reflexive idea, as elsewhere.¹²⁰¹ The reason for the switch to the dative may be due to the change in subject implied in both the Greek and Hebrew pronouns of MT and LXX 10:2d from that of MT and LXX 10:2c. Yet, there are many different types of connotations¹²⁰² possible in 10:2d’s dative case, such as a

¹¹⁹⁵ LXX 48:18 renders MT 41:18’s כִּי יִרְאוּ מִפְּנֵיהֶם “for they were afraid of them” (Holladay, *Jeremiah* 2, 273) as ὅτι ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν “for they feared from their face” (Walser, *Jeremiah*, 177).

¹¹⁹⁶ GELSM, 69-71.

¹¹⁹⁷ Martin, *Syntax*, 115-21.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ziegler has changed ἑαυτοῖς “themselves” into αὐτοὶ “they” in LXX 23:16 (idem, *Jeremias*, 265). Ziegler’s reading exists in no Greek manuscript, but is implied by the Boharic and Latin reading of *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL). *Codex Alexandrinus* reads the dative of αὐτοῖς along with miniscules 410 and 130. However, the evidence of *Codex Vaticanus*, *Codex Sinaiticus*, and miniscule 239 are all very strong witnesses to Rahlfs’ reading ἑαυτοῖς here.

¹¹⁹⁹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 95.

¹²⁰⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah* 1, 633.

¹²⁰¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 34. Martin gives other examples which include LXX 11:17; 23:16; and LXX 30:7.

¹²⁰² *Ibid.*, 115-44. Martin lists different types of grammatical usages of the dative.

“Dative of Reference (Relation)”¹²⁰³ or the “Dative of Means (Instrument).”¹²⁰⁴ Whatever the case, there is no need to retrovert לפניהם “before their faces” in LXX 10:2d’s *Vorlage*.¹²⁰⁵ Tov and Min are correct to not describe τοῖς προσώποις αὐτῶν “their faces” as a MT minus,¹²⁰⁶ since the translator does not imply anything beyond MT 10:2d’s Hebrew, given the Hebraistic nature of LXX Jeremiah’s Greek.

LXX Jeremiah’s furnishing of πρόσωπον “face”¹²⁰⁷ in other contexts¹²⁰⁸ give indication that in 10:2d the translator “introduced προσώπου independently of his *Vorlage*... because the translator often thought in Hebrew and this Hebraism has become a part of his vocabulary.”¹²⁰⁹ Perhaps Bogaert is right to question the purpose of mentioning “faces” in LXX 10:2d’s context.¹²¹⁰ However, if one assumes Duhm’s *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX 10:11, or if LXX 10:11-16 was a hymn of demonic adjuration as an ensemble, then LXX 10:2d’s poignant translation in a very Hebraistic manner would complement this context’s sense very well. The fact that LXX Jeremiah did not translate MT 10:2d’s כִּי “for” in a concessive manner (ἐάν “if”¹²¹¹ or ὅτι ἐάν “for if”) might also imply an intention to describe a greater distinction between Israel and the nations as a whole.

¹²⁰³ Ibid., 132.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibid., 134-35.

¹²⁰⁵ Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58; and Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303.

¹²⁰⁶ Tov, PTGHB, Jer 10:2; and Min, *Minuses and Pluses*, 136.

¹²⁰⁷ GELSM, 600-02.

¹²⁰⁸ E.g. cf. LXX 1:14; LXX 47:9; and LXX 49:16 (twice).

¹²⁰⁹ Martin, *Syntax*, 184-85.

¹²¹⁰ Bogaert, “Mécanismes,” 230.

¹²¹¹ GELSM, 183.

MT 10:3a כִּי־חֻקֹּת הָעַמִּים הַבֵּל הוּא

LXX 10:3a ὅτι τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἔθνῶν μάταια ξύλον ἐστὶν

MT 10:3a's כִּי “for”¹²¹² has a causal¹²¹³ function and explains the prior statement given to Israel to not follow the path and religion of the nations. The causal notion is conveyed straightforwardly by ὅτι “for”¹²¹⁴ into the Old Greek. The noun ἔθνος “people”¹²¹⁵ surely represents MT 10:3a's עַם “nation.”¹²¹⁶ As for the noun νόμιμος “statute,”¹²¹⁷ it only occurs here and in LXX 33:4, where it directly translates MT 26:4's תּוֹרָה “instruction.”¹²¹⁸ Hebrew חֻקָּה “statutes”¹²¹⁹ occurs six times in MT Jeremiah, and is only in 10:3a rendered with νόμιμος, whereas elsewhere it becomes πρόσταγμα “command”¹²²⁰ (MT 5:24 and 44:10), νόμος “regulation”¹²²¹ (MT 44:23); and is twice not rendered (MT 31:35 and 33:25). When one reverses the word search to the MT side, it reveals that חֻקָּה and תּוֹרָה have semantically similar renditions in LXX Jeremiah,¹²²² as well as one instance of חֻקָּה “rule”¹²²³ translated with πρόσταγμα.¹²²⁴ On the Greek side, LXX Jeremiah used the terms

¹²¹² HALOT I:470-71.

¹²¹³ Putnam, HBI, §3.3.5, 47.

¹²¹⁴ GELSM, 511.

¹²¹⁵ GELSM, 190.

¹²¹⁶ HALOT I:837-39.

¹²¹⁷ GELSM, 475-76.

¹²¹⁸ HALOT II:710-12.

¹²¹⁹ HALOT I:347.

¹²²⁰ GELSM, 598.

¹²²¹ GELSM, 476.

¹²²² תּוֹרָה “instruction” (HALOT II:710-12) is rendered with νόμιμος “statute” (MT 33:4), πρόσταγμα “command” (GELSM, 598; cf. MT 32:23; 44:10; and MT 44:23), and νόμος “regulation” (GELSM, 476; cf. MT 2:8; 6:19; 8:8; 9:12; 16:11; and MT 18:18).

¹²²³ HALOT I:346-47.

¹²²⁴ Πρόσταγμα occurs five times and becomes תּוֹרָה in three instances. Πρόσταγμα translates חֻקָּה in 5:24 and חֻקָּה in 5:22. It seems that νόμιμος, πρόσταγμα, and νόμος all have very similar Hebrew equivalents.

νόμιμος, πρόσταγμα, and νόμος interchangeably¹²²⁵ for terms like הַקָּה, תּוֹרָה, and חֹק, or מִשְׁפָּט “law.”¹²²⁶ Thus, LXX 10:3a isomorphically renders the same Hebrew of MT 10:3a quite clearly.

LXX 10:3a has the neuter plural form μάταια “vain things”¹²²⁷ of the adjective μάταιος “meaningless,”¹²²⁸ with an implicit copulative within μάταια ξύλον “vain, it is a tree.”¹²²⁹ Old Greek μάταιος in the Old Greek most often renders הַבִּלְבָּל “vanity”¹²³⁰ (5 of 6). The one exception uses εἰς μάταιον “in vain”¹²³¹ to render MT 4:30’s לְשׁוֹן “in vain.”¹²³² The noun שׁוֹן “vain”¹²³³ always occurs with לְ “to”¹²³⁴ in the phrase לְשׁוֹן of MT Jeremiah, which LXX Jeremiah often translates with εἰς κενὸν “vainly”¹²³⁵ (3 of 5). Once the noun μάτην “in vain”¹²³⁶ alone renders לְשׁוֹן (LXX 2:30)¹²³⁷ and once εἰς μάταιον renders the expression (4:30). There is no doubt that μάταιος renders הַבִּלְבָּל of MT 10:3, since the Hebrew search confirms a majority correspondence (5 of 8).¹²³⁸

¹²²⁵ The Old Greek nouns νόμιμος, πρόσταγμα, and νόμος are fairly well interchangeable in LXX. Νόμος conveys the Hebrew תּוֹרָה (7 of 10). Νόμος translates הַקָּה in LXX 51:23. In LXX 38:33, νόμος conveys חֹק. Lastly, מִשְׁפָּט becomes νόμος in LXX 29:13.

¹²²⁶ HALOT I:651-52.

¹²²⁷ GELSL, 385-86.

¹²²⁸ GELSM, 443.

¹²²⁹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

¹²³⁰ HALOT I:236-37.

¹²³¹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 41.

¹²³² Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 145.

¹²³³ HALOT II:1425-26.

¹²³⁴ HALOT I:507-10.

¹²³⁵ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 49.

¹²³⁶ GELSL, 386; and GELSM, 443.

¹²³⁷ Once LXX Jeremiah renders the phrase לְשׁוֹן “into a lie” (HALOT II:1648-50) with εἰς μάτην “in vain” (LXX 8:8).

¹²³⁸ There is only one minus in MT 10:8 and two equivalences with εἰδωλον “idol” (GELSM, 192; cf. LXX 14:22 and 16:19). Greek also once renders בַּעַל “Baal” (HALOT I:142-44; cf. LXX 9:14 [Rahlfs 9:13]).

For an analysis, cf. Andreas Vonach, “H Baal in der Jer-LXX. Erschließung neuer Horizonte als Übersetzungstechnik,” in *Horizonte biblischer Texte* (ed. Georg Fischer and Andreas Vonach; OBO 196; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 59-70.

The third person independent pronoun אֵינִי “he”¹²³⁹ of MT 10:3a does not have a direct equivalent in LXX 10:3a, but is merely implied grammatically. Hebrew אֵינִי is often translated with the copulative verb εἶμι “to exist.”¹²⁴⁰ However, ἐστίν “is” does not occur in 10:3a, but in the next clause of LXX 10:3b, perhaps suggesting transposition from the MT order.¹²⁴¹

The pronoun אֵינִי “this”¹²⁴² occurs 57 times in MT Jeremiah, of which thirteen are rendered with the αὐτός “he”¹²⁴³ pronoun. Although αὐτός may be used in a Hebraistic manner like אֵינִי and seems to signify the element of the subject within a nominal clause while simultaneously implying the copula εἶμι “to exist.”¹²⁴⁴ (e.g. cf. LXX 10:16;¹²⁴⁵ LXX 45:5; and LXX 45:7), although sometimes both nuances are given explicitly, as in LXX 28:19¹²⁴⁶ or LXX 41:9.¹²⁴⁷ In LXX Jeremiah, the Greek copula is not necessary in a nominal clause, but optional,¹²⁴⁸ since the second clause chooses to augment the statement with ἐστίν “is” as an extraneous element.¹²⁴⁹ Simple apposition of nominatives, moreover, is a valid means to imply the copula notion¹²⁵⁰ in the Old Greek. However, sometimes the copula εἶμι is employed in secondary position following the subject, as in LXX 10:3b.¹²⁵¹

¹²³⁹ HALOT I:240-41.

¹²⁴⁰ GELSM, 193-94.

¹²⁴¹ Tov, PTGHB, Jer 10:3.

¹²⁴² HALOT I:240-41.

¹²⁴³ GELSL, 95; and GELSM, 103-04.

¹²⁴⁴ GELSM, 193-94.

¹²⁴⁵ Martin, *Syntax*, 43.

¹²⁴⁶ Cf. LXX 28:19 and LXX 10:16.

¹²⁴⁷ LXX 48:9 renders MT 41:9's הָיָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה “which [King Asa] had made” (Holladay, *Jeremiah* 2, 272) with τοῦτο ἐστίν ὃ ἐποίησεν “which [King Asa] had made” (Walser, *Jeremiah*, 175).

¹²⁴⁸ Cf. LXX 7:4.

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. LXX 37:6.

¹²⁵⁰ E.g. cf. LXX 2:19; 4:18; 10:12; 36:23; 39:1; 47:4; and LXX 49:6.

¹²⁵¹ E.g. cf. LXX 13:22; 22:15; 27:38; 36:28; 37:7; 39:43; 40:10; and LXX 47:4. However, εἶμι “to exist” may occur in the initial position also, as in LXX 5:12; 8:6; 8:13; LXX 29:11; LXX 34:15 (Rahlfs 34:18); LXX 38:6; etc.

In reflection of the usage of אֱהִי “he” as a Hebrew copula,¹²⁵² LXX Jeremiah sometimes rendered the pronoun with a form of εἰμί¹²⁵³ “to exist” like אִמְרָה¹²⁵⁴ “her”¹²⁵⁵ and the plural pronoun אֵלֶּיָּהֶם “them”¹²⁵⁶ (or the feminine form of אֵלֶּיהֶן).¹²⁵⁷ As seen with the pronoun אֵלֶּיָּהֶם “them,” LXX Jeremiah translated אֱהִי “this” with both the demonstrative pronouns ἐκεῖνος “that”¹²⁵⁸ (11 times),¹²⁵⁹ as well as with οὗτος “this”¹²⁶⁰ (three equivalences).¹²⁶¹ There are also a number of minuses¹²⁶² and non renditions¹²⁶³ for אֱהִי “he.” The pronoun may also be implied in a Greek stative verb, as in LXX 29:13, or it may be interpreted rather freely, as in the phrase LXX 32:19’s ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου “on the day of the Lord.”¹²⁶⁴

As for 10:3a’s context, there is an assumed copula equivalent to אֱהִי “he,”¹²⁶⁵ although only the following clause of 10:3b actually expresses the verb εἰμί “to exist.”¹²⁶⁶ Such a translation technique is similar to LXX 2:14’s translation of MT 2:14, which has two ἐστὶν “is” clauses, although only MT 2:14’s second clause actually has an אֱהִי pronoun. The verb εἰμί must be implied in MT 2:14’s first clause as it is in the clause of LXX 10:3a, before LXX 10:3b’s explicit use. Moreover, a copula is assumed in the similar contexts of MT 10:3a, 5a and 15a, but is explicit in various Old Greek renditions of LXX

¹²⁵² Putnam, HBI, §3.3.1c, 41.

¹²⁵³ LXX 2:14; 5:12; 6:23; 17:9; LXX 31:11; 37:21; 38:9; 39:8; and LXX 40:10.

¹²⁵⁴ LXX 27:15; 27:38; 28:6; 28:11; 36:28; 37:7; 37:17; and LXX 39:43.

¹²⁵⁵ HALOT I:240-41 and 243.

¹²⁵⁶ There are twelve equivalences in Jeremiah.

¹²⁵⁷ HALOT I:250.

¹²⁵⁸ GELSL, 180.

¹²⁵⁹ LXX 4:9; 12:17; 18:8; 20:16; 23:34; 25:12; LXX 26:10; 29:23; 37:7; 37:8; and LXX 46:17.

¹²⁶⁰ GELSL, 451.

¹²⁶¹ LXX 20:1; 27:3; and LXX 48:9.

¹²⁶² MT 10:8; 10:10; MT 27:7; 39:10; 41:7; 48:41; 49:26; and MT 50:30.

¹²⁶³ MT 5:15 (twice); 10:3; 22:28; and MT 39:16.

¹²⁶⁴ NETS, 911.

¹²⁶⁵ HALOT I:240-41.

¹²⁶⁶ GELSM, 193-94.

Jeremiah. However, both 10:5a and 15a have the plural הֵנָּה “they” in Hebrew and not the singular הוּא “he,” as in 10:3a¹²⁶⁷ for εἰμί “to exist.”

The disharmony between the number of the persons of the verb and of the nominative (10:3a; 5a; and 15a) is not a syntactical problem in either LXX or MT Jeremiah.¹²⁶⁸ The juxtaposition of τὰ νόμιμα “the customs”¹²⁶⁹ with μάταια “vanities”¹²⁷⁰ suggests the MT Hebrew phrase הוּא הַבֵּל “is vanity”¹²⁷¹ quite easily. LXX 10:3b’s ξύλον ἐστὶν “is wood”¹²⁷² does not necessarily require one to retrovert הוּא “he” in 10:3b, in contradistinction to 10:3a’s clause, which would then be contrary to MT 10:3’s Hebrew text. I shall justify the analysis from the following survey of εἰμί “to exist.”

The verb εἰμί “to exist”¹²⁷³ renders הִיָּה “to be”¹²⁷⁴ most often (118 of 298),¹²⁷⁵ which represents the majority correspondence in MT Jeremiah (118 of 264). For example, the phrase καὶ ἔσται “and it will be” renders וַהֲיִה “then it happened” (or other variations) 32 times in LXX Jeremiah. Moreover, καὶ ἔσται “and it will be” is a frequent Semitism reflected in LXX Jeremiah’s Greek.¹²⁷⁶ The majority of LXX Jeremiah’s equivalences of εἰμί “to exist” (133 of 298)¹²⁷⁷ have no specific MT Hebrew correspondence, since LXX Jeremiah supplied εἰμί to render nominal or appositional clauses which imply the verb. The count of 133 includes instances in which εἰμί is supplied for the sake of smoothing out the original Hebrew syntax. My calculation includes the instances of εἰμί (plus or

¹²⁶⁷ LXX 10:3a; 10:5a; and 10:15a all have the singular copula ἐστὶν in their contexts.

¹²⁶⁸ E.g. cf. LXX 22:4 and LXX 34:8 (MT 27:8).

¹²⁶⁹ GELSM, 475-76.

¹²⁷⁰ GELSM, 443.

¹²⁷¹ HALOT I:236-37.

¹²⁷² GELSM, 481.

¹²⁷³ GELSM, 193-94.

¹²⁷⁴ HALOT I:243-44.

¹²⁷⁵ HR I:378-84.

¹²⁷⁶ Stipp, MASJ, 24; and Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2718. LXX 5:18; 13:12; and LXX 17:27 represent LXX plus material.

¹²⁷⁷ One notes 58 nominal or phrasal apposition linkages, along with 75 instances of verbally supplied contexts (i.e. those which are rendering notions of possession or lack of possession).

minus οὐ/οὐκ “not”¹²⁷⁸) rendering a Hebrew clause with שׁי¹²⁷⁹ “there is,”¹²⁸⁰ or אִין¹²⁸¹ “nothing,”¹²⁸² or אִל¹²⁸³ “not,”¹²⁸⁴ and the use of εἰμί in various verbal forms (e.g. participle forms of stative verbs).¹²⁸⁵ MT Jeremiah has thirty instances of הִיָּה “to be”¹²⁸⁶ not rendered in LXX, as apparent minus material.

LXX Jeremiah appears arbitrary at times when εἰμί “to exist”¹²⁸⁷ links clauses,¹²⁸⁸ but this factor only seriously affects reconstructions of LXX plus material¹²⁸⁹ (i.e. MT minuses). One should not consider εἰμί “to exist” as being a stereotypical translation pair with הִיָּה “to be,”¹²⁹⁰ since much variation exists among LXX Jeremiah’s equivalents. For example, the equivalence of γίνομαι “to happen”¹²⁹¹ occurs often (104 total)¹²⁹² in Jeremiah. Moreover, one sees that the verb γίνομαι “to happen” most often renders a form of הִיָּה “to be” (104 of 118 instances), with the result that LXX Jeremiah rendered הִיָּה as a copulative (or semi-copulative) in 222 of 264 MT cases. Thus, LXX Jeremiah evidences a clear translation pattern for הִיָּה “to be,” in that it most often becomes a copulative (or

¹²⁷⁸ GELSM, 511-12.

¹²⁷⁹ This is nine of ten equivalences in MT. Pierre Van Hecke gives a for similar analysis. Cf. idem, “To Have or Not to Have: The Septuagint Translation of Possessive Clauses with שׁי or אִין,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 224; Leuven; Peeters, 2008), 475-91.

¹²⁸⁰ HALOT I:443-44.

¹²⁸¹ There are 50 total correspondences in which εἰμί is supplied by LXX Jeremiah.

¹²⁸² HALOT I:41-42.

¹²⁸³ One could also mention cases of the preposition παρά “along” (GELSM, 522-24) with an articular infinitive form of εἰμί translating a מֵאִין “not” (HALOT I:41-42) phrase (e.g. cf. LXX 4:7; LXX 40:10; and Rahlfs 40:12), or the מִבְּלִי “without” (HALOT I:133) phrase that gives a resultative sense (e.g. cf. LXX 2:15; 9:10, 11, and 12). Thus, other variations of the underlying Hebrew exist.

¹²⁸⁴ HALOT I:511-12.

¹²⁸⁵ E.g. cf. LXX 4:24 and 10:4a; or a rendition of ἤκω “to have come” (GELSM, 319), as in LXX 4:15. There are also various free renditions.

¹²⁸⁶ HALOT I:243-44.

¹²⁸⁷ GELSM, 193-94.

¹²⁸⁸ E.g. cf. LXX 3:23; 10:3; 10:16; LXX 28:11; LXX 28:19; etc.

¹²⁸⁹ Cf. LXX 1:17; 5:18; 7:9; 13:12; 17:27; 22:15; (Rahlfs) 24:9; LXX 28:3; and LXX 31:33.

¹²⁹⁰ HALOT I:243-44.

¹²⁹¹ GELSM, 130-132.

¹²⁹² HR I:264.

semi-copulative) verb in the Old Greek translation. In conclusion, LXX 10:3a and 3b do not represent any exceptional translation technique from that of LXX Jeremiah's normal εἰμί "to exist" rendition pattern. It seems clear that, although LXX Jeremiah did not render MT 10:3a's הוּא "this,"¹²⁹³ but that he did, in fact, supply the copulative εἰμί for LXX 10:3b's clause (cf. MT 10:3ab).¹²⁹⁴

MT 10:3b כִּי־עַץ מִיַּעַר פָּרְתוּ

LXX 10:3b ξύλον ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐκκεκομμένον

The syntax of LXX 10:3a and 3b seems difficult to connect at first glance. The trouble lies in the logical connection between LXX 10:3a and 3b, which requires punctuation division.¹²⁹⁵ LXX Jeremiah does not translate כִּי "for"¹²⁹⁶ in 10:3b's clause as he does in 10:3a, but some logical association must be assumed between MT Jer 10:3a and 3b in the LXX *Vorlage*. Furthermore, it is not unusual for LXX Jeremiah to omit rendition of כִּי "for" sometimes, as seen in LXX 10:3b. Thus, I conclude that LXX Jeremiah actually had כִּי in 10:3b's *Vorlage*¹²⁹⁷ Hebrew text.

¹²⁹³ HALOT I:240-41. This habit is common to the context of LXX Jer 10, as seen in the analysis below.

¹²⁹⁴ Contra: Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303; Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58; and Tov, PTGHB, Jer 10:3. Tov, for example, calls for transposition of the pronoun הוּא "he" to explain the LXX Jeremiah variant (HUBP, 56). HUBP explains LXX Jeremiah's variation as due to a different word division that perhaps might have omitted the second כִּי "for" of verse 10:3. This explanation would also assume a transposition of הוּא "this" as well.

¹²⁹⁵ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 200. Ziegler provides punctuation in 10:3's text, which reads as: ὅτι τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν μάταια · ξύλον ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐκκεκομμένον, ἔργον τέκτονος καὶ χώνευμα.

¹²⁹⁶ HALOT I:470-71.

¹²⁹⁷ Contra: HUBP, 56; Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303; and Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58.

The noun ξύλον “wood”¹²⁹⁸ most often represents עֵץ “wood”¹²⁹⁹ in LXX Jeremiah.¹³⁰⁰ On the Hebrew side, LXX Jeremiah renders עֵץ as ξύλον¹³⁰¹ in 12 of 14 cases. The term δρυμός “coppice”¹³⁰² renders יַעַר “forest”¹³⁰³ nearly always.¹³⁰⁴ Conversely, a Hebrew search of יַעַר “forest” reveals that all of its occurrences in LXX Jeremiah are that of δρυμός¹³⁰⁵ “coppice.” The evidence favors MT’s יַעַר “forest” as an equivalence of δρυμός “coppice” in LXX 10:3b. As for the preposition ἐκ “from,”¹³⁰⁶ LXX Jeremiah renders מִן “from”¹³⁰⁷ with ἐκ in the nearby context of LXX 9:2; 10:13 (twice); and 10:22. Martin notes that ἐκ “from” is the sixth most used preposition and is frequently found having a local sense so as to render מִן “from,” or it is seen to be incorporated with a verb of motion to convey a similar sense,¹³⁰⁸ besides other uses.

HUBP explains LXX Jeremiah’s alteration of כָּרְתוּ “he cuts it”¹³⁰⁹ into the passive voice ἐστὶν ἐκκεκομμένον “there is... cut down”¹³¹⁰ as diathesis,¹³¹¹ which is also subsequently attested in 10:4a’s κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐστὶν¹³¹² “they have been beautified.”¹³¹³ The syntactical construction of MT 10:3c’s מִיַּעַר כָּרְתוּ “he cuts it from a tree”¹³¹⁴ proves

¹²⁹⁸ GELSM, 481.

¹²⁹⁹ HALOT I:863-64.

¹³⁰⁰ In 12 of 14 occurrences. The exceptions are LXX 6:6 and LXX 38:12.

¹³⁰¹ Exceptions include one minus (LXX 17:2) and the adjective ξύλινος (“made of wood” GELSM, 481) in LXX 35:13 (MT 28:13).

¹³⁰² GELSM, 178.

¹³⁰³ HALOT I:422-23.

¹³⁰⁴ Except for LXX 27:32 (Tov, GHB, 213-17).

¹³⁰⁵ Cf. MT 5:6; 10:3; 12:8; 21:14; MT 26:18; and MT 46:23.

¹³⁰⁶ GELSM, 201-03.

¹³⁰⁷ HALOT I:597-99.

¹³⁰⁸ Martin, *Syntax*, 202.

¹³⁰⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹³¹⁰ NETS, 890.

¹³¹¹ HUBP, 56.

¹³¹² Cf. LXX 13:7 and LXX 20:2 for other examples of the perfect passive participle with εἶμί “to exist” as an auxiliary verb.

¹³¹³ NETS, 890.

¹³¹⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

difficult even for modern Hebrew grammarians. One may interpret MT 10:3c's כִּי “for” as temporal¹³¹⁵ with the verb כָּרְתוּ “he cuts it” as an infinitive construct with its subjective suffix, thus interpreting the clause in the following manner: “as when one cuts a tree from a forest.” One could also interpret כָּרְתוּ מִיַּעַר “he cuts it from a tree” as a relative clause that describes the עֵץ “wood”¹³¹⁶ in a כִּי asseverative clause.¹³¹⁷ Taken in this way, the infinitive construct כָּרְתוּ would then be interpreted as having an objective suffix whose antecedent is the עֵץ “wood” along with a relative pronoun lacking due to asyndeton.¹³¹⁸ Thus, one would then interpret כָּרְתוּ as a passive construction in its impersonal third person singular sense of “one cuts a tree,” which carries over into LXX 10:3b’s translation rather straightforwardly¹³¹⁹ (i.e. ξύλον ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐκκεκομμένον “it is tree cut out of the thicket”¹³²⁰).

Although ἐστὶν ἐκκεκομμένον “there is... cut down”¹³²¹ does seem strange at first glance, the use of ἐστὶν “is” with the nominative neuter participle form becomes LXX Jer 10’s preferred translation technique,¹³²² even in 10:15a’s use of the singular ἐστὶν “is” for its plural referents. Similarly, one sees passive notions in the adjectives and descriptive verbal phrases throughout LXX 10:3-16, as in 10:3c’s χώνευμα “molten image;”¹³²³ in 10:4c’s οὐ κινήθησονται “they shall not be moved;”¹³²⁴ in 10:5a’s τορευτόν “chased;”¹³²⁵ in 10:9a’s προσβλητόν “beaten;”¹³²⁶ in 10:9d’s ἐνδύσουσιν αὐτά “they will clothe them;”¹³²⁷ in

¹³¹⁵ Putnam, HBI, §2.2.6a, 35; and §3.3.5d, 48.

¹³¹⁶ HALOT I:863-64.

¹³¹⁷ Putnam, §3.3.5c, 47.

¹³¹⁸ Chaim Rabin, *A Syntax of the Biblical Language* (Jerusalem: Akadamon, 1995), 75.

¹³¹⁹ Streane and Varughese, therefore, retrovert the passive כָּרְתוּ (Streane, *Double*, 122; and Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58). Workman retroverts a *Qal* active participle (idem, *Jeremiah*, 303).

¹³²⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

¹³²¹ NETS, 890.

¹³²² LXX 10:3bα; 10:4a; and LXX 10:15a.

¹³²³ GELSM, 739.

¹³²⁴ NETS, 890.

¹³²⁵ GELSM, 684.

¹³²⁶ GELSM, 592.

¹³²⁷ NETS, 891.

10:5b’s ἀιρόμενα ἀρθήσονται “raised they will be carried;”¹³²⁸ in 10:14a’s ἐμωράνθη “was stupid;”¹³²⁹ and in 10:14b’s κατησχύθη “was put to shame.”¹³³⁰

MT 10:3c מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַי־חָרָשׁ בְּמַעֲצָד

LXX 10:3c ἔργον τέκτονος καὶ χώνευμα

The rendition of ἔργον “product”¹³³¹ for מַעֲשֵׂה “work”¹³³² is straightforward (9 of 20 occurrences),¹³³³ as well as in retroversion from the the Hebrew side (9 of 14).¹³³⁴ Greek ἔργον “product” never renders יָד “hand”¹³³⁵ in LXX Jeremiah, so that it seems difficult to explain how MT 10:3c’s מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַי־חָרָשׁ “the work of the hands of the craftsman”¹³³⁶ became LXX 10:3c’s ἔργον τέκτονος “a work of a craftsman,”¹³³⁷ unless one allows for a correspondence of ἔργον “product” with the entirety of יָדַי־חָרָשׁ “the work of the hands of” (MT 10:3). Interestingly enough, the word τέκτων “carpenter”¹³³⁸ occurs only here in all of LXX Jeremiah. The term renders the phrase יָדַי־חָרָשׁ “the hands of the craftsman”¹³³⁹ in its absolute relationship to מַעֲשֵׂה “work,” as a construct noun. Greek χεῖρ “hand”¹³⁴⁰

¹³²⁸ NETS, 891.

¹³²⁹ NETS, 891.

¹³³⁰ NETS, 891.

¹³³¹ GELSM, 289-90.

¹³³² HALOT I:616-17.

¹³³³ Greek ἔργον may also render מְלֵאכָה “handiwork” (HALOT I:586) (5 total instances), or פְּעֻלָּה “work” (HALOT II:951) in LXX 38:16, etc.

¹³³⁴ Four non-renditions in LXX 25:7, 14; LXX 31:7; and LXX 39:30.

¹³³⁵ HALOT I:386-88.

¹³³⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹³³⁷ NETS, 890.

¹³³⁸ GELSM, 674.

¹³³⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹³⁴⁰ GELSM, 730-31.

most commonly renders יָד “hand”¹³⁴¹ (86 of 93),¹³⁴² or כַּף “palm”¹³⁴³ (3 of 93).¹³⁴⁴ From the MT side, יָד “hand” most often retroverts to χεῖρ “hand” (86 of 117), with the second most frequent equivalence being LXX minuses or non-renditions (23 of 117). Thus, it seems very possible that the translator did not always see a need to isomorphically transmit יָד “hand” into a woodenly literal Greek. In the case of LXX 10:3c, LXX Jeremiah probably attempted a comprehensive rendition of יְדֵי־חָרָשׁ “the hands of a craftsman”¹³⁴⁵ (i.e. a construct phrase) as a combined lexical unit that was not distinguished into two distinct units. Moreover, the translator probably wished to combine the sense of יְדֵי־חָרָשׁ “the hands of a craftsman” with MT 10:3c’s בְּמַעֲצָר “with an adze,”¹³⁴⁶ as will become more evident in the analysis below.

Many¹³⁴⁷ posit MT 10:3c’s יְדֵי “hands of” to be a minus in the LXX *Vorlage*, so as, then, to assume מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ “the work of a craftsman”¹³⁴⁸ to be LXX 10:3c’s Hebrew text, as it is found in MT 10:9e.¹³⁴⁹ P. M. Bogaert describes an elaborate redactional process from LXX 10:3c¹³⁵⁰ for LXX 10:1-16 as a whole. He writes: “L’addition des ‘mains’ en 3c [MT 10:3c] révèle avec quelle soin le réd. B a travaillé.”¹³⁵¹ Thus, for Bogaert, like others (e.g. Janzen),¹³⁵² one notes that redactional theories assume the minus of MT 10:3c’s יְדֵי

¹³⁴¹ HALOT I:386-88.

¹³⁴² One sees that χεῖρ “hand” also renders כַּנָּף “wing” (HALOT I:486) once (LXX 2:34), with three cases of LXX plus occurrences in LXX 26:13; LXX 29:10 (Rahlfs 30:3); and LXX 31:26.

¹³⁴³ HALOT I:491-92.

¹³⁴⁴ LXX 4:31; 12:7; and LXX 15:21 (2nd).

¹³⁴⁵ HALOT I:358.

¹³⁴⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹³⁴⁷ Tov, PTGHB, Jer 10:3; Janzen, *Studies*, 38; Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303; Streane, *Double*, 122; Stipp, MASJ, 104; and Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58-59.

¹³⁴⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹³⁴⁹ Perhaps LXX 10:9bc’s minus of MT 10:9e’s מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ “the work of a craftsman” could be due to the very fact that the translator or HRLXXJ himself felt that the notion had already been mentioned in LXX 10:3c.

¹³⁵⁰ Bogaert, “Mécanismes,” 227.

¹³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹³⁵² Janzen explains such examples as Deuteronomistic glosses in MT (*idem*, *Studies*, 38).

“hands of.” However, any supposition of LXX 10:3c’s יָדִים minus brings many complications, since LXX 10:9c’s ἔργα τεχνιτῶν “works of craftsmen”¹³⁵³ probably renders MT 10:9e’s מַעֲשֵׂה חֲכָמִים “the work of wise men,”¹³⁵⁴ as reconstructed for 4Q71.¹³⁵⁵ Moreover, τέκτων “craftsman”¹³⁵⁶ of LXX 10:3c never renders merely שָׂרָף “craftsman”¹³⁵⁷ in MT Jeremiah, so that one would expect in MT 10:3c the alternative form τεχνίτης “artisan”¹³⁵⁸ for שָׂרָף “craftsman” as a more common correspondence.¹³⁵⁹

Six¹³⁶⁰ of fourteen occurrences of מַעֲשֵׂה “work”¹³⁶¹ in MT Jeremiah are followed by a form of the word יָד “hand.”¹³⁶² Thus, the conceptual link of מַעֲשֵׂה “work” with יָד “hand” seems common enough to not require a theory of a separate redactionary layer. LXX Jeremiah translates three of these construct phrases¹³⁶³ and, thus, demonstrates that such Deuteronomistic terminology¹³⁶⁴ already existed in the LXX *Vorlage* vocabulary as it does in MT as well. Thus, it is difficult to assume the systematic addition of יָד “hand” to מַעֲשֵׂה “work” in LXX Jeremiah’s *Vorlage* text, since one does not see such word combinations in every מַעֲשֵׂה occurrence within MT Jeremiah. It is important to note the

¹³⁵³ NETS, 891.

¹³⁵⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹³⁵⁵ The plural of τεχνιτῶν “craftsmen” corresponds to the plural חֲכָמִים “wise men” in Tov’s reconstruction (idem, DJD XV, 174 and 176).

¹³⁵⁶ GELSM, 674.

¹³⁵⁷ HALOT I:358.

¹³⁵⁸ GELSM, 677.

¹³⁵⁹ Cf. LXX 24:1 and LXX 36:2. MT 10:9c has a LXX minus of שָׂרָף “craftsman.” Yet, LXX 10:9c’s τεχνίτης “artisan” renders חֲכָמִים “wise man.”

¹³⁶⁰ MT 1:16; 25:6, 7, 14; MT 32:30; and MT 44:8.

¹³⁶¹ HALOT I:616-17.

¹³⁶² HALOT I:386-88.

¹³⁶³ MT 1:16; 25:6; and MT 44:8.

¹³⁶⁴ Cf. MT Deut 2:7; 4:28; 14:29; 16:15; 24:19; 27:15; 28:12; 30:9; and MT Deut 31:29.

non-renditions of יָד “hand”¹³⁶⁵ with χεῖρ “hand”¹³⁶⁶ in LXX Jeremiah,¹³⁶⁷ aside from a total of ten clear minuses.¹³⁶⁸ Thus, there are a substantial number of instances of LXX Jeremiah probably not rendering יָד “hand” in his *Vorlage*. LXX Jer 10:3c also contains an unique rendering of τέκτων “carpenter”¹³⁶⁹ with καὶ χύουμα “and a molten work.”¹³⁷⁰ Therefore, it is safe to assume that LXX Jeremiah probably did not render יָד “hand”¹³⁷¹ in a Hebrew *Vorlage* text agreeing with that of MT 10:3c.

From the MT side, שָׂרָף¹³⁷² “craftsman”¹³⁷³ corresponds to τεχνίτης “artisan”¹³⁷⁴ twice,¹³⁷⁵ while in 10:3c, שָׂרָף was probably rendered together with other words in its context. It is apparent that τέκτων “carpenter”¹³⁷⁶ never solely corresponds to שָׂרָף “craftsman”¹³⁷⁷ in MT Jeremiah. Thus, it is more likely that LXX 10:3c would have used the alternative τεχνίτης “artisan”¹³⁷⁸ if he intended to render the lexeme as a single unit of thought. But, instead, LXX Jeremiah found MT 10:3c’s מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי-הַשָּׂרָף “the work of the hands of the craftsman”¹³⁷⁹ in his Hebrew *Vorlage* and chose to render it with τέκτων

¹³⁶⁵ HALOT I:386-88.

¹³⁶⁶ GELSM, 730-31.

¹³⁶⁷ Cf. MT 6:9; 10:3; 18:6 (1st); 21:4; 21:7 (3rd); 22:25 (2nd and 3rd); MT 27:6; 32:28 (1st); 34:1; 34:20; 36:14 (2nd); 38:11; 38:18 (2nd); 38:23 (1st); 41:9; and MT 43:9.

¹³⁶⁸ Cf. LXX 21:7 (1st); 25:7; 25:14; LXX 32:16 (Rahlfs 32:30); LXX 38:12; 39:11; 46:26 (thrice); and LXX 50:1 (Min, *Minuses and Pluses*, 115).

¹³⁶⁹ GELSM, 674.

¹³⁷⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

¹³⁷¹ HALOT I:386-88.

¹³⁷² Cf. MT 10:3, 9; MT 24:1; and MT 29:2. However, MT 10:9 represents a LXX minus on the Greek side.

¹³⁷³ HALOT I:358.

¹³⁷⁴ GELSM, 677.

¹³⁷⁵ LXX 24:1 and LXX 36:2.

¹³⁷⁶ GELSM, 674.

¹³⁷⁷ HALOT I:358.

¹³⁷⁸ LXX 24:1 and LXX 36:2.

¹³⁷⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

“carpenter” in a more abbreviated manner¹³⁸⁰ along with καὶ χώνευμα “and a molten image”¹³⁸¹ (cf. below).

As for MT 10:3c’s **בְּמַעְצָר** “with an adze,”¹³⁸² it is somewhat of a mystery as to how LXX Jeremiah came to the translation καὶ χώνευμα “and a molten image,”¹³⁸³ while Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion gave the more literal ἐν σκεπάρνῳ¹³⁸⁴ “with carpenter’s axe”¹³⁸⁵ (similar to LXX Isaiah 44:12). Since one lacks an indication of a rendering for **בְּ** “with”¹³⁸⁶ in LXX 10:3c, MT 10:3c’s **בְּמַעְצָר** “with a tool”¹³⁸⁷ seems to have been understood collectively as an unified noun and not as a prepositional phrase with its following noun **מַעְצָר** “a blacksmith’s tool.”¹³⁸⁸

Usually LXX Jeremiah renders the preposition **בְּ** “in”¹³⁸⁹ with the preposition ἐν “in”¹³⁹⁰ among the surrounding context’s correspondences.¹³⁹¹ LXX Jeremiah apparently interpreted **בְּמַעְצָר** “and a molten work,”¹³⁹² as a nominal entity which represented the idea of an idol, namely an idol of metal, and not wooden or made of timber. It is interesting to note that 2 Macc 2:2 does not mention any wooden idols in the prophet Jeremiah’s paraenetic warning to Israel, but only gold and silver. LXX Jeremiah, no doubt, would have more easily drawn his imagery of forbidden idols in association with metallic forms,

¹³⁸⁰ LXX Jeremiah renders MT 10:9’s **וַיְהִי צֹרֶף** “and the handiwork of a smith” (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323) with the phrase καὶ χεῖρ χρυσοχόων “and a hand of goldsmiths” (NETS, 891), thus, demonstrating the need in Greek to transfer the notion of multitude or plurality from the **וַיְהִי** “and the hands of” to the actual craftsmen (singular **צֹרֶף**) or “smelters” themselves (HALOT II:1057).

¹³⁸¹ NETS, 890.

¹³⁸² Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹³⁸³ GELSM, 739.

¹³⁸⁴ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II:597.

¹³⁸⁵ GELSM, 623.

¹³⁸⁶ HALOT I:103-05.

¹³⁸⁷ HALOT I:615.

¹³⁸⁸ HALOT I:615.

¹³⁸⁹ HALOT I:103-05.

¹³⁹⁰ GELSM, 231-33.

¹³⁹¹ LXX 9:26 (Rahlfs 9:25) and LXX 10:4a (Tov, GHB, 223-25).

¹³⁹² Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59. NETS, 890 gives “and a molten image.”

especially since wooden idols were covered with metal often, as is indicated by the Epistle of Jeremiah.¹³⁹³ However, LXX 2 Chron 3:10's renders MT's **צַעֲצוּעִים** “castings”¹³⁹⁴ with ἔργον ἐκ ξύλων “product from wood” in an example of etymological exegesis.¹³⁹⁵ As in LXX 2 Chron 3:10, LXX Jer 10:3c gives a “contextually possible” translation,¹³⁹⁶ but probably did not understand his *Vorlage* text and gave a “contextual guess.”¹³⁹⁷ Similarly, Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie (or GELSL) note that LXX Prov misread **מַעְצָר** “hindrance”¹³⁹⁸ in MT Prov 25:28 for **אֵין מַעְצָר** “not from advice”¹³⁹⁹ in his rendition of οὐ μετὰ βουλήs “not with counsel”¹⁴⁰⁰

The words **מַעְצָר** “hindrance”¹⁴⁰¹ and **מַעְצָד** “blacksmith’s axe”¹⁴⁰² are very similar in their respective forms to one another and they both appear to have given LXX translators trouble elsewhere. Thus, LXX Jeremiah probably reverts to a familiar aniconic genre¹⁴⁰³ or stock phrases of idolatry when translating 10:3c at this point. It is quite unlikely that the LXX *Vorlage* read **מוֹצֵק** “cast metal,”¹⁴⁰⁴ which some¹⁴⁰⁵ retrovert from 3 Reigns 7:4 (MT 1 Kgs 7:16). Varughese retroverts **מַסִּכָה** “cast image”¹⁴⁰⁶ from similar correspondences in MT Deut 9:12; 2 Kgs 17:16; Hos 13:2, and Hab 2:18, all of which have χώνευμα “molten image.”¹⁴⁰⁷ Varughese¹⁴⁰⁸ also contrasts LXX Jer 10:3c’s rendition with

¹³⁹³ E.g. cf. Ep Jer 38, 49, 54, 56-57, and 69-70.

¹³⁹⁴ HALOT II:1042.

¹³⁹⁵ Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 174.

¹³⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁹⁷ Tov, GHB, 205-09.

¹³⁹⁸ CHAL, 207. HALOT lists the word as **מַעְצוֹר** and gives the definition: “impediment” or “limitation” (HALOT, I:615).

¹³⁹⁹ HALOT I:866-67.

¹⁴⁰⁰ GELSL, 111, *sub verbo* βουλή.

¹⁴⁰¹ CHAL, 207; and HALOT, I:615.

¹⁴⁰² HALOT I:615.

¹⁴⁰³ Olofsson states that “the genre of the text could affect the choice of translation equivalents” (idem, “Consistency,” 22).

¹⁴⁰⁴ HALOT I:559.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Workman, *Jeremiah*, 303; and Streane, *Double*, 123.

¹⁴⁰⁶ HALOT I:605.

¹⁴⁰⁷ GELSM, 739.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Varughese, *Hebrew*, 59.

the variation found in LXX Isa 44:12’s σκέπαρον “carpenter’s axe”¹⁴⁰⁹ for the same Hebrew term מַעֲצָד “small axe”¹⁴¹⁰ that only occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible. Since neither מוֹצֵק “cast metal” or מַסְכָּה “cast image” occur in MT Jeremiah, I think it to be an unlikely retroversion. However, it is possible that LXX Jeremiah was influenced by how מַסְכָּה “cast image”¹⁴¹¹ was rendered in other LXX texts and made a contextual guess due to LXX 10:3c’s aniconic setting¹⁴¹² and the lexeme’s similarity to מַעֲצָד “blacksmith’s tool.”¹⁴¹³ Whatever the case, the Hebrew underlying both MT and LXX 10:3c correspond quite well.

MT 10:4a בְּכֶסֶף וּבְזָהָב יִפְהֹוּ

LXX 10:4a ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐστίν

The phrase ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ “with silver and gold”¹⁴¹⁴ contains two dative nouns that link with the passive verb κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐστίν “they have been beautified,”¹⁴¹⁵ and can be classified as datives of “means” or “instrument.”¹⁴¹⁶ The lack of a rendition for three of the four occurrences of בְּ “with”¹⁴¹⁷ in MT 10:4a can be accounted for by the use of the dative case as a substitute. However, LXX 10:4b renders a בְּ “in” with ἐν “in”¹⁴¹⁸ and, perhaps, the translator felt this one occurrence sufficed to convey the sense.¹⁴¹⁹ The order of “silver and gold” has no special significance, as opposed to a reversed order, but the same sequence may be found also, for example, in Deuteronomy.¹⁴²⁰ Greek

¹⁴⁰⁹ GELSM, 623.

¹⁴¹⁰ HALOT I:615.

¹⁴¹¹ HALOT I:605.

¹⁴¹² Tov’s suggestion (idem, *Text-Critical Use*, 174).

¹⁴¹³ HALOT I:615.

¹⁴¹⁴ NETS, 890.

¹⁴¹⁵ NETS, 890.

¹⁴¹⁶ Martin, *Syntax*, 134-35.

¹⁴¹⁷ HALOT I:103-05.

¹⁴¹⁸ GELSM, 231-33.

¹⁴¹⁹ I shall discuss the preposition ἐν “in” below.

¹⁴²⁰ Cf. Deut 7:25; 8:13; 17:17; and Deut 29:17.

ἀργύριον “silver”¹⁴²¹ always renders **הַסֶּבֶץ** “silver,”¹⁴²² except for two exceptions.¹⁴²³

However, the lack of correspondence between **הַסֶּבֶץ** “silver” and ἀργύριον “silver”¹⁴²⁴ in LXX 10:5a demonstrates an attempt to render a difficult lexical phrase which the translator considered to be ἀργύριον¹⁴²⁵ “silver”¹⁴²⁶ (cf. below). On the Hebrew side, **הַסֶּבֶץ** “silver”¹⁴²⁷ almost every time becomes ἀργύριον “silver” in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁴²⁸ Thus, the notion of silver always translates from the Hebrew **הַסֶּבֶץ** “silver.” There is no need, thus, to assume a different Hebrew *Vorlage* for ἀργύριον “silver” in LXX 10:4a.

The correspondence of χρυσίον “gold”¹⁴²⁹ with MT **בְּהָרִי** “gold”¹⁴³⁰ in LXX 10:4a seems obvious. The noun χρυσίον only occurs twice for **בְּהָרִי** in LXX Jeremiah (cf. 10:4a and 9b). The four other occurrences of **בְּהָרִי** “gold” correspond to the adjective χρυσοῦς¹⁴³¹ “golden.”¹⁴³² Thus, the Greek concept of gold always assumes **בְּהָרִי** “gold” in LXX Jeremiah’s *Vorlage*. LXX 10:4a’s κεκαλλωπισμένα ἐστίν “they have been beautified,”¹⁴³³ represents a *Piel* form of **יָפַר** “to decorate,”¹⁴³⁴ whose root LXX 26:20’s κεκαλλωπισμένη (from καλλωπίζω “to make look beautiful”)¹⁴³⁵ also renders.¹⁴³⁶

¹⁴²¹ GELSM, 89.

¹⁴²² HALOT I:490-91; and CHAL, 162.

¹⁴²³ There is one non-rendition in LXX 39:9 and the unusual context of LXX 10:5a (Cf. Tov’s reconstruction of 4Q71 in idem, DJD XV, 174 and 176).

¹⁴²⁴ GELSM, 89-90.

¹⁴²⁵ Cf. the reconstruction of 4Q71 in Tov, DJD XV, 174 and 176. It is possible that HRLXXJ replaced LXX 10:5a’s **כְּתֹמֶר** “like a scarecrow” (HALOT I:1757) with **הַסֶּבֶץ** “silver” originally in the LXX *Vorlage*.

¹⁴²⁶ GELSM, 89.

¹⁴²⁷ HALOT I:490-91; and CHAL, 162.

¹⁴²⁸ Except for two instances in MT 52:19 rendered with ἀργυροῦς “made of silver” (GELSM, 90).

¹⁴²⁹ GELSM, 738.

¹⁴³⁰ HALOT I:265.

¹⁴³¹ LXX 4:30; 28:7; and LXX 52:19 (twice).

¹⁴³² GELSM, 738.

¹⁴³³ NETS, 890.

¹⁴³⁴ HALOT I:423.

¹⁴³⁵ GELSM, 359.

¹⁴³⁶ LXX 4:30 and LXX 11:16 translate the root **יָפַר** “to make look beautiful” with ὠραῖσμός “adornment” (GELSM, 747).

LXX Jeremiah's two occurrences of *καλλωπίζω* "to make look beautiful"¹⁴³⁷ are in a perfect passive participle form. On the Hebrew side, one sees that MT 4:30's *Hithpael* פִּהַ' "to beautify oneself"¹⁴³⁸ is translated with the adjective *ὠραϊσμός* "elegance."¹⁴³⁹ Thus, LXX Jeremiah employed some variety for פִּהַ' in his translation equivalences. Therefore, one sees a similar situation to that of the syntax of both LXX 10:4 and 26:20, which employ the perfect passive participles of *καλλωπίζω* "to make look beautiful"¹⁴⁴⁰ as verbal adjectives.¹⁴⁴¹ The Hebrew root פִּהַ' "to beautify oneself"¹⁴⁴² has a third occurrence on the MT side in an adjective form (cf. MT 11:16), although it is difficult to determine LXX Jeremiah's intended equivalence here.¹⁴⁴³ Nevertheless, LXX Jeremiah customarily displays a knowledge that פִּהַ' signifies the notion of beauty or embellishment. Yet, LXX Jeremiah must change persons, lexical form, or alternate the active sense to a passive sense, as seen in all the פִּהַ' correspondences analyzed above.

Saley¹⁴⁴⁴ finds it difficult to retrovert *κεκαλωπισμένα ἐστίν* "they have been beautified,"¹⁴⁴⁵ and gives various options in his reconstruction of 4Q71.¹⁴⁴⁶ Of the various options given by Saley,¹⁴⁴⁷ it seems that none are necessary besides MT's פִּהַ' "they decorate it,"¹⁴⁴⁸ proposed by DJD for 4Q71.¹⁴⁴⁹ The translator's rendition was probably

¹⁴³⁷ GELSM, 359.

¹⁴³⁸ HALOT I:423.

¹⁴³⁹ GELSL, 677.

¹⁴⁴⁰ GELSM, 359.

¹⁴⁴¹ However, one must note that the copulative is implied in LXX 26:20 and that verb *ἐστίν* "is" can be omitted or inferred throughout LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁴⁴² HALOT I:423.

¹⁴⁴³ Pietersma, NETS, 879 provides an adequate solution.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Saley, "Reconstructing," 5.

¹⁴⁴⁵ NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Saley, "Reconstructing," 5. Saley writes: "Equally, if not more likely, however, would have been a different Hebrew form, perhaps פִּהַ', a Qal perfect plural of the stative verb, or even פִּהַ' taken as a Pual imperfect, third plural. It is also possible that it was simply פִּהַ', the Qal perfect singular, which he rendered as a neuter plural in accord with his interpretation of the previous verse which ends with compound neuter nouns..." (ibid.).

¹⁴⁴⁷ Saley states that "other options are no doubt possible" (ibid.).

¹⁴⁴⁸ HALOT I:423.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Tov, DJD XV, 174.

influenced by the previous compound neuter nouns of LXX 10:3bc's clause (ἐκκεκομμένον ἔργον τέκτονος καὶ χώνευμα "cut down, a work of a craftsman, and a molten image").¹⁴⁵⁰ The change of plural active to singular passive is not unusual to LXX Jeremiah. For example, one sees that MT 6:28's active participle מְשִׁחֵם "destroyers they are"¹⁴⁵¹ is rendered with a perfect passive participle in LXX (cf. MT 10:4a's active verb יִפְהַר "they decorate it").

The context of LXX 10:1-18 has other passive verbs, as in LXX 10:3b's ἐκκεκομμένον "cut down"¹⁴⁵² and LXX 10:15a's ἐμπεπαυγμένα "laughed down"¹⁴⁵³ for MT 10:15aβ's תַּעֲתֵעִים "derision."¹⁴⁵⁴ One might also compare parallels such as LXX 28:18's μεμωκημένα "put to scorn,"¹⁴⁵⁵ or 10:14's ἐμωράνθη "become foolish,"¹⁴⁵⁶ or even LXX 28:17's ἐματαιώθη "become vain."¹⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, although LXX Jeremiah decided to render MT 10:2d's יִתְהַיֵּי "are panicked by them"¹⁴⁵⁸ with φοβούνται αὐτὰ "they are afraid of them,"¹⁴⁵⁹ one still sees the objective pronoun αὐτὰ "them" used to demonstrate the passive action performed on its subject, as seen in LXX 10:4b's ἐστερέωσαν αὐτὰ "they fastened them"¹⁴⁶⁰ as well.¹⁴⁶¹ Likewise, the *Hiphil* clause וְלֹא יִפְיֵק "so that it cannot wobble"¹⁴⁶² becomes passively rendered in LXX's parallel καὶ οὐ κινήσονται "and they shall not be moved."¹⁴⁶³ LXX 10:1-18, thus, demonstrates a propensity to eliminate the human elements of MT's verbal actions in the Hebrew text for a greater focus on the idols

¹⁴⁵⁰ Saley, "Reconstructing," 5.

¹⁴⁵¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 228.

¹⁴⁵² NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁵³ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59; and NETS, 891.

¹⁴⁵⁴ HALOT II:1771; and CHAL, 393.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 113.

¹⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹⁴⁵⁹ NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁶⁰ NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁶¹ E.g. note that ἐστερέωσαν αὐτὰ "they fastened them" renders MT 10:4b's מְשִׁחֵם "they fasten them" (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322).

¹⁴⁶² Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322.

¹⁴⁶³ NETS, 890.

as objects which are passively acted upon and even, apparently, addressed in LXX 10:11.¹⁴⁶⁴

MT 10:4b בַּמִּסְמָרוֹת וּבַמַּקְבֵּוֹת יִחַקְנוּם

LXX 10:4b ἐν σφύραις καὶ ἥλοις ἐστερέωσαν αὐτά

The phrase ἐν σφύραις καὶ ἥλοις “with hammers and nails”¹⁴⁶⁵ contains two datives of “means” or “instrument”¹⁴⁶⁶ which link with ἐστερέωσαν “they fastened.”¹⁴⁶⁷ The preposition ἐν “in”¹⁴⁶⁸ is the most common in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁴⁶⁹ who usually renders בַּ “in”¹⁴⁷⁰ with ἐν.¹⁴⁷¹ The preposition בַּ “with”¹⁴⁷² can be rendered a variety of ways,¹⁴⁷³ but LXX 10:4b’s context of the instrumental use¹⁴⁷⁴ would imply the ἐν “in”¹⁴⁷⁵ and בַּ correspondence. Greek σφῦρα “hammer”¹⁴⁷⁶ occurs twice in LXX Jeremiah and also renders LXX 27:23’s פַּטִּישׁ “blacksmith’s hammer.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Hebrew מִסְמָר “nail”¹⁴⁷⁸ and

¹⁴⁶⁴ Or the demons behind the facade of the pagan deities, if one accepts Duhm’s *Bannformel* perspective of LXX Jer 10:11.

¹⁴⁶⁵ NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Martin, *Syntax*, 134-35.

¹⁴⁶⁷ NETS, 890.

¹⁴⁶⁸ GELSM, 231-33.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Martin, *Syntax*, 207.

¹⁴⁷⁰ HALOT I:103-05.

¹⁴⁷¹ GHB, 223-25.

¹⁴⁷² HALOT I:103-05.

¹⁴⁷³ For example, one sees πρό “before” (GELSM, 583) in LXX 1:5 and LXX 13:16 for the expression of בַּ with לְפָנַי “before” (HALOT I:379-80). Elsewhere, the reader encounters ἐκ “from” (GELSM, 201-03) for בַּ in LXX 2:11, or ἐπί “above” (GELSM, 263-67) in 3:16, or εἰς “towards” (GELSM, 196-97) in 3:19, or διὰ “through” (GELSM, 147-48) in 3:23, and even μετά “with” (GELSM, 451-53) in 4:2 for the expression of בַּ with אֱמֶת “truth” (HALOT I: 68-69). Alternatively, one might also find κατὰ “concerning” (GELSM, 364-67) for בַּ (LXX 5:24) as well. However, ἐν “in” (GELSM, 231-33) renders בַּ in LXX 9:26; 10:12, 13, 14, 15, and 17, so as to demonstrate a translation technique or rendition pattern for LXX 10:1-18’s context.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Martin, *Syntax*, 220-22. Or a context of “manner” for ἐν “in” (ibid., 218-19).

¹⁴⁷⁵ GELSM, 231-33.

¹⁴⁷⁶ GELSM, 666.

¹⁴⁷⁷ HALOT II:924; and CHAL, 291.

¹⁴⁷⁸ HALOT I:606; and CHAL, 203.

מַקְבֵּת “hammer”¹⁴⁷⁹ both only occur once in MT Jeremiah. Greek ἦλος “nail”¹⁴⁸⁰ is, likewise, a *Hapax Legomenon* in Jeremiah. Thus, assuming these correspondences, one discovers a reverse order given in LXX Jeremiah of “hammers and nails” as opposed to the MT order of “nails and hammers.”

The apparent change of order from MT to that of LXX reflects LXX Isa 41:7’s “hammer and nails” flow of thought in its similar context to that of LXX Jer 10:4b. With the discovery of the LXX order at Qumran and the following וּבַמַּסְמְרוֹת “and with nails” reconstructed for 4Q71,¹⁴⁸¹ one can no longer seriously doubt that the same order did not exist in the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, only 4Q71 contains the LXX order in all the Qumran manuscripts of Jeremiah.¹⁴⁸²

One may ask why LXX and 4Q71 display their different sequences from that of MT and if their flow of thought is a more original order to that of MT. The Hebrew Bible does not contain any exact lexical parallels for either MT or LXX 10:4b’s sequence. Jael, for example, takes a פִּתְּךָ “peg”¹⁴⁸³ and then takes her hammer (Judg 4:21). However, the term מַקְבֵּת “hammer”¹⁴⁸⁴ can occur first in a list of tools, as in the order of 1 Kgs 6:7. Yet, it is difficult to discover a trend or pattern of sequence in the Second Temple Period literature.¹⁴⁸⁵

The LXX word order of 10:4b may possibly be the earlier textual sequence. However, it is difficult to explain why a later scribe would change the LXX order to that of the MT order, since it seems more unnatural. Perhaps the poetic meter and acoustic alliteration would explain the more original sequence, yet this is uncertain. Yet, given the

¹⁴⁷⁹ HALOT I:625; and CHAL, 211.

¹⁴⁸⁰ GELSM, 319.

¹⁴⁸¹ Tov, DJD XV, 171-76.

¹⁴⁸² HUBP, 56. Both 4Q70 and 4Q72 lack the textual readings.

¹⁴⁸³ HALOT I:450-51; and CHAL, 148.

¹⁴⁸⁴ HALOT I:625; and CHAL, 211.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Perhaps a comprehensive study of all Second Temple Period Jewish and Greek literature would help establish a trend of usage when one references a list of craftsman’s tools. Such a study could shed light on the more original order of the tool’s list, yet I have not been able to conduct such an analysis.

propensity of the letter *Mem* within MT 10:4-16's hymn, perhaps נִסְמָר “nail”¹⁴⁸⁶ comes first in sequence for the sake of its memation pattern (i.e. double memation). Thus, MT 10:4b's double memation of נִסְמָר “nail” helps initiate the hearer's ear to the hymn's phonetic *Mem* letter sounds within the context's alliterative poetry.

As for στερεόω “to make firm, solid,”¹⁴⁸⁷ in LXX 10:4b, it occurs thrice in LXX Jeremiah¹⁴⁸⁸ and always translates a form of קָזַח “to be strong,”¹⁴⁸⁹ as it does in LXX 10:4b's case. Greek στερεόω “to make firm” renders the *Qal* stem of קָזַח in LXX 52:6, but also the *Piel* stem (LXX 5:3 and 10:4), which is otherwise rendered with ἀντιλαμβάνομαι “to lay hold of”¹⁴⁹⁰ in 23:14.¹⁴⁹¹ The root קָזַח “to be strong” can be rendered in various ways in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁴⁹² The most frequent stem of קָזַח is that of *Hiphil*, which occurs in 10 of 19 instances of MT Jeremiah. The most common equivalents of *Hiphil* קָזַח are ἐπιλαμβάνομαι “to seize”¹⁴⁹³ (twice) and κατακρατέω “to hold on to”¹⁴⁹⁴ (twice). However, despite such variation of renditions for קָזַח “to be strong” in LXX Jeremiah, there is no doubt as to its correspondence with the verb στερεόω “to make firm” here in LXX 10:4b. *Codex Vaticanus*,¹⁴⁹⁵ in the case of both LXX Isaiah 41:7 and LXX Jer 10:4b, repeats the objective pronoun αὐτὰ “them” and adds the clause θήσουσιν αὐτὰ “they will set them up.”¹⁴⁹⁶ Ziegler was correct, no doubt, to remove θήσουσιν αὐτὰ from LXX Jer 10:4b,¹⁴⁹⁷

¹⁴⁸⁶ HALOT I:606; and CHAL, 203.

¹⁴⁸⁷ GELSM, 635.

¹⁴⁸⁸ LXX 5:3; 10:4b; and 52:6.

¹⁴⁸⁹ HALOT I:302-04; and CHAL, 99-100.

¹⁴⁹⁰ GELSM, 59.

¹⁴⁹¹ The verb occurs only once in LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁴⁹² There are four adjectives and 15 verbs. Cf. MT 5:3; 6:23; 6:24; 8:5; 8:21; 10:4; 20:7; 23:14; MT 31:32; 49:24; 50:33; 50:42; 50:43; 51:12; and MT 52:6. The four adjective equivalents include: κραταίος “possessed with might” (GELSM, 410; cf. LXX 21:5 and LXX 39:21); στερεός “strong” (GELSM, 635; cf. LXX 38:11); and ἰσχυρός “strong” (GELSM, 344-45; cf. LXX 27:34).

¹⁴⁹³ GELSM, 275.

¹⁴⁹⁴ GELSM, 374.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 200; and Walser, *Jeremiah*, 58.

¹⁴⁹⁶ NETS, 855.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 200.

since it is borrowed from LXX Isaiah and is an attempt to elaborate the action of the craftsman when affixing the idol on its stand (LXX Jer 10:4bc).

MT 10:4c: וְלֹא יִפֹּק:

LXX 10:4c καὶ οὐ κινηθήσονται

The equivalence of לֹא “not”¹⁴⁹⁸ with οὐ “not”¹⁴⁹⁹ (and its variation οὐκ or οὐχ) is, of course, very strong¹⁵⁰⁰ and presents no problems. Likewise, there is little doubt of the correspondence of κινέω “to move”¹⁵⁰¹ with the root פִּוֶּק “to wobble”¹⁵⁰² in LXX 10:4c. However, LXX has switched to the plural number in his rendition for the sake of the immediate context and the implied plural subject matter of the previous clauses (MT 10:4ab). Greek κινέω “to move” occurs only four times¹⁵⁰³ in LXX Jeremiah. Elsewhere it renders נָע “to shake”¹⁵⁰⁴ in 14:10 and נָו “to sway”¹⁵⁰⁵ (LXX 18:16 and 31:17), which has much variety of rendition from the perspective of the MT side.¹⁵⁰⁶ LXX 10:4c’s κινέω “to move” might contain an intertextual link to Ep Jer 26’s κινέω instance within a similar context.¹⁵⁰⁷

¹⁴⁹⁸ HALOT I:511-12.

¹⁴⁹⁹ GELSM, 511-12.

¹⁵⁰⁰ GELSM, 459.

¹⁵⁰¹ GELSM, 397-98.

¹⁵⁰² CHAL, 290; and HALOT II:919-20.

¹⁵⁰³ Cf. LXX 10:4; 14:10; 18:16; and LXX 31:17 (MT 48:17).

¹⁵⁰⁴ CHAL, 231-32; HALOT I:681-82.

¹⁵⁰⁵ There is significant variation in meaning between the stems of נָו “to sway” (HALOT I:678). For example, in the *Qal* stem, the verb has the significance of “to sway” or “to be aimless,” or “to indicate cooperation with someone, to show sympathy” (ibid.). Yet, in the *Hiphil* stem, the verb means “to make homeless,” and, in the *Hithpolel* stem, it has the meaning of “to sway backwards and forwards” (ibid.).

¹⁵⁰⁶ נָו “to sway” occurs eleven times in MT Jeremiah, with κινέω “to move” being the most common rendition, along with two non-renditions in MT 49:30 and MT 50:3 (cf. LXX 30:8 [Rahlfs 30:25] and LXX 27:3 respectively).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 498. The possible verbal link is also noted by Benjamin D. Thomas. Cf. idem, “Reevaluating the Influence of Jeremiah 10 upon the Apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah: A Case for the Short Edition,” *ZAW* 120, no. 4 (2008), 554.

MT 10:5αβ וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ מִקְשָׁה הַמָּה וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ

LXX 10:5a ἀργύριον τορευτόν ἐστὶν οὐ πορεύσσεται

Although Frederick Field did not posit that וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ מִקְשָׁה הַמָּה “They are like a scarecrow in a cucumberfield and cannot speak”¹⁵⁰⁸ was translated in LXX 10:5a,¹⁵⁰⁹ evidence suggests otherwise. Greek ἀργύριον “silver”¹⁵¹⁰ always connotes metallic silver, while τορευτός “chased”¹⁵¹¹ does not occur anywhere else in LXX Jeremiah. Greek τορευτός “chased”¹⁵¹² usually renders מִקְשָׁה “hammered work,”¹⁵¹³ although the lexical root elsewhere probably differs from MT 10:5α’s instance.¹⁵¹⁴ Thus, Tov describes ἀργύριον τορευτόν “wrought silver”¹⁵¹⁵ as a “pseudo-variant,”¹⁵¹⁶ since the Hebrew *Vorlage* probably did not differ from MT at this point, but LXX Jeremiah created the variant while in the translation process. For Tov, pseudo-variants are “non-variants insofar as the retroverted readings presumably were not found in the translator’s *Vorlage*, but existed only in his *mind*.”¹⁵¹⁷

It is possible that LXX Jeremiah understood MT 10:5α’s text to read כְּתָם “gold,”¹⁵¹⁸ or a mistaken equivalent for the metallic silver, as in LXX Lam 4:1’s rendition of ἀργύριον “silver” for כְּתָם¹⁵¹⁹ “gold.” The lexeme תְּמָר “palm”¹⁵²⁰ only occurs once in

¹⁵⁰⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Idem, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II:597. Field labels the clause as “Vacat” (ibid.)

¹⁵¹⁰ GELSM, 89-90.

¹⁵¹¹ GELSM, 684.

¹⁵¹² GELSM, 684.

¹⁵¹³ CHAL, 213; HALOT I:629. E.g. cf. LXX Ex 25:18, 31, and 36 (Rahlfs). Also, cf. HR II:1367.

¹⁵¹⁴ HALOT I:629 places two lexical root entries for מִקְשָׁה as apparent homonyms with distinct roots.

¹⁵¹⁵ NETS, 890.

¹⁵¹⁶ Idem, *Text-Critical Use*, 162-67. Tov notes that “the scholar’s intuition alone may induce him to describe the deviation as a pseudo-variant” (ibid., 167).

¹⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 162.

¹⁵¹⁸ CHAL, 167; and HALOT I:505.

¹⁵¹⁹ Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 167.

¹⁵²⁰ HALOT II:1757. HALOT wishes to connect MT Jer 10:5α’s תְּמָר with the similar root noun of תְּמָר “date palm” (ibid., 1756-57). Thomas notes that תְּמָר “date palm” is always rendered with φοῖνιξ “date-palm” in the LXX corpus (Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 558). GELSM, 719 defines φοῖνιξ as a “date-palm.”

the Hebrew Bible (Judg 4:5),¹⁵²¹ where it proves difficult also there for the LXX translator.¹⁵²² Tov's "pseudo-variant"¹⁵²³ hypothesis does not explain how LXX Jeremiah understood final *Resh* of תְּמָר "palm"¹⁵²⁴ along with מִקְשָׁה¹⁵²⁵ "field of cucumbers."¹⁵²⁶ Perhaps LXX Jeremiah here also interpreted מִקְשָׁה "wrought metal"¹⁵²⁷ as it is found in various other metalurgical passages.¹⁵²⁸ The LXX interpretation of מִקְשָׁה "field of cucumbers."¹⁵²⁹ connotes a sense of immovability or fixedness, as is also claimed by modern scholarship.¹⁵³⁰ Yet, the traditional understanding of מִקְשָׁה as a "cucumber field"¹⁵³¹ seems legitimate, especially in light of the intended contrast with MT 10:5אβ's וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ "[they] cannot speak."¹⁵³² The lack of the idol's speech, or its dumbness, finds a fitting comparison with MT 10:5אα's scarecrow, who cannot utter any sound like a human's mouth would be able to do.¹⁵³³ Similarly, Ep Jer 69 understood כְּתִמָּר מִקְשָׁה

¹⁵²¹ Judg 4:5 describes a location with a "palm of Deborah." The similar root תְּמָר is always rendered with φοῖνιξ or a date-palm (Thomas, "Reevaluating," 558; and HALOT II:1756-57).

¹⁵²² Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 167.

¹⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 162-67.

¹⁵²⁴ HALOT II:1757.

¹⁵²⁵ HUBP, 56 suggests the LXX *Vorlage* reading of כֶּתֶם "gold" without the the final *Resh*, as in LXX Lam 4:1 and its erroneous translation of ἀργύριον "silver" (GELSM, 89-90; cf. LXX Lam 4:1). For similar notions, cf. HALOT II:1757 and Thomas, "Reevaluating," 557. However, LXX Job 28:19 and LXX Song 5:11 have relatively good renditions in contrast to that of LXX Lam 4:1.

¹⁵²⁶ HALOT I:629. HALOT gives מִקְשָׁה of Isa 1:8 and MT Jer 10:5 as containing a second lexical root form ("field of cucumbers") that differs from that of the first lexical root meaning that is found, for example, in Ex 25:18, 31, and 36 (*ibid.*).

¹⁵²⁷ HALOT I:629; and II:1757.

¹⁵²⁸ Ex 25:18, 31, 36; 37:7, 17, 22; Num 8:4; 10:2; Is 1:8; 3:24; and MT Jer 10:5.

¹⁵²⁹ HALOT I:629.

¹⁵³⁰ Ferdinand E. Deist, "Zu כְּתִמָּר מִקְשָׁה in Jer 10:5," ZAW 85 (1973), 225-226; Gillis Gerleman, "Der Sinnbereich 'fest-los(e)' im Hebraischen," ZAW 92 (1980), 404-415; and HALOT II:1151-52 and I:629.

¹⁵³¹ Or "melon field" or a "garden patch" (HALOT II:1757). Ziony Zevit notes that מִקְשָׁה "refers to an agricultural plot of land, cf. Isa. 1:8 where it parallels כְּרֶם, vineyard. The connection to cucumbers... (Num. 11:5 and in dialects of later Hebrew) is natural." Cf. *idem*, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallaxic Approaches* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 545 note 106.

¹⁵³² Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵³³ E.g. cf. Psalm 115:5; 135:16; and Hab 2:18.

“like a scarecrow in a cucumberfield”¹⁵³⁴ of MT 10:5aα to have the Greek parallel sense of ἐν σικυηράτῳ προβασκάνιον¹⁵³⁵ “a scarecrow in a cucumberfield.”¹⁵³⁶

Both Ps 115:5 and Ps 135:16 describe the idols as having a lack of speech as in MT Jer 10:5aβ, which would suggest that the scarecrow imagery for the idol would better fit a persona which cannot articulate a threatening noise which might frighten others away.

Thus, MT 10:5aα’s speechless figure of כְּתֹמֶר מִקְשָׁה “like a scarecrow in a cucumberfield”¹⁵³⁷ existed in both the LXX *Vorlage* and Ep Jer’s Hebrew text,¹⁵³⁸ despite variance from MT Jeremiah’s original significance. It is important to keep in mind that LXX Jeremiah renders MT 10:9a’s כֶּסֶף מְרֻקָּע “beaten silver”¹⁵³⁹ with LXX 10:9a’s ἀργύριον προσβλητὸν “beaten silver.”¹⁵⁴⁰ Thus, perhaps LXX 10:5a was rendered into Greek with a similar meaning to that which was given to 10:9a,¹⁵⁴¹ due to the contextual link created originally by HRLXXJ between the clauses of LXX 10:5a and 9a.

LXX 10:5a’s ἐστιν “is”¹⁵⁴² renders the הֵמָּה “they”¹⁵⁴³ pronoun in the customary manner for the Hebrew independent pronouns. However, it is unusual for πορεύομαι “to

¹⁵³⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵³⁵ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 504. C. J. Ball claims that “προβασκάνιον is an amulet or safeguard against witchcraft, such as according to Plutarch, workmen hung up before their shops.” Cf. idem, “Epistle of Jeremy,” in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. Robert Henry Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 1:610. However, GELSM provides the definition of a “scarecrow in a cucumberfield,” which seems preferable to me as well (GELSM, 584).

¹⁵³⁶ NETS, 945.

¹⁵³⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵³⁸ Thus, I agree with the contention of Thomas that both Ep Jer and LXX Jeremiah could have had the same Hebrew text of MT 10:5aαβ. Thomas notes that “one may observe how the translators of both G [LXX Jeremiah] and EpJer produced varying translations and, thence, unique interpretations of the short edition of Jer 10” (Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 560).

¹⁵³⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵⁴⁰ NETS, 890.

¹⁵⁴¹ Thomas posits concerning LXX 10:5a’s rendition that perhaps LXX Jeremiah “was interpreting on the basis of parallelism with the metaphor of “hammered silver” in 10,9. This may be owing to fact [sic] that the metaphor is positioned nearer to the ‘scarecrow’ idiom in both [LXX Jeremiah] and 4QJer^b: v. 9 follows immediately upon v. 5a” (ibid., 557).

¹⁵⁴² GELSM, 193-94.

¹⁵⁴³ HALOT I:250.

march”¹⁵⁴⁴ to render רַבַּר “to speak,”¹⁵⁴⁵ as is the case here. Normally, one finds that λαλέω “to speak”¹⁵⁴⁶ usually renders רַבַּר “to speak” (cf. LXX 10:1b).¹⁵⁴⁷ Greek πορεύομαι “to march”¹⁵⁴⁸ most often renders הִלֵּךְ “to go, walk”¹⁵⁴⁹ (52 of 57).¹⁵⁵⁰ LXX Jeremiah’s πορεύομαι “to march” corresponds to verbs of movement in two of the five exceptions to הִלֵּךְ “to walk” (14:18 and 22:1), which would support the usual translation technique.

On the MT side, one finds the same equivalence majority (52 of 116), but with 64 exceptions. Yet, most exceptions are equivalences with verbs of motion, such as βαδίζω “to walk”¹⁵⁵¹ (18 instances), οἴχομαι “to disappear”¹⁵⁵² (9 instances), and ἀπέρχομαι “to depart”¹⁵⁵³ (6 instances).¹⁵⁵⁴ However, LXX 10:5a’s πορεύσονται “they will not walk”¹⁵⁵⁵ does not imply an equivalence with MT 10:5aβ’s הִלֵּךְ “to walk,”¹⁵⁵⁶ since external considerations must come into play. The translator has misunderstood כְּתִמָּר מִקְשָׁה “like a scarecrow in a cucumberfield”¹⁵⁵⁷ just earlier, so that such an error probably led to another misunderstanding by the translator. Jan Joosten has argued that a LXX translator may sometimes render unconsciously from his spoken language (i.e. Aramaic),¹⁵⁵⁸ although the rendition is a deliberate choice derived from the LXX *Vorlage*. LXX 10:5a’s πορεύσονται “they will not walk”¹⁵⁵⁹ probably betrays the spoken Aramaic of the translator.

¹⁵⁴⁴ GELSM, 577-78.

¹⁵⁴⁵ HALOT I:210-11.

¹⁵⁴⁶ GELSM, 422-23.

¹⁵⁴⁷ HR II:845-46.

¹⁵⁴⁸ GELSM, 577-78.

¹⁵⁴⁹ HALOT I:246-48.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Exceptions include: LXX 2:20; 14:18; LXX 22:1; 23:17 (2nd [Rahlf’s]); and LXX 10:5a.

¹⁵⁵¹ GELSM, 111.

¹⁵⁵² GELSM, 491.

¹⁵⁵³ GELSM, 68.

¹⁵⁵⁴ There are 12 minuses or non-renditions in LXX.

¹⁵⁵⁵ NETS, 890.

¹⁵⁵⁶ HALOT I:246-48.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Idem, CSS, 53-66; Likewise, also cf. Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 78 and 109-10; and Scholz, *Masorethische Text*, 14.

¹⁵⁵⁹ NETS, 890.

Aramaic influenced renditions occur throughout the LXX corpus,¹⁵⁶⁰ so that πορεύονται “they will not walk”¹⁵⁶¹ is a legitimate rendition from the perspective of Aramaic semantics,¹⁵⁶² since the verb **דברא** has the sense of to “drive” or a “way of moving.”¹⁵⁶³ One easily finds other examples of LXX Jeremiah reading MT Hebrew with an Aramaic sense,¹⁵⁶⁴ as well as the LXX Aramaic loanword for “idol” (παταχρον) in LXX Isa 8:21 and 37:38.¹⁵⁶⁵ Thus, one may easily explain the Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew **דבר** “to speak”¹⁵⁶⁶ with πορεύομαι “to march”¹⁵⁶⁷ in LXX 10:5a as a further example of Aramaic being the “default mode” of LXX Jeremiah.¹⁵⁶⁸ Thus, LXX 10:5a’s **דבר** rendition gives further evidence of probable influence from the Aramaic language on LXX Jeremiah’s vocabulary. Moreover, Ep Jer 7 and 40 imply MT 10:5aβ’s **דבר** “to speak”¹⁵⁶⁹ in the locutionary sense of the verbal root,¹⁵⁷⁰ since LXX 10:5a’s Hebrew *Vorlage* was presumably the same text¹⁵⁷¹ as that of MT 10:5aαβ throughout.¹⁵⁷² However, it is quite

¹⁵⁶⁰ Joosten, CSS, 211-23; and Tov, *Text–Critical Use*, 24, 77, 78, and 179-80.

¹⁵⁶¹ NETS, 890.

¹⁵⁶² Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 559. Thomas says this is also true of the Arabic and Akkadian roots as well (ibid., 559-60). Hoftijzer and Jogeling note that the root **dbṛ**₁ signifies “to speak, to say” in the Hebrew *Piel* stem, while the root **dbṛ**₂ in the Official Aramaic *Pael* stem means “to lead, to direct.” Cf. idem, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Handbook of Oriental Studies; Section 1, The Near and Middle East 21; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1:238-39. Also cf. Syriac **דבר** in: Robert Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (ed. J. Payne Smith; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 82-83.

¹⁵⁶³ Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature: With an Index of Scriptural Quotations* (New York: Judaica Press, 1989), 279.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Tov, *Text–Critical Use*, 78 and 109-10; GHB, 96 and 177-78; Scholz, *Masorethische Text*, 14; and Joosten, CSS, 55-56.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Joosten, CSS, 214-15.

¹⁵⁶⁶ HALOT I:210-11.

¹⁵⁶⁷ GELSM, 577-78.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Joosten, CSS, 221.

¹⁵⁶⁹ HALOT I:210-11.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 495. Reinhard G. Kratz argues that verse 5 gave structure and inspiration to Ep Jer. Cf. idem, “Die Rezeption von Jer. 10 und 29 im pseudepigraphen Brief des Jeremia,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Tempels, Kleine Schriften I* (2d ed.; FAT 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 321-26.

¹⁵⁷¹ Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 547-62.

¹⁵⁷² This is to say, the Epistle of Jeremiah and LXX Jeremiah reflect different renditions or interpretations of LXX 10:5a’s Hebrew *Vorlage* text at this point.

possible that HRLXXJ replaced MT 10:5a's complicated כְּתֹמֶר “like a scarecrow”¹⁵⁷³ phrase with the simpler כֶּסֶף “silver”¹⁵⁷⁴ (cf. MT and LXX 10:9a as analyzed below).

MT 10:9a כֶּסֶף מִרְקָע מִתְרִשִׁי יוֹבָא

LXX 10:9a ἀργύριον προσβλητὸν ἀπὸ Θαρσις ἦξει

The reader is struck by the fact that LXX 10:9a immediately follows LXX 10:5a, which represents a break in the flow of thought between the clauses of MT 10:5aαβ and 5aγδ. Assuming MT priority, one may surmise that the LXX *Vorlage* transposed proto-MT material in its textual transmission history, so that MT 10:9's similar thematic content was placed after MT 10:5aαβ in HRLXXJ's redactional editing process. The flow of thought from LXX 10:5a's ἀργύριον “silver”¹⁵⁷⁵ to the following ἀργύριον of 10:9a seems straightforward and obvious, as it must represent a later text form variation in its logical order. The correspondence of כֶּסֶף “silver”¹⁵⁷⁶ with ἀργύριον “silver”¹⁵⁷⁷ seems quite clear. Greek προσβλητὸν “beaten”¹⁵⁷⁸ represents an attempt to render מִרְקָע “beaten out,”¹⁵⁷⁹ which is the only biblical occurrence of *Pual* רָקַע “to trample.”¹⁵⁸⁰ Likewise, the adjective προσβλητός “beaten”¹⁵⁸¹ is a *Hapax Legomenon* in the LXX literature.¹⁵⁸²

The preposition ἀπὸ “from”¹⁵⁸³ is the most common rendition of מִן “from”¹⁵⁸⁴ in MT Jeremiah.¹⁵⁸⁵ Greek Θαρσις “Tharsis”¹⁵⁸⁶ represents a transcribed place name

¹⁵⁷³ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵⁷⁴ HALOT I:490-91.

¹⁵⁷⁵ GELSM, 89-90.

¹⁵⁷⁶ HALOT I:490-91.

¹⁵⁷⁷ GELSM, 89-90.

¹⁵⁷⁸ GELSM, 592.

¹⁵⁷⁹ HALOT II:1291-92.

¹⁵⁸⁰ HALOT II:1291-92.

¹⁵⁸¹ GELSM, 592.

¹⁵⁸² HR II:1212 (cf. Rahlfs' text).

¹⁵⁸³ GELSM, 69-71.

¹⁵⁸⁴ HALOT I:597-99.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Martin, *Syntax*, 173-186. This would be an example of the local sense (*ibid.*, 173-74).

¹⁵⁸⁶ NETS, 890.

“Tarshish,”¹⁵⁸⁷ which might be located near modern Tarsus in southern Turkey, the ancient Persian capital of Cilicia.¹⁵⁸⁸ The verb ἔξει “will come”¹⁵⁸⁹ (from ἔκω “to have come”¹⁵⁹⁰) renders MT 10:9a’s *Hophal* imperfect יִבֹּא “is brought.”¹⁵⁹¹ LXX Jeremiah’s ἔκω “to have come” translates a form of בוא “to come”¹⁵⁹² in 31 of 37 instances.¹⁵⁹³ However, ἔκω does not represent the most common equivalence for בוא from the MT side. The similar verbs ἔρχομαι “to come”¹⁵⁹⁴ (59 of 213) and εἰσέρχομαι “to enter”¹⁵⁹⁵ (35 of 213) are the most common correspondence to בוא “to come”¹⁵⁹⁶ in MT Jeremiah. In summary, LXX 10:9a renders straightforwardly MT 10:9a’s Hebrew text as the received *Vorlage* from the editorial work of HRLXXJ.

MT 10:9bc וְזָהָב מֵאַרְפָּז מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ וַיְרִי צֹרֶף

LXX 10:9b χρυσίου Μωφᾶζ καὶ χεῖρ χρυσοχόων

Clearly χρυσίου “gold”¹⁵⁹⁷ renders זָהָב “gold”¹⁵⁹⁸ in LXX 10:4a,¹⁵⁹⁹ as it also does here in LXX 10:9b. However, MT 10:9a’s מִן “from”¹⁶⁰⁰ in the phrase מֵאַרְפָּז “from

¹⁵⁸⁷ HALOT II:1797-98.

¹⁵⁸⁸ André Lemaire, “Tarshish-Tarsisi: Problem de Topographie Historique Biblique et Assyrienne,” in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography Presented to Zecharia Kallai* (ed. Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld; SVT 81; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 47-62; and Amphoux et al., “Jr 10,1-10,” 6. It is interesting to note that John Day has argued against some of the assumptions of Lemaire, while maintaining a more prominent view that Tarshish was in modern Spain. Cf. idem, “Where was Tarshish?” in *Let us go up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H.G.M. Williamson on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. Ian Provain and Mark J. Boda; SVT 153; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 359-69.

¹⁵⁸⁹ NETS, 890.

¹⁵⁹⁰ GELSM, 319.

¹⁵⁹¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁵⁹² HALOT I:112-14.

¹⁵⁹³ HR I:605.

¹⁵⁹⁴ GELSM, 292-93.

¹⁵⁹⁵ GELSM, 199-200.

¹⁵⁹⁶ HALOT I:112-14.

¹⁵⁹⁷ GELSM, 738.

¹⁵⁹⁸ HALOT I:265.

¹⁵⁹⁹ This form of χρυσίου “gold” only occurs twice in LXX 10:4 and 10:9.

¹⁶⁰⁰ HALOT I:597-99.

Uphaz”¹⁶⁰¹ has no exact LXX equivalent. Yet, the letter *Mu* in Μωφᾶζ “Mophas”¹⁶⁰² surely implies the MT Hebrew preposition¹⁶⁰³ מִן “from.”¹⁶⁰⁴ This can be demonstrated from comparison with MT 1 Kgs 10:18’s rendition of מִן זָהָב מְיֻשָּׁר “with fine¹⁶⁰⁵ gold” by the Greek χρυσίω δοκίμω (Rahlfs) “with gold tested.”¹⁶⁰⁶

LXX Jeremiah understood a toponym in the phrase מִן אֹפֶז “from Uphaz”¹⁶⁰⁷ and demonstrates that he did not recognize its geographical designation. Similarly, many transliterated proper names in the LXX corpus leave out the letters representing “the conjunctive waw and the prefixed prepositions.”¹⁶⁰⁸ The syntax of χρυσίου Μωφᾶζ “gold of Mophas”¹⁶⁰⁹ in the Greek may seem awkward, although Greek toponyms usually are not declined into the various cases, as in the assumed genitive case here in LXX 10:9b. One notes that מִן אֹפֶז וְזָהָב “and gold from Uphaz”¹⁶¹⁰ becomes reduced simply to χρυσίου Μωφᾶζ “gold of Mophas”¹⁶¹¹ and could reflect the fact that LXX Jeremiah understood a Hebrew construct state relationship to be behind the phrase. Like Tarshish, there is some debate on the topographical location of Uphaz.¹⁶¹² Although many wish to follow the Syriac *Peshitta* and read “Ophir” here,¹⁶¹³ Barthélemy has objected this popular temptation to emend the MT textual reading.¹⁶¹⁴

¹⁶⁰¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁰² NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁰³ The lack of a preposition, as in this use of the genitive case, is very classical in contrast to an usage of a Greek preposition (Martin, *Syntax*, 179 and 182).

¹⁶⁰⁴ HALOT I:597-99.

¹⁶⁰⁵ HALOT II:921.

¹⁶⁰⁶ GELSM, 174.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Tov, GHB, 176.

¹⁶⁰⁹ NETS, 891.

¹⁶¹⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶¹¹ NETS, 891.

¹⁶¹² Mitchell Dahood has argued against an identification with Ophir. Rather, he contends for the location to be within modern day Ghana of West Africa. Cf. idem, “Egyptian ‘IW, ‘Island’ in Jeremiah 10,9 and Daniel 10,5,” in *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica* (ed. Pelio Fronzaroli; QS 5; Firenze: Università di Firenze, 1978), 101-03.

¹⁶¹³ Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:544.

¹⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

One cannot assume a direct link of מַעֲשֵׂה הַרְשָׁה “the work of a craftsman”¹⁶¹⁵ with χεῖρ χρυσοχόων “a hand of goldsmiths”¹⁶¹⁶ (cf. above). Rather, MT 10:9c’s מַעֲשֵׂה הַרְשָׁה “the work of a craftsman”¹⁶¹⁷ does not seem to be translated by LXX 10:9b. One can demonstrate its lack of rendition in LXX 10:9b, since one would assume either the adjective τέκτων “carpenter”¹⁶¹⁸ (cf. LXX 10:3c) or τεχνίτης¹⁶¹⁹ “artisan.”¹⁶²⁰ Moreover, clearly χεῖρ “hand”¹⁶²¹ corresponds with MT 10:9c’s יָדַי “and the hands of,” while the noun הַרְשָׁה “craftsman”¹⁶²² never becomes χρυσοχόος “goldsmith.”¹⁶²³ Some¹⁶²⁴ posit a reconstruction of וַיְדַ צוֹרְפִים “and the hand of smelters”¹⁶²⁵ for χεῖρ χρυσοχόων “a hand of goldsmiths”¹⁶²⁶ similar to the 4Q71 reconstruction of וַיְדַ צוֹרְפֵי “and the handiwork of a refiner”¹⁶²⁷ by DJD XV.¹⁶²⁸ Thus, naturally one expects καὶ χεῖρ χρυσοχόων “and a hand of goldsmiths” to be the equivalent to MT 10:9’s וַיְדַ צוֹרְפֵי “and the hands of a smelter,” and this seems most probable since LXX 10:9c’s ἔργα τεχνιτῶν probably corresponds to מַעֲשֵׂה הַחֲמִים of MT 10:9e (cf. below). Moreover, LXX Jeremiah always translates the nominal form of צָרַף “to smelt”¹⁶²⁹ with χρυσοχόος¹⁶³⁰ “goldsmith.”¹⁶³¹ From a MT search of the צָרַף “to refine”¹⁶³² noun form, one finds that LXX Jeremiah associated צָרַף with a

¹⁶¹⁵ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶¹⁶ NETS, 891.

¹⁶¹⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶¹⁸ GELSM, 674.

¹⁶¹⁹ E.g. cf. LXX 10:9c; 24:1; and LXX 36:2.

¹⁶²⁰ GELSM, 677.

¹⁶²¹ HALOT I:386-88.

¹⁶²² HALOT I:358.

¹⁶²³ GELSM, 738; and GELSL, 669.

¹⁶²⁴ Workman, *Jeremiah*, 304; and Varughese, *Hebrew*, 59.

¹⁶²⁵ HALOT II:1057.

¹⁶²⁶ NETS, 891.

¹⁶²⁷ HALOT II:1057.

¹⁶²⁸ Tov, DJD XV, 174 and 176. Note the grammatical number of each noun.

¹⁶²⁹ HALOT II:1057.

¹⁶³⁰ LXX 10:9; 10:14; and LXX 28:17.

¹⁶³¹ GELSM, 738; and GELSL, 669.

¹⁶³² HALOT II:1057.

worker of metallic gold. The context of LXX 10:9 also suggests a link with the gold explicitly mentioned in 10:4a. Thus, MT 10:9c's phrase **מַעֲשֵׂה הַחָרָשׁ** "the work of a craftsman"¹⁶³³ was not rendered by LXX Jeremiah, and must have been skipped over originally by HRLXXJ in his editorial composition. In summary, LXX Jer 10:9bc probably obtained a shortened LXX *Vorlage* version of MT 10:9bc's Hebrew text through the editorial hands of HRLXXJ. However, this shortened LXX *Vorlage* Hebrew must have resembled 4Q71's reconstructed text.¹⁶³⁴

MT 10:9e **מַעֲשֵׂה חַכְמַיִם כְּלָם**

LXX 10:9c ἔργα τεχνιτῶν πάντα

Here one sees that LXX 10:9c's ἔργα τεχνιτῶν "works of craftsmen"¹⁶³⁵ implies in its Hebrew *Vorlage* text the phrase **מַעֲשֵׂה הַחָרָשׁ** "the work of a craftsman"¹⁶³⁶ found in MT 10:9c's clause. If this implication is in fact the reality of the textual situation, then one discovers further evidence of HRLXXJ's original desire to abbreviate the material of MT 10:1-10 so as to narrow the focus upon verse 10:11. Translation technique suggests that LXX Jeremiah rendered 10:3c's **חָרָשׁ** "craftsman,"¹⁶³⁷ while in LXX 10:9b it is lacking an equivalence. The rendition of τεχνίτης "artisan"¹⁶³⁸ in LXX 10:9c for the adjective **חָכְמַיִם** in MT 10:9e would fit LXX Jeremiah's general trend of rendering nominal **חָכְמַיִם** as a profession¹⁶³⁹ as in 4Q71.¹⁶⁴⁰ Greek πᾶς for **כָּל** "all"¹⁶⁴¹ is an obvious stereotyped rendition.¹⁶⁴²

¹⁶³³ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶³⁴ Tov, DJD XV, 174 and 176.

¹⁶³⁵ NETS, 891.

¹⁶³⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶³⁷ HALOT I:358.

¹⁶³⁸ GELSM, 677.

¹⁶³⁹ There are two minuses, six renditions of σοφός "wise" (GELSM, 629), and three translations of συνετός "intelligent" (GELSM, 656).

¹⁶⁴⁰ Tov, DJD XV, 174 and 176.

¹⁶⁴¹ CHAL, 156-57.

¹⁶⁴² HR II:1095-1097.

The LXX Hebrew *Vorlage* skipped over MT 10:9c's חֲרָשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה “the work of a craftsman,”¹⁶⁴³ while still retaining MT 10:9e's חֲכָמִים מַעֲשֵׂה “the work of wise men.”¹⁶⁴⁴ Reasons for such omission of material may be due to the fact that the phrases are practically synonymous and, perhaps, that חֲכָמִים מַעֲשֵׂה “the work of wise men” has the advantage of relating to the omitted MT minus material of 10:6-8. There may have also been the editorial desire to link the plural parallel of חֲכָמִים “wise men” with the plural adjective כֻּלָּם “all of them” in contrast to the previous singular notion.

The formation of the shortened clauses of LXX 10:9b and 9c in the Hebrew *Vorlage* must have been secondhand to that of MT 10:9's structure. The net result is that LXX 10:9c gives MT 10:9e's content earlier in the passage's flow of thought or logical structure and eliminates MT 10:9c's חֲרָשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה “the work of a craftsman.”¹⁶⁴⁵ Thus, MT 10:9 and LXX 10:9 have significant variations in their order, especially in regard to the clauses of LXX 10:9c and 9d (cf. MT 10:9c, 9d, and 9e). I would suggest that HRLXXJ looked forward in the proto-MT Hebrew *Vorlage* text of MT 10:9c, 9d, and 9e and saw justification to combine the thoughts of MT 10:9c and 9e into a unified textual concept within LXX 10:9c's step towards verse 10:11.

¹⁶⁴³ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

MT 10:9d תְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְגָּמָן לְבוּשָׁם

LXX 10:9d ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσουσιν αὐτά

LXX 10:9d translates MT 10:9d's תְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְגָּמָן “blue and purple”¹⁶⁴⁶ with the color¹⁶⁴⁷ equivalences of ὑάκινθος “blue-coloured”¹⁶⁴⁸ and πορφύρα¹⁶⁴⁹ “purple.”¹⁶⁵⁰ Athalya Brenner notes that the syntagm of אַרְגָּמָן “wool dyed with red purple”¹⁶⁵¹ and תְּכֵלֶת “a blueish purple wool”¹⁶⁵² “appear more often as a pair than as separate terms...” and are “signifiers for royal attire.”¹⁶⁵³ According to Brenner, תְּכֵלֶת refers to a “blue purple,”¹⁶⁵⁴ while אַרְגָּמָן indicates a “red purple.”¹⁶⁵⁵ The common word pair, thus, are translated approximately in their Greek equivalents, as is the case in this context of Jeremiah. Therefore, LXX 10:9d plainly had תְּכֵלֶת and אַרְגָּמָן in its *Vorlage* text and also must have had the same Hebrew content as that MT 10:9d throughout (cf. analysis below).

Greek ἐνδύσουσιν αὐτά “they will clothe them”¹⁶⁵⁶ seems to replace in its syntax the pronominal suffix construction of לְבוּשָׁם “their garment.”¹⁶⁵⁷ The verb ἐνδύω “to clothe”¹⁶⁵⁸ only occurs twice in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁶⁵⁹ with little variation.¹⁶⁶⁰ Hebrew לבש “to clothe”¹⁶⁶¹ also becomes περιβάλλω “to clothe.”¹⁶⁶² Without a doubt, MT 10:9d’s difficult

¹⁶⁴⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Cf. HR II:1379 for ὑάκινθος; and HR II:1195 for πορφύρα.

¹⁶⁴⁸ GELSM, 692.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Note that Ep Jer 71 has the color term as well, while Ep Jer 11 has the cognate form πορφυροῦν “purple-dyed” (GELSM, 579).

¹⁶⁵⁰ GELSM, 579.

¹⁶⁵¹ HALOT I:84.

¹⁶⁵² HALOT II:1732-33.

¹⁶⁵³ Idem, *Colour Terms in the Old Testament* (JSOTSS 21; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 146.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. 147-48.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 147.

¹⁶⁵⁶ NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁵⁷ HALOT I:516.

¹⁶⁵⁸ GELSM, 236.

¹⁶⁵⁹ LXX 10:9 and LXX 26:4.

¹⁶⁶⁰ MT 46:4 has לבש “to clothe” (HALOT I:519-20) in verb form.

¹⁶⁶¹ HALOT I:519-20.

¹⁶⁶² GELSM, 547. The only equivalence of LXX Jeremiah occurs in LXX 4:30.

Hebrew syntax of לְבוּשָׁם “their garment”¹⁶⁶³ underlies LXX 10:9d’s future active verb ἐνδύσουσιν “they will clothe.”¹⁶⁶⁴ The translator, no doubt, wished to convey a similar semantic notion to MT 10:9’s לְבוּשָׁם “their garment” for his Hellenistic readership. There is no doubt, however, that LXX 10:9d had the same Hebrew *Vorlage* text as that which is found in MT 10:9d.

MT 10:5אγδ נְשׂוּא יִנְשׂוּא כִּי לֹא יִצְעֲדוּ

LXX 10:5b αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιβήσονται

One sees that the LXX text form returns to the content of MT verse 10:5 (5אγδ), having finished his rendition of MT 10:9 with LXX 10:9d. Textual transposition occurs once again in LXX’s order of clauses at this point. Like the switch from LXX 10:5a to LXX 10:9a earlier, the transposition of MT 10:5אγδ after MT 10:9d most likely reflects the LXX *Vorlage*’s textual flow of thought that was originally done at HRLXXJ’s hand. LXX 10:5a, earlier in the context, leapt forward to LXX 10:9abcd’s description of the idols’ external accoutrements. However, LXX 10:5b, after the translation of MT 10:9’s material, now resumes with MT 10:5אγδ’s content equivalence.

With the conclusion of LXX 10:9abcd’s Hebrew content, HRLXXJ now completes his aniconic buildup towards verse 10:11 with LXX 10:5bc’s material. The textual transposition of MT 10:5אγδ and 5b after MT 10:9 by HRLXXJ was probably due to the desire to repeat LXX 10:5α’s fear prohibition (MT 10:5βα) and, like the Epistle of Jeremiah also,¹⁶⁶⁵ to give prominence to the message found primarily in LXX 10:5 and 9 (MT 10:5 and 9). LXX 10:5 has a very tight and logical flow of thought that causes no difficulties for the reader to follow, especially in regard to LXX 10:5’s logical enclosure of MT 10:9’s original content. The net result of reading LXX 10:9’s content within the structure of 10:5’s content is that LXX’s text form’s flow of thought remains unabatedly constant from LXX 10:3’s start until the final culmination of 10:5cγ as a continuous apt

¹⁶⁶³ HALOT I:516.

¹⁶⁶⁴ NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Ep Jer 14, 22, 28, 64, and 68 (Kratz, “Rezeption,” 321-26).

description of idols. Therefore, LXX 10:3-9-5c poignantly combine to depict idols as futile objects that are passively created by the nations.

Perhaps the greatest advantage to HRLXXJ's insertion of MT 10:9 into LXX 10:5 is that the author can terminate the pericope with the original admonition of 10:2c to "not fear" repeated in LXX 10:5α. There may also be the desire to allow easy transition from LXX 10:5γ's dative pronoun αὐτοῖς "them" to the following αὐτοῖς in LXX 10:11a.¹⁶⁶⁶ Whatever the case, HRLXXJ probably desired to avoid the content of MT 10:6-8 and 10, since it would not serve the focus on the aniconic paraenesis of LXX 10:11, as reflected in Targum Jonathan. However, Bernhard Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation represents a very pertinent explanation of the prominence of LXX 10:11 as a magical incantation against evil spirits.

Following MT 10:5aβ's telic *waw explicatum*¹⁶⁶⁷ וְלֹא "and cannot,"¹⁶⁶⁸ MT 10:5aγ's infinitive absolute construction of נִשְׂאוּ יְנִישׂוּ "they must even be carried"¹⁶⁶⁹ contains a *Qal* infinitive and a *Nifal* passive imperfect that both continue the distended description of MT 10:5aα's הִנֵּה "they" subject.¹⁶⁷⁰ LXX 10:5b's αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται "raised they will be carried"¹⁶⁷¹ utilizes a present middle participle with a future passive indicative verb to render the construction in the most Hebraic or literal manner.¹⁶⁷² On the Greek side, αἶρω "to carry"¹⁶⁷³ renders נִשָּׂא "to carry"¹⁶⁷⁴ most commonly (8 of 10 instances),¹⁶⁷⁵ which is

¹⁶⁶⁶ However, LXX 10:5γ and 10:11a's probable Hebrew *Vorlage* (HRLXXJ) do not possess the same obvious symmetry or parallelism in their content.

¹⁶⁶⁷ See also the telic *waw* in the prior clause of MT 10:4c's וְלֹא יִפְּיֵק "so that it cannot wobble" (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322), which represents an "*ut non*" construction. Cf. Joüon, JM, §116j, 356-57; and GKC §109g, 323.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁰ In 33 of 61 instances. Cf. Raija Sollamo, "Why Translation Technique and Literalness Again? The Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute in the Septuagint of Jeremiah," *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. Christl M. Maier; VTS 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 5, 17, and 19.

¹⁶⁷¹ NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁷² Tov, GHB, 249 and 251.

¹⁶⁷³ GELSM, 16.

¹⁶⁷⁴ HALOT I:724-27.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Two exceptions include LXX 38:24 and LXX 50:10.

also reflected from the MT’s perspective (8 of 26 instances).¹⁶⁷⁶ There is no reason to doubt the correspondence of αἶρω “to carry” to MT’s נשא “to carry” in the LXX *Vorlage*, nor that of ὅτι “because” representing כִּי “for” as well (cf. analysis above).

MT 10:5aδ’s לֹא יִצְעֲדוּ “they cannot walk”¹⁶⁷⁷ becomes LXX 10:5b’s οὐκ ἐπιβήσονται “they will not walk.”¹⁶⁷⁸ Such an equivalence of verbal צַעַד “to walk along”¹⁶⁷⁹ and ἐπιβαίνω “to tread”¹⁶⁸⁰ only occurs here in the LXX corpus.¹⁶⁸¹ The most common equivalence of ἐπιβαίνω “to tread” is עלה “to ascend,”¹⁶⁸² which most often becomes ἀναβαίνω “to ascend”¹⁶⁸³ (35 of 64 instances) or ἀνάγω “to deploy”¹⁶⁸⁴ (10 equivalences). However, LXX 10:5b’s ἐπιβαίνω “to tread” does not imply a different Hebrew *Vorlage* from that of MT 10:5aδ, since ἐπιβαίνω also conveys the idea of walking in LXX 18:15, along with military connotations.¹⁶⁸⁵ Perhaps the military semantic range found in ἐπιβαίνω “to tread”¹⁶⁸⁶ especially appealed to the translator of LXX 10:5b, since it is a parody of the lack of physical threat behind the idols.¹⁶⁸⁷

¹⁶⁷⁶ For example, I found four correspondences with λαμβάνω “to take” (GELSM, 423-24), three with ἀναλαμβάνω, “to take up” (GELSM, 41-42), two with φέρω “to transport” (GELSM, 712-13), and one with ἀποφέρω “to cause to move away with one” (GELSM, 87), etc.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁷⁸ NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁷⁹ HALOT II:1040.

¹⁶⁸⁰ GELSM, 267-68.

¹⁶⁸¹ The only other occurrence of צַעַד “to walk along” in MT Jeremiah (in noun form) becomes πορεία “journey” (GELSM, 576) in LXX 10:23.

¹⁶⁸² HALOT I:828-30.

¹⁶⁸³ GELSM, 35-36.

¹⁶⁸⁴ GELSM, 38.

¹⁶⁸⁵ LXX 26:4; LXX 26:9; and LXX 27:21 all convey the notion of mounting a horse in a military context. Similarly, LXX 17:25 and LXX 22:4 describe the riding of a chariot.

¹⁶⁸⁶ GELSM, 267-68.

¹⁶⁸⁷ GELSM, 267-68; and Amphoux et al., “Jr 10,” 199.

MT 10:5baβ אֶל-תִּירְאוּ מֵהֶם כִּי-לֹא יִרְעוּ

LXX 10:5caβ μὴ φοβηθῆτε αὐτά ὅτι οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσωσιν

Greek μὴ φοβηθῆτε “don’t fear”¹⁶⁸⁸ corresponds quite readily to אֶל-תִּירְאוּ “don’t dread”¹⁶⁸⁹ (cf. analysis above). Likewise, αὐτά “them” and ὅτι “because”¹⁶⁹⁰ represent no problem of retroversion directly to MT Hebrew. MT 10:5baβ’s לֹא יִרְעוּ “they cannot do harm”¹⁶⁹¹ becomes οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσωσιν “they shall not do evil”¹⁶⁹² quite straightforwardly as well. LXX 10:5caβ’s *Vorlage* undoubtedly mirrored MT 10:5baβ’s Hebrew text word for word. In LXX Jeremiah, one finds that κακοποιέω “to cause harm to”¹⁶⁹³ renders רָעַע “to be evil”¹⁶⁹⁴ twice (cf. 4:22 and 10:5).¹⁶⁹⁵ The adjectives ποιηρός “evil”¹⁶⁹⁶ and κακός “bad”¹⁶⁹⁷ also both render רָעַע “to be evil,” although LXX 23:14’s *Vorlage* may have had the adjective רָע “evil”¹⁶⁹⁸ equivalence.¹⁶⁹⁹ The adjective κακός “bad” mostly renders רָעָה “wickedness”¹⁷⁰⁰ in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁷⁰¹

¹⁶⁸⁸ GELSM, 718.

¹⁶⁸⁹ HALOT I:432-33.

¹⁶⁹⁰ GELSL, 449.

¹⁶⁹¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁶⁹² NETS, 891.

¹⁶⁹³ GELSM, 357.

¹⁶⁹⁴ HALOT II:1269-70.

¹⁶⁹⁵ In 2 of 13 MT occurrences. One sees three correspondences with ποιηρεύομαι “to conduct oneself immorally” (GELSM, 575; cf. LXX 16:12; 20:13; and LXX 45:9) and three also with κακώω “to harm” (GELSM, 357-58; cf. LXX 25:6; LXX 32:1 [Rahlf’s 32:15]; and LXX 38:28). One also finds κακός “bad” (GELSM, 357) in LXX 13:23 and ποιηρός “evil” (GELSM, 575-76) in LXX 23:14. Two renditions are difficult to explain (LXX 11:16 and 15:12), along with one LXX minus (7:26).

¹⁶⁹⁶ GELSM, 575-76.

¹⁶⁹⁷ GELSM, 357.

¹⁶⁹⁸ HALOT II:1250-53.

¹⁶⁹⁹ The adjective ποιηρός “evil” most often renders רָעַע “evil” (HALOT II:1250-53) in LXX Jeremiah (19 of 33 instances).

¹⁷⁰⁰ HALOT II:1262-64.

¹⁷⁰¹ The adjective κακός “bad” renders רָעָה “wickedness” in 52 of 61 occurrences in LXX Jeremiah.

MT 10:5bγ: וְגַם־הַיָּטִיב אֵין אֹתָם:

LXX 10:5cγ καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς

LXX 10:5cγ bares no surprises, given MT 10:5bγ’s Hebrew text. LXX Jeremiah usually employs the adjective ἀγαθός “good”¹⁷⁰² (or βέλτιων “preferable”)¹⁷⁰³ to render the nominal root of טוב¹⁷⁰⁴ “to be good,”¹⁷⁰⁵ but it may also be utilized for the verbal form יטב “to do well”¹⁷⁰⁶ in the *Qal* or *Hiphil* stems. Thus, one sees that ἀγαθός “good” renders טוב “beauty”¹⁷⁰⁷ (3 of 33 instances), טובה “goodness”¹⁷⁰⁸ (11 instances), the adjective טוב “good”¹⁷⁰⁹ (10 instances), ישר “right”¹⁷¹⁰ (2 occurrences),¹⁷¹¹ etc. Greek ἀγαθός “good” also corresponds six times with the root יטב “to do well” in verbal constructions.¹⁷¹² On the MT Hebrew side, one sees that יטב “to do well” may be rendered in various ways, such as with verbs like ἀγαθόω “to act benevolently towards”¹⁷¹³ (cf. LXX 39:41). Greek ποιέω “to perform”¹⁷¹⁴ also helps LXX Jeremiah in rendering יטב “to do well,”¹⁷¹⁵ which conveys the causative *Hiphil* sense often with adverbial modifiers or participles.¹⁷¹⁶ Yet, this auxiliary verb usage of ποιέω “to perform”¹⁷¹⁷ with יטב “to do well” actually occurs seldom¹⁷¹⁸ in

¹⁷⁰² GELSM, 1-2.

¹⁷⁰³ GELSM, 117.

¹⁷⁰⁴ There are a variety of forms, such as טוב, טובה, טוב, etc.

¹⁷⁰⁵ HALOT I:370.

¹⁷⁰⁶ HALOT I:408-09.

¹⁷⁰⁷ HALOT I:372.

¹⁷⁰⁸ HALOT I:372.

¹⁷⁰⁹ HALOT I:370-71.

¹⁷¹⁰ HALOT I:450.

¹⁷¹¹ LXX 33:14 and LXX 47:5.

¹⁷¹² LXX 10:5; LXX 33:13; 42:15; 45:20; 47:9; and LXX 49:6 (2nd).

¹⁷¹³ GELSM, 2.

¹⁷¹⁴ GELSM, 568-70.

¹⁷¹⁵ HALOT I:408-09.

¹⁷¹⁶ Tov, GHB, 200-01.

¹⁷¹⁷ GELSM, 568-70.

¹⁷¹⁸ MT 4:22; 13:23; 18:10; 18:11; 26:13; and MT 35:15.

LXX Jeremiah, where the Greek most often renders the verb עשה “to do”¹⁷¹⁹ (134 of 162 instances). However, LXX Jeremiah employs ποιέω “to perform”¹⁷²⁰ also to render other verbs to the same effect,¹⁷²¹ as well as with other stems like that of *Piel*¹⁷²² or that of *Hithpolel*.¹⁷²³ Moreover, in LXX 10:11, ποιέω “to perform” renders the equivalent of עשה “to do” in Aramaic (i.e. עבד “to do”).¹⁷²⁴ From the MT side, most deviations from the עשה “to do” and ποιέω “to perform” correspondence (135 of 153 instances) represent simply LXX textual minuses.¹⁷²⁵

As for LXX 10:5cγ’s context, Greek ἀγαθὸν “good”¹⁷²⁶ with negated copula represents an unusual rendition¹⁷²⁷ for the negated infinitive absolute היטיב “doing good,”¹⁷²⁸ or MT 10:5bγ’s subject.¹⁷²⁹ LXX Jeremiah prefers to render the particle אין “without”¹⁷³⁰ expressions with a form of the verb εἶμί “to exist,”¹⁷³¹ along with the negation οὐ/οὐκ “not,”¹⁷³² although exceptions do exist to this rule.¹⁷³³ The rendition of אין אותם “is not in them”¹⁷³⁴ with οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς “there is no good in them”¹⁷³⁵ does not strike

¹⁷¹⁹ HALOT I:889-92.

¹⁷²⁰ GELSM, 568-70.

¹⁷²¹ Thrice for שׁמע “to hear” (HALOT II:1570-74; cf. LXX 27:2 and LXX 38:7 for the *Hiphil* stem, but LXX 22:5 translates the *Qal* stem). There are more verbal examples, such as כּעט “diminish” (HALOT I:611) of LXX 10:24’s rendition, and others as well (Tov, GHB, 200-201).

¹⁷²² LXX 38:13.

¹⁷²³ LXX 16:6.

¹⁷²⁴ HALOT I:1941-42.

¹⁷²⁵ Of the eighteen exceptions, one notes fourteen instances of clear minuses and two free renditions (LXX 6:15 and LXX 31:36).

¹⁷²⁶ GELSM, 1-2.

¹⁷²⁷ Sollamo, “Why,” 15.

¹⁷²⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁷²⁹ Sollamo notes that ἀγαθὸν “good” represents “a subject of the clause” (ibid., 3 and 15).

¹⁷³⁰ HALOT I:41-42; and CHAL, 13.

¹⁷³¹ GELSM, 193-94.

¹⁷³² GELSM, 511-12.

¹⁷³³ There are fifty examples in Jeremiah. LXX Jeremiah also renders clauses with simply לא “not” with οὐ/οὐκ “not” and εἶμί “to exist” (9 correspondences).

¹⁷³⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁷³⁵ NETS, 891.

convey the partitive idea in a similar fashion to that of LXX 10:5cγ. The exact expression οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς “and there is no good in them”¹⁷⁵⁰ only occurs in LXX 10:5cγ and 16:19 for corresponding Hebrew similar to that of MT 10:5bγ. Therefore, it is easily demonstrable that MT 10:5bγ and LXX 10:5cγ’s *Vorlage* text must have contained the same Hebrew words. In summary, where the line of thought can be detected between MT parallel clauses and LXX Jeremiah’s Greek, HRLXXJ probably had a very similar text to that of MT 10:1-9, save the obvious omissions and transpositions I have noted above (e.g. cf. 4Q71’s textual reconstruction).¹⁷⁵¹

MT 10:11¹⁷⁵² and LXX 10:11¹⁷⁵³

As for translation technique of 10:11, LXX 10:11a’s οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς “thus shall you say to them”¹⁷⁵⁴ matches MT:11a’s Aramaic straightforwardly. Usually οὕτω/οὕτως “thus”¹⁷⁵⁵ translates כֹּה “thus”¹⁷⁵⁶ in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁷⁵⁷ but Aramaic כְּדִנָּה “so”¹⁷⁵⁸ also refers to its previous context as well (cf. Dan 2:10 and 3:29). Every occurrence of ἐρεῖτε “shall you say”¹⁷⁵⁹ addresses Israel in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁷⁶⁰ so that LXX 10:11 seems to speak to the diaspora within their idolatrous setting (cf. LXX 10:17-18). The dative case often renders *Lamed* prepositional phrases,¹⁷⁶¹ as is the case of לְהוֹם “to them” becoming LXX 10:11a’s αὐτοῖς¹⁷⁶² “to them.”¹⁷⁶³ LXX 10:11’s translation technique represents the

¹⁷⁵⁰ NETS, 891.

¹⁷⁵¹ Tov, DJD XV, 174 and 176.

¹⁷⁵² כְּדִנָּה תִּאמְרוּן לְהוֹם אֱלֹהִים דֵּי־שְׁמִיָּא וְאַרְקָא לֹא עֲבָדוּ
 יֵאבְדוּ מֵאַרְעָא וּמִן־תְּחֹת שְׁמִיָּא אֱלֹהִים:

¹⁷⁵³ οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς θεοί οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ἀπολέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τούτου.

¹⁷⁵⁴ NETS, 891.

¹⁷⁵⁵ GELSM, 515.

¹⁷⁵⁶ HALOT I:461.

¹⁷⁵⁷ HR II:1035-39.

¹⁷⁵⁸ CHAL, 402; and HALOT II:1854-55.

¹⁷⁵⁹ NETS, 891.

¹⁷⁶⁰ The seven instances are: LXX 8:8; 10:11; 21:3; 23:35; 23:38; LXX 31:14; and LXX 34:3 (Rahlfs 34:4).

¹⁷⁶¹ Martin, *Syntax*, 115-44.

¹⁷⁶² Cf. LXX 26:2; LXX 29:8 (not in Rahlfs 30:1); LXX 30:1 (Rahlfs 30:17); etc.

¹⁷⁶³ NETS, 891.

MT Aramaic literally, if one assumes corresponding Hebrew cognate lexemes as the *Vorlage* equivalences. In summary, MT 10:11a's Aramaic locutionary introduction¹⁷⁶⁴ matches straightforwardly LXX 10:11a's Greek. The same correspondence holds true for LXX 10:11bc and MT 10:11bc, save in a few obvious syntactical alterations by the translator, such as the change from plural שמיא "skies"¹⁷⁶⁵ to the singular οὐρανός "sky"¹⁷⁶⁶ to accommodate the Hellenistic readership's ear. The switch from an original plural to a Greek singular is not unusual for LXX Jeremiah when translating MT Hebrew, which happens elsewhere in the book¹⁷⁶⁷ and should not demand the supposition that HRLXXJ gave a different Aramaic text in verse 10:11 from that of MT.

LXX Jeremiah's θεός "god"¹⁷⁶⁸ most often renders אלהים "god"¹⁷⁶⁹ in MT Jeremiah,¹⁷⁷⁰ or its Aramaic equivalent, as here in 10:11.¹⁷⁷¹ One notes that LXX 10:11 contains equivalence norms throughout its content, such as ἀπόλλυμι "to perish"¹⁷⁷² for אבד "to perish"¹⁷⁷³ in Hebrew and Aramaic.¹⁷⁷⁴ Moreover, both Aramaic variants (ארק and ארע) for "earth"¹⁷⁷⁵ are rendered with γῆ "land."¹⁷⁷⁶ Yet, γῆ "land" most often matches

¹⁷⁶⁴ MT 10:11a reads: כְּדַנְהָ תִּאמְרוּן לְהוּם "So shall you speak to them."

¹⁷⁶⁵ HALOT II:1997-98.

¹⁷⁶⁶ GELSM, 513-14.

¹⁷⁶⁷ E.g. cf. LXX Jer 10:2c's τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "the signs of the sky" (NETS, 890) for MT 10:2c's וּמֵאֲתוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם "the omens of the sky" (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 322; cf. analysis above). LXX Jer 10:1-18 always translates the plural "heavens" of MT Jer 10:1-18 with the Greek singular notion of "sky" (cf. LXX 10:2, 11 [twice], 12, and 13).

¹⁷⁶⁸ GELSM, 327.

¹⁷⁶⁹ HALOT I:48-50.

¹⁷⁷⁰ HR I:644-45.

¹⁷⁷¹ Cf. אלהים "god" in HALOT II:1813-14; and CHAL, 397.

¹⁷⁷² GELSM, 78-79.

¹⁷⁷³ HALOT I:2-3; and HALOT II:1806 (Aramaic root).

¹⁷⁷⁴ HR I:136-138. Of 28 occurrences of ἀπόλλυμι "to perish" in LXX Jeremiah, 21 render אבד "to perish" in Hebrew or Aramaic (27 total MT instances, with one being the Aramaic occurrence found in MT 10:11).

¹⁷⁷⁵ HALOT II:1826; and CHAL, 398.

¹⁷⁷⁶ GELSM, 129.

with Hebrew אֶרֶץ “earth”¹⁷⁷⁷ so as to represent a stereotypical MT Jeremiah correspondence.¹⁷⁷⁸

Greek ὑποκάτωθεν “below”¹⁷⁷⁹ uniquely renders תַּחַת “instead of”¹⁷⁸⁰ here in LXX Jeremiah.¹⁷⁸¹ However, apparently LXX 10:11c did not understand MT 10:11’s chiastic poetry, whose structure connects אֱלֹהֵי יָם “gods”¹⁷⁸² with the demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּה¹⁷⁸³ “these.”¹⁷⁸⁴ Thus, one observes that LXX Jeremiah translates אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיָא “skies, these”¹⁷⁸⁵ with simply τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τούτου “this sky.”¹⁷⁸⁶ Hence, LXX Jeremiah connects אֵלֶּה “these” with שָׁמַיָא “skies” and renders the sense of the phrase with the corresponding Greek demonstrative pronoun¹⁷⁸⁷ in the singular. Usually אֵלֶּה “these” becomes the Greek demonstrative pronoun (47 of 61 instances), so that there is no question of the correspondence of MT 10:11’s Aramaic with LXX 10:11’s Greek at this point. In contrast to LXX 10:1-5a-9-5cγ, a consistent MT and LXX correspondence continues unabated throughout all of 10:11-18’s content, save in minor variations at certain points.

One cannot fail to notice that HRLXXJ’s text suddenly leaps to LXX Jer 10:11 from 10:5cγ, thus skipping over MT 10:10’s theological description of Yahweh. The textual lacuna of MT 10:6-8 and 10 requires that MT 10:10c’s גוֹיִם “nations”¹⁷⁸⁸ are not

¹⁷⁷⁷ HALOT I:90-91.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Old Greek γῆ “land” renders אֶרֶץ “earth” 213 times in LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁷⁷⁹ GELSM, 702.

¹⁷⁸⁰ HALOT II:1721-23.

¹⁷⁸¹ LXX Jeremiah renders תַּחַת “below” (HALOT II:1721-23) in various ways, but ὑποκάτω “under” (GELSM, 702) would be the norm (HR II:1413-14). Martin notes ὑποκάτωθεν means “from under” and is “not very frequent” in the Septuagint “as a preposition” (idem, *Syntax*, 301).

¹⁷⁸² HALOT II:1813-14; and CHAL, 397.

¹⁷⁸³ Holladay explains the chiastic logic of MT 10:11 (idem, *Jeremiah 1*, 334-35).

¹⁷⁸⁴ HALOT II:1814.

¹⁷⁸⁵ HALOT II:1997-98.

¹⁷⁸⁶ GELSM, 513-14.

¹⁷⁸⁷ E.g. cf. Duhm, *Jeremia*, 102.

¹⁷⁸⁸ HALOT I:182-83.

mentioned or referenced by implication within LXX 10:11a's address.¹⁷⁸⁹ LXX 10:11a's call to speech suggests that LXX 10:1's οἶκος Ἰσραηλ "house of Israel"¹⁷⁹⁰ and LXX 10:17b's Zion figure are the same intended addressees. Thus, the dative recipients of LXX 10:11a's αὐτοῖς "to them"¹⁷⁹¹ connects immediately to LXX 10:5cγ's ἐν αὐτοῖς "in them,"¹⁷⁹² so as to presume an imagined address to the idols themselves, as in Midrash Lamentations 1:1.¹⁷⁹³

The redactional process of HRLXXJ streamlines LXX 10:5-11 to a focus on a description of the idols in contrast to MT 10:5-11's greater attention upon the nations. However, there are references to humans in LXX as well, at least the makers of idols, such as the τέκτων "craftsman"¹⁷⁹⁴ (LXX 10:3c), the χρυσοχόος "goldsmith"¹⁷⁹⁵ (LXX 10:9b), or the τεχνίτης "artisan"¹⁷⁹⁶ (LXX 10:9c). LXX 10:1-11, moreover, does not mention the nations distinctly, save in reference to the customs of the peoples (10:3a). Thus, LXX 10:11's taunt must have been directed against the idols or the false gods themselves, since they perish under the very sky which they did not create.

The question that still remains, however, is simply this: Does LXX 10:11a reference pagan demigods, or even demons (δαίμόνιον "demon"¹⁷⁹⁷) such as those of 1 Baruch 4:7 and 35 or described in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C?¹⁷⁹⁸ If one assumes Duhm's *Bannformel* perspective of LXX Jer 10:11, then the answer would seem to be an affirmative one. However, Ep Jer's content could also easily explain why LXX 10:11's

¹⁷⁸⁹ It is interesting that both Graf and Giesebrecht propose that MT Jer 10:1-16's text form possessing 10:10 was prior or more original in its structure than that of LXX, due heavily on the need for a mention of the nations before verse 10:11 (Graf, *Jeremia*, 160; and Giesebrecht, *Jeremia*, 63).

¹⁷⁹⁰ GELSM, 489.

¹⁷⁹¹ NETS, 891.

¹⁷⁹² NETS, 891.

¹⁷⁹³ Freedman and Simon, "Lamentations," 68.

¹⁷⁹⁴ GELSM, 674; and GELSL, 608.

¹⁷⁹⁵ GELSM, 738; and GELSL, 669.

¹⁷⁹⁶ GELSM, 677; and GELSL, 612.

¹⁷⁹⁷ GELSL, 127; and GELSM, 139.

¹⁷⁹⁸ 1 Baruch 4:7 and 35's demons have parallels in those mentioned in Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, such as: 4Q385a 3.7, 4Q387 1.4, and 4Q388a 3.6. Cf. Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 136-38, 175-76, and 204-06 (respectively). Hereafter, DJD XXX. Dimant also discusses the demons called the "Angels of Mastemot," which occur in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (cf. 4Q387 2 iii 4) and, for example, in 4Q390 1 11 and 2 i 7 (ibid., 237-49). Dimant relates the "Angels of Mastemot" to Jubilee's concept of the "spirits of Mastema," as in Jubilees 19:28 (ibid., 242-43).

material would be directed to the diaspora readers to speak to the idols themselves. Ep Jer 5 gives implications to such a question, since it is an amplification of the directive to speak LXX Jer 10:11 with a positive affirmation to worship the δεσπότης, or “the Lord.”¹⁷⁹⁹ Ep Jer 5, thus, demonstrates a very probable interpretation or perspective that was taken from LXX 10:1-11’s message, namely that the imperative to speak LXX 10:11’s Aramaic was done τῆ διανοίᾳ “to the mind,”¹⁸⁰⁰ or, only to one’s own self. Such a “cerebral” directive of LXX Jer 10:11 primarily unto the diaspora mind becomes especially evident in the internal logic of 10:1-11’s textual structure and also in the Epistle of Jeremiah’s (Ep Jer) screed that amplifies the Aramaic taunt into a sermonic catchphrase.¹⁸⁰¹

A frequent refrain of Ep Jer¹⁸⁰² makes clear the fact that the pagan gods do not truly exist, so that the diaspora should not fear them, as implied also in LXX 10:11’s content. The primary message of Ep Jer, thus, is the frequent appeal to the futile end and implied non-existence of idolatry’s deities.¹⁸⁰³ Therefore, perhaps, the self-contradictory imperative of LXX Jer 10:11a to speak v. 10:11’s taunt (or adjuration of demons) to non-existent beings created the logical demand and original creative matrix for Ep Jer’s theological message to develop.

MT 10:11 gives thematic inspiration to Ep Jer¹⁸⁰⁴ and provides an interpretive matrix which directed HRLXXJ’s text form of LXX 10:1-18 and Ep Jer’s material to be created. Only in Targum Jonathan’s interpolation of Jer 10:11 does one see LXX 10:11-16’s material being directed against the pagan society in a diaspora context.¹⁸⁰⁵ In contrast, the stream-lined argument of LXX 10:5-11 has focused 10:11’s Aramaic taunt into a mental self-coaching mechanism for exiled Jews to train their mind in the midst of pagan

¹⁷⁹⁹ GELSL, 133; and GELSM, 144-45.

¹⁸⁰⁰ GELSM, 155.

¹⁸⁰¹ E.g. cf. Ep Jer 14, 22, 28, 39, 44, 51, 64, 68, and 71. There is the simple refrain that the idols are not gods or divine (cf. Ep Jer 39, 44, 51, and 71). There is also the added or concluding prohibition to not fear the idols as well (cf. Ep Jer 14, 22, 28, 64, and 68). Thus, it is clear that the “fear not” prohibition of LXX Jer 10:5α and MT Jer 10:5βα influenced heavily the logical structure and thematic tenor of Ep Jer.

¹⁸⁰² E.g. cf. Ep Jer 14, 22, 28, 39, 44, 51, 64, 68, and 71.

¹⁸⁰³ E.g. cf. Ep Jer 11-22; 23-29; 39; 44; 54-56; 64, and 71.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 553 and 561.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Sperber, *Bible*, III:160-61.

idolatry, if one assumes Ep Jer's interpretive matrix for HRLXXJ's text form of LXX Jer 10:1-18.

HRLXXJ's 10:5-11 material ends its structural build-up to LXX 10:11 with MT 10:5b γ 's clause (LXX 10:5c γ), which indicates that LXX 10:5-11 has been carefully tailored and focused to direct LXX 10:11a unto LXX 10:1's οἶκος Ἰσραηλ "house of Israel."¹⁸⁰⁶ In conclusion, LXX 10:11 was either intended to be uttered in internal monologue before the face of idols (LXX 10:2d), as in Ep Jer (cf. Ep Jer 5), or LXX Jer 10:11 was meant to be spoken as an initial verse to LXX 10:11-16's adjuring hymn against exilic demons,¹⁸⁰⁷ as suggested by Duhm's *Bannformel* perspective.¹⁸⁰⁸ The latter option seems more probable in light of recent scholarship on Qumran magical incantations or apotropaic hymns¹⁸⁰⁹ and in light of Ep Jer 6's hint of an angelic conflict in the diaspora context.¹⁸¹⁰

MT 10:12-15 and LXX 10:12-15

I shall now discuss the translation technique of LXX 10:12-15 as a unit, since it finds confirmation in LXX 28:15-18's¹⁸¹¹ implied *Vorlage*, which contains the same hymnic doublet in MT 51:15-18's Hebrew text. However, one notes variation of equivalence, such as the following: LXX 10:12's φρόνησις "practical wisdom"¹⁸¹² and

¹⁸⁰⁶ GELSM, 489.

¹⁸⁰⁷ The demons of 1 Baruch 4:7 and 35 could be compared to those of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C. E.g. cf. 4Q385a 3.7, 4Q387 1.4, and 4Q388a 3.6 (Dimant, DJD XXX, 136-38, 175-76, and 204-06, respectively).

¹⁸⁰⁸ It seems quite possible that LXX 10:11 interpreted the Aramaic as an apotropaic, magical incantation, due mainly to the rendition of 10:11c's אֲבָרֵךְ "they will perish" with an aorist imperative verbal notion, so as to imply denouncement or the banishment of demons.

¹⁸⁰⁹ E.g. cf. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc.

¹⁸¹⁰ Ep Jer 6 reads: "For my angel is with you, and he himself is seeking out your souls" (NETS, 944). Thus, in Ep Jer 6 one finds God's angel protecting diaspora Jews (or their minds) from idolatry or pagan influence. It is possible that Ep Jer's material reflects a later, rational development from LXX Jer 10's altered text form, so that the original demonic adjuration interpretation of LXX 10:11 was lost in Ep Jer's more empirical or logical aniconism. Yet, one might also argue for a reversal of influence from Ep Jer's message to the text form of LXX Jer 10. However, this speculation goes beyond the immediate concern of this study, but must be left opened.

¹⁸¹¹ Pietersma, NETS, 890. One significant difference is the fact that MT 51:16's לְקוֹל תְּתוֹן "at the voice of his giving forth" (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324) finds equivalence in LXX 28:16, but not in LXX 10:13.

¹⁸¹² GELSM, 720.

LXX 28:15's σύνεσις “understanding”¹⁸¹³ for תְּבוּנָה “understanding,”¹⁸¹⁴ or LXX 10:15's ἐπισκοπή “divine visitation”¹⁸¹⁵ and LXX 28:18's ἐπίσκεψις “eschatological investigation”¹⁸¹⁶ for פְּקֻדָּה “punishment.”¹⁸¹⁷ The underlying Hebrew of the doublets must have been nearly the same, as in the verb כּוּן “to establish”¹⁸¹⁸ of both LXX 10:12 and LXX 28:15.¹⁸¹⁹ Three cases in 10:12-15 might either represent exceptions to LXX Jeremiah's habit of isomorphic rendition, or simply demonstrate a different underlying *Vorlage* text. These include the following: LXX 10:12a's textual plus of κύριος “Lord,”¹⁸²⁰ LXX 10:13a's lack of MT 10:13a's לְקוֹל תְּתוֹ “at the voice of his giving forth,”¹⁸²¹ and LXX 10:13d's φῶς “light”¹⁸²² for MT 10:13d's רֵיחַ “wind.”¹⁸²³

LXX 10:12a's κύριος ὁ ποιήσας “It is the Lord who made”¹⁸²⁴ for MT 10:12a's עֲשֶׂה “[Yahweh] is the maker”¹⁸²⁵ indicates that LXX probably had יהוה “Yahweh” in his *Vorlage* text, although 4Q71 might not have had the epithet.¹⁸²⁶ Moreover, no extant Hebrew manuscript had יהוה “Yahweh” in MT 10:12's text,¹⁸²⁷ nor do internal considerations of poetic syntax demand the explicit mention of the subject.¹⁸²⁸ One finds

¹⁸¹³ GELSL, 591; and GELSM, 655-56.

¹⁸¹⁴ HALOT II:1679-80.

¹⁸¹⁵ GELSL, 280.

¹⁸¹⁶ GELSL, 280.

¹⁸¹⁷ HALOT II:958.

¹⁸¹⁸ HALOT I:464-65.

¹⁸¹⁹ Hebrew כּוּן “to establish” may be rendered with καταρθῶ “to establish” (GELSM, 392; cf. 10:23), or ὀρθῶ “to make straight” (GELSM, 504; cf. LXX 37:20), or ἀνορθῶ “to establish firmly” (GELSM, 56; cf. LXX 40:2); or even ἐτοιμάζω “to fashion” (GELSM, 296; cf. LXX 26:14; 28:12, and 15).

¹⁸²⁰ GELSM, 419-20.

¹⁸²¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁸²² GELSM, 725-26.

¹⁸²³ HALOT II:1197-1201.

¹⁸²⁴ NETS, 891.

¹⁸²⁵ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

¹⁸²⁶ Tov, DJD XV, 176.

¹⁸²⁷ HUBP, 57-58.

¹⁸²⁸ The participle hymnic form does not need a subject. Thus, Crüsemann notes that the lack of the divine name in 10:12 is a typical feature of hymns with participles like that of 10:12-16 (*idem, Studien*, 113).

confirmation of these facts in LXX 28:15's lack of any rendition for κύριος "Lord"¹⁸²⁹ in its parallel doublet of MT 51:15. However, it is very possible that LXX 10:12's *Vorlage* had the Tetragrammaton, although the Syriac *Peshitta*¹⁸³⁰ probably freely supplied it.¹⁸³¹ Sometimes LXX Jeremiah has the divine name where it is lacking in MT, although the opposite is the case more often.¹⁸³² MT 10:12a's lack of the divine title represents a more original textual form in the context, though LXX's addition perhaps suggests a magical use of the divine name in an apotropaic hymn or magical incantation.¹⁸³³ Whatever the case, LXX 10:12a testifies to an additional element supplied for the sake of greater contextual cohesion in order to give contrast to the pagan gods of 10:11.

LXX 10:13a renders MT 10:13a's מַיִם הַמְּנוּן "an uproar of waters"¹⁸³⁴ with καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος¹⁸³⁵ "and a quantity of water,"¹⁸³⁶ while skipping over the prior לְקוֹל תְּתִיב "at the voice of his giving forth"¹⁸³⁷ found in MT 10:13a. However, MT 51:16's doublet material also contains לְקוֹל תְּתִיב "at the voice of his giving forth," which LXX 28:16's

¹⁸²⁹ GELSM, 419-20.

¹⁸³⁰ HUBP, 57.

¹⁸³¹ The Syriac *Peshitta*'s text follows that of MT Jeremiah usually (e.g. cf. HUBP, 57-58 and xv-xxviii).

¹⁸³² Min, MPLTJ, 130-39.

¹⁸³³ Bilhah Nitzan notes that in "regular incantations, the word of magical power is contained in the Divine Names recited during the adjuration." Cf. idem, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 248. However, Esther Eshel notes that there is a difference in genre between that of a magical incantation and that of an apotropaic prayer, although the distinctions are relatively minimal (idem, "Apotropaic," 87-88). I would suggest that Eshel's distinctions do not apply to the early example of LXX Jer 10:11-16, if HRLXXJ actually intended the hymn of vv. 11-16 to be uttered against evil spirits.

¹⁸³⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁸³⁵ One sees מְנוּן "multitude" (HALOT I:250-51) rendered by πλῆθος "multitude" (GELSM, 563) in two of six occurrences in MT Jeremiah. The correspondence of ἦχος "sound" (GELSM, 322) with מְנוּן "multitude" totals three in Jeremiah. The equivalence of ὕδωρ "water" (GELSM, 693) with מַיִם "water" (HALOT I:576-77) is common elsewhere (HR II:1382-83).

¹⁸³⁶ NETS, 891.

¹⁸³⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

εἰς φωνὴν ἔθετο “he set... into a voice”¹⁸³⁸ renders the Hebrew phrase.¹⁸³⁹ Thus, MT 51:16’s **תָּתַן לְקוֹל** “at the voice of his giving forth”¹⁸⁴⁰ textual reading must have been original to MT 10:13a as well, although lacking in LXX 10:13a. Therefore, one may conclude that either translator abbreviation or a shorter LXX *Vorlage* text is to blame for LXX 10:13a’s textual minus, in contrast to LXX 28:16’s evidence for the original doublet reading.

Since MT Jer 10:13a’s **תָּתַן לְקוֹל** “at the voice of his giving forth”¹⁸⁴¹ is a difficult syntax, causing much conjectural emendation,¹⁸⁴² perhaps LXX 10:13a wished to avoid such a confusing text.¹⁸⁴³ However, with this textual minus, LXX 10:13a connects **הַמְּרִיבִים** “multitude”¹⁸⁴⁴ directly with LXX 10:12c’s **ἐξέτελλε**¹⁸⁴⁵ “he stretched out,”¹⁸⁴⁶ thus, abbreviating MT 10:13a’s material in the process. Moreover, LXX Jer 28:16 translated MT 51:16’s **תָּתַן לְקוֹל** “at the voice of his giving forth” literally as εἰς φωνὴν ἔθετο¹⁸⁴⁷ “he set... into a voice,”¹⁸⁴⁸ and probably would have done so also in LXX 10:13a if it were textually attested there from HRLXXJ’s editorial work. Whatever the case, **תָּתַן לְקוֹל** existed in both MT 10:13a and MT 51:16 within the transmission line that produced the *Vorlage* texts of LXX 10:13a and LXX 28:16. Furthermore, the same difficult hymnic syntax finds Ugaritic parallels¹⁸⁴⁹ so as to argue against LXX 10:13a’s textual minus.¹⁸⁵⁰

¹⁸³⁸ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 113.

¹⁸³⁹ There is no doubt that **קוֹל** “noise” (HALOT II:1083-85) corresponds to φωνή “sound” (GELSM, 725) in 76 of 81 MT occurrences. MT Jeremiah’s **נָתַן** “to give” (HALOT I:733-35) becomes δίδωμι “to give” (GELSM, 165-67) in 105 equivalences of 148 total hits, but also τίθημι “to place” (GELSM, 678-80) in eight pairings with LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴² E.g. cf. Reimer, “Problem,” 348-54.

¹⁸⁴³ E.g. cf. Cloete, *Versification*, 163.

¹⁸⁴⁴ HALOT I:250-51.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

¹⁸⁴⁶ NETS, 891; and GELSM, 217.

¹⁸⁴⁷ LXX 28:16 renders **הַמְּרִיבִים** “multitude” (HALOT I:250-51) as ἦχος “sound” (GELSM, 322).

¹⁸⁴⁸ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 113.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Althann, “Inverse,” 7-13.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 11.

4QH^a 10:18 and 10:29¹⁸⁵¹ allude to MT 10:13a's קוֹל “noise,”¹⁸⁵² so as to confirm at least a first century BCE textual dating,¹⁸⁵³ but MT 10:13a's complete syntax finds much earlier dating confirmation in 4Q70's proto-MT text (with confident reconstruction).¹⁸⁵⁴

LXX 10:13d and LXX 28:16 apparently render MT 10:13d's רִיחַ “wind”¹⁸⁵⁵ with φῶς “light,”¹⁸⁵⁶ which represents an oddity in the LXX corpus,¹⁸⁵⁷ since a normal equivalence would be ἄνεμος “wind”¹⁸⁵⁸ in LXX Jeremiah¹⁸⁵⁹ and other Greek versions.¹⁸⁶⁰ LXX Jeremiah always translates אֹר “light”¹⁸⁶¹ with φῶς¹⁸⁶² “light,” save the exceptions found in LXX 10:13 and LXX 28:16 (MT 51:16). LXX 10:13d's and LXX 28:16's φῶς “light” assumes אֹר “light” in its *Vorlage* text and probably does not indicate a Gnostic interpretation of the translator.¹⁸⁶³ MT 10:13d's רִיחַ “wind”¹⁸⁶⁴ surely represents the original text,¹⁸⁶⁵ due to the fact that its reference occurs in other hymnic contexts similar to

¹⁸⁵¹ Armin Lange, “The Textual History of the Book Jeremiah in Light of its Allusions and Implicit Quotations in the Qumran Hodayot,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 258-61 and 273-75.

¹⁸⁵² HALOT II:1083-85.

¹⁸⁵³ Eileen Schuller, “Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010,” *CBR* 10, no. 1 (2011), 123.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Tov, *DJD XV*, 158.

¹⁸⁵⁵ HALOT II:1197-1201.

¹⁸⁵⁶ GELSM, 725-26.

¹⁸⁵⁷ HR II:1450-51.

¹⁸⁵⁸ GELSM, 49.

¹⁸⁵⁹ There are eight total equivalences. However, Greek πνεῦμα “spirit” (GELSM, 567) for רִיחַ “wind” is less frequent (6 total equivalences).

¹⁸⁶⁰ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II:599.

¹⁸⁶¹ HALOT I:24-25.

¹⁸⁶² HR II:1451. There are 5 of 7 equivalents with אֹר “light” in LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁸⁶³ Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 101-02.

¹⁸⁶⁴ HALOT II:1197-1201.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Fischer, *Der Prophet*, 78; and Hermann-Josef Stipp, “Interpretierende Übersetzung in der Jeremia-Septuaginta,” *JNSL* 40, no. 2 (2014), 33-34; and SZJ, 182. Stipp notes that there are Ancient Near Eastern parallels to support the MT textual reading (ibid.).

that of MT 10:12-16.¹⁸⁶⁶ Moreover, MT 10:13's רַיִחַ "wind" reading also finds confirmation in 4QJer^a (4Q70).¹⁸⁶⁷ However, 11Q5's "Hymn to the Creator" mentions אֹר "light"¹⁸⁶⁸ as well.¹⁸⁶⁹ Hebrew אֹר "light" probably translates into φως "light"¹⁸⁷⁰ throughout 1 Baruch,¹⁸⁷¹ a book which represents an appendix to Jeremiah that was probably translated with LXX Jeremiah (at least 1 Bar 1:1-3:8).¹⁸⁷² Thus, 1 Baruch and 11Q5 both evidence אֹר "light"¹⁸⁷³ in a context of hymnic praise of Yahweh, so that LXX 10:13's and 28:16's motif of "light" must have occurred in LXX Jeremiah's *Vorlage* text under such similar influence.¹⁸⁷⁴ Magical incantations also reference אֹר "light" often (4Q286-287;¹⁸⁷⁵ 4Q510-511;¹⁸⁷⁶ 8Q5;¹⁸⁷⁷ 11Q11,¹⁸⁷⁸ etc.), so that there may be influence from a possible magical incantation genre if one assumes a direct address of demons in

¹⁸⁶⁶ E.g. cf. Ps 135:7; Zech 12:1; and Job 37.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 158.

¹⁸⁶⁸ HALOT I:24-25.

¹⁸⁶⁹ James A. Sanders, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert IV: The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 89-91.

¹⁸⁷⁰ GELSM, 725-26.

¹⁸⁷¹ 1 Bar 3:14; 3:20; 3:33; 4:2; and 5:9.

¹⁸⁷² Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 111-133.

¹⁸⁷³ HALOT I:24-25.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Also note the contrast between darkness and light in reference to Belial and his fellow spirits in their dark domain, as described in the War Scroll, or 1QWar Scroll (e.g. cf. 1QM 13:1-18; also cf. 1 QS 3:17-26).

¹⁸⁷⁵ Esther Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 7-48, and 49-60. 4Q286-287 are also labeled: 4QBerakhot^a and 4QBerakhot^b.

¹⁸⁷⁶ M. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4. III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 215-61. Eshel labels 4Q510 and 4Q511 as types of "apotropaic prayer" (idem, "Apotropaic," 69-88).

¹⁸⁷⁷ M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, R. De Vaux, and H. W. Baker, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 161 (Hereafter, DJD III).

¹⁸⁷⁸ García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, eds., *Qumran Cave 11: II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 189 (Hereafter, DJD XXIII). Note the darkness motif (ibid., 195-96).

LXX Jer 10:11.¹⁸⁷⁹ LXX 10:13d’s φως “light”¹⁸⁸⁰ could also be alluding to the apotropaic tradition which developed behind the verbal root אָרַר “to illuminate”¹⁸⁸¹ in Numbers 6:25 of the Priestly Blessing.¹⁸⁸²

MT 10:16a לֹא-כִאֲלֵהּ חֵלֶק יַעֲקֹב

LXX 10:16a οὐκ ἔστιν τοιαύτη μερίς τῷ Ἰακωβ

LXX 10:16a corresponds rather straightforwardly to MT 10:16a’s Hebrew text, as the previous doublet poetry did as well. The only noteworthy textual variation to mention is in the change of the pronoun’s number (אֵלֶּה “these”¹⁸⁸³) to the singular,¹⁸⁸⁴ which was probably due to a desire to follow 10:16a’s singular subject of חֵלֶק “share of possession.”¹⁸⁸⁵ LXX 10:16a and LXX 28:19 both confirm a Hebrew *Vorlage* that matches MT 10:16a’s text, since both passages evidence parallel translations of the doublet

¹⁸⁷⁹ Demons are often associated with the night or darkness, which would accommodate LXX 10:2’s description of the “signs of the sky” quite aptly (Alexander, “Demonology,” 331-53). It is interesting to note that Jonathan Ben-Dov argues for LXX’s “light” textual variant to be a secondary reading. His primary evidence is from a “mythical geography” cosmological motif observable in the Qumran Community Rule material (1QS and 5Q13), besides other texts such as that of 1QM. Cf. idem, “Treasures of Light,” in *On the Border Line, Textual Meets Literary Criticism* (ed. Zipora Talshir and Dalia Amara; Beer Sheva 18; Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press, 2005), 155-62.

¹⁸⁸⁰ GELSM, 725-26.

¹⁸⁸¹ HALOT I:24.

¹⁸⁸² David Flusser describes the influence of the Priestly Blessing of Numbers 6:24-26 on 1QS 2:3 and the Apotropaic prayer tradition. Cf. idem, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 16, no. 3 (1966), 197. For 1QS 2:5-9’s relationship to the Priestly Blessing, cf. Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 83-84. Similarly, Esther Chazon notes that 4Q444 has comparable language of cursing and blessing formulas to both 1QS and Deuteronomy in its literary context of an apotropaic hymnic incantation (e.g. cf. the darkness motif of 1QS 2:7). Cf. idem et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 369. Hereafter, DJD XXIX. For Chazon, 4Q444 may be described as both an incantation and an apotropaic hymn, in a literary genre similar to that of 4Q510-11 (*ibid.*, 367).

¹⁸⁸³ HALOT II:1814.

¹⁸⁸⁴ The switch of pronominal number in LXX 10:16a must be due to the translator and not to HRLXXJ (e.g. cf. Tov, DJD XV, 176). However, ultimately, it is impossible to know for sure.

¹⁸⁸⁵ HALOT I:323-24.

material.¹⁸⁸⁶ The rendering of MT 10:16a’s לֹא־כִאֲלֵהָ “not like these”¹⁸⁸⁷ with LXX 10:16a’s οὐκ ἔστιν τοιαύτη “is not of such a kind”¹⁸⁸⁸ (cf. LXX 28:19) seems similar to LXX 37:7’s rendition of MT 30:7’s כִּמֹּהוּ כִּי־אֵין “there is none like it”¹⁸⁸⁹ with καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν τοιαύτη “there is no such.”¹⁸⁹⁰ The correspondence of μερίς “part”¹⁸⁹¹ with חֶלֶק “share”¹⁸⁹² is confirmed by LXX 28:19’s doublet rendition.¹⁸⁹³

MT 10:16b כִּי־יוֹצֵר הֵפֵל הוּא

LXX 10:16b ὁ πλάσας τὰ πάντα

Both LXX 10:16b and 28:19 agree with their MT counterparts of 10:16 and MT 51:19. Greek πλάσσω “to form”¹⁸⁹⁴ is the only equivalent for the root יצר “to form”¹⁸⁹⁵ in LXX Jeremiah, save one Old Greek side exception.¹⁸⁹⁶

MT 10:16c וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבֶט נַחֲלָתוֹ

LXX 10:16c αὐτὸς κληρονομία αὐτοῦ

LXX 10:16c lacks equivalences for the Hebrew phrase וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבֶט “and Israel is the tribe”¹⁸⁹⁷ probably lacking in its *Vorlage*’s text as well. This LXX textual minus actually transforms the meaning of the MT clause’s syntax in a significant manner. The

¹⁸⁸⁶ NETS, 879.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36*, 22.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 141.

¹⁸⁹¹ GELSM, 449.

¹⁸⁹² HALOT I:323-24.

¹⁸⁹³ The equivalence of μερίς “part” with חֶלֶק “share of possession” (HALOT I:323-24) occurs in two of five occurrences. However, LXX 12:10’s μερίς “part” twice renders חֶלֶק “plot of land” (HALOT I:324), while 13:25’s instance translates מִנְתָּה “share” (HALOT I:603).

¹⁸⁹⁴ GELSM, 561.

¹⁸⁹⁵ HALOT I:428-29.

¹⁸⁹⁶ The one exception is that of LXX 19:1.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ “his” of κληρονομία αὐτοῦ “his possession”¹⁸⁹⁸ must refer back to LXX 10:16a’s “Jacob.” Thus, in LXX 10:16c, the Creator of the earlier LXX 10:16a phrase is now the possession of Jacob, while the syntax of MT 10:16c retains a more complicated sense. LXX 28:19 employs ἐστίν “is” to make the sense plain, although LXX 10:16c implies the same meaning without the copula. LXX Jeremiah’s translational equivalence of נַחֲלָה “hereditary property”¹⁸⁹⁹ with κληρονομία “possession”¹⁹⁰⁰ has no exceptions,¹⁹⁰¹ save one LXX minus.¹⁹⁰² Such comparative evidence from MT Jeremiah seems to imply that MT 10:16c’s שְׁבֵט יִשְׂרָאֵל “and Israel is the tribe”¹⁹⁰³ may have either been skipped over or was lacking originally in LXX 10:16c’s *Vorlage* text.

While יִשְׂרָאֵל “Israel” usually appears in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁹⁰⁴ שְׁבֵט “tribe”¹⁹⁰⁵ does not correspond to any Old Greek of LXX Jeremiah (cf. LXX 28:19). However, there is the possibility that MT 10:16c’s שְׁבֵט “tribe” might have influenced the rendition of πληγή “blow”¹⁹⁰⁶ in LXX 10:18.¹⁹⁰⁷ Yet, it is more probable that שְׁבֵט “tribe” was lacking along with יִשְׂרָאֵל “Israel” in LXX 10:16c’s *Vorlage* text, especially given LXX 28:19’s minus in its doublet context.

One must recognize a distinct difference of sense in MT 10:16c’s Hebrew from that of LXX 10:16c’s Greek syntax, since LXX alters the MT logical thought from that of Yahweh possessing the people of Jacob as his own inheritance, to that of LXX’s implication of Jacob’s people possessing Yahweh as their hereditary ownership. LXX 10:16, as a unit of thought, focuses almost exclusively on a description of κύριος

¹⁸⁹⁸ GELSM, 400.

¹⁸⁹⁹ HALOT I:687-88.

¹⁹⁰⁰ GELSM, 400.

¹⁹⁰¹ There are a total of eleven correspondences.

¹⁹⁰² MT 17:4.

¹⁹⁰³ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁹⁰⁴ There are 81 correspondences of the 125 total occurrences in MT Jeremiah.

¹⁹⁰⁵ HALOT II:1389-90.

¹⁹⁰⁶ GELSM, 562-63.

¹⁹⁰⁷ HR II:1142 lists three instances of such an equivalence.

“Lord”¹⁹⁰⁸ as Jacob’s God, while MT 10:16, on a whole, displays a more complicated meaning, since its sense implies a mutual possession among the two parties of Israel and Yahweh.¹⁹⁰⁹ LXX 10:16’s *Vorlage* streamlines or simplifies the clausal structure so as to gain a more theologically “satisfying” conclusion to the poetic unit. If one assumes Duhm’s *Bannformel* perspective for LXX 10:11-16’s hymnic unit, then LXX 10:16c’s minus material would be quite easily explained as an attempt to give LXX 10:11-16’s apotropaic hymn a more community significance for the Jewish diaspora against their individual or common foes.¹⁹¹⁰ Clearly, the conjoint possession of Israel and Yahweh in MT 10:16 evidences an earlier Deuteronomistic content (MT Deut 32:8-9) in a book that clearly bears much influence from Deuteronomy.¹⁹¹¹

MT 10:16d יהוה צבאות שְׁמוֹ

LXX 10:16d κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ

MT 10:16d’s clause may be translated: “Yahweh of hosts is his name,”¹⁹¹² while LXX 10:16d may be rendered: “the Lord is the name for Him.”¹⁹¹³ LXX Jeremiah may not have fully rendered יהוה צבאות “Yahweh of Hosts,” or simply shortened the title to merely κύριος “Lord,”¹⁹¹⁴ as is his habit (47 of 82 MT cases). LXX Jeremiah often shortens longer divine epithet formulas, such as צבאות “hosts”¹⁹¹⁵ with both אלהים “God”¹⁹¹⁶ and ישראל “Israel” (cf. LXX 36:8), or with אדון “Master”¹⁹¹⁷ before יהוה “Yahweh” (cf.

¹⁹⁰⁸ GELSM, 419-20.

¹⁹⁰⁹ I.e. Yahweh and the nation of Israel, or Jacob, have a mutual possession of one another.

¹⁹¹⁰ This is to say, Israel, as a nation, possesses Yahweh as her Protector against the evil spirits described in LXX 10:1-18. The notion of Israel possessing God as her defence against evil can be observed in apotropaic hymns and magical incantations found at Qumran. For example, cf. 11Q11 1:2-11; 2:1-12; 3:1-12; 4:1-13; 5:1-14; and 6:1-15.

¹⁹¹¹ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 141-42.

¹⁹¹² Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

¹⁹¹³ The “Dative of Possession” gives emphasis to the object of the possession and not on the possessor. Cf. F. Blass, and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. Robert Funk; Cambridge: University Press, 1961), §189, 102. Seven contexts with similar Greek renditions include: MT 10:16; 16:21; MT 31:35; 33:2; 50:34; 51:19; and MT 51:57.

¹⁹¹⁴ GELSM, 419-20.

¹⁹¹⁵ HALOT II:994-97

¹⁹¹⁶ HALOT I:52-53.

¹⁹¹⁷ HALOT I:13.

LXX 30:5), or even two אלהים “God” titles along with ישראל “Israel” (cf. LXX 45:17).¹⁹¹⁸ One sees that צבאות “hosts” has much variation among its LXX renditions, so as to imply abbreviation by HRLXXJ’s editorial hand or, later, by the LXX translator. Furthermore, there is little evidence of scribal expansions of the divine epithet within or subsequent to HRLXXJ’s edition¹⁹¹⁹ which would have then been influenced by the longer textual readings of the MT text,¹⁹²⁰ although this is a difficult issue.¹⁹²¹

LXX Jeremiah’s κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ “the Lord is his name”¹⁹²² probably represents an underlying יהוה (צבאות) שמו “Yahweh (of hosts) is his name”¹⁹²³ in four other instances of the book.¹⁹²⁴ Instead of a genitive pronoun for שמו “his name”¹⁹²⁵ here, LXX Jeremiah employs the dative for the same notion as elsewhere,¹⁹²⁶ in a “Dative of Possession”¹⁹²⁷ construction which corresponds to a *Lamed* preposition or to a Hebrew construct state relationship (e.g. cf. LXX 10:16a).¹⁹²⁸ In LXX 10:16d, one observes that שמו “his name”¹⁹²⁹ becomes in Old Greek “the name for Him” and demonstrates more emphatically the object of possession¹⁹³⁰ (i.e. Jacob’s God).

¹⁹¹⁸ One finds 11 instances of LXX minuses for צבאות “armies” and 24 exceptions to only κύριος “Lord” in LXX Jeremiah.

¹⁹¹⁹ I have only found evidence of one LXX plus reading of θεός “God” (GELSM, 327) among the Qumran manuscripts. Thus, one can observe that Jer 12:4’s יהוה “Yahweh” in 4Q70 evidences the LXX addition of θεός “God” in LXX Jer 12:4 (DJD XV, 160).

¹⁹²⁰ Contra Stipp, MASJ, 130-31. E.g. cf. Alexander Rofé, “The Name YHWH SEBA’OT and the Shorter Recension of Jeremiah,” in *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel* (ed. R. Liwak and S. Wagner; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 311. Vonach follows the thought of Rofé for the most part (idem, “Jeremias,” 2715-17).

¹⁹²¹ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2715-17. Vonach would posit textual abbreviation of the full MT divine epithets in the LXX *Vorlage* text, at least in some cases (ibid.).

¹⁹²² NETS, 891.

¹⁹²³ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 31.

¹⁹²⁴ Cf. LXX 10:16; LXX 27:34; 28:19; 28:57; and LXX 38:36.

¹⁹²⁵ HALOT II:1548-51.

¹⁹²⁶ E.g. cf. 16:21.

¹⁹²⁷ Martin, *Syntax*, 129-31.

¹⁹²⁸ E.g. cf. LXX 52:1’s ὄνομα τῆ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ “the name of his mother” (Walser, Jeremiah, 185).

¹⁹²⁹ HALOT II:1548-51.

¹⁹³⁰ Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, §189, 102.

MT 10:17a אֶסְפִי מֵאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן

LXX 10:17a συνηγαγεν ἔξωθεν τῆν ὑπόστασίν σου

Greek συνάγω “to bring together”¹⁹³¹ mostly renders אָסַף “to gather”¹⁹³² in MT Jeremiah (8 of 14 instances). However, LXX Jeremiah demonstrates much variation of correspondence, with fourteen exceptions to its normal equivalence (of 22 instances). Yet, συνάγω “to bring together” renders similar verbs elsewhere, such as קָבַץ “to collect”¹⁹³³ six times,¹⁹³⁴ and also קוּהוּ “to hope”¹⁹³⁵ twice,¹⁹³⁶ etc.¹⁹³⁷

One sees that LXX Jeremiah does not render MT 10:17a’s מֵאֶרֶץ “from the land”¹⁹³⁸ with a customary expression (ἐκ γῆς “from the land”¹⁹³⁹), but with ἔξωθεν¹⁹⁴⁰ “from the outside.”¹⁹⁴¹ The γῆ “land”¹⁹⁴² and אֶרֶץ “land”¹⁹⁴³ correspondence is very consistent in LXX Jeremiah,¹⁹⁴⁴ like the equivalence of γῆ “land”¹⁹⁴⁵ with אֲדָמָה “earth.”¹⁹⁴⁶ Some¹⁹⁴⁷

¹⁹³¹ GELSM, 650-51.

¹⁹³² HALOT I:74-75.

¹⁹³³ HALOT II:1063.

¹⁹³⁴ The six equivalences include: LXX 29:15 (Rahlfs 30:8); LXX 30:5 (Rahlfs 30:21); 38:8; 38:10; 39:37; and LXX 47:15.

¹⁹³⁵ HALOT II:1082.

¹⁹³⁶ LXX 3:17 and LXX 8:15.

¹⁹³⁷ E.g. cf. נָהַר “to stream towards” (HALOT I:676; cf. LXX 28:44), קָרַב “to draw near” (HALOT II:1132-34; cf. LXX 37:21), יָסַף “to add” (HALOT I:418; cf. LXX 7:21), or even MT 23:8’s

הַעֲלֶה וְאָשֶׁר הֵבִיא “who brought up and who brought in” (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 621). There are also two non-renderings (LXX 21:4 and LXX 32:19), along with one misunderstanding in LXX 8:2.

¹⁹³⁸ HALOT I:90-91.

¹⁹³⁹ GELSM, 129.

¹⁹⁴⁰ This is the only correspondence of ἔξωθεν “from the outside” (GELSM, 256) with מֵאֶרֶץ “from the land” (HALOT I:90-91) in the LXX corpus (HR I:502).

¹⁹⁴¹ GELSM, 256.

¹⁹⁴² GELSM, 129.

¹⁹⁴³ HALOT I:90-91.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Old Greek γῆ “land” renders אֶרֶץ “earth” 213 times in 248 LXX Jeremiah instances.

¹⁹⁴⁵ GELSM, 129.

¹⁹⁴⁶ HALOT I:15. Every one of the 18 occurrences of אֲדָמָה “earth” are rendered by γῆ “land.”

¹⁹⁴⁷ Varughese, *Hebrew*, 58; and Workman, *Jeremiah*, 305.

suggest מִחוּצוֹת “from the outside”¹⁹⁴⁸ as LXX 10:17a’s *Vorlage* textual variant for ἐξωθεν “from the outside.”¹⁹⁴⁹ A *Vorlage* reading of מִחוּצוֹת “from the outside” for LXX 10:17a would be consistent with LXX Jeremiah’s rendition habits elsewhere, since every occurrence of this phrase in MT Jeremiah becomes ἐξωθεν “from the outside.”¹⁹⁵⁰ However, it is difficult to find an occurrence of ἐξωθεν “from the outside” that occurs freely independent,¹⁹⁵¹ without other equivalence elements in all of its twelve LXX Jeremiah instances.

There seems to be no need to posit a different LXX 10:17a *Vorlage* from that of MT 10:17a, but rather to suggest a free rendition,¹⁹⁵² although some original *Vorlage* variation is certainly plausible at this point. LXX 10:17a’s context describes divinely motivated exile for Judah with the verb συναγωγή “to bring together.”¹⁹⁵³ Such a verbal usage of συναγωγή “to bring together” finds similar literary phraseology in LXX 3:17’s gathering of the nations to worship the Lord¹⁹⁵⁴ in Israel. LXX 10:17a, in contrast to 3:17’s wording, describes the gathering of Israel by Yahweh¹⁹⁵⁵ from Palestine to journey into the exilic lands, so as to require a very broad term to describe all of the diaspora situation. LXX 10:17a’s ἐξωθεν “from the outside”¹⁹⁵⁶ translation of מִחוּצוֹת “from the land,”¹⁹⁵⁷ thus, suits its context quite well. Likewise, LXX Jeremiah employs the cognate ἐξωθέω “to expel”¹⁹⁵⁸

¹⁹⁴⁸ Cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 567 for his rendition of מִחוּצוֹת of MT 21:4.

¹⁹⁴⁹ GELSM, 256. E.g. cf. LXX 9:21 (Rahlfs 9:20); LXX 21:4; and LXX 44:21 (MT 37:21).

¹⁹⁵⁰ Cf. LXX 9:21 (Rahlfs 9:20); LXX 21:4; and LXX 44:21 (MT 37:21).

¹⁹⁵¹ Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 114-121. This is to say, one notes that Greek ἐξωθεν “from the outside”

(GELSM, 256) is equivalent also with חֲצוֹת “streets” (plural of חוּץ “outside;” cf. HALOT I:298-99) in the following: LXX 11:6; LXX 28:4; 40:10; 51:6; 51:9; 51:17; and LXX 51:21.

¹⁹⁵² Streane, *Double*, 126.

¹⁹⁵³ GELSM, 650-51.

¹⁹⁵⁴ LXX 3:17 reads: καὶ συναχθήσονται εἰς αὐτήν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη “and all the nations shall be gathered into her” (NETS, 884).

¹⁹⁵⁵ Streane suggests that אִסְפָּה “she gathered” and not אִסַּף “he gathered” (HALOT I:74-75) may have been read in LXX 10:17a, so as to imply the female city addressed in LXX 10:17 (*ibid.*, 126). However, the subject of 10:17’s συναγωγή “to bring together” (GELSM, 650-51) should be taken from the previous context of verse 10:16.

¹⁹⁵⁶ GELSM, 256.

¹⁹⁵⁷ HALOT I:90-91.

¹⁹⁵⁸ GELSM, 256.

in LXX 23:8 for a similar divine action of scattering Israel into her exile. Thus, LXX Jeremiah, at times, utilizes the two cognate terms of ἐξωθέω “to expel”¹⁹⁵⁹ and ἐξωθεν “from the outside”¹⁹⁶⁰ to describe the collection and transportation of the people of Judah into exile.

LXX Jeremiah renders the *Hapax Legomenon* פִּנְעָה “bundle”¹⁹⁶¹ with ὑπόστασις “existence,”¹⁹⁶² a word “full of nuances.”¹⁹⁶³ LXX Jer 23:22 contains the only other case of ὑπόστασις “existence”¹⁹⁶⁴ in the book, in which the term signifies divine “support” according to T. Muraoka.¹⁹⁶⁵ Yet, ὑπόστασις “existence” can mean so many different things that one could posit almost any Hebrew word for the original LXX *Vorlage* text variant. For example, ὑπόστασις “support” can have connotations such as “foundation (of building),”¹⁹⁶⁶ “possessions,”¹⁹⁶⁷ “property,”¹⁹⁶⁸ “good chance,”¹⁹⁶⁹ “rebellion,”¹⁹⁷⁰ “resistance,”¹⁹⁷¹ “troops,”¹⁹⁷² “station of soldiers,”¹⁹⁷³ “hope,”¹⁹⁷⁴ etc. In LXX Jer 23:22, ὑπόστασις renders סֵד “secret,”¹⁹⁷⁵ which can signify a “circle of confidants.”¹⁹⁷⁶ Hebrew סֵד “secret” occurs only four times in MT Jeremiah and always is rendered with a noun for a collection or gathering of people,¹⁹⁷⁷ as in LXX 6:11’s συναγωγή “assemblage,”¹⁹⁷⁸ or

¹⁹⁵⁹ GELSM, 256.

¹⁹⁶⁰ GELSM, 256.

¹⁹⁶¹ HALOT I:485; and CHAL, 160.

¹⁹⁶² GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁶³ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 263.

¹⁹⁶⁴ GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁶⁵ GELSM, 705; and NETS, 901. GELSL, 637 suggests: “being of God.”

¹⁹⁶⁶ GELSM, 705. E.g. cf. LXX Na 2:3.

¹⁹⁶⁷ GELSM, 705. E.g. cf. LXX Deut 11:6.

¹⁹⁶⁸ GELSM, 705. E.g. cf. LXX Job 22:20.

¹⁹⁶⁹ GELSM, 705. E.g. cf. LXX Ruth 1:12.

¹⁹⁷⁰ GELSM, 705; and GELSL, 637. E.g. cf. LXX Deut 1:12.

¹⁹⁷¹ GELSM, 705; and GELSL, 637. E.g. cf. LXX Deut 1:12.

¹⁹⁷² GELSM, 705. E.g. cf. LXX 1 Sam 13:23.

¹⁹⁷³ GELSL, 637. E.g. cf. LXX 1 Sam 13:23.

¹⁹⁷⁴ GELSL, 637. E.g. cf. LXX Ruth 1:12.

¹⁹⁷⁵ HALOT I:745.

¹⁹⁷⁶ HALOT I:745.

¹⁹⁷⁷ LXX 6:11; 15:17; LXX 23:18; and LXX 23:22.

¹⁹⁷⁸ GELSM, 651.

LXX 15:17’s συνέδριον “group of people,”¹⁹⁷⁹ or also LXX 23:18’s ὑπόστημα “military camp.”¹⁹⁸⁰ Although ὑπόστασις “support”¹⁹⁸¹ does not render חֶלֶק “share”¹⁹⁸² in the LXX corpus,¹⁹⁸³ it twice renders a similar root חֶלֶד “world” in the LXX Psalms.¹⁹⁸⁴ However, MT 10:16a’s חֶלֶק “share” might have provided possible nuance and influence upon LXX 10:17a’s ὑπόστασις rendition, due particularly to its contextual proximity in the previous LXX 10:16a clause.

MT 10:16a’s חֶלֶק “share”¹⁹⁸⁵ may have influenced LXX Jeremiah’s rendition of כְּנֻעָה “bundle”¹⁹⁸⁶ as ὑπόστασις “support,” since there are some parallel semantic notions between ὑπόστασις and סוֹד “secret,”¹⁹⁸⁷ that do not seem to be inherent in MT 10:17’s context. LXX Jeremiah perhaps simply guessed at the meaning of 10:17a’s כְּנֻעָה “bundle”¹⁹⁸⁸ with MT 10:16a’s previous contextual vocabulary of חֶלֶק “share” during the translation process. Clearly, LXX Jeremiah did not render כְּנֻעָה “bundle” with MT’s notion of moveable property, but with a lexeme that probably either suggests a collective society (e.g. LXX 23:22’s rendition of סוֹד “secret”),¹⁹⁸⁹ or a notion of divine “support.”¹⁹⁹⁰ The nuance of “support” conforms easily with Duhm’s *Bannformel* perspective of LXX 10:11-16 as “magical poetry” invoking divine help against evil spirits.¹⁹⁹¹

¹⁹⁷⁹ GELSM, 654.

¹⁹⁸⁰ GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁸¹ GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁸² HALOT I:323-24.

¹⁹⁸³ Cf. HR II:1417

¹⁹⁸⁴ Cf. LXX Ps 38:5 and LXX Ps 88:47 (or MT Ps 39:6 and 89:48, respectively; cf. HR II:1417).

¹⁹⁸⁵ HALOT I:323-24.

¹⁹⁸⁶ HALOT I:485; and CHAL, 160.

¹⁹⁸⁷ HALOT I:745.

¹⁹⁸⁸ HALOT I:485; and CHAL, 160.

¹⁹⁸⁹ GELSL, 637 suggests “being of God.” But, given the survey of LXX Jeremiah’s renditions of סוֹד “secret” (HALOT I:745) elsewhere, perhaps a term relating to a human society or a collective group would be more appropriate to LXX 23:22’s intended nuanced meaning.

¹⁹⁹⁰ GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁹¹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 227-72.

Tov suggests that ὑπόστασις “existence”¹⁹⁹² “may reflect etymological exegesis of כְּנֵעָה on the basis of כְּנַעֲנִי ‘merchant.’”¹⁹⁹³ However, if one takes ὑπόστασις “support” with the sense of “hope,”¹⁹⁹⁴ then Tov posits that “the translation has to be regarded as contextual exegesis,”¹⁹⁹⁵ so as to suggest a midrashic translation.¹⁹⁹⁶ Yet, LXX 10:17a’s ὑπόστασις has notions that link contextually with concepts of possession found in both LXX 10:16a’s μέρος “part”¹⁹⁹⁷ and Jacob’s ownership of the Lord in LXX 10:16c’s clause,¹⁹⁹⁸ so as to suggest that LXX Jeremiah simply attempted to render MT 10:17a’s כְּנֵעָה “bundle.” Moreover, LXX 10:17a’s possessive nuance would easily accommodate Duhm’s *Bannformel* model for 10:11-16, since LXX 10:11-16’s magical or apotropaic hymn requires divine “support”¹⁹⁹⁹ from Jacob’s “Portion.” Whatever the case, LXX 10:17a’s ὑπόστασις “existence”²⁰⁰⁰ reflects an attempt by LXX Jeremiah to convey the misunderstood *Hapax Legomenon* term כְּנֵעָתְךָ “your bundle”²⁰⁰¹ within its context. LXX 10:17a’s translation of ὑπόστασις “support” also demonstrates significant nuances placed on the meaning of כְּנֵעָתְךָ “your bundle” that probably reaches into possible motivation behind HRLXXJ’s original editorial work on the immediate context of LXX 10:1-18.²⁰⁰²

¹⁹⁹² GELSM, 705.

¹⁹⁹³ *Idem*, *Text–Critical Use*, 30.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Cf. LXX Ez 19:5.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Tov, *Text–Critical Use*, 30.

¹⁹⁹⁶ For example, Tov discusses ἀποστολή “expulsion to a foreign land” (GELSM, 84) for בַּרְבֵּר “bubonic plague” (HALOT I:212) in his *Septuagint Translation*, 115 and 132 note 18. Greek ἀποστολή occurs in both LXX 39:36 and 1 Bar 2:25 and might represent a “euphemism or a Midrashic rendition” for divinely sent punishment (*ibid.*, 132). There seems to be a parallel notion in LXX 10:18c’s πληγή “divine punishment” (GELSM, 562-63) textual addition.

¹⁹⁹⁷ GELSM, 449.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Note the contrast of LXX 10:16c’s and MT 10:16c’s syntactical implications. LXX 10:16c has Jacob’s inheritance of his Lord as a divine inheritance, but MT 10:16c describes Yahweh as possessing or inheriting the tribe of Israel as His people.

¹⁹⁹⁹ GELSM, 705. Muraoka gives the sense of “support” for ὑπόστασις in LXX Jer 23:22.

²⁰⁰⁰ GELSM, 705.

²⁰⁰¹ HALOT I:485; and CHAL, 160.

²⁰⁰² This is especially true if one accepts Duhm’s *Bannformel* perspective of LXX Jer 10:11-16.

In summary, LXX Jer 10:17a gives different nuances from those of MT 10:17a, which begins with the change from the imperative **אַסְפֵּי** “gather”²⁰⁰³ to the aorist **συνήγαγεν** “He has assembled,”²⁰⁰⁴ and continues, perhaps, in **ἐξωθεν** “from the outside.”²⁰⁰⁵ It is impossible to know ultimately if any or all of the implied variations of LXX 10:17 from MT 10:17 were in the LXX *Vorlage* (cf. analysis below), or were intentionally done by HRLXXJ.²⁰⁰⁶ However, it is very plausible that some of the LXX variations from MT 10:17a reflect the original alterations of LXX 10:17a’s *Vorlage*, as edited by HRLXXJ.

MT 10:17b **יְשֻׁבְתֵי [יְשֻׁבֹת] בְּמִצְוֹר:**

LXX 10:17b **κατοικοῦσα ἐν ἐκλεκτοῖς**

The *Kethiv* and *Qere* variation of MT 10:17b’s **יְשֻׁבְתֵי** “you who dwell”²⁰⁰⁷ does not affect the Hebrew’s syntactical meaning, although it is possible that 4Q71 disagreed with both variants.²⁰⁰⁸ However, **κατοικοῦσα** “you who dwell”²⁰⁰⁹ straightforwardly represents MT Hebrew, since **κατοικέω** “to dwell”²⁰¹⁰ most commonly renders MT **יָשַׁב** “to dwell”²⁰¹¹ (76 of 85 LXX instances).²⁰¹² LXX Jeremiah also translates **יָשַׁב** “to dwell”²⁰¹³ as **κάθημαι** “to be seated”²⁰¹⁴ (24 times), **καθίζω** “to seat oneself”²⁰¹⁵ (18 instances),²⁰¹⁶ **οἰκέω** “to dwell”²⁰¹⁷ (7 instances), and **ἐνοικέω** “to dwell”²⁰¹⁸ (3 instances).

²⁰⁰³ HALOT I:74-75.

²⁰⁰⁴ GELSM, 650-51.

²⁰⁰⁵ GELSM, 256.

²⁰⁰⁶ Cf. Tov’s reconstruction of 4Q71 as almost identical to MT 10:17 (idem, DJD XV, 176).

²⁰⁰⁷ HALOT I:444-45.

²⁰⁰⁸ Tov reconstructs the *Qere* reading **יְשֻׁבֹת** “she who dwells” (idem, DJD XV, 173-76).

²⁰⁰⁹ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

²⁰¹⁰ GELSM, 391.

²⁰¹¹ HALOT I:444-45.

²⁰¹² Of nine exceptions, four correspond with the verb **יָשַׁב** “to dwell” (HALOT I:184).

²⁰¹³ HALOT I:444-45.

²⁰¹⁴ GELSM, 349.

²⁰¹⁵ GELSM, 349-50.

²⁰¹⁶ The verb **καθίζω** “to seat oneself” always renders *Hiphil* **יָשַׁב** “to dwell,” except in MT 32:37.

²⁰¹⁷ GELSM, 487-88.

²⁰¹⁸ GELSM, 240.

LXX Jeremiah understood the Zion figure of MT **יֹשְׁבֵי־תַיִם** “you who dwell under siege”²⁰¹⁹ and kept the female persona, as he does elsewhere.²⁰²⁰ However, the translator did not translate MT **בַּמְצוֹר** “under siege”²⁰²¹ isomorphically, as in its two other equivalences of 19:9 and MT 52:5.²⁰²² Many suppose a different *Vorlage* text to explain LXX 10:17b’s ἐν ἐκλεκτοῖς “among the chosen,”²⁰²³ such as the *Qal* Passive of **בָּחַר** “to choose”²⁰²⁴ of Duhm,²⁰²⁵ or the variant **מִבְּחָר** “choicest element”²⁰²⁶ of Workman,²⁰²⁷ Varughese,²⁰²⁸ and Streane.²⁰²⁹ However, LXX Jeremiah renders **מִבְּחָר** “choicest element” with ἐκλεκτός “chosen”²⁰³⁰ only twice,²⁰³¹ with other possible equivalences.²⁰³² The adjective ἐκλεκτός “selected”²⁰³³ also occurs in free renditions, such as those of LXX 26:15 and 38:39. Greek ἐκλεκτός “chosen” can also render **חֲמוּדָה** “desirable things”²⁰³⁴ in a context describing

²⁰¹⁹ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

²⁰²⁰ E.g. cf. LXX 10:17; 22:23; LXX 26:19; and 28:35. (Walser, *Jeremiah*, 263-64). *Codex Vaticanus*, *Sinaiticus*, and other miniscules support the female pronouns in 10:19-20 (Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 202-03).

²⁰²¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 338.

²⁰²² LXX 19:9 translates **מְצוֹר** “distress” or “siege” (HALOT I:623) with περιτομή “act of enclosing from all sides” (GELSM, 550-51). However, LXX 52:5 renders the same Hebrew term with συνοχή “act of confining inhabitants within a place” (GELSM, 659).

²⁰²³ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

²⁰²⁴ HALOT I:119-20.

²⁰²⁵ Duhm reconstructs 10:17 as: **אסף מחוץ כנתך ישבתי בבחורים** “He has gathered from the outside your bundle, you who dwell among the chosen” (idem, *Jeremia*, 104).

²⁰²⁶ HALOT I:542.

²⁰²⁷ Workman, *Jeremiah*, 305.

²⁰²⁸ Varughese suggests the plural of **במבחרים** “among the choicest elements” (idem, *Hebrew Text*, 66).

²⁰²⁹ Streane, *Double*, 126.

²⁰³⁰ GELSM, 212.

²⁰³¹ The adjective ἐκλεκτός “chosen” renders **מִבְּחָר** “choicest element” in LXX 22:7 and LXX 31:15 (MT 48:15).

²⁰³² The term ἐκλεκτός “chosen” translates the noun **חֲמוּדָה** “desirable thing” (HALOT I:325-26) twice in LXX Jeremiah (LXX 3:19 and LXX 32:20 [Rahlfs 32:34 or MT 25:34]). But in LXX 12:10 the Hebrew is rendered as an adjective επιθυμητός “desirable” (GELSM, 272).

²⁰³³ GELSM, 212.

²⁰³⁴ HALOT I:325-26. The word’s form for the plural does not occur in the biblical corpus. Thus, it is always written in the singular form, but can describe plural notions.

Israel's land heritage (LXX 3:19).²⁰³⁵ However, LXX 10:17 describes an ὑπόστασις “property”²⁰³⁶ outside of the land of Judah which was divinely chosen for the exile.

LXX 10:17's evil γενεά “generation”²⁰³⁷ do not inherit the Promised Land, but must leave for exile, as is evident from implications in chapters 7-10. Yet, LXX 10:17 grants hope for Judah's culpable generation to arrive at divinely elected destinations²⁰³⁸ or to become a “selected”²⁰³⁹ nation among the diaspora population.²⁰⁴⁰ Thus, LXX 10:17's vocabulary of ὑπόστασις “existence”²⁰⁴¹ and ἐκλεκτός “chosen”²⁰⁴² were purposively selected in this context which needed exilic hope, so that one is hard pressed to decide whether LXX 10:17 contained its implied variations from MT 10:17 in the *Vorlage* text. This is to say, HRLXXJ conceivably created LXX 10:17's implied retroversions²⁰⁴³ of קָטַף, “He has gathered,”²⁰⁴⁴ מִחוּץ, “from the outside,”²⁰⁴⁵ and בְּמִבְחָרִים “among the choicest ones”²⁰⁴⁶ in an effort to situate LXX 10:11-16's newly created hymn in an appropriate contextual environment. LXX 10:17b's implied textual alterations provide a

²⁰³⁵ Also cf. MT 12:10's usage of דָּבָר טוֹב “desirable thing” as well. It is interesting, in this vein of thought, to note that NETS, 891 renders LXX 10:17b's ἐν ἐκλεκτοῖς as: “in choice places.”

²⁰³⁶ GELSM, 705.

²⁰³⁷ GELSM, 127. The term γενεά “generation” occurs thrice (LXX 7:29; 8:3; and 10:25) in LXX Jeremiah.

²⁰³⁸ NETS, 891 renders LXX 10:17b's ἐν ἐκλεκτοῖς as: “in choice places.” However, the diaspora experience could be conceived as ongoing, even if Jewish people may be living in Palestine. Moreover, the notion behind LXX 10:17b's ἐκλεκτός “elect” seems to be understood corporately for the people of Israel (e.g. cf. Jubilees 1:29 and 2:20 or 1QM 13:9-18, etc.).

²⁰³⁹ GELSM, 212.

²⁰⁴⁰ The notion of corporate election of a remnant or community of Israel finds parallel in Second Temple Period literature, especially that which was discovered at Qumran (e.g. cf. Jubilees 1:29; 2:20; 1QM 10:9-18, 12:1-5, 13:9-18; 1QH 15:13-25; 1QS 3:13-26; 4:22, 9:14, 11:7-9; etc.). One finds in such texts notions of hereditary possession of Yahweh, separate abodes from the rest of society and spirits, and even military overtones at times.

²⁰⁴¹ GELSM, 705.

²⁰⁴² GELSM, 212.

²⁰⁴³ Hermann-Josef Stipp implies this conclusion for LXX 10:17's translation technique. Cf. idem, “Die Jeremia-Septuaginta als theologische Programmschrift. Zur Kommentierung des griechischen Jeremiabuches in der ‘Septuaginta Deutsch’ (LXX.D),” *BZ* 57, no. 1 (2013), 40-41; and *SZJ*, 169.

²⁰⁴⁴ HALOT I:74-75.

²⁰⁴⁵ Cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 567 in his rendition of מִחוּץ of MT 21:4.

²⁰⁴⁶ HALOT I:542.

sense of corporate unity to the Jewish diaspora as an “elect” nation,²⁰⁴⁷ which, perhaps, hints to the intended magical significance behind the utterance of LXX 10:11-16’s hymnic material.²⁰⁴⁸

LXX 10:18c’s πληγή “injury”²⁰⁴⁹ of Zion’s destruction requires that Israel look to Yahweh for her ὑπόστασις “property”²⁰⁵⁰ among the nations. Thus, LXX 10:17-18 understands that a pedagogic lesson applies here in the pericope, which looks forward, in a contextual sense, to LXX 10:19’s πληγή “injury.”²⁰⁵¹ LXX 10:17 suggests that Judah’s γενεά “generation”²⁰⁵² which experienced LXX 10:1-18’s πληγή “blow”²⁰⁵³ had learned the theological lessons of LXX 10:11-16’s hymn, just as the nations were intended possibly to do as well (i.e. 10:11’s implied audience). However, assuming the Aramaic magical (or apotropaic) incantation interpretation of LXX 10:11, then perhaps one might understand LXX 10:17 to place the Jewish exiles in a protected exilic environment, since they then possess 10:11-16’s hymn as a spoken defence against evil spirits in the diaspora.²⁰⁵⁴

MT 10:18a כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה

LXX 10:18a ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος

The messenger formula is translated in its normal fashion for this section of LXX Jeremiah.²⁰⁵⁵

²⁰⁴⁷ Nitzan writes: “The religious authority of the spirit exorciser is not expressed by remarks concerning his pedigree or his practical fitness for the task, but in songs of thanksgiving for the grace of his election to praise God” (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 272). For similar notions of corporate election among the diaspora, cf. Jubilees 1:29; 2:20; 1QM 10:9-18, 12:1-5, 13:9-18; 1QH 15:13-25; 1QS 3:13-26; 4:22, 9:14, 11:7-9; etc.

²⁰⁴⁸ E.g. cf. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 270-272.

²⁰⁴⁹ GELSM, 562-63.

²⁰⁵⁰ GELSM, 705.

²⁰⁵¹ GELSM, 562-63.

²⁰⁵² GELSM, 127.

²⁰⁵³ GELSM, 562-63.

²⁰⁵⁴ Perhaps, there is an implied hope of a future end to the exile by means of the utterance of LXX 10:11-16’s magical hymn, besides the assumed spiritual protection against evil spirits. Nitzan writes: “This is a restrained war of defense, anticipating the titanic battle which God shall bring about in the future, at the End of Days” (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 272).

²⁰⁵⁵ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2739; and Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 2 and 56-58.

MT 10:18bc הַנְּנִי קוֹלֵעַ אֶת־יְוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ בַּפֶּעַם הַזֹּאת וְהִצְרוּתִי לָהֶם

LXX 10:18b ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σκελίζω τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἐν θλίψει

The correspondence of ἰδοὺ “look!”²⁰⁵⁶ with הַנְּנִי “behold”²⁰⁵⁷ is stereotypical.²⁰⁵⁸

Thus, there is no reason to doubt that LXX 10:18’s *Vorlage* text agreed with MT’s הַנְּנִי “Look out, I am.”²⁰⁵⁹ Although ἰδοὺ “look!” is unnatural Greek, LXX Jeremiah contains many cases of ἰδοὺ rendering an inflected הַנְּנִי “behold” containing the first person pronominal suffix (54 MT cases).²⁰⁶⁰ Of 54 instances in MT Jeremiah, 39 cases of an inflected הַנְּנִי “behold”²⁰⁶¹ construction with a following *futurum instans* participle correspond to LXX’s ἰδοὺ “look!”²⁰⁶² In such cases, LXX Jeremiah’s ἰδοὺ is often preceded by ἐγὼ “I,” and is immediately followed by a present tense verb.²⁰⁶³ LXX 10:18’s ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σκελίζω “Behold, I am tripping up”²⁰⁶⁴ represents, therefore, a type of stereotyped construction common to LXX Jeremiah’s Hebraic Greek.

Greek σκελίζω means “to cause the downfall of” someone,²⁰⁶⁵ and occurs only once in LXX Jeremiah. The verb σκελίζω does not match directly the MT Hebrew in 10:18b,²⁰⁶⁶ since קָלַע has a different connotation of “to sling out”²⁰⁶⁷ in this *futurum instans* participle expression.²⁰⁶⁸ One would expect a verbal equivalence like that of σφενδονάω “to assail

²⁰⁵⁶ GELSM, 337-38.

²⁰⁵⁷ HALOT I:252.

²⁰⁵⁸ HR I:677.

²⁰⁵⁹ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129.

²⁰⁶⁰ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2719.

²⁰⁶¹ HALOT I:252.

²⁰⁶² GELSM, 337-38.

²⁰⁶³ There are fifteen exceptions to this pattern, as in nine examples of a following Greek verb in a future tense.

²⁰⁶⁴ NETS, 891.

²⁰⁶⁵ GELSM, 623.

²⁰⁶⁶ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2756.

²⁰⁶⁷ HALOT II:1105-06.

²⁰⁶⁸ The syntax of a *futurum instans* participle and the syntax of the following *Weqatal* verb may be found in: Joüon, JM, §121e, 410; and §119n, 401.

with a sling”²⁰⁶⁹ (cf. 1 Sam 17:49)²⁰⁷⁰ or βάλλω “to throw”²⁰⁷¹ (cf. Judg 20:16).²⁰⁷² The rarity of the verb is demonstrated by the fact that Liddell and Scott reference LXX 10:18 for σκελίζω²⁰⁷³ “to overthrow,”²⁰⁷⁴ which occurs nowhere else,²⁰⁷⁵ save rarely in the daughter versions.²⁰⁷⁶ Perhaps Tov is correct that σκελίζω “to overthrow” may demonstrate a case of homophony.²⁰⁷⁷ LXX 10:18’s use of σκελίζω “to overthrow” along with ἐν θλίψει “with affliction”²⁰⁷⁸ combines to signify: “causing the downfall (of someone) with tribulation.”²⁰⁷⁹ Such a nuance in the present tense strays away somewhat from the Hebrew verbal syntax, which implies an imminent future action in the participle קוֹלֵעַ “I am slinging out”²⁰⁸⁰ and a successive action in MT 10:18c’s *Weqatal* וְהִצְרוֹתִי “loading them.”²⁰⁸¹

LXX 10:18b does not seem to render הַזֶּמֶן הַזֶּה “at this time.”²⁰⁸² One might expect LXX 16:21’s equivalence of ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ “at this time”²⁰⁸³ as the literal rendition.²⁰⁸⁴ The omission of הַזֶּמֶן הַזֶּה “at this time”²⁰⁸⁵ may not have been

²⁰⁶⁹ GELSM, 665.

²⁰⁷⁰ HR II:1325.

²⁰⁷¹ GELSM, 112.

²⁰⁷² HR I:189-90.

²⁰⁷³ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek- English Lexicon* (9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1606.

²⁰⁷⁴ GELSL, 555. GELSL describes σκελίζω as a neologism.

²⁰⁷⁵ Tov, GHB, 173.

²⁰⁷⁶ HR II:1268. The verb is relatively rare even outside of biblical manuscripts (LS, 1606).

²⁰⁷⁷ For another case of homophony in LXX Jeremiah, cf. LXX 38:9’s ἀυλίζων (from ἀυλίζω “to cause to take up one’s temporary abode;” cf. GELSM, 102) for MT 31:9’s אֲוִלִּיכֶם (from הָלַךְ “to lead;” cf. HALOT I:246-48). Also, cf. Tov, GHB, 166.

²⁰⁷⁸ NETS, 891.

²⁰⁷⁹ GELSM, 623.

²⁰⁸⁰ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

²⁰⁸¹ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129. For צָרַר, HALOT II gives two lexical root meanings. The first root means “to wrap (up), envelop,” and the second root means “to treat with hostility, attack” (HALOT II:1058-59). Cf. Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:547 for exegesis of the *double entendre* meaning in MT Jer 10:18d.

²⁰⁸² HALOT II:952-53.

²⁰⁸³ NETS, 896.

²⁰⁸⁴ Hebrew פֶּעַם “time” only occurs one other place in MT Jeremiah (16:21) and is rendered with καιρός “season” (GELSM, 355-56), which usually renders עֵת “time” (HALOT I:899-901) in LXX Jeremiah (HR II:706-08).

²⁰⁸⁵ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

intentional,²⁰⁸⁶ but it is difficult to understand how it could have been due to a scribal mistake (e.g. haplography).²⁰⁸⁷ Moreover, LXX 10:18b’s lack of **הַזֵּאת בְּפַעַם** “at this time”²⁰⁸⁸ perhaps implies a more contemporary application, although the present *σκελίζω* “to overthrow”²⁰⁸⁹ can render a *futurum instans* construction as a normal translation technique for LXX Jeremiah. However, if LXX Jeremiah intended a more actualized implication in his translation, he would have probably used the future tense for *σκελίζω* “to overthrow,” but this is not entirely clear from other examples in the book (e.g. cf. LXX 16:21).²⁰⁹⁰

LXX 10:18b’s *τὴν γῆν ταύτην* “this land”²⁰⁹¹ implies **הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת** “this land,”²⁰⁹² as is the case for sixteen such correspondences with the Greek demonstrative pronoun following the noun *γῆ* “ground”²⁰⁹³ in LXX Jeremiah.²⁰⁹⁴ However, LXX 6:12 renders merely **הָאָרֶץ** “land” with the same *ταύτην* “this”²⁰⁹⁵ pronoun, and it seems unlikely that **בְּפַעַם** “at *this* time”²⁰⁹⁶ would be lacking from the Hebrew textual transmission unless there were manuscript damage. Thus, the LXX *Vorlage* or HRLXXJ’s original edition must have omitted **הַזֵּאת בְּפַעַם** “at this time”²⁰⁹⁷ (or at least **בְּפַעַם**) in the course of the text form’s scribal transmission, although the intentions of this omission are not easy to discern. Perhaps, by removing the temporal phrase, the Deuteronomistic paranaesis of MT

²⁰⁸⁶ Streane, *Double*, 127.

²⁰⁸⁷ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2719.

²⁰⁸⁸ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

²⁰⁸⁹ GELSL, 555.

²⁰⁹⁰ One finds nine cases of Greek future tenses following *ἰδοὺ* (*έγω*) “look, I” as renditions of the inflected **הִנֵּה** “behold” *futurum instans* clauses (HALOT I:252 gives a rendition of “behold”).

²⁰⁹¹ NETS, 891.

²⁰⁹² HALOT I:90-91.

²⁰⁹³ GELSM, 129.

²⁰⁹⁴ MT 13:13; 14:15; 16:3; 16:13; 22:12; 24:6; 24:8; 25:9; MT 26:20; 32:15; 32:22; 32:41; 36:29; 37:19; 42:10; and MT 42:13.

²⁰⁹⁵ GELSM, 514-15.

²⁰⁹⁶ HALOT II:952-53.

²⁰⁹⁷ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

10:18 becomes more easily applicable to the contemporary events of LXX Jeremiah's time or to the political scenario of Seleucid Palestine.

LXX 10:18b not only removes the phrase **הַזֶּה בְּפַעַם הַזֶּה** “at this time,”²⁰⁹⁸ but also eliminates MT 10:18b's construct phrase relationship within the expression **יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ** “those who live in the country.”²⁰⁹⁹ LXX 10:18b's syntax, as a result of these alterations, contains “an object-complement double accusative,” in which “one accusative substantive is the direct object of the verb and the other accusative... complements the object in that it predicates something about it.”²¹⁰⁰ However, it is not peculiar for LXX Jeremiah to make the inhabitants of Israel equal or syntactically parallel to their land.²¹⁰¹ Thus, LXX 10:18b's grammar implies a correspondence of the Judeans with the land of Palestine itself, although such a parallel notion stands inherent in MT 10:18b already, as it is in other contexts of Jeremiah.

MT 10:18c's **וְהִצַּרְתִּי** “and I will afflict them”²¹⁰² seems to suggest a different textual variant behind LXX 10:18b's **ἐν θλίψει** “by anguish.”²¹⁰³ However, **θλίψις** “distressful circumstance”²¹⁰⁴ probably represents **וְהִצַּרְתִּי** “and I will afflict them,” since **θλίψις** “affliction”²¹⁰⁵ is the most popular equivalence for the noun **צָרָה** “distress”²¹⁰⁶ in MT Jeremiah.²¹⁰⁷ Varughese,²¹⁰⁸ Workman,²¹⁰⁹ and Stipp²¹¹⁰ have posited the prepositional phrase **בְּצָרָה** “with distress,” while Streane suggests a corrupted *Vorlage* text that LXX

²⁰⁹⁸ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

²⁰⁹⁹ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129.

²¹⁰⁰ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996), 182-83.

²¹⁰¹ E.g. LXX 6:12; 13:13; 25:9, etc.

²¹⁰² HALOT II:1058-59.

²¹⁰³ Walser, *Jeremiah*, 59.

²¹⁰⁴ GELSM, 331.

²¹⁰⁵ GELSL, 277.

²¹⁰⁶ HALOT II:1053-54.

²¹⁰⁷ Three of eight MT occurrences. Cf. MT 10:18; MT 48:41; and MT 49:22.

²¹⁰⁸ Idem, *Hebrew*, 67.

²¹⁰⁹ Idem, *Jeremiah*, 305.

²¹¹⁰ Idem, “Gottesbildfragen,” 248.

Jeremiah could not read well, but was only able to make out the root letters.²¹¹¹ However, there is no comparable instance of בצרה “with anxiety”²¹¹² in MT Jeremiah to make these *Vorlage* reading proposals viable options. Moreover, LXX 10:18b’s θλιψις “affliction”²¹¹³ rendition more likely gives evidence of a vain attempt by the translator to render the essential semantic notion of צרה “distress.”²¹¹⁴

MT 10:18d לְמַעַן יִמְצְאוּ:

LXX 10:18c ὅπως εὐρεθῆ ἡ πληγὴ σου

The correspondence of לְמַעַן “in order to”²¹¹⁵ with ὅπως “in order that”²¹¹⁶ is not quite as numerous as that of ἵνα “in order that”²¹¹⁷ in LXX Jeremiah, so that one may legitimately ask the question of why the translator opted to waver from his more usual habit of ἵνα to that of ὅπως. Two LXX primary senses of ὅπως “in order that” include both a “final” or “purposive” sense (“in order that”)²¹¹⁸ and that of a “resultative” sense which may be translated: “as a consequence of which.”²¹¹⁹ The meaning of “purposive” or “final” parallels the subordinating conjunction ἵνα “in order that” very well, since it usually “indicates a purpose.”²¹²⁰ However, since LXX Jeremiah did not choose his normal ἵνα “in order that” when giving ὅπως “in order that,” one may surmise that he wished to convey the resultative sense’s notion of “as a consequence of which.”²¹²¹ Moreover, this type of meaning wishes “to indicate a result which was not necessarily intended but bound to

²¹¹¹ Idem, *Double*, 127. The construction of the root צרה “to attack” (HALOT II:1058-59) with the *Lamed* (לְ) preposition is not unusual, in that it appears in Deuteronomy (e.g. cf. MT Deut 28:52) and in prophetic literature (e.g. cf. Zeph 1:17).

²¹¹² HALOT II:1053-54.

²¹¹³ GELSL, 277.

²¹¹⁴ HALOT II:1053-54.

²¹¹⁵ HALOT I:614.

²¹¹⁶ GELSM, 501-02.

²¹¹⁷ GELSM, 341.

²¹¹⁸ GELSM, 502.

²¹¹⁹ GELSM, 501.

²¹²⁰ GELSM, 341.

²¹²¹ GELSM, 501.

ensue.²¹²² LXX 10:18, thus, implies that there would be a corollary purpose to the judgment's result of the Babylonian exile. In other words, ὅπως “as a consequence of which”²¹²³ indicates a secondary result that was not LXX 10:18b's primary intention when describing the divine punitive act against Judah, namely, that of 10:18c's clausal statement.

Greek εὐρίσκω “to find”²¹²⁴ usually translates the verb **נָצַח** “to reach” or “to find”²¹²⁵ (22 of 23 occurrences).²¹²⁶ Generally speaking, many of the nuances of **נָצַח** “to find” carry over into the Greek of LXX Jeremiah.²¹²⁷ It is particularly interesting to see a switch from the active plural voice of MT 10:18d's **נָצְחוּ** “they hit the target”²¹²⁸ to the passive singular voice in LXX 10:18c's εὐρεθῆ ἡ πληγή σου “your plague may be discovered.”²¹²⁹ Usually LXX Jeremiah renders the *Niphal* stem of **נָצַח** “to find” with the aorist passive of εὐρίσκω²¹³⁰ “to find,” so that one could also surmise a *Niphal* form in LXX 10:18c's *Vorlage*.²¹³¹ However, a different LXX *Vorlage* vocalization would not explain the alteration of grammatical number, since LXX 10:18c also introduces a new subject of ἡ πληγή σου “your injury.”²¹³² Thus, LXX 10:18c's implied Hebrew retroversion contrasts plainly with that of MT 10:18d's plural verb and ellipsis of object.

²¹²² GELSM, 501.

²¹²³ GELSM, 501.

²¹²⁴ GELSM, 304-05.

²¹²⁵ HALOT I:619-20; and CHAL, 209-10.

²¹²⁶ The one Greek side exception is LXX 49:16, which renders **נָשַׁח** “to reach” (HALOT I:727) with εὐρίσκω “to find.”

²¹²⁷ The root **נָצַח** “to find” implies purpose or intentional searching in order to find something that is not discovered by happenstance (possible exceptions being MT 2:34; 11:9; and MT 23:11).

²¹²⁸ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129.

²¹²⁹ NETS, 891.

²¹³⁰ This is the case in 10 of the 13 instances of a *Niphal* stem of **נָצַח** “to be discovered” (HALOT I:619-20) in MT Jeremiah. MT 29:14's *Niphal* occurrence is rendered with ἐπιφαίνω “to make appearance” (GELSM, 285-86) so as to imply the passive notion.

²¹³¹ E.g. cf. Workman, *Jeremiah*, 305.

²¹³² GELSM, 562-63.

MT 10:18d's מָצָא "to find"²¹³³ implies a military *double entendre*, as noted by some.²¹³⁴ The sense of MT 10:18d's verbal accusative ellipsis must be compared to the explicit divine object of MT 29:13 (LXX 36:13), in which exiled Israel "finds" her God. MT 10:18d's lack of an explicit object must represent the more original reading in contrast to LXX 10:18c's secondary explanation. However, one must then ask the question of how LXX Jeremiah "found," pardon the pun, its πληγή "blow"²¹³⁵ subject. The translator possibly looked ahead to MT 10:19's מַכָּה "blow,"²¹³⁶ which represents the usual correspondence of the book elsewhere.²¹³⁷

MT מַכָּה "blow"²¹³⁸ connects with other Hebrew terms for pain and suffering, as in MT 30:12's verb חָלָה "to fall sick"²¹³⁹ or that of its related noun חֲלִי "sickness"²¹⁴⁰ in MT 6:7 and 10:19.²¹⁴¹ Words like מַכָּה "blow" and חֲלִי "sickness" echo MT Deut 28:58-61's curses, although חֲלִי transfers to πόνος "suffering"²¹⁴² in LXX Jer 6:7.²¹⁴³ Old Greek πληγή "injury"²¹⁴⁴ has some variety of equivalences in LXX literature, such as נִנְע "infestation"²¹⁴⁵

²¹³³ HALOT I:619-20.

²¹³⁴ Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:547; and Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129-31. Barthélemy follows the interpretation originally given by Michaelis and later by Böttcher.

²¹³⁵ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹³⁶ HALOT I:579.

²¹³⁷ Cf. LXX 10:19; 14:17; 15:18; 19:8; LXX 27:13; LXX 37:12; 37:14; and LXX 37:17. Thus, 10:18's LXX plus is the one exception to a πληγή "injury" and מַכָּה "blow" equivalence on the LXX side. There are eight correspondences from ten MT instances. Two exceptions include: MT 6:7 and MT 49:17.

²¹³⁸ HALOT I:579.

²¹³⁹ HALOT I:316-17. Hebrew חָלָה "to fall sick" occurs seven times in MT Jeremiah, and sometimes with מַכָּה "blow" in similar contexts (MT 10:19; 14:17; and MT 30:12). It is rendered commonly with notions of pain.

²¹⁴⁰ HALOT I:318.

²¹⁴¹ The noun חֲלִי "sickness" occurs twice with מַכָּה "blow" in similar contexts of MT Jeremiah (MT 6:7 and 10:19).

²¹⁴² GELSM, 576.

²¹⁴³ HR II:1188-89 indicates that πόνος "suffering" has much variety in translation equivalents throughout the LXX corpus.

²¹⁴⁴ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁴⁵ HALOT I:669.

in the famous ten “plagues” of Egypt narrative (LXX Ex 11:1),²¹⁴⁶ but it is a stereotypical rendition for **מִצָּרִים** “blow”²¹⁴⁷ in many contexts, such as those of LXX Deuteronomy²¹⁴⁸ and of LXX Jeremiah. LXX Jer 6:7’s exceptional rendition gives a similar pedagogical notion to that found in LXX 10:18-19’s description of a *πληγή* “injury”²¹⁴⁹ against Judah. Stereotyping also applies to the grammatical number of *πληγή* “blow” given throughout LXX Jeremiah, since *πληγή* “blow” always transfers as a singular idea in Jeremiah,²¹⁵⁰ although **מִצָּרִים** “blow”²¹⁵¹ is plural four times in MT Jeremiah.²¹⁵²

LXX Jeremiah’s *πληγή* “blow”²¹⁵³ instances²¹⁵⁴ make it clear that the destructive “blow” targets Israel collectively. However, one also finds two *πληγή* “blow” references that clearly describe the prophet Jeremiah’s experience.²¹⁵⁵ Moreover, LXX 10:17-19 blends the references to the *πληγή* “blow” of Zion and Jeremiah into one concept, as seen in the second person pronoun σου “your” carrying over into LXX 10:19αβ. The first person pronominal suffixes found within LXX 10:19αβ’s clauses are made to refer to LXX 10:17b’s female city figure. Similarly, MT 10:18-19, when read naturally, causes the reader to jump from 10:18d’s **יִמְצְאוּ** “they hit the target”²¹⁵⁶ to MT 10:19α’s following **לִי אֲוִי** “woe to me,”²¹⁵⁷ seemingly implying that the actual **אֲוִי** “woe”²¹⁵⁸ is the intended object of **יִמְצְאוּ** in MT 10:18d. Such an interpretation was most famously posited by Saadya Gaon,²¹⁵⁹ who has been credited by various authors as discerning an enjambment of

²¹⁴⁶ Another popular correspondence is that of **מִגַּפְתֵּי** “plague” (HALOT I:546; e.g. cf. LXX Nu 14:37).

²¹⁴⁷ HALOT I:579.

²¹⁴⁸ HR II:1142.

²¹⁴⁹ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁵⁰ Cf. MT 19:8; MT 30:17; and MT 50:13. MT 49:17’s instance is not rendered in LXX 29:18. However, MT 50:13 (LXX 27:13) occurs in reference to Babylon and not Israel.

²¹⁵¹ HALOT I:579.

²¹⁵² Perhaps LXX Jeremiah singularizes the concept of *πληγή* “blow” to refer to the Babylonian exile.

²¹⁵³ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁵⁴ E.g. cf. LXX 14:17; 19:8; LXX 37:12, 14, and 17.

²¹⁵⁵ MT 10:19 and MT 15:18.

²¹⁵⁶ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129.

²¹⁵⁷ Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, 32.

²¹⁵⁸ HALOT I:21.

²¹⁵⁹ Barthélemy, CTAT, 2:547.

10:18's sense into that of 10:19.²¹⁶⁰ The LXX 10:18c interpretation reflected in Saadya Gaon's commentary makes it evident that MT 10:18d's intended object is that of Zion's lamentation and pain which the speaker of MT 10:19b must also bear. This LXX midrashic rendering becomes obvious also in Aquila's rendition of MT 10:18d as ὅπως ἐλεγχθῶσιν²¹⁶¹ "in order that they may be reproved."²¹⁶²

MT 10:19aβ's מַכָּה "blow"²¹⁶³ upon Judah becomes a pedagogical element for the exiles to remember in LXX 10:18-19. However, MT 10:18's context suggests that the מַכָּה "blow" becomes a burden for MT 10:19's Zion figure (or prophetic speaker), and not necessarily for the diaspora. It is apparent that LXX 10:18 betrays a secondary interpretation taken from 10:19's context, thus indicating later interpretation or midrashic commentary (e.g. that of Saadya Gaon). On the other hand, MT displays a less pessimistic outlook by virtue of the fact that the implied object of MT 10:18d's מַצֵּאוּ "they hit the target"²¹⁶⁴ is Yahweh Himself.²¹⁶⁵

LXX 10:18c, thus, probably possessed a Hebrew *Vorlage* which reflected מַכָּה "blow"²¹⁶⁶ in its text. HRLXXJ²¹⁶⁷ perhaps perceived in MT 10:19's מַכָּה "blow" the intended object of MT 10:18d's verb. Likewise, LXX 10:18c's second person address, which is implied in the σου "your" of ἡ πληγή σου "your blow,"²¹⁶⁸ indicates that the address of LXX 10:17b remains focused on Zion herself. The speech directed to Israel throughout LXX 10:1-18 persists unobfuscated, in contrast to MT 10:1-18's use of

²¹⁶⁰ Barthélemy mentions Yefet Ben Eli, Ibn Ezra, and Joseph Bonfils as some of the authors that credit Saadya Gaon with the enjambment view (ibid.).

²¹⁶¹ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II:599.

²¹⁶² GELSL, 192.

²¹⁶³ HALOT I:579.

²¹⁶⁴ Allen, *Jeremiah*, 129.

²¹⁶⁵ Cf. MT 9:22-23.

²¹⁶⁶ HALOT I:579.

²¹⁶⁷ Or, perhaps, another scribe.

²¹⁶⁸ GELSM, 562-63.

enallage.²¹⁶⁹ The exile's resulting purpose in MT 10:18d's נסד "to find"²¹⁷⁰ presents a striking thematic difference between LXX and MT, since MT 10:18, in contrast to LXX 10:18, links directly with MT 29:13. LXX 10:18c's πληγή "injury"²¹⁷¹ judgment becomes applied directly to the current Egyptian diaspora situation described in LXX 10:17-18 or, at least, applied to a readership familiar with 10:17-19's πληγή "blow" concept. Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX 10:11 could easily accommodate LXX 10:18c's "plague" idea as well.²¹⁷²

I conclude that the addition of ἡ πληγή σου "your plague"²¹⁷³ in LXX 10:18c indicates that HRLXXJ, and probably not the translator, wrote with upcoming material in mind. Moreover, HRLXXJ must have introduced 10:19's notion of its πληγή "blow"²¹⁷⁴ into LXX 10:18c's clause. Likewise, LXX 10:9a's placement immediately following LXX 10:5a²¹⁷⁵ evidences a similar type of content introduction by HRLXXJ into LXX's text form structure. Similar to LXX's textual augmentation of the proto-MT material elsewhere, HRLXXJ undoubtedly desires to harmonize MT 10:1-18's material together with its surrounding context of 10:19-25. In contrast, MT 10:17-19 presents a text form structure that contains material of a more disjointed nature, while also possessing an inherent thematic tension not evident within LXX 10:17-19. The more original text form must be that of MT 10:17-19, since one discerns the evolutionary harmonization which joins LXX 10:17-18 and 10:19 together into a contextual connection that MT 10:17-19 simply lacks.

²¹⁶⁹ Or, a change of person and voice.

²¹⁷⁰ HALOT I:619-20.

²¹⁷¹ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁷² For example, Ida Fröhlich discusses notions of "plague" or sickness that are associated with demons or evil spirits in the Qumran literature, such as in 4Q560, 11Q11, and 1QapGen (idem, "Theology and Demonology," 101-29).

²¹⁷³ NETS, 891.

²¹⁷⁴ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁷⁵ One must admit, however, that it is, perhaps, possible that the translator supplied ἡ πληγή σου "your blow" in LXX 10:18c's Greek.

2.3. Conclusions of Chapter III

Textual minuses in LXX 10:1-18 are very apparent, such as the omission of MT 10:6-8 and 10; 10:3c's יד "hand;"²¹⁷⁶ 10:9c's מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ "the work of a craftsman;"²¹⁷⁷ 10:13a's לְקוֹל תְּתוֹ "at the voice of his giving forth;"²¹⁷⁸ 10:16c's וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבֶט "and Israel is the tribe;"²¹⁷⁹ 10:16d's צְבָאוֹת "armies;"²¹⁸⁰ and 10:18b's הַזֶּה בְּפַעַם הַזֶּה "at this time."²¹⁸¹ One notes also LXX 10:9a's transposition immediately following LXX 10:5a, along with LXX 10:5bc's placement at the end of LXX 10:9's content. Thereby, MT 10:11 has become transformed by HRLXXJ into a direct address to diaspora Jews as an exilic admonition against idolatrous syncretism. The hymnic prayer of MT 10:6-8 along with MT 10:10's theological reflections were thought to interrupt the flow of thought from verse 10:5 to 10:9 and, then, onto verse 10:11's taunt. Thus, one sees evidence of the transposition of verse 10:9 into 10:5, along with the omission of MT 10:6-10's material.

LXX 10:11 becomes an introduction to a confessional unit comprising proto-MT 10:12-16's hymnic doxology and has slight additions to facilitate the modifications of MT 10:1-18's more original material.²¹⁸² HRLXXJ removes MT 10:16c's clausal material of וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבֶט "and Israel is the tribe,"²¹⁸³ thereby making clear that exilic Jews possess

²¹⁷⁶ HALOT I:386-88.

²¹⁷⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323.

²¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 324. Perhaps the lack of קוֹל "voice" (HALOT II:1083-85) represents the most important omission, since this is a key element of theophanic description (Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 89).

²¹⁷⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

²¹⁸⁰ HALOT II:994-997.

²¹⁸¹ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 32.

²¹⁸² For example, one might also mention the probable addition of the tetragrammaton in LXX 10:12a, the possibility that HRLXXJ changed MT 10:17b's מִצֹּר "siege" (HALOT I:623) into the reading of מִבְּחָר "choicest element" (HALOT I:542), or the supply of the direct object πλῆγῆ "blow" (GELSM, 562-63) in LXX 10:18c's clause, etc. (cf. LXX 10:17b translated מִצֹּר with ἐκλεκτός "chosen" [GELSM, 212]). One might also add LXX 10:5a's possible switch of כֶּתִיבָהּ "like a scarecrow" (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 323) for the implied reading of כֶּסֶף "silver" (HALOT I:490-91) in HRLXXJ's *Vorlage*, although this is not a necessary assumption (cf. analysis above).

²¹⁸³ Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 324.

their true God (LXX 10:16d's κύριος "Lord").²¹⁸⁴ Therefore, LXX 10:11-16's hymnic unit seems to then constitute an oath of allegiance to the Lord in contrast to the idols. On the other hand, in Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of verse 10:11, LXX 10:11-16 would then contain a community hymn of adjuration against evil spirits.²¹⁸⁵ Yet, such alterations by HRLXXJ are contrary to MT 10:16c's original declaration of the triumphal results of Yahweh's victory over the nations on Israel's behalf.

Together with the LXX minus of MT 10:18b's temporal phrase, MT 10:16-18's original battle strategy against Judah's idolatry through the hurt of the exile (10:17-18) becomes regulated merely to a painful past experience in LXX 10:16-18's message. The Jewish God of LXX 10:11-16's doctrinal description becomes a badge of honor to be bolstered in the midst of the deceptive idolatry found among the foreign nations.²¹⁸⁶ MT 10:1-18's original destructive threat against Judah has been softened. LXX 10:1-18, rather, seeks to make the paraenetic MT tension redundant to a painful memory of Israel's historical ignominy. The tension inherent in the Deuteronomic "curse" predicament of the exile (e.g. Deut 4:27-28; 28:64; etc.) has been lost in LXX 10:1-18, in which HRLXXJ edits the pericope so that it becomes an encouraging aniconic instruction for the Jewish diaspora to defend itself in a new hostile environment.

Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation represents a possible intended focus of LXX 10:11, such as in apotropaic prayers and magical incantations found at Qumran.²¹⁸⁷ Ep Jer, furthermore, provides evidence that Jeremiah's Aramaic verse was a self-coaching mechanism or an inner-monologue for exiles to rehearse amidst idolatry, so that LXX

²¹⁸⁴ GELSM, 419.

²¹⁸⁵ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101. Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX Jer 10:11 could be compared to Qumran hymnic material. E.g. cf. 4Q510-11, 11Q11; 6Q18; 8Q5; 4Q560, etc. Scholars usually describe 4Q560 as a magical incantation within a magical book (not technically a hymn), however, the context of its scroll is missing. For descriptions of 4Q560's material, cf. Joseph Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," *IEJ* 48, no. 3/4 (1998), 252-261; and Douglas L. Penney and Michael O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," *JBL* 113, no. 4 (1994), 627-650. For a discussion of the descriptive genre elements of an "apotropaic prayer," cf. Flusser, "Qumrân and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," 194-205. However, it is not clear if LXX Jer 10:11-16 was intended to be uttered as a prayer, in the strict sense of the word.

²¹⁸⁶ Cf. LXX 9:23-24.

²¹⁸⁷ E.g. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc.

10:1-18's *Vorlage*'s composition of circa second century BCE becomes evident (cf. next chapter). HRLXXJ assumes Jer 10:18's intended exilic lesson has already been learned from MT 29:13 (LXX 36:13), with the result that there is no need of MT 10:6-10's theology to be textually transmitted. Thus, LXX 10:17-18 assumes the πληγή "blow"²¹⁸⁸ lesson in order that its audience would be able to comprehend and, perhaps, to utilize LXX 10:11's aniconic taunt.²¹⁸⁹ In contrast, MT 10:1-18 presumes a readership which had not really come to a true knowledge of Yahweh.²¹⁹⁰ Thus, one would assume more fundamental theological lessons to be presented in MT's text form, as are observed in the LXX minuses of MT 10:6-10. In a word, the proto-MT 10:1-18 text form was less conducive to the needs of a circa second century BCE diaspora readership, which sought more guidance against perceived threats of paganism's idolatry.

Both LXX and MT 10:18 have different implied objects to describe their intended lessons from the verse's final clause. MT and LXX 10:1-18 also imply different "students" which come to learn 10:18's implied instructions. Yet, MT demonstrates a moral more original to Jeremiah's earlier message, since LXX 10:17-18 describes a later exilic setting which establishes a stage for the idolaters (or the gods of the idols²¹⁹¹) to learn their final punishment in 10:11. However, MT 10:1-18 directs idolatrous Israel to "find" Yahweh in exile, so that the primary objective of MT's lesson to Israel is not the πληγή "blow"²¹⁹² itself, but actually a knowledge of their God (MT 29:1). MT 10:1-18 understands the exile to be a means to an end, but LXX 10:1-18 attempts to remedy a later period's problems of pagan syncretism in the diaspora situation of LXX Jeremiah (or HRLXXJ). Moreover, LXX 10:1-18 assumes exilic Judaism has learned MT 10:1-18's originally intended lesson,

²¹⁸⁸ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁸⁹ Perhaps there is also the desire to counteract the prophetic warning of MT 9:15 and 16:13, as quite possibly in Ep Jer as well (Kratz, "Rezeption," 331-39). It is interesting that לֹא־אֶתֵּן לָכֶם חַיִּינָה "I will not show you any favor" in MT 16:13 becomes LXX 16:13's οὐ δώσουσιν ὑμῖν ἔλεος ("who will show you no mercy"), so as to avoid divine disfavor (For translations, cf. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 45; and NETS, 896).

²¹⁹⁰ E.g. cf. MT 9:22-25; 10:17-18; and MT 29:13.

²¹⁹¹ This is to say, if one assumes Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of 10:11, then the gods of the idols represent demonic spirits which are denounced to their punishment below "this sky" (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

²¹⁹² GELSM, 562-63.

so that the LXX text form speaks of a past πληγή “blow” to an audience which can pronounce verse 10:11’s content within its pagan milieu. MT 10:1-18’s double entendre connotes a slingshot hurling Judah into the physical space of exile and not inwardly to the intimate location of Zion and its πληγή “blow,” or painful wound. Thus, LXX 10:18 loses the physical or geographical implications of MT 10:18’s more complex *double entendre*. In summary, LXX 10:18-19 betrays a later textual tradition that wishes to transcend the age portrayed in MT 10:18-19’s more original message. LXX 10:1-18 assumes knowledge of a later exilic audience and must, logically, reflect a later stage of the textual transmission of 10:1-18.

MT 10:1-18’s message, grounded in several Deuteronomistic motifs (e.g. Deut 4:1-40), originally declares that Yahweh victoriously conquers all idolaters and possesses his own people (MT Jer 10:16c), with the result that Israel finds her own possession of Yahweh within the exilic experience. Such theological tension does not exist in LXX Jer 10:1-18 because of various minuses (e.g. MT 10:16c). MT 10:16c’s deletion in LXX causes the noun הַרְשָׁתָּה “hereditary property”²¹⁹³ to have a different pronominal possession in LXX 10:16c, thereby removing Yahweh as the victorious Conqueror who takes possession of Jacob’s people.²¹⁹⁴ LXX Jer 10:16’s emendation of MT 10:16’s more original sense proves significant, since it removes the passage’s connections to Deut 4’s context. This may be observed, for example, in the LXX’s loss of an incentive to keep Yahweh’s instruction, which was grounded in the fact that Israel was her God’s own possession (Deut 4:20’s or 32:9’s הַרְשָׁתָּה “hereditary property”). Moreover, Deut 4 culminates its message concerning the Horeb experience with emphases on both the exclusivity of Yahweh and also the corresponding uniqueness of God’s people which Yahweh had led from Egypt (Deut 4:32-40). No doubt there was a similar dual stress intended to culminate MT 10:1-18’s context before LXX 10:1-18’s alterations removed them.

²¹⁹³ HALOT I:687-88.

²¹⁹⁴ There is probably also a hint of comparison between Yahweh’s creation of his people, Israel, versus the fact that the nations attempt to create their idols (e.g. cf. Guillet, “La Polemique”).

LXX Jeremiah's minus of MT 10:6c loses victorious battle imagery inherently found in Deut 3:24's **גְּבוּרָה** "strength"²¹⁹⁵ (e.g. cf. Deut 32's similar themes). With the minus of **גָּדוֹל** "great"²¹⁹⁶ and **שֵׁם** "name"²¹⁹⁷ in MT 10:6, LXX severs its connection to Deut 32:3 as well (cf. Deut 28:58's **שֵׁם** "name"). The insertion of **πληγή** "blow"²¹⁹⁸ into LXX 10:18c from v. 19, ironically, also makes MT 10:18d less Deuteronomistic, since **מָצָא** "to find"²¹⁹⁹ appears in Deut 4 with Yahweh as its object (cf. Deut 4:29 and MT Jer 29:13), although the same object is implied through ellipsis in MT 10:18d. It seems very likely that Deut 4:29's use of **מָצָא** "to find" along with Deut 4's divine pedagogy theme must establish a context for MT 10:18's ellipsis to be implied or inferred. Similarly, the exile described in Deut 4 must also be inferred to make sense of Jer 10:19-25's lament (cf. Deut 4:27-30 and 30:1-6).²²⁰⁰

LXX Jer 10:18 breaks Deut 4's divine teaching motif link with MT Jer 10 through the change of the divine object of **מָצָא** "to find" to that of the exilic **πληγή** "blow"²²⁰¹ experience. Likewise, LXX 10:13a's minus of MT 10:13a's **קוֹל** "voice"²²⁰² erases Deut 4's aniconic message against images of Yahweh, whose voice Israel can only hear (Deut 4:12). Furthermore, Deut 4 particularly stresses the covenant stipulations for Israel to possess Canaan, whose first commandment (Deut 5:7) was to not make a graven image (Deut 4:22-26). Likewise, LXX's minus of MT 10:7a's **אֵרָא** "to fear"²²⁰³ removes LXX 10:1-18's reference to the proper reverence of Yahweh as learned at Horeb (Deut 4:10).

²¹⁹⁵ HALOT I:172.

²¹⁹⁶ HALOT I:177-78.

²¹⁹⁷ HALOT II:1548-51.

²¹⁹⁸ GELSM, 562-63.

²¹⁹⁹ HALOT I:619-20.

²²⁰⁰ Hebrew **מָצָא** "to find" occurs in Deut 4:30 in context of Israel's finding of Yahweh after seeking Him in exile. The lament or prayer of Jer 10:19-25 contains much theology and literary inferences from Deuteronomy.

²²⁰¹ GELSM, 562-63.

²²⁰² HALOT II:1083-85.

²²⁰³ HALOT I:432-33.

The LXX minus of MT 10:3c's יָד "hand"²²⁰⁴ eliminates a lexical link found in Deut 4:28 (or Deut 31:29) with a similar use of נִעְשָׂה "work"²²⁰⁵ with יָד "hand" to signify an idol. LXX Jer 10 has deleted much of the hymn's wisdom genre (e.g. 10:6-8), while also removing two negations of comparability of Yahweh (MT Jer 10:6a and 7c), along with 10:7a's unique rhetorical question.²²⁰⁶

LXX 10:1-18's text form severs a number of primary thematic ties between MT Jer 10 and Deut 4, as I have noted in the analysis above. The incomparability of Yahweh finds Deuteronomistic roots (e.g. Deut 33:26 and 32:31) and its conceptual link with the people of Israel is derived from Deut 4:7 along with their uniquely divine law (4:32-40).²²⁰⁷ Yet, LXX removes a mention of חָכִים "clever"²²⁰⁸ in MT 10:7c,²²⁰⁹ and its pedagogical intertextuality with Deut 4:6. Other thematic links between Deut 4 and MT Jer 10 include: the motif of Israel's journey to possess the Promised Land while crossing Jordan (Deut 4:1),²²¹⁰ the hearing of Yahweh's voice instead of seeing His form (4:20), Yahweh's education or wise correction (4:5-6, 9-10, and 35-36), the antithetical contrast of heavens and earth (4:15-19, 26, and 39),²²¹¹ admonition against worship of the שָׁמַיִם "heavenly bodies"²²¹² (4:19 and 17:3),²²¹³ an aniconic message derived from the Horeb experience (4:28), the finding of Yahweh in the exile (4:29-30 and 30:1-10), and a stress on the uniqueness of Yahweh and Israel's special relationship with Him (4:30-40).

²²⁰⁴ HALOT I:386-88.

²²⁰⁵ HALOT I:616-17.

²²⁰⁶ MT 10:7a's rhetorical question is unique to Jeremiah so that it is difficult to see how it would be added in a MT redactional layer given descriptions of the MT "*Wiederaufnahme*" process (e.g. cf. Janzen, *Studies*, 68; and Tov, GHB, 381-82).

²²⁰⁷ Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 72-74.

²²⁰⁸ HALOT I:314.

²²⁰⁹ Though an equivalence is found in LXX 10:9c.

²²¹⁰ Ironically reversed in its theme in MT Jer 10:1-18, so as to reflect Deut 28:58-68's curse.

²²¹¹ The theological message of Jer 10:11 concerning the perishing of the false gods of the idols derives from these statements.

²²¹² HALOT II:994-97.

²²¹³ The divine title שָׁמַיִם "armies" for God does not have any obvious links to this stellar sense, as in the minus of the term in LXX 10:16d, which may be due to the translator's technique in rendering the divine epithets.

In the effort to concentrate on MT 10:5ba's "fear not" prohibition,²²¹⁴ HRLXXJ has eliminated intertextual ties while creating a text that has lost its earlier poetry's genuine genre. For example, HRLXXJ gives MT 10:4-16's older hymnic unit less Deuteronomistic themes, so that it is less tied thematically or lexically to the more original matrix of Deuteronomy.²²¹⁵ MT 10:1-18's unique antistrophic poetry becomes lost, as well as its thematic elements found in other prophets, such as in Deutero-Isaiah's aniconic material.²²¹⁶ What was perceived by LXX Jeremiah as superfluous material to the pericope's argument has been removed to such an extent that HRLXXJ (or the translator) felt the need to insert the name of Yahweh (κύριος "Lord"²²¹⁷) in LXX 10:12a for the sake of introducing the doctrinal liturgy of LXX 10:12-16. LXX 10:1-18 resembles later material associated with Jeremiah (e.g. Ep Jer, 1 Baruch, and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C),²²¹⁸ all of which aim to emphasize the aniconic message of Jeremiah (LXX 10:5 and 11) against an exilic temptation to idolatry. However, MT 10:1-18's more original hymn possesses a manifold Deuteronomistic concern.

In the desire to give LXX 10:11-16 a doctrinal confession, HRLXXJ has eliminated repetitious poetic material that actually destroys the necessary context to understand 10:11's prior significance, as well as what must be the original hymn's structure. Although MT 10:5ba's fear prohibition (cf. MT 10:2c) perhaps seems awkward or intrusive within the original poetic structure, HRLXXJ has instead seized upon this prohibition as a key element of the pericope (cf. Ep Jer), to the detriment of other material in the first half of MT 10:4-16's parallelistic poetry (MT 10:4-10). The end result of HRLXXJ's textual

²²¹⁴ Kratz, "Rezeption," 321-26. A similar observation concerning MT 10:5's influence on the thematic structure of Ep Jer is noted by Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine. Cf. idem, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie* (vol. 25; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008), 300. Also cf. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 156.

²²¹⁵ E.g. Deut 4 and 28-32.

²²¹⁶ E.g. rhetorical questions concerning the incomparability of Yahweh in Isa 40:18; 40:25; 44:7; 46:5; and 46:9 (e.g. cf. Labuschagne, *Incomparability*, 16, 64, 74, 76, 114, 123, etc.).

²²¹⁷ GELSM, 419-20.

²²¹⁸ Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 154-60; and idem, "Jeremiah and the 'Diaspora Letters' in Ancient Judaism: Epistolary Communication with the Golah as Medium for Dealing with the Present," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. Kristin de Troyer, Armin Lange, and Christopher R. Matthews; SBLSS 30; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 48-62.

rearrangement is that LXX 10:11-16 becomes a kind of creedal statement or doctrinal liturgy instead of a hymn with complicated antithetic parallelism (MT 10:4-16). Although LXXJR wishes his readers to understand MT 10:2c and MT 10:5ba's prohibitions as the pericope's central hortatory message, he instead creates LXX 10:11-16's less memorable doctrinal unit which culminates in the painful $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\eta$ "blow"²²¹⁹ memory of LXX 10:17-19. Therefore, one sees that not only MT's repetitious material has been lost in LXX 10:1-18, but also the more original message of MT 10:1-18 which was grounded in a multifarious Deuteronomistic intertextuality.

LXX 10:1-18 betrays a later stage of textual development focused on verse 10:11's aniconic war taunt in comparison to MT 10:1-18's more original text form. LXX 10:1-18 shows a subsequent time's more narrowly focused perspective and interpretive reception of MT 10:1-18's material. The Old Greek minuses require one to understand LXX 10:11 as directed against the idolatry parodied in 10:2-9. Thus, LXX 10:1-11 direct the hearers to address the objects (or entities behind their material)²²²⁰ described in LXX 10:2-5a-9-5bc, instead of a direct address to Zion or Israel herself.²²²¹ Like Tobit 4:19,²²²² the interpretation reflected in LXX Jer 10:11 assumes that the heathen nations don't possess wisdom to recognize Israel's aniconic orthodoxy or their true God (contra MT 16:19). Thus, one sees a diaspora polemical concern reflected elsewhere (Ep Jer),²²²³ which suggests a later exilic provenance for LXX in comparison to MT 10:1-18's text form. Such an inference would also suite Duhm's *Bannformel* perspective of LXX 10:11,²²²⁴ which assumes communal utterance direction against evil spirits (or demons) as confirmed by extant Qumran texts as well.²²²⁵

²²¹⁹ GELSM, 562-63.

²²²⁰ I.e. Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX Jer 10:11 (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

²²²¹ As is best assumed in MT 10:11's war taunt (cf. chapter II).

²²²² Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 40A; Garden City, NY: Double Day & Company Inc, 1996), 162. A similar negative view of the non-Jew may be seen in Wisdom of Solomon 9:6.

²²²³ James Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (JSJSS 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005b), 15. Davila writes: "It is possible that Tobit and the Epistle of Jeremiah are Diaspora works, but even so the Diaspora is not well represented" (ibid.).

²²²⁴ Duhm articulates the *Bannformel* theory for MT 10:11 (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

²²²⁵ E.g. cf. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc.

Clearly Qumran and apocryphal Second Temple Period literature provide a conducive environment to explain LXX 10:1-18's scribal alterations (i.e. HRLXXJ), especially surrounding the time frame of the second century BCE. Thus, interpretations of Jeremiah in Second Temple Period Judaism demonstrate the logical mechanisms of how HRLXXJ designed LXX 10:1-18's text form, which gave emphasis to verse 10:11 in its structural placement of 10:9 within v. 5,²²²⁶ along with the incumbent minuses of 10:6-8 and 10 (cf. 4Q71).²²²⁷ Therefore, LXX 10:1-18's abbreviation of its pericope demonstrates later interpretative and textual developments in its logical structure of 10:1-18, which were done for the sake of the pericope's logical flow of thought. HRLXXJ's redactional changes clearly wished to focus the "fear not" prohibitions (MT 10:2c and 5b α) onto later preoccupations or concerns of the Second Temple Period (especially those associated with the second century BCE).

²²²⁶ The LXX order is 10:1-5a β , shortened v. 9, then v. 5a γ b, and vv. 11-18.

²²²⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 173-76; and Saley, "Reconstructing," 1-12.

CHAPTER IV

MT Jer 10:1-18 in Qumran and Second Temple Period Jewish Literature

Section 1. Biblical or Rewritten Scriptural Texts Containing Jer 10:1-18.

1.1. Introduction to Arguments from Second Temple Period Judaism

I shall now discuss Second Temple Period literature and its relationship to the text forms of Jer 10:1-18. Qumran and apocryphal material demonstrate the cultural and scribal milieu that readily explains the alterations evident in the Septuagint text form of 10:1-18, which must have taken a particular interpretation of verse 11. My discussion focuses on biblical and rewritten Scripture in the first section. The second section will describe pseudepigraphical and apocryphal works that relate to LXX 10:1-18's structure or argument.

1.2. 4Q70 or 4QJer^a

Since there is no manuscript evidence of Jer 10 to be found in Qumran cave two,²²²⁸ I shall only treat the relevant material of cave 4 (4Q70, 71, and 72).²²²⁹ In the case of 4Q70, one finds only scant remains of MT 10:9-14 and 23 preserved in the small fragment of column V.²²³⁰ 4Q70's fifteen preserved columns²²³¹ represent the oldest copy of Jeremiah from Qumran, since it dates probably to the third century BCE according to Cross²²³² and Tov's paleographic consultation in DJD XV.²²³³ I shall only discuss the

²²²⁸ I.e. 2Q13. Cf. DJD III, 62-69.

²²²⁹ 4Q72a and 72b do not contain Jer 10 (Tov, DJD XV, 203-05 and 207).

²²³⁰ Tov, DJD XV, 158-59.

²²³¹ Ibid., 145. Tov surmises that column XV contains two words of MT Jer 26:10 (ibid., 169).

²²³² Cross, "Development," 136 and 140. Cross simply placed 4Q70 in a group of Archaic Jewish formal hand, dating between 250-150 BCE. Perhaps this is the safest range to quote Cross' estimation of the dating of 4Q70. Also cf. idem, "Evolution," 308 note 8; idem, "Oldest Manuscripts," 164; and Freedman and Mathews, *Leviticus Scroll*, 55.

²²³³ Tov, DJD XV, 150. Tov references consultation with Emile Pueche, Ada Yardeni, and Frank Cross when discussing paleographical dating. Cf. idem, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 197; idem, "Three Fragments," 531-32; and Ada Yardeni, "The Palaeography of 4QJER^a – A Comparative Study," *Textus XV* (1990), 233-68.

fragment relating to chapter 10 found in column V, part 1, which contains remnants of less than fifteen words from (proto-)MT 10:9-14. Although the evidence is indeed meager, enough survives of the original document to realize its versification order, which follows MT in contrast to that of LXX in the placement of verse 10:9 before vv. 10-11, contrary to the LXX's lack of v. 10 and its positioning of v. 9 within v. 5. As Tov notes, 4Q70 generally follows MT to such an extent that it represents a text form "very close to the proto-Massoretic text."²²³⁴ However, in contrast to MT, 4Q70 has more "open sections than the medieval codex M^L [Leningrad],"²²³⁵ and has a large amount of scribal corrections relative to its size.²²³⁶ However, nearly all corrections are toward MT readings²²³⁷ and most scribal mistakes seem unintentional in nature.

Janzen published 4Q70's *editio princeps* in 1973.²²³⁸ Aviah HaCohen, before Tov's DJD XV publication, attempted to argue for a non-aligned textual reconstruction of the section containing Jer 7-9 found in column III.²²³⁹ No controversy surrounds 4Q70's readings for 10:9-14 and its proto-MT reconstruction, which quite amazingly follows MT nearly perfectly as a textual witness to chapter 10. One finds only two small deviations from MT comprising two spelling variations of תאמרון and להרום in MT 10:11a.²²⁴⁰ The dating of 4Q70 is very broad, being placed in the possible range of 250-150 BCE.²²⁴¹ According to the paleographer Ada Yardeni, 4Q70 and 4Q71 are at least 40 years apart in their dating,²²⁴² with 4Q70 dated to a time shortly before 200 BCE²²⁴³ and 4Q71 being

²²³⁴ Tov, DJD XV, 151.

²²³⁵ Ibid., 147 and 148-50.

²²³⁶ Ibid., 151-54.

²²³⁷ Ibid., 154.

²²³⁸ Janzen, *Studies*, 173-81. Janzen's preliminary publication appeared in the year 1973. For an analysis of a separate part of the scroll from that of chapter 10's pericope, cf. Aviah HaCohen, "4QJer^a – A Pre-Massoretic Text?" *Textus XVII* (1994), 1-8. The proposals of HaCohen appeared in 1994, while Tov's DJD publication (DJD XV) appeared in 1997. The reconstruction work of HaCohen does not touch on chapter 10's material. The work of Janzen for chapter 10, moreover, did not fully reconstruct the lacunae, but only notes textual similarities to MT Jer 10's verses.

²²³⁹ HaCohen, "4QJer^a," 2-8. One must compare HaCohen's reconstruction with that of Tov (idem, DJD XV, 155-56).

²²⁴⁰ These variations are probably due to the sudden switch from Hebrew to Aramaic in the context.

²²⁴¹ Tov et al., DJD XXXIX, 371.

²²⁴² Per private conversation.

²²⁴³ Per private conversation. Yardeni conservatively dates 4Q70 to a "late 3rd or early 2nd century" BCE (Yardeni, "Palaography," 268).

placed to the early Hasmonean period of 160-110.²²⁴⁴ Cross originally dated 4Q70 to circa 200 BCE,²²⁴⁵ give or take a generation.²²⁴⁶ One naturally assumes that Cross considered 4Q70 to be earlier than 4Q71, since he only placed 4Q70 in his group of Archaic Jewish formal hand fragments from Qumran, which he dated somewhere within 250-150 BCE.²²⁴⁷ However, the last published dating of 4Q70 by Cross was that of 225-175 BCE.²²⁴⁸ Tov affirms the dating of Cross and Yardeni in his analysis of 4Q70 in DJD XV.²²⁴⁹ The most pertinent point to be made from the dating of 4Q70 is that the (proto-)MT text type is represented earlier (at least 40 years earlier)²²⁵⁰ than the *Vorlage*²²⁵¹ text form of 4Q71.

1.2. 4Q71 or 4QJer^b

The Qumran fragment 4Q71 contains only scant remains of some thirteen lines which follow roughly LXX 9:22-10:21,²²⁵² yet, oddly enough, this manuscript receives the greatest scholarly attention among all the Qumran Jeremiah material. 4Q71's fame began when Cross appealed to the fragmentary copy as reflecting the text type of LXX *Vorlage*.²²⁵³ Cross never published a formal dating of 4Q71, nor for the related fragments (4Q72a and 72b), although he grouped 4Q71, 4Q72a (4QJer^d), and 4Q72b (4QJer^e) together as one manuscript²²⁵⁴ due to their physical manuscript similarity and their related

²²⁴⁴ Per private conversation with Yardeni.

²²⁴⁵ Cross states 200 BCE, "or slightly later" (Cross, "Oldest Manuscripts," 164; and idem, "Evolution," 308 note 8). Cross has also dated 4Q70 to the time range of 225-175 BCE in apparently his last word on the matter (Freedman and Mathews, *Leviticus Scroll*, 55).

²²⁴⁶ Per conversation with James Davila.

²²⁴⁷ Cross simply placed 4Q70 in a group of Archaic Jewish formal hand, dating between 250-150 BCE. Perhaps this is the safest range to quote Cross' estimation of the dating of 4Q70 (Cross, "Development," 136 and 140). The lack of inclusion of 4Q71 (or 4Q72a and 4Q72b) in the manuscript grouping does not necessarily imply much.

²²⁴⁸ Freedman and Mathews, *Leviticus Scroll*, 55.

²²⁴⁹ Tov, DJD XV, 150.

²²⁵⁰ Per Ada Yardeni in private conversation.

²²⁵¹ Though even Janzen admits that 4Q71 (along with 4Q72a and 72b) does not perfectly represent the LXX *Vorlage* text family (Janzen, *Studies*, 173).

²²⁵² Tov, DJD XV, 173.

²²⁵³ Cross, *Ancient Library* (2d ed.), 187; and idem, "Evolution," 308-09. Cross' student Janzen also contributed to the importance of the manuscript (idem, *Studies*, 173-84).

²²⁵⁴ Janzen, *Studies*, 181-84. Cross gave permission to Janzen to publish the fragments and gave Janzen the palaeographical groupings of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b together.

scribal hand.²²⁵⁵ John Strugnell and Tov both suggest separate scribal hands to be found in the fragments, with Strugnell seeing the same hand in 4Q72a and 72b,²²⁵⁶ and Tov observing a separate hand in each respective fragment.²²⁵⁷

I shall discuss predominantly 4Q71 in this section, since both 4Q72a and 4Q72b do not contain any part of chapter 10 and are considered by Tov, Ada Yardeni,²²⁵⁸ and Émile Puech²²⁵⁹ to be separated in their scribal hand from that 4Q71. However, Tov states that he is more confident of the separation of 4Q72b from 4Q71 (also 4Q72a) than the manuscript division between 4Q72a and 4Q71.²²⁶⁰ Such a division of 4Q72a, 4Q72b and 4Q71 from the same manuscript differs from an earlier stance of Cross and the pre-DJD publication of Janzen (under Cross' supervision),²²⁶¹ which labeled all three fragments as 4QJer^b collectively. Yet, more recently Tov has openly examined his decision to separate the three fragments 4Q71, 72a, and 72b when he asks the question: "Are 4QJer^{b,d,e} indeed three manuscripts as was claimed in DJD XV...?"²²⁶² The central issue seems to be that of the distinguishing of different scribal hands in the fragments, as Tov himself noted.²²⁶³ Although Tov admits elsewhere that several "Judean Desert scrolls were written by more than one scribe"²²⁶⁴ and that it is sometimes difficult to know which manuscripts were copied "by more than one scribe,"²²⁶⁵ he, however, asserts that the different scribal hands evident in each fragmentary copy of 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b are the primary and most

²²⁵⁵ Per private conversation. Cross revealed to me that John Strugnell differed from both he and Tov, in that Strugnell assigned 4Q72a and 4Q72b to the same manuscript, in distinction from that of 4Q71. Thus, one sees that three different DJD editors had three different manuscript classification opinions!

²²⁵⁶ Per private conversation with Cross and Tov.

²²⁵⁷ Tov, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 191; and idem, "Three Fragments," 531-32.

²²⁵⁸ Per personal conversation. Yardeni suggests that it is possible the same scribe composed 4Q72a and 72b due to some common traits, but it is difficult to tell exactly.

²²⁵⁹ Per personal conversation.

²²⁶⁰ Tov, DJV XV, 173.

²²⁶¹ Janzen, *Studies*, 181-84.

²²⁶² Tov, "Biblical Texts," 140.

²²⁶³ Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 20. Tov writes: "With the aid of paleographical analysis different scribal hands can be identified within the same documents, although scholars often disagree on key issues... For example, the identification of scribal hands is also crucial in the case of three fragments ascribed to different scrolls... now named 4QJer^b, 4QJer^d, and 4QJer^e (ibid.)."

²²⁶⁴ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 20. Tov states that "different scribal hands can be identified within the same documents" (ibid.).

²²⁶⁵ Ibid. Tov lists seven Qumran documents that seem to have more than one scribal hand (ibid., 21-22).

pertinent reason for manuscript division.²²⁶⁶ Yet, it is certainly possible for a Qumran scroll to have more than one scribal hand.²²⁶⁷

Tov appeals to the textual character or affinity of 4Q71 and 4Q72a with that of LXX Jeremiah's *Vorlage* as a weighty factor in his decision to differ with the original collective grouping by Cross of 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b.²²⁶⁸ Yet, Tov admits that 4Q72b (4QJer^e) is too small to determine adequately its textual affinity or character²²⁶⁹ and that there are no Qumran scrolls which reflect a LXX-like "recension."²²⁷⁰ Tov's conclusions regarding the textual affinity of 4Q71 and 4Q72a are probably mainly due to his assumptions concerning the copying habits reflected in many LXX *Vorlagen*, which he regards as part of a fairly "precise"²²⁷¹ scribal tradition. Moreover, subsequent literature has followed Tov's grouping of 4Q71 and 4Q72a as LXX-like textual fragments and one may often find discussion of 4Q71 in tandem with 4Q72a due to their perceived joint witness to the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage*.²²⁷² However, DJD XV implies that Strugnell's original grouping of 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b might still stand due to their common LXX textual affinity and the fact that 4Q72b is too fragmentary to give a conclusive answer as to its textual affinity.

Janzen, interestingly enough, originally published 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b as an unit labeled 4QJer^b, but admitted that the fragments do "not perfectly" witness the LXX text type due to a MT reading found in 4Q72b.²²⁷³ Tov states: "Even though the three fragments are attributed to different scribes, the close links in textual character between

²²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²²⁶⁷ Ibid., 20-22.

²²⁶⁸ Tov, DJD XV, 172.

²²⁶⁹ Ibid., 207.

²²⁷⁰ Tov writes: "Since only a few Qumran texts are close to the LXX, a term like 'Septuagint scroll' should be avoided. That term is based on the wrong assumption that the Septuagint reflects an archetypal recension of the biblical text" (idem, GHB, 300).

²²⁷¹ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 25. Tov writes: "Accordingly, from the point of view of later developments, early scribes were often considered imprecise, but such a characterization would be anachronistic, since the concept of an exact transmission had yet to be created. We do not know when that concept came into being. One could say that it was conceived together with the creation of MT, but the *Vorlage* of the LXX was probably also a precise text" (ibid.).

²²⁷² E.g. cf. Tov, GHB, 363-64; and Stipp, MASJ, 3-4.

²²⁷³ Janzen, *Studies*, 184. Although there are other readings Janzen notes that do not reflect LXX textual variants.

4QJer^b and 4QJer^d suggest that these two fragments could have belonged to the same scroll: they derive from different sections of the book, viz., chapters 9-10 (4QJer^b) and 43 (4QJer^d), which could have been written by two different scribes. 4QJer^e, on the other hand, would have been included in yet a different scroll, since its textual character differs from that of the other two fragments as far as can be recognized from its small fragments.²²⁷⁴ Thus, the reader is left with the distinct impression from DJD XV that he should regard 4Q71 and 4Q72a as part of the same manuscript, despite the paleographical observations of distinct scribal hands at work.

Tov's original inclination to separate the fragments was based on the palaeographers Émile Puech and Ada Yardeni,²²⁷⁵ who both declared 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b to be separate fragments belonging to distinct scrolls due to differences of scribal writing traits,²²⁷⁶ although Joseph Naveh sided with Cross that "the three fragments have been produced by one hand."²²⁷⁷ Naveh reasoned that the small differences between 4Q71, 72a, and 72b might be due to some time lapse between the writing of Jer 9-10, 43, and 50.²²⁷⁸ Later, Yardeni stated that 4Q72a and 72b could have been the same scribal hand,²²⁷⁹ since both show a less careful hand than that manifest in 4Q71. However, the pen's ink of 4Q72b was more worn or spent than that evident in 4Q72a.²²⁸⁰ One may, correspondingly, question the dating of 4Q71 itself, since Tov²²⁸¹ notes significant divergence of thought among scholars such as Yardeni, Naveh, Puech, Cross, and Tov himself.²²⁸² Although Puech and Yardeni agreed that 4Q71, 72a, and 72b were from separate hands,²²⁸³ Yardeni dated 4Q71 to the the first half of the 2nd century BCE,²²⁸⁴ while Puech dated 4Q71 to the

²²⁷⁴ Tov, DJD XV, 172.

²²⁷⁵ Tov, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 191; and idem, "Three Fragments," 531-32. For a broad range dating of 250-150 BCE, cf. Tov et al., DJD XXXIX, 371.

²²⁷⁶ Tov, DJD XV, 171-72 and 203-07.

²²⁷⁷ Tov, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 191.

²²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²²⁷⁹ Per personal conversation with Ada Yardeni.

²²⁸⁰ Yardeni notes that the written letters of 4Q72a and 4Q72b are larger or wider than the thinner and narrower ones of 4Q71. She also notes that the letters are written more closely together in 4Q71 than in 4Q72a and 4Q72b (Per personal conversation).

²²⁸¹ Tov, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 191; and idem, "Three Fragments," 533.

²²⁸² Tov, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 191.

²²⁸³ Ibid.

²²⁸⁴ Tov, "Three Fragments," 533; idem, "Jeremiah Scrolls," 197; and idem, DJD XV, 172 and 203.

third quarter of the second century BCE (i.e. 150-125 BCE).²²⁸⁵ Only Joseph Naveh supported the grouping of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b together like Cross and Janzen. Though, as Tov notes, one obstacle to grouping the fragments together is that only 4Q71 has the unusually long line lengths of 115-130 letters, whereas 4Q72a and 72b have only “60-65 letter-spaces.”²²⁸⁶

What may be known from such divergence of opinion? It is clear that 4Q71 dates to at least the second century BCE,²²⁸⁷ and certainly it belongs to an age subsequent to 4Q70, though as to how much later it is, perhaps, is still open to discussion. Cross himself never published a dating of 4Q71 as he did for 4Q70,²²⁸⁸ so that Tov’s dating of the first half of the second century BCE²²⁸⁹ is the standard thought currently, although the paleographer Yardeni has altered her original thinking expressed to Tov (“first half of the second century B.C.E.”),²²⁹⁰ and now posits a date range within 160-110 BCE.²²⁹¹ Puech has not changed his opinion on the paleographical dating of the early Hasmonean period (150-125 BCE), although Yardeni has altered her dating since Tov’s publications. Yardeni thinks Puech’s window of 150-125 BCE is too precise and rather affirms the fifty year range of 160-110 BCE,²²⁹² at least 40 years after her published dating for 4Q70.²²⁹³ Although this seems to settle the paleographical dating issues for all three fragments, it does not settle the question of whether the fragments belong to the same manuscript, since only physical similarities in the leather scroll can determine this type of issue. That being said, it is interesting that

²²⁸⁵ Per personal communication with Émile Puech. Cf. Tov, “Jeremiah Scrolls,” 197; and idem, DJD XV, 172 and 203.

²²⁸⁶ Tov, DJD XV, 171.

²²⁸⁷ Ibid., 172 and 203.

²²⁸⁸ One may assume a dating by Cross after 250-150 BCE due to the fact that 4Q71 was not included in his listing of texts known as the “Archaic Jewish” scribal hand group of early texts (idem, “Development,” 136-40). Cross only placed 4Q70 in this group of Archaic Jewish formal hand which date between 250-150 BCE. Perhaps this is the safest range to quote Cross’ estimation of the dating of 4Q70.

²²⁸⁹ Tov, DJD XV, 172 and 203.

²²⁹⁰ Tov, “Three Fragments,” 533.

²²⁹¹ Per personal conversation with Yardeni.

²²⁹² Ibid.

²²⁹³ Yardeni also conservatively dates 4Q70 to a “late 3rd or early 2nd century” BCE (Yardeni, “Paleography,” 268). In conversation she revealed that the date for the paleography of 4Q70 cannot be any later than that of 200 BCE.

4Q71, 72a, and 72b all have the same paleographical date, but scholars claim them to derive from a different manuscript or scribal composition.

Cross originally grouped 4Q71, 4Q72a, and 4Q72b together as being from a similar looking physical scroll,²²⁹⁴ which may prove to be the truth on the matter. Different scribal hands, moreover, do not necessarily distinguish different manuscript works, as Tov would readily admit.²²⁹⁵ If Yardeni²²⁹⁶ and Strugnell²²⁹⁷ are correct to link the scribal hands of 4Q72a and 72b together, then one has Tov's corresponding linkage of 4Q71 and 72a together by means of their apparent LXX textual affinity. Thus, Cross' original grouping under the label 4QJer^b seems very plausible. Janzen's analysis of the textual affinity in his 4QJer^b group would, then, still hold true today, given the assumption of Cross' identification. If this is indeed the case, then one has a text type consisting of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b that testifies, in Janzen's original words, to "to a short Hebrew text of the Book of Jeremiah," although, "not perfectly" to the LXX *Vorlage*.²²⁹⁸

Janzen, with the assumption of 4Q71, 72a, and 72b as a unified scroll, saw evidence that the LXX *Vorlage* "was not a direct ancestor of 4QJer^b."²²⁹⁹ Rather, the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage*, for Janzen, "represented a slightly different branch of the Egyptian family,"²³⁰⁰ since it does not seem to be so closely aligned with LXX Jeremiah as the alignment evident between 4Q70 and MT Jeremiah.²³⁰¹ Moreover, one must contend with the fact that 4Q72a and 4Q72b show evidence of (proto-)MT textual influence, as noted by Janzen,²³⁰² Tov,²³⁰³ and Brooke,²³⁰⁴ and this fact would argue that the three fragments of

²²⁹⁴ Per personal conversation with Cross.

²²⁹⁵ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 20-22.

²²⁹⁶ Per personal conversation with Yardeni.

²²⁹⁷ Per personal conversation with Cross.

²²⁹⁸ Janzen, *Studies*, 173.

²²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.

²³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰² *Ibid.*, 182-84.

²³⁰³ Tov, DJD XV, 172, 203-05 and 207. Tov writes: "In contradistinction with 4QJer^{b,d}, the few preserved readings of 4QJer^c disagree with [LXX]" (*ibid.*, 172). But one must note his comments on the textual variants (*ibid.*, 205).

²³⁰⁴ Brooke notes that 4Q72a's reading of MT Jer 43:5 "was closer to the MT than to the LXX" (*idem*, "Book of Jeremiah," 187). Brooke also points out that 4Q72b has two readings that agree with MT against LXX, and has a *Kethiv* reading like MT (*ibid.*).

Janzen's 4QJer^b might be considered to be a more non-aligned or independent text type than is often claimed in the scholarly literature. The greatest appeal for a "non-aligned" textual identification or grouping, as noted by Tov, is the lack of a homogenous text-type or textual affinity,²³⁰⁵ and the discrepancy of the line letter-space lengths between that of 4Q71 and those of 4Q72a and 72b.²³⁰⁶ Yet, despite the tremendous variation in line lengths (115-130 letter-spaces versus the 60-65 in the fragments of 4Q72a and 72b), even Tov wishes to connect 4Q71 and 72a.²³⁰⁷

As for the textual reconstruction of 4Q71 with LXX Jer 10:1-18, one may compare Janzen,²³⁰⁸ McKane,²³⁰⁹ and Saley²³¹⁰ to that of Tov's DJD publication. Although Janzen did not produce a full reconstruction of 4Q71 (4QJer^b), he determined the line lengths of 95-105 letter spaces²³¹¹ which McKane²³¹² later utilized to argue for his LXX *Vorlage* line reconstructions. However, Tov enlarged the line lengths from 95-105 to 115-130 letter spaces, which was based on his comparison of MT and LXX letter counts.²³¹³ Thus, from the average line lengths of 115-130 letter spaces counted in both the MT and LXX line reconstructions, Tov was able, then, to fill out the missing textual material of 4Q71 by testing which text form would conform most readily to this average length in each line. The results are a textual reconstruction that is most closely aligned with LXX in contrast to MT.²³¹⁴

More recently, Saley has published an even more LXX-aligned textual reconstruction than that of Tov's effort, attempting to shorten the line lengths further to

²³⁰⁵ Tov, DJD XV, 171-2.

²³⁰⁶ Ibid., 171.

²³⁰⁷ Ibid., 171-72.

²³⁰⁸ Janzen, *Studies*, 181-82.

²³⁰⁹ William A. McKane, "The History of the Text of Jeremiah 10:10-16," in *Mélanges Bibliques et Orientaux en L'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor* (ed. A. Caquot, S. Légasse, and M. Tardieu; AOAT 215; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukircher, 1985), 297-304.

²³¹⁰ Saley, "Reconstructing," 1-12.

²³¹¹ Janzen, *Studies*, 182.

²³¹² McKane, "History," 297-99.

²³¹³ Tov, DJD XV, 175-76.

²³¹⁴ Ibid., 176.

strictly 115 letter-spaces, although he is not always successful.²³¹⁵ However, the differences between Tov's and Saley's reconstructions are not that great, with the difference primarily being in places where Tov chose the MT Hebrew reading²³¹⁶ instead of reconstructing a more strictly literal LXX Hebrew *Vorlage* retroverted variant. For example, Saley posits חרשים for τεχλιτω of LXX 10:9c,²³¹⁷ whereas Tov reconstructs חכמים as argued in my analysis. Moreover, the Aramaic renditions of LXX 10:5a are given a strictly literal *Vorlage* Hebrew form, so that one finds כְּתוּמָר for כְּסָף and ילכו for יִדְבְּרוּ in MT 10:5a's clause, which is entirely possible. Thus, Saley reconstructs Hatch and Redpath reverse correspondences for almost every LXX implied variant, along with omissions of LXX minuses like וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁבַט of MT 10:16c. Tov, on the other hand, retains some MT plus material and marks their presence by underlining them in his reconstruction.²³¹⁸ The overall effect of Saley's reconstruction is to show that even in small details, one can always manage to "fit in" LXX renditions into a 4Q71 reconstruction if one wishes to attempt to do so. Such is the unusual nature of 4Q71's very long line lengths, although Saley attempts to reduce them to a more moderate level. Hence, Fischer argues that the extreme line lengths question any attempted reconstruction²³¹⁹ since they do not provide a regular line length, nor a standard size that would correspond to other known Qumran manuscripts, despite Tov's claims to the contrary.²³²⁰ Likewise, McKane admitted "disappointing" results in his reconstruction attempts.²³²¹

²³¹⁵ In eight lines Saley oversteps the 115 count mark he attempts to regulate himself to, thus getting an average of 116.5 letter-spaces for each line (idem, "Reconstructing," 11-12).

²³¹⁶ Tov states of his 4Q71 reconstruction: "the following reconstruction of 4QJer^b follows [LXX] in the layout of the verses, but in details it follows the text of [MT]" (idem, DJD XV, 176).

²³¹⁷ Saley, "Reconstructing," 7.

²³¹⁸ Tov, DJD XV, 176. Tov, thus, retained many LXX minuses in his reconstruction and noted their presence by underlining them.

²³¹⁹ Idem, *Das Trostbüchlein: Text, Komposition und Theologie von Jer 30-31* (SBB 26; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1993), 2-6. Also cf. idem, *Der Prophet*, 25-26; and idem, *Stand*, 21-22.

²³²⁰ Idem, DJD XV, 171. Tov notes that two Qumran manuscripts have considerable differences in size of material, while some Qumran material has even larger columns, such as 1QIsa^a, 1QS, and 4QLam^a (ibid.).

²³²¹ McKane, "History," 299.

Despite various textual differences in their reconstructions, both Tov and Saley are fundamentally correct to see the macro-structure of 4Q71's text of 10:1-18 to read with LXX's structural order. Thus, one reads LXX 10:9 between 10:5a and 5b with the omissions of MT 10:6-8 and 10, as well as LXX's minor variations from MT, such as the order given of the hammer and nails in LXX 10:4b. However, Saley admits that there are four instances in which 4Q71 reads with MT against LXX,²³²² such as the singular דָּרָךְ instead of the plural of δδοὺς in LXX 10:2b. Although one could possibly add more if one takes Tov's reconstruction, such as מַעֲשֵׂה הַכְּמִים of MT 10:9e (LXX 10:9c).²³²³ Saley also notes that there are two independent readings in 4Q71 that disagree with the texts of both LXX and MT.²³²⁴ Thus, one sees פְּקָדוֹתֵי contrary to MT 10:15b's פְּקָדוֹתֵי (as argued by Janzen²³²⁵ and McKane),²³²⁶ and יוֹשְׁבֵי versus יוֹשְׁבֵי of MT 10:18b.

Finally, although 4Q71 generates much contemporary scholarly discussion, it should be noted with Andreas Vonach that one cannot find any part of LXX 10:5 surviving in 4Q71, which is the most important verse in terms of LXX 10:1-11's overall logic or thematic argumentation.²³²⁷ This fact was admitted readily by McKane as well,²³²⁸ although it makes greatest sense to place verse 10:9 within v. 5, as is done by Janzen, McKane, Tov, and Saley in their reconstructions. One is left, thus, with strong evidence, at least for LXX 10:1-18, that the LXX text form existed (to some extent) in the middle of the second century BCE (within 160-110 BCE).²³²⁹ However, 4Q71's Hebrew does not conform exactly to the LXX *Vorlage* and the *Vorlage* would not, moreover, be the oldest

²³²² Saley, "Reconstructing," 4-5.

²³²³ Tov, DJD XV, 176.

²³²⁴ Saley, "Reconstructing," 6.

²³²⁵ Janzen, *Studies*, 182.

²³²⁶ McKane, "History," 299.

²³²⁷ Vonach, "Jer 10, 1-10," 215-16; and McKane, "History," 299. Rather, one sees evidence for only two surviving words of LXX 10:9.

²³²⁸ McKane, "History," 299.

²³²⁹ Per private conversation with Yardeni. However, one could hypothesize a much earlier LXX *Vorlage* Hebrew text type, which existed before the translation of LXX Jeremiah. Thus, one might argue for a LXX text form of Jeremiah (by HRLXXJ) at some point in the third century BCE, assuming an early date for the LXX translation.

text type represented at Qumran, since 4Q70 demonstrates a proto-Massoretic text affinity. The greatest contribution of 4Q71 to this study is that it represents a relatively contemporary Hebrew witness to LXX 10:1-18's text form which was not known before Qumran's manuscript discoveries.²³³⁰ It is quite possible, especially in light of the reconstructive difficulty of 4Q71, that both LXX Jer 10:1-18 and 4Q71 represent different strands of a common tradition that abridged the pericope's hymn. Thus, perhaps, both LXX Jer 10:1-16 and 4Q71 use the hymn of Jer 10:2-16 in a similar abridged form for either a magical utterance or a common apotropaic defense against evil spirits.²³³¹

1.3. 4Q72 or 4QJer^c

MT 10:12-13 survives in a fragmentary copy found in column V (only three text lines)²³³² of 4Q72 (4QJer^c)²³³³ and represents merely a small remnant of 4Q72's 25 columns.²³³⁴ The text type of 4Q72 follows MT very closely,²³³⁵ although Lange describes it as semi-Masoretic.²³³⁶ In the case of Jer 10:12-13 in column V, one notes no variations from MT in either the actual text or in Tov's reconstruction. In fact, Tov reconstructs MT 10:13a's difficult reading לְקוֹל תְּהוֹ which LXX 10:13a must have lacked.²³³⁷ Like 4Q70, 4Q72 displays a type of "proto-Massoretic text,"²³³⁸ but with a greater preponderance of paragraph divisions²³³⁹ and with a greater tendency to a more full (*plene*) spelling of words.²³⁴⁰ 4Q72's "semiformal" scribal hand betrays the "early Herodian period" or the "latter part of the first century BCE."²³⁴¹ In summary, one concludes, once

²³³⁰ McKane, "History," 298.

²³³¹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 101. Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX Jer 10:11 could be compared to Qumran hymnic material. E.g. cf. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc.

²³³² Tov, DJD XV, 187.

²³³³ *Ibid.*, 177-201.

²³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

²³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 183-84.

²³³⁶ Lange, *Handbuch*, 301-02 and 314.

²³³⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 187.

²³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

²³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 181-82.

²³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

²³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

again, that a (proto-)MT version of Jer 10:1-18 was preferred at Qumran. However, the witness of 4Q72 to MT Jeremiah comes at a relatively later date than that of 4Q71's LXX textual affinity.

1.4. 11Q5's "Hymn to the Creator" (11QPs^a)

11Q5's "Hymn to the Creator"²³⁴² (HC) is a short hymnic composition found in column xxvi, ll. 9-15 of a relatively large Psalm scroll²³⁴³ found in Qumran cave 11. Due to 11Q5's paleographical similarity to Herodian scribal script, James Sanders, the DJD editor who published HC, dates the entire scroll of 11Q5 to "the first half of the first century A.D."²³⁴⁴ HC contains "nine verses of a sapiential hymn of praise to the Creator."²³⁴⁵ Sanders describes HC as having "affinities with the *Hodayot*,"²³⁴⁶ and notes that HC 7-9 "are made up of phrases which are found in Jer 10¹²⁻¹³ (51¹⁵⁻¹⁶) and Ps 135⁷."²³⁴⁷ For Sanders, 11Q5's poetic quality is sub-par, or, at least, beneath a biblical standard. He writes: "The metre is highly irregular and the language is forced and pedestrian. The imagery and vocabulary are late, in biblical terms."²³⁴⁸

I reference HC in this study due to its apparent use (or reuse) of poetic phraseology and clausal vocabulary found in MT Jer 10:12-13. However, the situation is a bit more complicated, as Sanders describes of HC:

The phrases in vv. 7-9 appear in better order here than in Jeremiah or Ps 135. The three colons of Q vv. 8b-9 are in reverse order in the biblical passages; and Jer 10^{13aa} is lacking in Q. This material undoubtedly derives from some liturgical hymn of praise of the Creator. While it is highly possible that our psalm in 11QPs^a represents an authentic text of the original sapiential hymn from which the material

²³⁴² Sanders, DJD IV, 89-91.

²³⁴³ Originally labeled "11QPs^a," but also known as 11Q5. For a description of its content, cf. *ibid.*, 3-17.

²³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

²³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

²³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

in Jeremiah was derived, caution is in order in dealing with Ps 135, which lacks any explicit reference to Wisdom and is probably earlier than the Q psalm.²³⁴⁹

Sanders, as one sees, conjectures that the poetical material which both Jer 10:12-13 and HC 7-9 possess, represents derivational material from a common hymnic source which dates after Ps 135:7's text form structure.²³⁵⁰ Sanders, therefore, considers Ps 135:7's poetic lines to evidence an even earlier remnant of the original hymnic material, although the order in Ps 135:7's clausal structure mirrors that of MT Jer 10:13.²³⁵¹

HC reverses the positions of MT Jer 10:13b and 13d around that of MT 10:13c to produce the structural order of 13d, 13c, and 13b. Armin Lange has proposed recently that 11Q5's HC represents a third possible text form with its own individual textual tradition.²³⁵² However, both Jean Carmignac²³⁵³ and Felipe Sen²³⁵⁴ argue that HC 8-9 betrays an earlier clausal order to that of MT Jer 10:13bcd, although their explanation seems difficult to posit. They both²³⁵⁵ argue that MT 10:13's scribal tradition misread the original order of HC 8-9s tristich due to a confusion of MT Jer 10:13d's beginning with 13b's similar *Waw* and *Yod* initial wording. Thus, they posit that MT Jer 10:13's scribe made an error of parablepsis. Yet, the MT scribal tradition corrected this mistake from HC 8-9's second and third lines so as to preserve HC's original order reflected in MT 10:13c and 13d (but 13c and 13b in HC). However, Carmignac's proposal²³⁵⁶ remains mere speculation and also seems overly complicated. If one were to argue that the more difficult poetic syntax is the more original (*Lectio difficilior potior*), then MT Jer 10:12-13's text form betrays a more difficult text form structure over that of HC in instances like MT

²³⁴⁹ Ibid.

²³⁵⁰ Ibid. Ps 135:7 has the same order and material as MT Jer 10:13bcd, only with participial verbal forms and also a lack of 10:13a.

²³⁵¹ The only difference between the two text forms is the lack of MT Jer 10:13a in the text of Ps 135:7's verse.

²³⁵² Lange, *Handbuch*, 316-17.

²³⁵³ Jean Carmignac, "Le texte de Jérémie 10:13 (ou 51:16) et celui de 2 Samuel 23:7: améliorés par Qumran," *RQ* 7, no. 2 (1970), 287-290.

²³⁵⁴ Felipe Sen, "Mas Textos que reciben luz de Qumran: Jer 10 :13 y 2 Sam 23:7," *Cultura Biblica* 31, no. 255 (1974), 100-01.

²³⁵⁵ Sen follows the thinking and analysis of Carmignac (Carmignac, "Le texte," 288).

²³⁵⁶ Or Sen, who follows Carmignac at this point.

10:13a.²³⁵⁷ Moreover, the structure of HC 2's **מִים רַבִּים הַמּוֹן וְאַחֲרָיו**²³⁵⁸ also reads much simpler than MT Jer 10:13a's complicated syntax. However, my purpose is not to argue for the older text form of MT 10:12-13 over that of HC 7-9 in this present context, but only to note that HC's thematic structure and lexical description would favor inspiration from the text form of MT Jer 10:1-18 and not that of LXX 10:1-18.

In general terms, one finds thematic and lexical elements which suggest closer affinity of HC 1-9 to MT Jer 10:1-18 than to LXX 10:1-18. For example, one observes the direct address to Yahweh in HC 1, as also in MT 10:6. One also finds HC 1's description of Yahweh as **גָּדוֹל** "great," as in MT 10:6 as well. One may also note some lexemes common to both HC and MT 10:4-16 and probably not present in LXX 10's Hebrew *Vorlage*, such as **אֲנֹתָ** (twice) of HC 3 (cf. MT Jer 10:10) and the adjective **חַי** of HC 6 (cf. MT Jer 10:10).²³⁵⁹

The only HC element which might be argued to derive from LXX Jer 10 is that of the reading of **אֹר** in HC 7, as in LXX 10:13d and 28:16. But one has confirmation of MT 10:13d's **רִיחַ** reading in Sanders' reconstruction,²³⁶⁰ although it is a textual lacuna. Perhaps HC 7's reading of **אֹר** suggests similar influence which also inspired LXX 10:13d's same reading, so that one might, perhaps, discern similar "gnostic" concepts²³⁶¹ at work in both HC and HRLXXJ (e.g. cf. 1 Baruch).²³⁶²

²³⁵⁷ Cf. LXX 10:13a's minus. MT 10:13a's **לְקוֹל תְּתוֹ הַמּוֹן מִים בְּשָׁמַיִם** is fully present in LXX 28:16, but not in LXX 10:13, where it lacks the first two words. But, as Lange notes, the reading of **קוֹל** is confirmed by allusion in 4QH^a 10:18 and 10:29 (Lange, "Textual History," 258-260 and 273-75).

²³⁵⁸ Sanders, DJD IV, 89.

²³⁵⁹ **אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים**

²³⁶⁰ Sanders, DJD IV, 90-91. Sanders notes that the LXX reading of "light" is possible.

²³⁶¹ Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 100-103. Tov discusses the possible "gnostic" phenomenon in LXX renditions in a short excursus (*ibid.*).

²³⁶² Cf. 1 Bar 3:13; 3:20; 3:33; 4:2; and 5:9.

Since 11Q5 is a relatively late Second Temple Period composition that is of the early first century CE,²³⁶³ one might expect MT affinity to a greater degree due to the fact that MT was popular in this same time frame. However, HC's hymn may also preserve much older poetic material than merely what paleography could precisely date and suggest for this analysis. Furthermore, 11Q5 contains common textual elements with both Jer 10 and 4QH^a (e.g. cf. MT Jer 10:13a; 4QH^a 10:18 and 29).²³⁶⁴ The DJD editor Eileen Schuller paleographically dates 4QH^a to the early Herodian period (30–1 BCE),²³⁶⁵ so as possibly to suggest an older common text form tradition linking HC to both MT Jeremiah and 4QH^a. 4QH^a's material does allude to MT Jer 10:12-13 (and 23),²³⁶⁶ which, like HC, also would confirm the textual use of MT Jeremiah's text form, at least generally speaking.²³⁶⁷ In summary, HC confirms a late Second Temple Period existence of a rewritten text form of MT Jer 10's complicated poetry, which could be dated at least as early as the first half of the first century CE.²³⁶⁸

Section 2: Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature Related to Jeremiah.

2.1. The Epistle of Jeremiah

The *Epistle of Jeremiah* (Ep Jer) has a very close relationship in thought and thematic tenor to MT Jer 10:1-18's content,²³⁶⁹ although there might be direct dependence on LXX 10:1-18's Hebrew *Vorlage*.²³⁷⁰ While Ep Jer is commonly designated as Baruch 6,

²³⁶³ Sanders, DJD IV, 9.

²³⁶⁴ Lange, "Textual History," 258-63 and 273-75. For the text of 4QH^a, cf. DJD XXIX, 77-124.

²³⁶⁵ Eileen M. Schuller writes: "Paleographically, 1QH^a is the latest of all the preserved copies. The date of the early Herodian period 30–1 BCE that was assigned by Cross... is generally accepted." Cf. idem, "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010," *CBR* 10, no. 1 (2011), 123.

²³⁶⁶ Lange, "Textual History," 258-63, 273-75, and 283-84.

²³⁶⁷ Lange remarks that the *Hodayot* "based their allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah on a proto- or semi-Masoretic manuscript" (ibid., 283-84).

²³⁶⁸ Sanders, DJD IV, 9.

²³⁶⁹ Moore, *Daniel*, 32; and Kratz, "Rezeption," 322.

²³⁷⁰ Thomas, "Reevaluating," 561.

recently Sean Adams has called for an end to such a misleading title.²³⁷¹ Ep Jer claims to be a copy of a letter²³⁷² by the prophet Jeremiah and dispatched in a similar context to that of MT 29:4-7.²³⁷³ The pseudepigraphon²³⁷⁴ maintains itself to have been sent just before Judah's Babylonian captivity and deportation.²³⁷⁵

Ep Jer does not allege to be the same epistle as that which is described in MT 29:1 (LXX 36:1),²³⁷⁶ but rather, it claims to be a letter that is written to the Judean population before they are scattered abroad (e.g. cf. MT Jer 9:15 and 16:13), so that they are still waiting to be dispatched by the Babylonians of Jeremiah's time.²³⁷⁷ The epistle might be described as an example of a "*Diaspora letters*"²³⁷⁸ genre, which seems to be a literary form that was fairly widespread among Jews at the time of both LXX Jeremiah's translation²³⁷⁹ and of Ep Jer's time of composition.²³⁸⁰ Ep Jer's epistolary genre, moreover, becomes a popular mode of communicating material which was intended to supplement Jeremiah's or his scribe Baruch's original tradition.²³⁸¹ Therefore, both Ep Jer²³⁸² and 1

²³⁷¹ Sean A. Adams, "Epistle of Jeremiah or Baruch 6? The Importance of Labels," *JSCS* 44 (2011), 26-30. Adams notes that the tradition of labeling the work as Baruch 6 is late and Latin and reflects a false connection between 1 Baruch and Ep Jer.

²³⁷² The preface to Ep Jer begins with the heading Ἐπιτολὴ ἐπιστολῆς "copy of an epistle" (Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 494).

²³⁷³ C. J. Ball, "Epistle of Jeremy," 1:596-597.

²³⁷⁴ Technically, Ep Jer is commonly grouped in the Catholic apocryphal collection.

²³⁷⁵ For the term ἀντίγραφον or "copy of a document" (Muraoka, *GELSM*, 58), cf. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 132. Doering notes that the Greek terms βιβλίον and ἐπιστολή were common Septuagintal or Hellenistic terms for an epistolary communication or letter (*ibid.*, 131). However, he writes: "Later, the term ἀντίγραφον gains in importance, often joined with the singular or plural of ἐπιστολή, denoting either the copy or the verbatim quotation of a letter" (*ibid.*, 132).

²³⁷⁶ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 155.

²³⁷⁷ Moore notes that the book is "not an epistle, nor was it written by Jeremiah" (*idem*, *Daniel*, 317). Later, Moore notes that Ep Jer is "really a homily, a tirade, or harangue against idols and idolatry" (*ibid.*).

²³⁷⁸ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 154. Doering describes the epistolary genre as having texts "reflecting communication between the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, and thus can be taken as representing the letter type of Jewish *Diaspora letters*" (*ibid.*).

²³⁷⁹ Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible*, 110-11.

²³⁸⁰ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 126-169.

²³⁸¹ Doering, "Jeremiah," 53.

²³⁸² Moore, *Daniel*, 325; Doering, "Jeremiah," 53; and Reinhard G. Kratz, "Der Brief des Jeremia," in *Das Buch Baruch, Der Brief des Jeremia, Zusätze zu Ester und Daniel* (ed. Otto Kaiser and Lothar Perlt; Göttingen: ATDA 5; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 78-79 and 84.

Baruch²³⁸³ are prime examples of an epistolary literary form in a tradition stemming from the book of Jeremiah.

Scholars will often note that Ep Jer bears striking resemblance to the interpolation or supplement to Jer 10:11-12 in the Targum of Jonathan,²³⁸⁴ which Hayward translates:

11. This is a copy of the letter which Jeremiah the prophet sent to the remnant of the elders of the Exile who were in Babylon. “If the nations among whom you are should say to you, ‘Worship the idols, O house of Israel:’ thus you shall answer and thus shall you say to them: ‘The idols which you worship are idols in which there is no profit. They cannot bring down rain from heaven, and they cannot make fruits sprout forth from the earth. They and those who worship them shall perish from the earth, and shall be destroyed from under these heavens.’ 12. Thus you shall say to them: ‘We worship him who made the earth by his might, completed the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding suspended the heavens...’”²³⁸⁵

Thus, one sees that the Targum’s supplementary interpolation, like Ep Jer, references an epistle which is not necessarily identical to the one mentioned in MT 29:1 (LXX 36:1).²³⁸⁶ Despite the content’s similarity to that of Ep Jer’s inscriptio, one should note that Targum Jonathan postdates the composition of Ep Jer, since Targum Jonathan only became the official Babylonian²³⁸⁷ Targum on the prophets at a much later date (i.e. probably circa 5th century CE), compared to the much earlier time period of Ep Jer.²³⁸⁸ However, the Targum to Jeremiah, like other Targums to the prophets, had “a long history” and could have roots

²³⁸³ Cf. the next section concerning 1 Baruch.

²³⁸⁴ Sperber, *Bible*, III:160-61.

²³⁸⁵ Hayward, *Targum*, 79-80.

²³⁸⁶ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 157.

²³⁸⁷ Roger Tomes, “The Reception of Jeremiah in Rabbinic Literature and in the Targum,” in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception: Le Livre de Jérémie et Sa Réception* (ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer; BETL 128; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 249.

²³⁸⁸ Sean Adams gives a very wide date range of between the “6th and 1st centuries BC”, but notes that “scholars widely agree that the Greek text of EpJer dates to after the Alexandrian conquests, probably to the third or second centuries BC.” Cf. Sean A. Adams, *Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on the Texts in Codex Vaticanus* (SCC; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 149.

reaching as early as 200 BCE according to Edward Cook,²³⁸⁹ although it is difficult to be firmly precise.²³⁹⁰

Jeremiah's Targum was very popular, even being the form of Jeremiah's text that Josephus apparently read.²³⁹¹ Jer 10:11-16's Targum Jonathan interpretation must have followed historically the tradition and interpretation found in Ep Jer.²³⁹² Moreover, Reinhard Kratz suggests that the Targumic interpolation probably references Ep Jer (verse 52) and seems to be influenced by the same interpretive tradition reflected in Ep Jer.²³⁹³ Torrey,²³⁹⁴ however, thinks one should not consider Targum Jonathan to be referencing Ep Jer when discussing 10:11's אַגְרָתָא "letter,"²³⁹⁵ but it is echoing MT Jer 29:1's same type of epistulary setting to Babylonian elders.²³⁹⁶ One may simply claim with Lutz Doering²³⁹⁷ a common Jeremianic tradition behind both Ep Jer and Jer 10:11's Targum, which was inspired by MT Jer 29:1 (LXX 36:1)'s epistolary communication framework. Although Moore²³⁹⁸ and Torrey²³⁹⁹ both posit direct influence from MT 10:11 on Ep Jer, there appear to be a variety of factors from the Jeremiah tradition and other biblical material that shaped the message of Ep Jer.²⁴⁰⁰

²³⁸⁹ Idem, "A New Perspective on the Language of Onqelos and Jonathan," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara; JSOTSS 166; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 148. Cook gives a broad window "in the period 200 BCE-200 CE" (ibid.). Tomes references Cook's dating favorably (idem, "Rezeption," 252). Hayward views the origins of the Targum to be "in the land of Israel during, or slightly before, the first century" CE, but surmises that its "roots may be even older," yet "it is difficult to be certain how much older" (idem, *Targum*, 38).

²³⁹⁰ Hayward views the origins of the Targum to be "in the land of Israel during, or slightly before, the first century" CE, but surmises that its "roots may be even older," yet "it is difficult to be certain how much older" (Hayward, *Targum*, 38).

²³⁹¹ Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Le Texte de Jeremie utilisé par Flaviose Josephus dans Le X^e Livre Des Antiquites Judaïques," *Henoch* 14 (1992), 11-36. Piovanelli's conclusion is from a comparison of LXX with the Targum of Jeremiah.

²³⁹² Moore, *Daniel*, 326.

²³⁹³ Kratz, "Brief," 84-85.

²³⁹⁴ Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (London: Archon Books, 1963), 67.

²³⁹⁵ Jastrow, *Dictionary of Targumim*, 15.

²³⁹⁶ Torrey writes: "Whether he (Targum Jonathan) actually knew of any such letter of the prophet may be strongly doubted" (idem, *Apocryphal*, 67).

²³⁹⁷ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 154-58.

²³⁹⁸ Moore, *Daniel*, 326. Moore remarks that "the Epistle is a homily, or brief sermon, inspired by the very puzzling phenomenon of Jer 10:11, which verse, alone in the Book of Jeremiah, is in Aramaic" (ibid.).

²³⁹⁹ Torrey, *Apocryphal*, 64-65.

²⁴⁰⁰ Kratz, "Rezeption," 321-26.

Few scholars note a key difference of implication from the Targum of MT Jer 10:11 and the message of Ep Jer which I shall now attempt to clarify. Targum Jonathan makes overtly explicit that verse 10:11 (and vv. 12-16) must be uttered in verbal exchange with non-Jewish idolaters, whereas Ep Jer 5 describes a type of mental confession that one was to ponder in prayer when confronted with exilic idolatrous practice. Furthermore, Targum Jonathan is very general in describing the idolaters as the “nations” and their response is more specifically verbal in reference to the idols’ inability to cause rain or create fruit, whereas Ep Jer calls for a prayer of devotion to God alone to be expressed in an inner, cerebral monologue. The Targum also adds a note on the futility of the idols inspired from MT 10:5 and is specifically addressed to the exilic elders in Babylon, but Ep Jer only addresses the captives just before being led to Babylon²⁴⁰¹ while maintaining the authoritative persona of the prophet Jeremiah. Therefore, one must posit a common aniconic tradition surrounding Jer 10:1-18 to have spawned the variety of differences found between Targum Jer 10:11-16 and Ep Jer.

Whereas one might see only a Jeremianic tradition behind the Targum interpretation of Jer 10:11, there are several influences and factors that created the book of Ep Jer, not simply the message of verse 10:11. In fact, Jer 10:5 is even more determinative for the structure of Ep Jer’s repetitious argumentation than 10:11, as noted by various scholars.²⁴⁰² Doering writes: “The constant refrain of the Epistle has been gathered from 10:5: ‘do not be afraid of them, because they are no gods.’”²⁴⁰³ Moreover, Ep Jer also contains intertextual links with other aniconic passages (e.g. Isa 40-48), Deuteronomistic material such as Deut 4, and many passages from Jeremiah (or its tradition). Thus, Ep Jer’s literary connections evidence the biblical traditions that created the matrix for its original composition.²⁴⁰⁴ Kratz notes a particular historical fiction which supplies the assumed time

²⁴⁰¹ Cf. Ep Jer’s prologue and 1-4.

²⁴⁰² Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 156; Kratz, “Die Rezeption,” 322-26; and Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 300. Kratz argues that the Hebrew of MT Jer 10:5 must be thought to be behind the structure of Ep Jer (idem, “Rezeption,” 322-26).

²⁴⁰³ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 156.

²⁴⁰⁴ Kratz, “Rezeption,” 327-36; and Moore, *Daniel*, 319-323.

frame given in Ep Jer for the context of Jer 10.²⁴⁰⁵ He considers Ep Jer's time period to be temporally located between both MT 9:15 (or 16:13) and the material of the Book of Consolation (MT 30-31).²⁴⁰⁶ Ep Jer attempts to place itself in a historical fiction just before the letter of MT 29:1 (LXX 36:1) and wishes to be read, thus, as an elaboration of Jer 10's aniconic message.²⁴⁰⁷

There does not seem to be any particular connection between MT 10:11 being in Aramaic and the verse's language engendering its aniconic message.²⁴⁰⁸ A basic survey of Aramaic material at Qumran would not necessarily suggest a predominant element for the language to be the aniconic theme.²⁴⁰⁹ Jewish letters were not always written in Aramaic, as is the case for the book of Ezra (Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26).²⁴¹⁰ This proves especially true during the probable time frame of Ep Jer (e.g. the two letters found in 2 Macc 1:1-2:18),²⁴¹¹ although it is possible that Ep Jer was originally composed in Aramaic.²⁴¹² Kratz merely suggests an original "Semitic" *Vorlage* which might be Hebrew²⁴¹³ and now represents a popular suggestion.²⁴¹⁴ The inferred genre of an epistolary communication

²⁴⁰⁵ Kratz, "Rezeption," 332-33.

²⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 331-36.

²⁴⁰⁸ Torrey, *Apocryphal*, 64-65.

²⁴⁰⁹ Eibert Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; SJSJ 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155-71; and Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies* (FAT 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 185-218.

²⁴¹⁰ Doering gives a survey of Hebrew letters in the Hebrew Bible in his chapter three (idem, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 96-126).

²⁴¹¹ Ibid., 160-69.

²⁴¹² For thoughts on an Aramaic original of the Epistle of Jeremiah, cf. Diether Kellermann, "Apokryphes Obst: Bemerkungen zur Epistula Jeremiae (Baruch Kap. 6), insbesondere zu Vers 42," *ZDMG* 129 (1979), 23-28; and Robert H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), 430. Pfeiffer follows Torrey (idem, *Apocryphal*, 64-67). Victor Hurowitz argues from Ep Jer 22's translation for an Aramaic original. Cf. idem, "An End to Flying Cats – Epistle of Jeremiah 22 Reconsidered," *JSP* 10:20 (1999), 93-95. However, one must temper these claims of an Aramaic *Vorlage* with the possibility that Hebrew or Greek could also have been the original language of Ep Jer. For the possibility of no Semitic *Vorlage*, but original Greek for literature like that of Ep Jer, cf. James R. Davila, "(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?" *JSP* 15:1 (2005), 3-61.

²⁴¹³ Kratz, "Brief," 73-74.

²⁴¹⁴ E.g. cf. Ball, "Epistle," 597-98; Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 296-97; and Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 154. Kratz gives a concise bibliography for further research on sources that argue for an original Hebrew (idem, "Brief," 71-74).

derived from an early interpretation of MT Jer 10:11 proves more important for the creation of Ep Jer than the Aramaic of the verse. However, the change of language in MT Jer 10:11 from Hebrew to Aramaic probably implied to early readers a change of audience from 10:1's Jewish readership originally addressed in Hebrew. The epistolary genre was obviously popular in contemporary times to LXX Jeremiah and Ep Jer (as well as 1 Baruch and 2 Maccabees)²⁴¹⁵ and, perhaps more importantly, was directly modeled on the epistolary framework of MT Jer 29 (LXX 36).²⁴¹⁶

As for the provenance and dating of Ep Jer, one cannot be very precise, although it is safe to assume a Jewish authorship.²⁴¹⁷ Ep Jer's provenance could be either in the diaspora or in Palestine,²⁴¹⁸ though the work itself asserts prophetic authorship in the land (cf. *inscriptio*). The purpose and intended audience will determine heavily the date of composition one assigns the work of Ep Jer. For example, Kratz imagines a roughly 400 year window range of possible composition dates between 539 BCE (2 Chron 36:21) to that of an original Hebrew composition shortly before the Greek translation found in the manuscript 7Q2 (a small fragment of Ep Jer)²⁴¹⁹ around 100 BCE.²⁴²⁰

Kratz describes a probable date of composition during the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus III around the beginning of the second century BCE,²⁴²¹ although he allows for the entire third century BCE to be a possibility.²⁴²² He considers the fact that the Seleucid hegemony (such as Antiochus III), like Alexander the Great before them, maintained the *status quo* of the Persian state and were viewed by Jews as the Babylonian government to some degree, such as is pictured in MT Jer 29:1-14 (LXX 36:1-14).²⁴²³

²⁴¹⁵ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 154-69.

²⁴¹⁶ Kratz, "Rezeption," 331-39. E.g. cf. 1 Baruch.

²⁴¹⁷ Davila, *Provenance*, 71 and 121. He writes that "the epistle of Jeremiah is a very short work and, although it does refer to female purity issues regarding menstruation and childbirth in v. 29, it is not long enough to display a consistent pattern of Jewish signature features" (*ibid.*, 121).

²⁴¹⁸ Davila posits a Jewish, Palestinian original provenance for Ep Jer (*ibid.*, 71), though he admits that the work might have originated in the diaspora (*ibid.*, 15).

²⁴¹⁹ The small fragment is published in: Baillet et al., *DJD III*, 143.

²⁴²⁰ Kratz, "Brief," 82. Adams notes that no scholar has refuted the identification of 7Q2 as a fragment of the Greek text of Ep Jer (*idem*, *Baruch*, 149).

²⁴²¹ Kratz, "Brief," 82-83.

²⁴²² *Ibid.*, 83

²⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 82-84.

Thus, for Kratz, Ep Jer was written probably during the reign of Antiochus III (circa 201-198 BCE) to serve as instruction for the diaspora Jewish communities in the entire Syrian and Mesopotamian regions²⁴²⁴ which experienced Babylonian traditions and idolatrous practices that Ep Jer describes. Likewise, Doering writes: “It is likely that Ep Jer thus reacts to challenges because of the strengthening of Babylonian cults by Alexander the Great and subsequently the Seleucids. Thus, this text seems to have been addressed to the Babylonian Diaspora in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE.”²⁴²⁵

An even earlier date of composition for Ep Jer’s original writing than the one proposed by Kratz and Doering may be postulated near the turn of the fourth century BCE by inference from Ep Jer 2. This is due to the fact that Ep Jer’s author probably counts from the time of the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem (circa 587 BCE) to his present time by means of the 70 year paradigm established in MT Jer 29:10 (LXX 36:10). Ball writes:

When our author makes Jeremiah predict a sojourn of the Jews in Babylon for “seven generations”, he does it deliberately. He can hardly have been ignorant of the famous prophecy of the seventy years, or of the less heeded estimate of three generations involved in the statement that the exiles were to serve Nebuchadnezzar and his son and his son’s son (Jer 25.12; 27.7). He seems, in fact, to be giving us a clue to his own period. Seven generations, allowing forty years to the generation according to Old Testament reckoning, would cover 280 years. If we count from the exile of Jechonias (597 BC), this brings us to the year 317 BC, or counting (as the author may have done) from 586 BC, the year of the final Captivity, we arrive at 306 BC, some thirty years after the arrival of Alexander in Babylon.²⁴²⁶

But, as Adams notes, one cannot be exactly sure of how Ep Jer counts the years in a γενεά as described in Ep Jer 2.²⁴²⁷ Ball suggests a much later date for the Greek translation of the

²⁴²⁴ Ibid., 84.

²⁴²⁵ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 156.

²⁴²⁶ Ball, “Epistle,” 596. The same calculation is made by: Moore, *Daniel*, 334-35.

²⁴²⁷ Adams remarks that there is “no internal evidence that would suggest a later date than 306 BC, but it should be noted that the reference to forty years per generation is suspiciously precise and that such a specific date should therefore not be held to with too much fervency” (Adams, *Baruch*, 148-49).

Hebrew original, possibly even reaching the “age of the Maccabees.”²⁴²⁸ Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine specify a date in the fourth century BCE (like Ball) for the original Hebrew creation of Ep Jer, as well as a second date within the Maccabean period of the second century BCE for the Greek translation of Ep Jer.²⁴²⁹ Nickelsburg gives a unspecific date sometime before 100 BCE due to his *terminus ad quem* of what he perceives to be a reference to Ep Jer in the Greek ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς “documents”²⁴³⁰ of 2 Macc 2:1.²⁴³¹

Scholars sometimes suggest that 2 Macc 2:1-8 is referencing Ep Jer directly.²⁴³² However, this hypothesis may be questioned in light of evidence from Qumran that similar Torah paraenesis material from the Jeremiah persona (and/or Baruch) existed in other literary forms, such as that which is represented in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (Apoc Jer C).²⁴³³ The text of 2 Macc 2:1-8, moreover, describes other details that would disqualify Ep Jer’s text as fully meeting all the qualifications described by the γραφή “writing”²⁴³⁴ or narrative material assumed in 2 Macc 2:4. 2 Macc 2:2-3 exhibits the fact that Jeremiah exhorted his Jewish audience against the violation of the first commandment (Deut 5:7) within a tradition of his aniconic paraenesis. Thus, Jeremiah’s persona seems to follow the Jewish diaspora’s psyche from the start of the Babylonian exile, and even leaves its imprint in texts similar to Ep Jer (e.g. 2 Macc 2:1-8).

²⁴²⁸ Ball, “Epistle,” 597-98.

²⁴²⁹ Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 297-98.

²⁴³⁰ The term ἀπογραφή can mean a “document which records data systematically and in an orderly fashion” (Muraoka, GELSM, 72).

²⁴³¹ Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 37. Nickelsburg later dates 2 Macc’s final form to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (ibid., 110). David A. Desilva dates the book of 2 Macc to some point prior to 124 BCE. Cf. idem, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2002), 268-70.

²⁴³² E.g. cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 37; and Torrey, *Apocryphal*, 66-67. Both Torrey and Nickelsburg express no shade of doubt of there being a reference in 2 Macc 2 to Ep Jer. Jonathan A. Goldstein dates the letter of 2 Macc 1:10b-2:18 to the year 103 BCE. Cf., idem, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976), 36.

²⁴³³ Dimant, DJD XXX, 107-08; and idem, “From the Book of Jeremiah to the Qumranic Apocryphon of Jeremiah,” *DSD* 20 (2013), 457-58. Kipp Davis has reached similar conclusions to Dimant. Cf. idem, “Prophets of Exile: 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C, Apocryphal Baruch, and the Efficacy of the Second Temple,” *JSJ* 44, no. 4 (2013), 497-529.

²⁴³⁴ The term γραφή “that which is written or inscribed” seems to refer back to the documents of 1 Macc 2:1 (Muraoka, GELSM, 136).

The prophet's effect upon the diaspora is, perhaps, due to the notion that the city and its holy sanctuary were destroyed because of the words of Jeremiah and due to the manner in which the people treated his unique personality (e.g. Sirach 49:6-7) in the process of his ministry.²⁴³⁵ It is as if the Jewish people in 2 Maccabees 2:1-8²⁴³⁶ cannot obey Moses and his Torah without correcting the wrongs they have committed against Jeremiah and his commandments.²⁴³⁷ In a similar vein of thought, one reads Ep Jer's "harangue"²⁴³⁸ aimed to coerce exilic Jews into strict obedience to Jeremiah's voice and a full cessation to their idolatry (e.g. cf. 2 Macc 2:2-3).²⁴³⁹ 2 Macc 2:4-8 also grant Jeremiah the responsibility of keeping the tabernacle, the ark of the covenant, and the altar of incense from the First Temple's possessions until the time when God would gather His people together in restoration and be merciful to them (2 Macc 2:7-8).²⁴⁴⁰ Thus, one sees an eschatological hope envelopes Jeremiah's words, as also observed in the Qumran literature of the Damascus Document (CD 8:18-21)²⁴⁴¹ and 4Q252 (5:1-2).²⁴⁴² Since Jeremiah seems to harp most particularly on idolatry as the reason for Yahweh's punishment of exile,²⁴⁴³ one may expect that he becomes famously associated with aniconic exhortation, as interpreted in LXX Jer 10:11. Therefore, LXX 10:11's Aramaic becomes a

²⁴³⁵ This may be seen poignantly in the portrayal of Jeremiah in the Wisdom of Sirach 49:6-7: "(God) burned the holy city and left its streets desolate, (7) As Jeremiah had foretold; for they had mistreated him who even in the womb had been made a prophet, To root out, to pull down, and destroy, and then to build and to plant" (Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 540).

²⁴³⁶ Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983), 156. For the Greek text, cf. Robert Hanhart and Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum Libri I-IV, Fasc. II, Maccabaeorum Liber II* (VTG 9, 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 51-52.

²⁴³⁷ For example, note the mention of the prophet Jeremiah in 1 and 2 Esdras. E.g. cf. 1 Esd 1:26, 30, 45, 54-55; 2:1-2; and 2 Esd 1:1 (the versification given here follows that of NETS, 392-423, which is based on Hanhart's critical Greek edition).

²⁴³⁸ Moore, *Daniel*, 317.

²⁴³⁹ Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 156.

²⁴⁴⁰ Goldstein translates 2 Macc 2:7 in this manner: "until God assembles the regathering of the people and mercy comes to be" (*ibid.*, 184).

²⁴⁴¹ Brooke, "Jeremiah," 197-99.

²⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 200-02.

²⁴⁴³ E.g. MT Jer 10:1-18; 25:1-8; and 44:1-10.

primary summation of the prophet's message, as evidenced by its influence upon the theme of Ep Jer.²⁴⁴⁴

Subsequent Jewish literature drew heavily upon MT 10 and 29, both of which, in close intertextual literary connection, profoundly influenced the production of both Ep Jer²⁴⁴⁵ and 1 Baruch.²⁴⁴⁶ Like LXX Jer 10:1-18, Ep Jer reflects the need to emphasize verse 10:11 (as well as 10:5) and the stricture's argument against idolatry which is found in the Aramaic content. Although Thomas claims that Ep Jer directly depends on LXX Jer 10:1-16's *Vorlage*²⁴⁴⁷ for its thematic argumentation, the issue does not affect what the more ancient text form of Jer 10:1-18 originally was, since Ep Jer's use of the Jeremiah tradition does not absolutely determine the older text form of chapter 10 or even the book of Jeremiah itself. Although Thomas raises many good points, Kratz's claim for Ep Jer's dependence on MT Jer 10:1-16's text form still seems sound.²⁴⁴⁸ George Brooke nicely appraises the significance of Ep Jer when he writes: "Overall it seems as if the Book of Jeremiah in some form or other was used, reused and adapted in the middle of the Second Temple Period to recall Israel's history of the prophet's time and to exhort Israel to avoid apostasy and idolatry."²⁴⁴⁹

Ep Jer's explicit reference to its epistolary genre in the *inscriptio* has greater implications to this study than even the aniconic message found in it. One observes a similar type of literary genre developed also in 1 Baruch and Apoc Jer C in the following

²⁴⁴⁴ Moore, *Daniel*, 319-20. Ep Jer demonstrates a desire to amplify Jeremiah's aniconic message beyond its original point of inspiration from LXX 10:11 (along with 10:1-16) (Thomas, "Reevaluating," 547-62).

²⁴⁴⁵ Kratz, "Rezeption," 336-39; and idem, "Brief," 77-79.

²⁴⁴⁶ Odil Hannes Steck, "Das Buch Baruch," in *Das Buch Baruch, Der Brief des Jeremia, Zusätze zu Ester und Daniel* (ed. Otto Kaiser and Lothar Peritt; ATDA 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 20-23. 1 Baruch draws heavily upon MT Jer 29, but little, in comparison, upon chapter 10.

²⁴⁴⁷ Thomas, "Reevaluating," 547-562.

²⁴⁴⁸ It is difficult to prove a negation. Likewise, it is difficult to prove that Ep Jer did not originally have MT 10:6-8 or 10 to formulate its argumentation and aniconic message. Moreover, it would be impossible to prove that verse 10:11 must have been in Ep Jer's text form of Jer 10 as well, since verse 10:11 is not explicitly cited by Ep Jer throughout its aniconic tirade. However, Jer 10:11 surely provides the original inspiration to the work of Ep Jer as a whole. Moreover, Ep Jer does not cite the φῶς "light" reference in LXX Jer 10:13, although v. 14's reference to πνεῦμα "breath" is cited twice in Ep Jer. Suffice it to say, the issue of which text form Ep Jer possessed when composing its work seems to still be open for scholarly debate and does not determine what the older text form of Jer 10 must have been.

²⁴⁴⁹ Idem, "Jeremiah," 204.

sections. Such a genre of letter writing in the name of the prophet demonstrates the importance of Jeremiah's literary voice among the Jewish exilic communities of the diaspora. Moreover, Jeremiah's authoritative persona evidences itself much earlier in the Second Temple Period Judaism than merely circa 70 CE, as was commonly maintained in past scholarship.²⁴⁵⁰ Lutz Doering writes: "There is a well-established tradition of written communication with the Golah fictitiously issued under the authority of Jeremiah."²⁴⁵¹ Doering notes that a main characteristic of "Diaspora letters" like Ep Jer is that an authoritative addressor must be given (e.g. Jeremiah or his scribe Baruch) and the desire is to communicate with "Judeans/Jews outside the land of Israel"²⁴⁵² with "letter contents dealing with instruction or exhortation, and an emphasis on the unity of the people of God."²⁴⁵³ I shall now explore the use of the Jeremiah tradition (along with Baruch) to address concerns in the Jewish diaspora by means of epistolary communication in both 1 Baruch and Apoc Jer C.

2.2. The Book of 1 Baruch

The apocryphal²⁴⁵⁴ book of 1 Baruch (1 Bar) represents probably²⁴⁵⁵ the earliest material or tradition concerning Jeremiah's scribe Baruch, outside of the book of Jeremiah itself and the similar traditions recently found in Apoc Jer C.²⁴⁵⁶ The book of 1 Bar is

²⁴⁵⁰ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 193; and Christian Wolff, *Jeremia im Frühjudentum und Urchristentum* (TUGAL 118; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976), 189-192. Doering writes elsewhere: "The prominence of Jeremiah and Baruch as letter writers is thus earlier and more widespread than has been normally thought before, and the fixation with the post-70 situation, still prevailing in contemporary scholarly judgment, should be given up" (idem, "Jeremiah," 71-72). Kipp Davis describes the authority which Jeremiah bestowed on further traditions even at Qumran. Cf. idem, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity* (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 302-307.

²⁴⁵¹ Doering, "Jeremiah," 69.

²⁴⁵² Ibid., 70

²⁴⁵³ Ibid.

²⁴⁵⁴ Technically a pseudepigraphic work, though the distinction between a pseudepigraphic work and an apocryphal work is artificial and much later (e.g. cf. Dimant, *Collected Studies*, 164).

²⁴⁵⁵ Davila notes that Jewish authorship before 70 AD can be conservatively suggested (idem, *Provenance*, 226-27). However, many scholars would place 1 Baruch at the latest in the second century BCE.

²⁴⁵⁶ Dimant, "From the Book," 461-68.

notoriously difficult to date,²⁴⁵⁷ with Nickelsburg claiming that any time after 587 BCE's Babylonian exile is technically possible for a Hebrew²⁴⁵⁸ original in the Second Temple Period.²⁴⁵⁹ Desilva notes that one can date different parts of 1 Bar to different time frames,²⁴⁶⁰ but suggests the later addition of the prologue of 1:1-14 and the additions of Bar 3:9-5:9 could easily date to a time frame of "the late second century or early first century BCE."²⁴⁶¹ Nickelsburg would place 1 Bar within the second century BCE before at least 116 BCE, but probably circa 164 BCE, if one assumes the mention of Nebuchadnezzar as a "stand-in for Antiochus IV."²⁴⁶²

Kabasele Mukenge,²⁴⁶³ Goldstein,²⁴⁶⁴ and Steck²⁴⁶⁵ all arrive at dates around the middle of the second century BCE for 1 Baruch's composition, although they do so for various reasons. Thus, one finds somewhat of a modern consensus for an early dating of 1 Bar.²⁴⁶⁶ It seems safe to assume that the translation of at least 1 Bar 1:1-3:8 is referenced by the grandson of Ben Sira's prologue to Sirach,²⁴⁶⁷ whose date Nickelsburg indicates would be a logical *terminus ante quem*.²⁴⁶⁸ Thus, LXX Jeremiah's translation indicates that 1 Bar (at least most of it) dates to the second century BCE, as confirmed most recently by

²⁴⁵⁷ For surveys of scholarly dating, cf. David G. Burke, *The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9-5:9* (SBLSCS 10; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1982), 26-28; and Adams, *Baruch*, 5.

²⁴⁵⁸ André Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité littéraire du livre de Baruch* (Études Bibliques 38; Paris: Gabalda, 1998), 429-30; Steck, "Baruch," 18; Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Apocryphal Book of 1 Baruch," *PAAJR* 46/47 (1979-80), 188-89; and Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 69-71.

²⁴⁵⁹ Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 97.

²⁴⁶⁰ Desilva, *Apocrypha*, 202-05.

²⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

²⁴⁶² Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 97.

²⁴⁶³ Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité*, 431. Kabasele speaks of a general dating in the middle of the second century BCE (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁶⁴ Goldstein, "The Apocryphal Book," 182. Goldstein claims that the historical prologue of 1 Bar 1:1-14 "fits the late winter or early spring of 163" BCE time frame very well (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁶⁵ Steck, "Baruch," 22-24. Steck gives a dating of circa 164-62 BCE (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁶⁶ Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 51-52. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine echo the Maccabean dating trend as well (*ibid.*). However, Moore would date 1 Bar in the early part of the second century BCE, at least before 168 BCE (*idem*, *Daniel*, 260).

²⁴⁶⁷ This argument assumes the proposal of Tov for the same revisional translation technique between LXX Jer 29-52 and Bar 1:1-3:8 (Tov, *Septuagint Translation*, 111-33). However, Goldstein argues for the inclusion of 1 Bar 3:9-5:9 with 1:1-3:8 as translation material that altered itself to the new poetical form (Goldstein, "The Apocryphal Book," 187-89). Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine are also in favor of extending Tov's revisionist translation technique to the entire book of 1 Bar (*idem*, *La Bible*, 32-33).

²⁴⁶⁸ Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 97.

Apoc Jer C's similar dating.²⁴⁶⁹ In fact, most scholars would see 1 Bar as a unity, with some advocating that 1 Bar 3:9-5:9's poetical sections might actually contain some of the oldest redactional material of the book.²⁴⁷⁰ Kabasele Mukenge,²⁴⁷¹ Goldstein,²⁴⁷² and Steck²⁴⁷³ all argue for the entire compositional unity of 1 Baruch as a literary whole. Moreover, both Kabasele Mukenge²⁴⁷⁴ and Steck²⁴⁷⁵ see 1 Baruch's purpose to be that of a kind of epistolary appendix to the book of Jeremiah.²⁴⁷⁶ Thus, one sees that 1 Bar, like Ep Jer,²⁴⁷⁷ is likened by scholars to the "letter" format of MT 29 (LXX 36).²⁴⁷⁸

Both 1 Bar and Ep Jer see the key to Israel's return from exile to be in Jeremiah's words, although 1 Bar (e.g. 1 Bar 1:15-3:8)²⁴⁷⁹ stresses penitence and confessional prayer, as in MT 29:12 (LXX 36:12). Similarly, Ep Jer emphasizes repentance and turn from the sin of idolatry (e.g. 2 Macc 2:2). Although Kabasele Mukenge²⁴⁸⁰ does not follow suit, Bogaert²⁴⁸¹ famously argued that 1 Bar was intended to be read as an appendix or a type of colophon to LXX Jeremiah, since the book begins with language worded from LXX 36:1 (1 Bar 1:1).²⁴⁸² The references to βιβλίον (1:1, 3, and 14) or βίβλος (1:3) in 1 Bar 1:1-14 probably refer to a combination of LXX Jeremiah (or MT) along with its following

²⁴⁶⁹ Dimant, DJD XXX, 116. Dimant's primary means of dating is based upon the calculation of a Jubilee cycle described in Apoc Jer C (ibid., 115-16).

²⁴⁷⁰ Burke, *Poetry*, 32; and Torrey, *Apocryphal*, 63-64.

²⁴⁷¹ Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité*, 427-31.

²⁴⁷² Goldstein, "The Apocryphal Book," 179-99.

²⁴⁷³ Steck, "Baruch," 18-23.

²⁴⁷⁴ Kabasele thinks 1 Bar was intended as an appendix to MT Jer and not to LXX (Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité*, 430-31).

²⁴⁷⁵ Steck gives a structure of 1 Bar that mirrors MT Jer 29's structure (idem, "Baruch," 20).

²⁴⁷⁶ E.g. especially the epistle of MT 29:1.

²⁴⁷⁷ Kratz, "Rezeption," 336-39; and idem, "Brief," 77-79.

²⁴⁷⁸ Steck, "Baruch," 20; and Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 158-60.

²⁴⁷⁹ Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLEJL 13; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1998), 87-108.

²⁴⁸⁰ Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité*, 52, 431. André Wénin has argued for Bogaert's position contrary to that of Kabasele Mukenge. Cf. idem, "Y A-T-II Un 'Livre de Baruch?' À propos du Livre Récent d'André Kabasele Mukenge," in *Lectures et Relectures de la Bible* (ed. André Wénin and J. M. Auwers; BETL 144; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 231-43.

²⁴⁸¹ P. M. Bogaert, "Le Nom de Baruch dans la littérature pseudépigraphique: l'apocalypse syriaque et le livre deutérocanonique," in *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mischna; Quelques Problèmes* (ed. W. C. Van Unnik; Recherches bibliques 9; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 56-72; and idem, "Le personnage de Baruch et l'histoire du livre de Jérémie," *SE 7* (1983), 73-81. For a positive evaluation of Bogaert's hypothesis, cf. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 58-59.

²⁴⁸² Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 159.

appendix of 1 Bar material, since the command to read the βιβλίον of 1 Bar 1:14 seems somewhat redundant if the audience were merely reading the book of 1 Bar 1:1-13.

The confessional prayers and blissful hope of restoration found in 1 Bar actually do not make sense without a prior context of the knowledge of Jeremiah's prophetic words (cf. MT 29:1-14). Thus, the difference between the views of Kabasele Mukenge and Bogaert on the βιβλίον described in 1 Bar 1:1, 3, and 14 are not necessarily mutually exclusive of one another, since both student and teacher affirmed that 1 Bar placed itself as a supplement to a text form of Jeremiah. Thus, if Bogaert is correct, then perhaps one should view 1 Bar as the final chapters of LXX Jeremiah, with the βιβλίον of 1 Bar 1:1, 3, and 14 understood as the combined books of LXX Jeremiah and 1 Bar, since Baruch was Jeremiah's scribe and was entrusted with his words (LXX 43:32 and 51:31).²⁴⁸³

In LXX 43:32 (MT 36:32)²⁴⁸⁴ Baruch writes a new edition of Jeremiah's book. But, one notes the LXX minus of MT 36:32's first mention of Jeremiah's name, whereby Baruch becomes in LXX 43:32 the active creator of Jeremiah's words. Thus, 1 Bar's prologue (1:1-14) recreates a public reading Jeremiah's book in a Babylonian exilic context, along with a positive public reaction not found originally in the prophet's corpus. In a similar fashion to that of Ep Jer,²⁴⁸⁵ 1 Bar represents the proper response to the reading of Jeremiah's words, unlike the negative response found in MT Jer 36. Moreover, both Ep Jer and 1 Bar wish to preserve the diaspora people during the 70 year exile of MT Jer 29:10's prophecy, so as to cause them to return (MT 29:10-14). Thus, both Ep Jer and 1 Bar wish to ensure that MT Jer 29:10-14 finds fulfillment of its predicted restoration of the Jewish people from exile.

Like Ep Jer, 1 Bar overtly engages its exilic Jewish audience to obey the prophecies of Jeremiah in a public reading of his words, placing itself actually in the narrative story of LXX Jeremiah as an appendix. Adams writes: "The reading of a book to a gathering of people has a number of parallels in the Scriptures... common features of these readings are

²⁴⁸³ Bogaert, "Le personnage," 79 and 81; and Wénin, "Y A-T-II," 232-34.

²⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Bogaert's same analysis of LXX chapter 43 (idem, "De Baruch," 171-72).

²⁴⁸⁵ Doering, "Jeremiah," 53; Moore, *Daniel*, 325; and Kratz, "Brief," 78-79 and 84.

their corporate nature, explicit religious perspective, and attempt at behavioural reform.”²⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, one notes calls for “behavioural reform” in the form of directives (1 Bar 1:14 and 15aα) to read Baruch’s scriptures (i.e. LXX Jeremiah and 1 Baruch) and to confess sins publicly. Prayer is also to be uttered in exemplary direct second person address of God,²⁴⁸⁷ as is similarly the case of MT 29:12 (LXX 36:12). The transformation of Jeremiah’s words into imperatives occurs also in LXX 36:12-13, which turn the Hebrew Perfect tense verbs into the imperatives of προσεύξασθε (LXX 36:12) and ἐκζητήσατέ (LXX 36:13), so as to engender the proper obedience from the exiles’ reading of the epistle.²⁴⁸⁸

1 Bar 1:15aα directs its readers to recite a confessional prayer to demonstrate true repentance from Jeremiah’s words in Baruch’s book. Adams writes: “Baruch instructs the people to pray the prayer he has written for them. The recipients not only receive instructions to pray, but are also told what to pray.”²⁴⁸⁹ Although required for certain days (1:14), the penitential prayer of 1 Bar 1:15-3:8 becomes “more than a simple confession because it also identifies the Jews’s sins, tells them what to say in regard to these sins, and how they should think and act.”²⁴⁹⁰ Being heavily infused with Deuteronomistic²⁴⁹¹ and Jeremianic²⁴⁹² phraseology, 1 Bar 1:15-3:8’s prayer essentially gives the diaspora a proverbial road home from exile through the path of “sin, repentance, and return.”²⁴⁹³ 1 Bar wishes, thereby, to engender the proper words and sentiments to the words of Jeremiah, at least in its compiler’s perspective. The prayer of 1 Bar 1:15aα-3:8 “reveals the

²⁴⁸⁶ Adams, *Baruch*, 55.

²⁴⁸⁷ E.g. 1 Bar 2:11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19; 3:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7-8. Cf. Michael H. Floyd, “Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period from the Perspective of Baruch,” in *Seeking the Favor of God* (ed. Mark Boda, Daniel Falk, and Rodney Werline; EJM 22; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 69.

²⁴⁸⁸ LXX 36:1 or MT 29:1.

²⁴⁸⁹ Adams, *Baruch*, 63.

²⁴⁹⁰ Werline, *Penitential*, 90.

²⁴⁹¹ Floyd, “Penitential,” 62-65. It is interesting that Floyd notes thematic links with Deut 4, 28, and 30 (ibid.), which is also characteristic of MT Jer 10:1-18 as well. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine note that the Law of Moses is mediated through the words of Jeremiah and legitimize the prophet’s words to the exile in 1 Bar (idem, *La Bible*, 63-64).

²⁴⁹² Ibid., 66-68. This Jeremianic inspiration (primarily MT Jer 29) applies to the similar prayer of Dan 9:4-19 as well. For a comparison of Dan 9’s prayer with 1 Bar 1:15-3:8, cf. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 62-66.

²⁴⁹³ Floyd, “Penitential,” 106.

ideology that the author wants his readers to adopt.”²⁴⁹⁴ Clearly one finds such “ideological” engenderment also in the coercive tone of both Ep Jer and LXX 10:11’s directed pronouncement to the exiles.

1 Bar also has thematic parallels with MT and LXX Jer 10:1-18, such as similar prohibitions to “not fear” in exile,²⁴⁹⁵ references to idolatry (e.g. 1:22 and 4:7), wisdom elements such as the metaphor of a “way” or “path,”²⁴⁹⁶ and references to “light.”²⁴⁹⁷ The description of demons in 1 Bar 4:7 and 35²⁴⁹⁸ has echoes in Apoc Jer C’s 4Q385a 3.7,²⁴⁹⁹ 4Q387 1.4,²⁵⁰⁰ and 4Q388a 3.6.²⁵⁰¹ 1 Baruch’s demonology provides interesting context to the directed reading of LXX 10:11a’s οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς “Thus you shall say to them.” However, to make such a contextual association with 1 Baruch, one must assume Duhm’s *Bannformel* interpretation of LXX 10:11 for similar demonology, and also that LXX 10:2-11 reference evil spirits in some way (or at least to some extent, cf. chapter II).

In summary, like Ep Jer, 1 Bar has an epistolary directive notion from the tradition of Jeremiah (e.g. 1 Bar 1:15-3:8) in a similar exilic situation or context (1 Bar 1:1-14). However, in contrast to Ep Jer, 1 Baruch takes the pseudonym of Jeremiah’s scribe Baruch and contains a culmination of Jeremiah’s foreseen climax, with a hopeful ending of return to Jerusalem after repentance (1 Bar 4:5-5:9).²⁵⁰² Doering writes: “There is a well-established tradition of written communication with the Golah fictitiously issued under the authority of Jeremiah and Baruch... The book of Baruch is a special case since it presents itself as a book written and recited in exile and later on sent to Jerusalem.”²⁵⁰³ The prophetic message of Jeremiah in 1 Bar proves to be conciliatory with the powers that were

²⁴⁹⁴ Adams, *Baruch*, 63.

²⁴⁹⁵ Cf. MT Jer 10:2c and its positive counterpart θαρσέω in Bar 4:5, 21, 27, and 30.

²⁴⁹⁶ Cf. MT Jer 10:2b; 1 Bar 3:20, 23, 27, 31; and 4:13.

²⁴⁹⁷ Cf. LXX 10:13d; 1 Bar 1:12; 3:14, 20, 33; 4:2; and 5:9.

²⁴⁹⁸ 1 Bar 4:7 does directly reference Deut 32:16-17 (Werline, *Penitential*, 106; and Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 68).

²⁴⁹⁹ Dimant, DJD XXX, 136-38.

²⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 175-76.

²⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 204-06.

²⁵⁰² Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 60 and 67-69.

²⁵⁰³ Doering, “Jeremiah,” 69; and *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 158-60.

in Jerusalem,²⁵⁰⁴ which contrasts²⁵⁰⁵ strikingly with the bellicose image of Jeremiah handing a sword to Judas Maccabeus in 2 Macc 15:11-19.²⁵⁰⁶

The words of Jeremiah, in 1 Baruch's culmination, finally come round full circle back to Jerusalem from the long exile (1 Bar 4:5-5:9). 1 Bar contributes to this study mainly in its attestation of a desire to make Jeremiah's prophecies (especially MT Jer 29:1-14) relevant and effectually accomplished in the diaspora situation. In a word, 1 Baruch gives a nice, "Hollywood" ending to the rather grim story of MT Jeremiah by essentially spelling out the predicted outcome foreseen in MT 29:1-14. Such actualization of MT Jeremiah's earlier message becomes graphically pictured in 1 Bar 1:1-14's narrative context of a public reading of Jeremiah's prophetic words (e.g. cf. LXX Jer 43 and MT 36). If one assumes Bogaert's hypothesis that 1 Bar is an appendix to LXX Jeremiah, then one finds many contextual clues from 1 Bar's historical fiction for interpreting LXX Jer 10:11 as an epistle to the diaspora. Ep Jer, as seen earlier, gives even further parallel confirmation of the use of the prophet Jeremiah's words (e.g. LXX 10:11) for pseudonymous letter correspondence with the exiles. However, I shall now examine Apoc Jer C's similarities to 1 Bar and to this fairly common exilic use of MT Jer 29's epistle tradition.

2.3. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah C

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (Apoc Jer C)²⁵⁰⁷ survives in six fragmentary copies from cave four of Qumran,²⁵⁰⁸ which are dated at the latest to "the last quarter of the

²⁵⁰⁴ Cf. 1 Bar 1:11-12; 2:21-24; 3:16-21; and 4:30-35.

²⁵⁰⁵ E.g. cf. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *La Bible*, 52; and Kabasele Mukenge, *L'unité*, 431.

²⁵⁰⁶ Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 475 and 499.

²⁵⁰⁷ Davila notes that Jerome mentions the fact that the Nazoreans possessed an Apocryphon of Jeremiah, which might be the same Apocryphon of Jeremiah C of this study (*idem*, *Provenance*, 43 and 49). Davila writes: "we have explicit testimony from Jerome that the Nazoreans possessed a now lost apocryphon of Jeremiah" (*ibid.*, 49). However, it is not clear if Jerome's testimony refers to the same Apocryphon as that of Apoc Jer C.

²⁵⁰⁸ Dimant, *DJD XXX*, 91-260; and *idem*, "From the Book," 455.

second century BCE” by their DJD editor Devorah Dimant.²⁵⁰⁹ Although few would debate Dimant’s distinction between the fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel and those of Apoc Jer C,²⁵¹⁰ there does exist some controversy still over whether the fragments labeled 4Q390 should be included with Apoc Jer C.²⁵¹¹ Kipp Davis describes the fragments of 4Q390 as representing a redacted or “redux” form of Apoc Jer C.²⁵¹² However, the inclusion or lack of inclusion of 4Q390 in the text of Apoc Jer C does not affect its essential genre or message,²⁵¹³ especially for my immediate purposes.

One might describe Apoc Jer C as a Jeremianic apocalypse, or an apocalyptic vision given to Jeremiah, with narrative and Qumran sectarian elements.²⁵¹⁴ As Dimant states, Apoc Jer C is a “single exemplar of attribution of an apocalyptic-like vision of history to a scriptural prophet, but this vision also displays links to the specific ideas and terminology of the Qumran community. It also attests to various connections to non-Qumran texts such as the Book of Baruch and the Enochic *Animal Apocalypse*.”²⁵¹⁵ Apoc Jer C might be considered to be “Rewritten Bible,” “Rewritten Prophet,” and “Parabiblical Text,” although both Dimant²⁵¹⁶ and Balázs Tamási²⁵¹⁷ attempt to move beyond the traditional labels when describing the work. Thus, Tamási asserts that one “should not think that the author intended to replace an older authentic scriptural text,”²⁵¹⁸ as if the work were intended to be “Rewritten Scripture.”

²⁵⁰⁹ Dimant, DJD XXX, 116; and idem, “From the Book,” 455. Dimant writes: “the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the *Apocryphon* may thus be fixed to the last quarter of the second century BCE” (idem, DJD XXX, 116). Dimant’s primary means of dating is based upon the calculation of a Jubilee cycle described in Apoc Jer C (ibid., 115-16).

²⁵¹⁰ Dimant provides ample justification for this distinction in the fragments from cave 4 (idem, *Collected Studies*, 429-40).

²⁵¹¹ Eibert Tigchelaar, “Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C,” *JSJ* 43 (2012), 519-550; and Davis, *Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 180-208.

²⁵¹² Davis, *Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 175-233.

²⁵¹³ Devorah Dimant, “Hebrew Pseudepigrapha at Qumran,” in *Écritures et réécritures. La reprise interprétative des traditions fondatrices par la littérature biblique et extra-biblique* (ed. Claire Clivaz et al.; BETL 248; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 99. Dimant writes: “Even those who separate 4Q390 from the remaining manuscripts treat it as a revelation accorded to a seer, perhaps Jeremiah” (ibid.).

²⁵¹⁴ Dimant, DJD XXX, 91-116.

²⁵¹⁵ Dimant, “Hebrew Pseudepigrapha,” 100.

²⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 99-100.

²⁵¹⁷ Balázs Tamási, RBFY, 203-19.

²⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 216.

Dimant wishes to distinguish Apoc Jer C from a label of “Parabiblical Text” as well when she describes the work as an apocalypse. She writes: “Its materials belong to a different literary sphere that is closer to pseudepigraphic apocalypses than to proper parabiblical texts. All known apocalypses draw on biblical information and, at times, even reproduce detailed biblical descriptions. However, the basic elaboration is not related to specific biblical sources but is a free development of various themes, both biblical and nonbiblical.”²⁵¹⁹ Although Tamási wishes to describe Apoc Jer C as a “rewriting, adaptation and summary of the last chapters of the Book of Jeremiah, and the first lines of the later Book of Baruch,”²⁵²⁰ Dimant does not conceive Apoc Jer C as an appendix to the book of Jeremiah, but notes that it does wish to relate post-biblical events subsequent to material in the book of Jeremiah concerning the prophet and his scribe Baruch.²⁵²¹

Dimant reconstructs Apoc Jer C with 4Q389 1 opening the composition, while the section preserved in 4Q385a 18 i–ii concludes it.²⁵²² These fragments of 4Q389 and 4Q385a 18 bookend the composition and are the most pertinent to this immediate discussion, due to the fact that they have similar content to both Ep Jer and 1 Bar (also cf. 2 Macc 2). In 4Q385a 18 i, one sees “a Torah that is given to the deportees leaving for Babylon following the conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of the first temple. According to this account, having received a divine message, Jeremiah accompanies the exiles some distance and ‘commanded them what they should do in the land of [their] captivity.’”²⁵²³ The narrative description here is very similar to 2 Macc 2:1-4, so that Dimant posits that the “details are so similar to the account found in the Qumranic Apocryphon (4Q385a 18 i–ii) that 2 Maccabees actually may be quoting from the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, or both may reflect a third source.”²⁵²⁴ Using the content and themes from 2 Macc 2:1-4, Dimant then reconstructs missing text in 4Q385a 18 i. She

²⁵¹⁹ Dimant, “Hebrew Pseudepigrapha,” 99.

²⁵²⁰ Tamási, RBFY, 215.

²⁵²¹ Dimant, “Hebrew Pseudepigrapha,” 99-100; and idem, “From the Book,” 455-71.

²⁵²² Dimant, DJD XXX, 99-100. Furthermore, Dimant describes the three fragments under discussion in detail (*ibid.*, 159-66 and 220-23).

²⁵²³ Dimant, “From the Book,” 457; and Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 191.

²⁵²⁴ Dimant, “From the Book,” 457-58.

writes: “The exhortation to the deportees (4Q385a 18 i 8–11) is phrased in general terms but the complete text may have included an explicit warning against idolatry that was not preserved in the remaining fragments of the Apocryphon but was included in the quotation in 2 Macc 2:4. An explicit warning of this type occurs in the following column (4Q385a 18 ii 5–10), but it is addressed by Jeremiah in Egypt ‘to] the Children of Israel and the Children of Judah and Benjamin.’”²⁵²⁵ If Dimant is correct in this reconstruction, then one sees obvious literary connections to both Ep Jer and 1 Bar.²⁵²⁶ There seems to be little reason to doubt Dimant’s reconstruction of 4Q385a 18 i at this point, since there is ample textual evidence²⁵²⁷ for the aniconic argument against idolatry in Apoc Jer C.²⁵²⁸

The fragmentary copy of 4Q389 1, which begins the narrative framework of Apoc Jer C,²⁵²⁹ displays great similarity in thematic elements to 1 Bar,²⁵³⁰ especially in the details relating to the location of its reading at the river Sour (1 Bar 1:4).²⁵³¹ Dimant writes:

Although the name of Baruch is not mentioned in the surviving words of 4Q389 1, the connection made to Jeremiah in 4Q389 1 5, and the three elements that are strikingly similar to the depiction in Bar 1:4 point to the prophet’s faithful companion. The three details recorded in both the Apocryphon and the book of Baruch are the following: a. A gathering is described where something is read in public; b. The attendees of this assembly are the Israelites living “on the river Sour”; c. The date of this assembly is recorded. The Apocryphon refers to the thirty-sixth year “of the exile of Israel,” namely, the time that has elapsed since the deportation of King Yehoiachin from Judea in 597 B.C.E. In the book of Baruch, the date given is the fifth year from the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon,

²⁵²⁵ Ibid., 459.

²⁵²⁶ Dimant notes the literary connections (ibid., 459-60). Dimant writes: “As these texts show, along with the Temple Scroll 55:15–21, the polemic against idolatry was very much alive during the Second Temple era” (ibid., 460).

²⁵²⁷ Dimant lists the following texts: 4Q385a 3 7; 4Q387 1 4; and 4Q388a 3 6; along with 4Q387 2 ii 3–5; iii 6–7; 4Q388a 7 1–2; 4Q389 8 ii 3–5; 4Q390 1 7–9; and 2 i 6–10 (ibid., 460 notes 26-27).

²⁵²⁸ Ibid., 460. Also cf. Dimant, DJD XXX, 136-138; 175-76; and 204-06 for the fragments of 4Q385a 3 7; 4Q387 1 4; and 4Q388a 3 6 (respectively).

²⁵²⁹ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 191-94; and Dimant, DJD XXX, 99-100 and 220-23.

²⁵³⁰ Dimant, “From the Book,” 461-68.

²⁵³¹ Dimant, DJD XXX, 220-21.

namely 586 B.C.E. The most striking similar, or even identical, element is the mention of the River Sour. From the description in the book of Baruch, the River Soud appears to be a specific location in Babylon. The passage from 4Q389 1 is quite fragmentary and perhaps a reference to Babylon appeared in the lost sections. However, the reference in 4Q389 1 7 to the “River Sour” is clear. It is so unique and specific, as is the gathering associated with it, that it is undoubtedly the same location mentioned in Greek in Baruch.²⁵³²

Dimant postulates from a reference to the land of Egypt in 4Q389 1 5²⁵³³ that Jeremiah performs the act of composition of a work in Egypt, which suggests that “the prophet sent a letter from there [Egypt] and it is being read out at the Babylonian assembly”²⁵³⁴ as in the tradition of Ep Jer (though Ep Jer suggests a Palestinian origin).²⁵³⁵ However, Dimant notes that “the similarity of the details in Bar 1:1–4 and 4Q389 1 is so remarkable that both seem to indicate the same location and the same or a similar occasion. Therefore, it may be assumed plausibly that Baruch was also involved in the episode related in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, although his name is not preserved.”²⁵³⁶

The narrative structure preserved in the fragmentary copies of 4Q385a 18 and 4Q389 1²⁵³⁷ evidences a conspicuous desire to relate a traditional narrative about Jeremiah’s prophetic work in Egypt along with an epistolary work sent to Babylon with the help of the scribe Baruch. Dimant postulates that “this tradition seems to have been known and reworked by Hebrew literary texts composed and circulating in the third and second centuries B.C.E.”²⁵³⁸ Thus, one has further testimony, beyond 1 Bar, to the epistolary

²⁵³² Dimant, “From the Book,” 466.

²⁵³³ Dimant, DJD XXX, 220.

²⁵³⁴ Dimant, “From the Book,” 467.

²⁵³⁵ Doering writes: “Which things (or: words) were read out? It seems most appropriate to assume a connection with Jeremiah’s action ‘from the land of Egypt’, mentioned in line 5 immediately before. Since other options, as for example his coming from Egypt, are virtually excluded by the sequence of Jeremiah’s whereabouts according to 4Q385a 18, the most probable solution is that Jeremiah wrote to the exiles from Egypt. However, except for the reference to ‘reading’, we do not know anything specific about this hypothetical document. Judging from 4Q385a 18 (see above), we may speculate that this piece of writing would also deal with exhortation and Torah paraenesis” (idem, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 192).

²⁵³⁶ Dimant, “From the Book,” 468.

²⁵³⁷ Dimant, DJD XXX, 159-66 and 220-23.

²⁵³⁸ Dimant, “From the Book,” 468.

mission of the prophet Jeremiah (or his scribe Baruch) to the diaspora in Apoc Jer C, since both Dimant²⁵³⁹ and Doering²⁵⁴⁰ reconstruct the text of 4Q389 1 5 as relating the fact the people “read” the Jeremianic composition at the river Sour in Babylon. As Doering²⁵⁴¹ and Dimant²⁵⁴² both speculate, the material read at the River Sour must have related to Jeremiah’s Moses-like ministry²⁵⁴³ to the Jewish exiles.

The prophetic persona of Jeremiah becomes the embodiment of Torah paranesis and covenant-keeping exhortation in Second Temple Period literature.²⁵⁴⁴ Like Ep Jer, Jeremiah’s Torah instruction most likely would have also included aniconic exhortation against idolatry.²⁵⁴⁵ The contemporaneous dating of Apoc Jer C with the material found in 1 Bar and Ep Jer²⁵⁴⁶ is very pertinent to the interpretive matrix that created LXX Jer 10:1-18’s text form, since both works demonstrate a similar theological concern for Jeremiah’s²⁵⁴⁷ epistolary communication with the diaspora. In summary, Dimant writes: “By combining commandments of the Torah and reviewing past and future sins, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C turns the prophet into a beacon of two guidelines for Jewish life in the future: obedience to the Torah and avoidance of past sins.”²⁵⁴⁸

The genre of diaspora epistolary communication follows the tradition of Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch at least as early as the late part of the second century BCE and, thus, must not be conceived as being a very late phenomenon in the Second Temple Period.²⁵⁴⁹ Ep Jer, 1 Bar, and Apoc Jer C have all demonstrated a similar epistolary tradition for the

²⁵³⁹ Dimant, DJD XXX, 220-23.

²⁵⁴⁰ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 191-93.

²⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

²⁵⁴² Dimant, “From the Book,” 457-61.

²⁵⁴³ Christopher R. Seitz notes that Jeremiah was pictured as Moses in MT Jeremiah’s text form. Cf. *idem*, “The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah,” *ZAW* 101, no. 1 (1989), 3–27.

²⁵⁴⁴ E.g. cf. Michael Anthony Knibb, “The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* (SVTP 22; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 191–212.

²⁵⁴⁵ Dimant, “From the Book,” 457-61; and Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 191.

²⁵⁴⁶ Dimant dates the fragmentary copies of Apoc Jer C to “the second century B.C.E. at the latest” (*idem*, “From the Book,” 455; and *idem*, DJD XXX, 115-16). However Dimant dates the material of 1 Bar 1:1-3:8 to “an early date at the beginning of the second century or even in the later years of the third century” BCE (Dimant, “From the Book,” 469).

²⁵⁴⁷ Or the written words of Baruch as Jeremiah’s scribe.

²⁵⁴⁸ Dimant, “From the Book,” 471.

²⁵⁴⁹ E.g. contra: Wolff, *Jeremia*.

prophetic persona of Jeremiah. These works, Doering writes, all “work on the presumption that Jeremiah and/or Baruch can provide orientation for a present that may be perceived, in some way or another, as analogous to, or protracting the exile. While the situation after 70 C.E. seems especially apt for such a reading..., it has become clearer by new evidence and by reevaluation of somewhat neglected texts that in addition [sic] the Babylonian Diaspora of the third to second century B.C.E. and especially the critical situation of both the Diaspora and the land of Israel in mid-second century B.C.E. could be addressed, too.”²⁵⁵⁰ Therefore, within the time frame of the second century BCE, Apoc Jer C evidences an early tradition that Jeremiah composed an aniconic epistolary message to a Babylonian diaspora audience (e.g. cf. MT Jer 29:1-32). Furthermore, the Apocryphon implies heavily that the scribe Baruch was in Babylon to read Jeremiah’s words, as is explicitly stated in 1 Bar (e.g. cf. LXX 43’ common motifs and also the implications of LXX 52:31-34).²⁵⁵¹

Ep Jer, 1 Bar, and Apoc Jer C all make a clear case that Jeremiah’s words (or those transmitted by Baruch in 1 Bar) are to have repercussions in the diaspora and among all exilic Jews (including those of Palestine). Such an exilic fondness for the figure of Jeremiah as a “lover of his brethren”²⁵⁵² might be expected from MT Jeremiah itself, since the book portrays the prophet promising return from exile (MT Jer 29:10-14), and depicts

²⁵⁵⁰ Doering, “Jeremiah,” 71. Doering also notes that the “Jeremiah-Baruch type of literary communication with the Golah thus employs the exilic setting on two levels: in a more ‘local’ sense referring to Judeans/Jews living in the Greco-Roman Diaspora, and in a rather ‘qualitative’ sense referring to Judeans/Jews seeing themselves in a situation of ongoing exile” (ibid., 70).

²⁵⁵¹ The positioning of LXX Jer 51:31-35 or MT 45:1-5 just before LXX chapter 52 by HRLXXJ implies that Baruch lived in Babylon to compose the final chapter of the book of LXX Jeremiah and to observe Ἰωακίμ “Jehoiakim” in the Babylonian context of LXX 52:31-34 (not יהויכין of MT 52:31). Thus, one also notes that Jehoiakim’s son Jeconiah is the king of 1 Bar 1:3 and 7, within a work probably viewed as an appendix to LXX Jeremiah’s story. The separation of Baruch and Jeremiah into Babylon and Egypt, respectively, would agree with other Second Temple Period literature examined in this chapter (e.g. cf. 1 Bar and Apoc Jer C; and Dimant, “From the Book,” 452-71). It is interesting to note that LXX Jeremiah leaves the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt (as implied, perhaps, in MT 44), but Baruch (by implication) lives and writes from Babylon, in accordance with the same scenario pictured in Apoc Jer C (ibid., 466-68).

²⁵⁵² Cf. 2 Macc 15:14. Goldstein writes of this verse: “The author of so many bitter Jeremiads against the sinful subjects of Zedekiah is here called a ‘lover of his brethren.’ Passages such as Jer 2:1-3 would afford some foundation, but the intent of the writer is clearly to imply that, unlike the brethren in Jeremiah’s lifetime, the brethren in Judas’ time are righteous and worthy of Jeremiah’s love. Jeremiah in his own time would have offered efficacious prayers for Judah and Jerusalem, but for the wickedness of his contemporaries (Jer 7:16-20, 11:14, 14:11-14, 37:3-10, 42:2-22). Now nothing impedes him from praying for the people and for the city” (idem, *II Maccabees*, 499).

him as sending epistles (MT 29:1-32 and MT 51:59-64). Moreover, near Jeremiah's ministry's end in Egypt, MT Jeremiah portrays the prophet as preaching against idolatry as well.²⁵⁵³ Throughout the diaspora experience, one sees almost the full reversal and transformation of the character of Jeremiah from that of the weeping prophet of the exile to that of one who demands the Palestinian Jews of the Maccabean revolt to fight in their Torah observance.²⁵⁵⁴ Jeremiah, thus, becomes a second Moses figure²⁵⁵⁵ who gives exilic Jews an aniconic message derived from the first and second commandments (Deut 5:7-10). LXX 10:11's implied epistolary significance finds a conducive interpretive matrix portrayed in Second Temple Period literature like that of Apoc Jer C (as in 1 Bar). In the second century BCE world which reused Jeremiah's words, the Jewish exiles assumed particular traditions about Jeremiah's significance and about the prophet's diaspora missive to them, so as to readily explain LXX 10:11's letter interpretation in such a context. Therefore, one would naturally expect LXX 10:11's Aramaic to be "misunderstood" as Jeremiah's epistolary communication to exilic communities, especially given the sentiments already found in its (proto-)MT context of 10:1-18 (cf. chapter II).

2.4. Conclusions of Chapter IV

In terms of Jer 10:1-18's textual attestation, MT (or "proto-MT") represents a clear majority in Qumran's manuscripts 4Q70, 4Q72, and 11Q5's HC "rewritten scripture"²⁵⁵⁶ material. The HRLXXJ tradition finds textual attestation only in 4Q71, although full reconstruction is difficult. One may assume a pure line of transmission of the proto-MT text form of Jer 10:1-18 prior to and contemporaneous with that of HRLXXJ's edition of Jeremiah. Yet, proto-MT clearly is the earliest known text form of Jer 10:1-18, as confirmed at Qumran in the relatively old 4Q70 manuscript. 4Q72 provides, thus, later

²⁵⁵³ MT Jer 44:2-6 or LXX 51:2-6.

²⁵⁵⁴ 2 Macc 15:11-19.

²⁵⁵⁵ Seitz, "Prophet Moses."

²⁵⁵⁶ 11Q5's HC content is contained within the larger context of its Psalms scroll. Thus, a description of 11Q5 as a "rewritten scripture" would seem to readily apply to its genre label (cf. chapter V's discussion).

corroboration in the “early Herodian period.”²⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, 11Q5’s HC material demonstrates that even as late as the first half of the first century CE,²⁵⁵⁸ one might still discover knowledge that Jer 10:1-18’s original hymnic genre and creation themes were conceived to be germane to its text form, or at least, to its textual tradition.

In summary, Ep Jer, 1 Bar, and Apoc Jer C all put the aniconic message of Jeremiah in an epistolary form so as to be sent to a Second Temple Period Jewish diaspora. Midrashic and Talmudic literature do not overtly reference Targum Jonathan’s interpretation of Jer 10:11.²⁵⁵⁹ However, Targum Jonathan links 10:11’s Aramaic to an actual epistle of Jeremiah, which was a popular literary connection that finds echo in much earlier written material of Second Temple Period Judaism.²⁵⁶⁰ Although Ep Jer and Targum Jonathan do not reference the same epistle from Jeremiah in Jer 10:11, yet, they both evidence a similar interpretive desire to explain why the verse is in Aramaic.²⁵⁶¹ LXX Jer 10:1-18, in as much as it conveys HRLXXJ’s rewritten text form, betrays HRLXXJ’s “hermeneutical technique” or redactional process, which also finds express articulation in both Ep Jer and Targum Jonathan’s Jer 10:11.²⁵⁶²

A Second Temple Period exilic milieu easily received and absorbed Jer 10:11’s Aramaic through its epistolary interpretive matrix from the Jeremiah tradition. Such a reception by diaspora Jews of 10:11’s Aramaic evidences an exilic need to help self-coach

²⁵⁵⁷ Tov, DJD XV, 182.

²⁵⁵⁸ Sanders, DJD IV, 9.

²⁵⁵⁹ Tomes, “Reception,” 246. Yet, Tomes writes concerning the rabbinical literature, that rabbis “found in Jer 10, 1-16 one of the clearest statements of the folly of idolatry and the inadmissibility of astrology for Israel” (ibid.). Tomes does distinguish midrashic literature from medieval commentators such as Rashi.

²⁵⁶⁰ E.g. 1 Bar, Apoc Jer C, and Ep Jer (as demonstrated in chapter IV).

²⁵⁶¹ Modern scholarship has also often wrestled with why verse 10:11 changes from Hebrew to Aramaic, with interesting theories that sometimes cross over into sociolinguistics. E.g. cf. Noam Mizrahi, “A Matter of Choice: A Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Contact between Hebrew and Aramaic, with Special Attention to Jeremiah 10.1-16,” in *Discourse, Dialogue, and Debate in the Bible: Essays in Honour of Frank H. Polak* (ed. Athalya Brenner-Idan; HBM 63/ ASBR 7; Sheffield, UK: Phoenix Press, 2014), 107-24.

²⁵⁶² Olofsson writes: “Certain hermeneutical techniques employed by the Palestinian Jews, which later are employed in the Targums, have to a certain extent influenced the Septuagint. Many of these modes of interpretation can also be found among Hellenistic Jews. A watertight bulkhead between Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewry in this respect can hardly be erected” (Olofsson, “Jer, 2:18,” 175-6). In a similar vein of thought, scholars have compared LXX translation technique to that of the Targums. E.g. cf. Roger Le Déaut, “La Septante, un Targum?,” in *Etudes sur le Judaïsme Hellénistique* (ed. Roger Arnaldez, Raymond Kuntzmann, and Jacques Schlosser; LD 119; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1984), 147-195.

themselves out of the exile's predicament. An important way for the diaspora to mentally train themselves for return from exile was to have Jeremiah's prophetic voice (or Baruch's pen) rehearsed to them along with its proper communal response made explicit in clear theological terms (e.g. cf. 1 Bar 2:15-3:8's confession). The prophet Jeremiah promised return from exile (MT 29:10-14) and sent epistles to a diaspora context (MT 29:1-32 and 51:59-64). Furthermore, near his ministry's end in Egypt, Jeremiah preached to the diaspora against idolatry (MT 44:2-6). Therefore, one would naturally expect that LXX Jeremiah's textual tradition (i.e. HRLXXJ's redactional work) would have interpreted 10:11's Aramaic as an exilic letter in a similar manner to that reflected in both Ep Jer and Targum Jonathan's Jer 10:11. LXX 10:1-18 and 4Q71, essentially,²⁵⁶³ reflect the same interpretation of Jer 10:11 articulated in both Ep Jer and Targum Jonathan. This is to say, the Aramaic language switch in 10:11 was felt to be best understood as epistolary communication addressed to the Jewish diaspora.

The text forms of LXX Jer 10:1-18 and 4Q71 demonstrate a popular emphasis on Jer 10:11 as containing a concise statement of Jeremiah's stricture against idolatry upon the Jewish exiles.²⁵⁶⁴ 1 Bar, Apoc Jer C, and Ep Jer all demonstrate a similar epistolary venue by which an aniconic letter was intended to be communicated by HRLXXJ in LXX 10:11.²⁵⁶⁵ In light of the Second Temple Period literature examined in this chapter, it seems that the prophet Jeremiah was thought to possess a popular message that was perceived to be the key for a spiritual and physical return from exile.

Jeremiah, at least by the time frame of the second century BCE, had become a central prophetic figure and was granted an important diaspora directive against idolatry (or the evil spirits behind the idols).²⁵⁶⁶ Duhm's *Bannformel* interpretation represents a

²⁵⁶³ Duhm's *Bannformel* perspective would, obviously, place added nuance or implication to LXX Jer 10:11's exilic message.

²⁵⁶⁴ Cf. the description of the prophet Jeremiah in 2 Macc 2:2.

²⁵⁶⁵ I.e. in both HRLXXJ's *Vorlage* edition and LXX's Old Greek text.

²⁵⁶⁶ I.e. the *Bannformel* interpretation of Duhm (idem, *Jeremia*, 101).

possible intended focus of LXX 10:11 in HRLXXJ's text form,²⁵⁶⁷ although it may only be implied by LXX Jeremiah's rendition of the Aramaic content.²⁵⁶⁸ Nonetheless, one finds sufficient literary confirmation that exilic Jews received 10:11's Aramaic as an epistolary communication for mental defense against pagan idolatry.²⁵⁶⁹ However, MT 10:4-16's hymnic placement of verse 10:11 in its context must be thought to be the earlier or prior usage²⁵⁷⁰ of the Aramaic words. Moreover, Second Temple Period Judaism's literary milieu would not have provided a conducive environment for MT 10:11's poetic *enallage*, since such a context would only obfuscate the diaspora's use of verse 10:11 as an epistolary message. The abundantly pervasive "Jeremiah letter" notion only becomes clearly evident during the period of the second century BCE,²⁵⁷¹ which is the most likely time frame for the composition of both 4Q71 and HRLXXJ's Hebrew *Vorlage* edition.²⁵⁷²

²⁵⁶⁷ E.g. cf. 4Q510-11, 4Q560, 11Q11, etc. In light of recent scholarship on 11Q11's rewritten text form of Ps 91, it seems quite possible that LXX 10:11-16 reflects the fact that its Hebrew from HRLXXJ's *Vorlage* was intended as a communal hymn to exercise or ward off demons (or evil spirits) (Pajunen, "How to Expel," 128-61; and idem, "Qumranic Psalm 91," 591-605).

²⁵⁶⁸ Cf. LXX 10:11c's aorist imperative rendition of יִאָּבְדוּ "they will perish."

²⁵⁶⁹ E.g. cf. Ep Jer and Targum Jonathan (Jer 10:11).

²⁵⁷⁰ Or, the contextual intention of the Aramaic verse.

²⁵⁷¹ Perhaps Ep Jer could be dated earlier (even much earlier) than the second century BCE, though it is at least safe to assume its existence during this century. However, 1 Bar and Apoc Jer C most likely were composed during the second century BCE, at least in some literary form (cf. earlier discussions in Chapter IV).

²⁵⁷² 4Q71 most likely is the later composition or copy of HRLXXJ's similar "rewritten" textual tradition of the proto-MT book of Jeremiah (cf. chapter V for a full discussion and argument).

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

MT Jer 10:1-18's intricately complex poetic organization has proven to be the more original text form in contrast to LXX's compressed logical structure and emphasis upon verse 10:11. My conclusion finds confirmation in 4Q71's text form and also in the Second Temple Period literature (e.g. Ep Jer and 1 Baruch) which evidence the epistolary genre that LXX 10:1-18 wished to imitate structurally in its focus on verse 10:11. Only MT 10:11 allows for an interpretation of the verse as a war taunt, which best fits the original context of MT Jeremiah's war oracle. Thus, MT 10:1-18 demonstrates an earlier text form to that of LXX 10:1-18 in the sense of providing a less narrow focus on 10:11 or a more particular interpretation of the Aramaic verse popular among Second Temple Period Judaism's literature.

Incorporating the traditional text critical tools in my analysis, I have been lead to different conclusions than that of many past text critical studies. Perhaps future scholarship will discover more evidence to posit the secondary nature of HRLXXJ's various contexts in comparison to those of MT, although my study has benefited from extant textual comparison with Qumran material for both the proto-MT (4Q70) and the LXX (4Q71) text forms. Shimon Gesundheit, elsewhere, has argued for similar results with regard to LXX 25:1-14's flattened and harmonized structure, in contrast to the more original text form of MT 25:1-14.²⁵⁷³ My general conclusion concerning the misapprehended "victory" battle hymn genre (MT 10:4-16) into its Septuagint tradition finds parallel confirmation in the case of Hab 3's hymn into its LXX context.²⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps further text-critical analysis of MT and LXX Jeremiah will have similar conclusions regarding the secondhand character of the LXX text form.

²⁵⁷³ Idem, "The Question of LXX Jeremiah as a Tool for Literary-Critical Analysis," *VT* 62 (2012), 53 and 55-57. Gesundheit's analysis also has implications for the placement of the oracles against the nations in LXX 25-32 as well.

²⁵⁷⁴ Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 145-49. Hiebert uses the term "victory" to describe the hymn of Hab 3.

The results of my textual analysis do not conform to popular dating of the text forms of Jeremiah, such as that of Bogaert's postdating the MT edition from MT 47:1's supposed reference to Ptolemaios I Soter's 312 BCE plundering of Gaza,²⁵⁷⁵ or Johanan Goldman's earlier restoration redaction.²⁵⁷⁶ Rather, MT 10's hymn has a very ancient form (cf. chapter II) and it affirms Yahweh as "King" (MT 10:7 and 10), in contrast to Israel's later leadership of a priesthood or even the hegemony of the Davidic monarchy (cf. MT 33:14-26).²⁵⁷⁷ Likewise, Stipp's long process of MT *Sondergut* material expansions regulates itself to mostly Deuteronomistic prose,²⁵⁷⁸ which would not explain how MT 10's intricate hymn made its way into the text during such a time period of MT expansion.²⁵⁷⁹ Elsewhere Stipp describes his MT *Sondergut* as transcending Deuteronomistic insertions, but one cannot find anything in his analysis which is parallel to what occurs in MT 10:1-18's poetry.²⁵⁸⁰ Thus, one wonders how Stipp understands MT

²⁵⁷⁵ Idem, "Relecture et déplacement de l'oracle contre les Philistins, Pour une datation de la rédaction longue (TM) du livre de Jérémie," in *Vie de la Parole: de l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament* (ed. Pierre Grelot; Paris: Desclée, 1987), 139-50. More recently, Bogaert's linking of Ptolemaios I Soter's 312 BCE plundering of Gaza to MT 47:1's superscription has been questioned for earlier historical events centered upon Gaza. Cf. Beat Huwiler, *Jeremia und die Völker: Untersuchungen zu den Völkerversprüchen in Jeremia 46-49* (FAT 20; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 142-145; and Eric Peels, "Before Pharaoh seized Gaza'. A Reappraisal of the Date, Function, and Purpose of the Superscription of Jeremiah 47," *VT* 63 (2013), 308-322. Later, Bogaert revised his MT redaction date to a Hasmonean one in agreement with Adrian Schenker, who posits a mid-second century BCE dating (circa 140 BCE). Cf. Bogaert, "Jérémie 17,1-4 TM, oracle contre ou sur Juda propre au texte long: Annon-cé en 11,7-8.13 et en 15,12-14 TM," in *La double transmission du texte biblique* (ed. Yohanan Goldman; OBO 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 73-74; and Adrian Schenker, "La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers Hamonéens?," *ETL* 70 (1994), 281-293.

²⁵⁷⁶ Goldman places the MT "Rédaction de la Restauration" between a late sixth to an early fifth century BCE dating. This redaction affirms current Israelite leadership as "une apologie des institutions nationales traditionnelles" (idem, *Prophétie*, 224). However, Goldman's proposal seems contradicted by MT 10:1-18's denouncement of the wisdom in Judah's leadership (e.g. 10:21) with destructive judgment against their idolatry. Goldman does not significantly alter his dating later in another publication. Cf. idem, "Le Seigneur est fidèle à son alliance," in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque* (ed. Adrian Schenker and Hugo Philippe; LMB 52; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 199-219.

²⁵⁷⁷ Contra Bogaert, "Urtext, Texte Court et Relecture: Jérémie 33:14-26 TM et Ses Préparations," in *Congress Volume, Leuven 1989* (ed. J. A. Emerton; SVT 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 236-47.

²⁵⁷⁸ Idem, "Probleme des redaktionsgeschichtlichen Modells der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches," in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"* (ed. Walter Groß; BBB 98; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), 225-262; and idem, *SZJ*, 261-97.

²⁵⁷⁹ Lange gives a proto-MT Jeremiah time frame of 312 BCE to 225 BCE (idem, *Handbuch*, 318-19), although Stipp does not give any dating range in his MASJ. Fischer prefers the latter half of the fourth century (idem, *Jeremia 1-25*, 74 and 120).

²⁵⁸⁰ Idem, *MASJ*, 92-144.

10's hymn to have been constructed within his hypothesis, besides the Deuteronomistic *Sondergut* which characterizes all of Jeremiah, even that of the text form of LXX.²⁵⁸¹

Bernard Gosse's recent attempt to link the MT edition to the redactors of Chronicles²⁵⁸² (e.g. MT 33:14-26) makes little sense given MT 10:1-18's negative view of the Judaeen leadership (e.g. Davidic kingship) and the hymn's demand for Zion's destruction. I have noted that MT 10:1-18's context contradicts the elite or ruling society as having wisdom²⁵⁸³ to govern Israel (e.g. LXX 10:21), so that any hypothesis (e.g. Goldman's) of an unified MT redaction to support the leadership of Zion's exilic return would be contradicted by the MT additions which find wisdom in the temple's destruction and only in God's creative work.²⁵⁸⁴ Thus, Schenker's Hasmonean dating²⁵⁸⁵ to the middle of the second century BCE (followed by Bogaert) also makes little sense in MT 10's context that heavily criticizes any present Israelite leadership. Tov²⁵⁸⁶ does not attempt to explain how MT 10's insertions favor a larger scheme of a redactional layer, so that HRLXXJ's redactional alterations of an early proto-MT poetic arrangement makes much better sense in the context. Thus, I would postulate HRLXXJ's abbreviation and transposition in LXX Jer 10:1-18's later editorial framework, which probably dates slightly earlier to the paleographical dating of 4Q71, or sometime in the first half of the second century BCE (cf. chapter IV).

Leaving issues of dating aside, at least two editions of Jeremiah²⁵⁸⁷ must have existed contemporaneously for a period of time,²⁵⁸⁸ with HRLXXJ probably representing a

²⁵⁸¹ For example, Holladay notes that Deuteronomy and MT Jeremiah might have a mutual relationship of dependence (idem, *Jeremiah* 2, 53). Tov demonstrates that LXX Jeremiah does not represent an earlier Deuteronomistic redactional layer to that of MT and notes that the issues are complicated (Tov, *HBGBQ*, 410-417).

²⁵⁸² Idem, "La rédaction."

²⁵⁸³ Baumann, "Weisheit," 59-79.

²⁵⁸⁴ Weippert, *Schöpfer*, 26-37.

²⁵⁸⁵ Schenker, "La rédaction longue."

²⁵⁸⁶ Tov, *GHB*, 363-84.

²⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 364.

²⁵⁸⁸ E.g. cf. Adrian Schenker, "Est-ce que le livre de Jérémie fut publié dans une édition refondue au 2e siècle? La multiplicité textuelle peut-elle coexister avec l'édition unique d'un livre biblique?" in *Un Carrefour dans l'histoire de la Bible: Du Texte à la Théologie Au II^e Siècle Avant J.-C* (ed. Innocent Himbaza and Adrian Schenker; OBO 233; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 58. Other scholars have affirmed similar sentiments (e.g. Goldman).

more popular rewritten, “diaspora” edition in contrast to the Pre-MT²⁵⁸⁹ “official” edition.²⁵⁹⁰ MT Jeremiah finds confirmation in 11Q5, 4Q70, and 4Q72, while LXX is reflected in 4Q71 and probably served as the basis of Ep Jer²⁵⁹¹ and 1 Bar.²⁵⁹² The two edition theory readily explains how Ep Jer and 1 Bar can demonstrate knowledge of both MT and LXX in certain ways (cf. chapter IV), and would explain LXX Jer 1:1’s contrastive title reading²⁵⁹³ to that of MT’s overall stress on prophetic authorship.²⁵⁹⁴ Likewise, LXX variation, given what is now known concerning Second Temple Period Judaism’s scribal habits, could lead to the possibility that HRLXXJ “rewrites” or “reworks” a Pre-MT text in the vein of the “rewritten scripture”²⁵⁹⁵ genre. While the “rewritten Bible” designation may not apply to every context of LXX Jeremiah,²⁵⁹⁶ it does describe aptly LXX 10:1-18’s reworking of MT 10:1-18. If one takes Duhm’s *Bannformel* perspective of LXX 10:11, then one might posit that HRLXXJ rewrote proto-MT Jer 10:4-16’s hymn into a text form that was more conducive to the diaspora’s utterance against evil spirits, in a similar scribal redaction to that which apparently occurred in 11Q11’s rewritten edition of proto-MT Psalm 91.²⁵⁹⁷

²⁵⁸⁹ For this terminology, cf. Van der Kooij, “Zum Verhältnis,” 201.

²⁵⁹⁰ Van der Kooij has recently expressed similar notions of LXX Jeremiah representing a popular, rewritten form of the book in contrast to the official, temple edition of proto-MT found in 4Q70 (idem, “Preservation,” 39; and idem, “Standardization,” 71).

²⁵⁹¹ Thomas, “Reevaluating,” 547-562.

²⁵⁹² Bogaert, “Qui exerce la royauté dans le livre de Jérémie (et Baruch 1-5)? Du trône de David au trône de Dieu dans sa Ville,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. M. A. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 381-415; and idem, “La fin des jours, catastrophe, retour de l’exil ou nouveauté dans les éditions conservées du livre de Jérémie,” in *Les Prophètes de la Bible et la fin des temps* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; LD 240; Paris: Cerf, 2010), 77-78. Contra Kabasele Mukenge (idem, *L’unité*, 430-31).

²⁵⁹³ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἰερεμίου.

²⁵⁹⁴ E.g. Bogaert, “De Baruch,” 168-170; and Pietersma, “An Excursus.”

²⁵⁹⁵ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d ed.; Studia Post Biblica; SJSJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 67-126. Vermes originally defined “Rewritten Bible” as “haggadic development into the biblical narrative” (ibid., 95). He wishes to retain the original terminology, despite recent disagreement (RBFY, 8-9). Sidnie White Crawford notes that the literary genre of rewritten scripture now describes a “spectrum” of possibilities. Cf. idem, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 13-14. One now finds extreme positions in describing the range of the term, with what some “might call maximalists and minimalists.” Cf. Daniel A. Machiela, “Once More, with Feeling: Rewritten Scripture in Ancient Judaism – A Review of Recent Developments,” *JJS* LXI, no. 2 (2010), 309.

²⁵⁹⁶ Anders Klostergaard Peterson notes that the adjective “rewritten” could be applied, in some degree, to all of literature (idem, RBFY, 28 and 42).

²⁵⁹⁷ Pajunen, “How to Expel,” 128-61; and idem, “Qumranic Psalm 91,” 591-605.

When attempting to define HRLXXJ as “rewritten” literature, one must admit that perhaps the terminology of “rewritten Scripture” has lost its usefulness²⁵⁹⁸ or that one must narrow down its current descriptive usage.²⁵⁹⁹ Although it is clear that LXX and MT Jeremiah were considered “Scripture” in Second Temple Period Judaism,²⁶⁰⁰ it may be difficult to define the level of authority that HRLXXJ enjoyed with its intended audience.²⁶⁰¹ Furthermore, whether the process of creating LXX 10:1-18 from proto-MT 10:1-18 should be labeled “reworking” or “rewriting” is difficult to precisely define in a technical sense,²⁶⁰² since all literature could perhaps be defined as “rewritten.”²⁶⁰³

Scholars admit that “rewritten scripture” is a modern label and not an ancient genre,²⁶⁰⁴ so that the quest continues for a more precise terminology that describes what is found occurring in the textual evidence.²⁶⁰⁵ For Vermes, “rewritten Bible” is a written “literary genre”²⁶⁰⁶ that also involves an “exegetical process”²⁶⁰⁷ in its composition, however debate surrounds whether one should specify the process itself as “rewritten scripture.”²⁶⁰⁸ Yet, even describing the scribal thought process is difficult,²⁶⁰⁹ since one finds that “selective forgetting” seems to occur in the cultural memory evident within abbreviated rewritten scripture.²⁶¹⁰ Although some scholars²⁶¹¹ would disfavor the notion that rewriting involved omission or abbreviation, one readily finds Second Temple Period texts that

²⁵⁹⁸ Jonathan G. Campbell wishes to abandon the term, or at least separate its two parts as separate categories (idem, RBFY, 77).

²⁵⁹⁹ Bernstein writes: “It is necessary to distinguish between the process “rewriting the Bible” and the genre ‘rewritten Bible’; the former, unlike the latter, is not a literary classification” (idem, “Rewritten Bible,” 195).

²⁶⁰⁰ Molly M. Zahn, “Talking about Rewritten Texts,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala, and Marko Marttila; BZAW 419; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter 2011), 95-102.

²⁶⁰¹ Zahn asks the question of authority “for whom?” (idem, “Talking,” 99). Campbell notes that works Vermes describes as “rewritten Bible” were probably not viewed as Scripture (idem, RBFY, 62-63).

²⁶⁰² Eugene Ulrich, RBFY, 101.

²⁶⁰³ Peterson, RBFY, 28 and 42.

²⁶⁰⁴ Machiela, “Once More,” 318.

²⁶⁰⁵ Zahn, “Talking,” 95, 113, and 116. Peterson notes the difficulty of limiting the term “rewritten” to only a certain group of literature (idem, RBFY, 42-44).

²⁶⁰⁶ Vermes, RBFY, 8.

²⁶⁰⁷ Vermes, *Scripture*, 95; and Vermes, RBFY, 8.

²⁶⁰⁸ Bernstein, “Rewritten,” 176-78; and Campbell, RBFY, 64-69.

²⁶⁰⁹ George J. Brooke, RBFY, 119-33.

²⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁶¹¹ E.g. cf. Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 23-24.

reflect intentional deletion and transposition as a scribal activity,²⁶¹² as seen in the development of proto-MT Jer 10:1-18 into that of HRLXXJ.

Given the nature of the current scholarly discussion, it is difficult to carefully delimit exactly what literature, such as HRLXXJ, would constitute “Rewritten Scripture” and what would not. Thus, one must look at the textual evidence *sui generis*, or in each individual case. Moreover, HRLXXJ, besides heavily abbreviating the assumed source material of proto-MT Jeremiah,²⁶¹³ stresses the divine voice of the book’s prophecies (1:1),²⁶¹⁴ the greater importance of Baruch,²⁶¹⁵ and the reorganized placement and order of the foreign nation oracles as reflecting the concern of the Hellenistic audience of LXX Jeremiah’s context.²⁶¹⁶ Such LXX elements reflect textual omission, a change to divine voice authorization, a new narrative framework in the original author’s authority (with emphasis on Baruch instead of Jeremiah), and an apparent actualization of material to contemporary concerns.²⁶¹⁷ Given these characteristics, one may note that HRLXXJ has similar literary characteristics of “rewritten scripture,” as, for example, described by White

²⁶¹² E.g. cf. Emanuel Tov, “Abbreviated “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” *RQ* 16, no. 4 (1995), 581-600; and Juha Pakkala, *God’s Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (FRLANT 251; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013). It is interesting that Vermes applies “rewritten Bible” to works that often drastically abbreviate and omit material from their source texts, such as Pseudo-Philo and Josephus’ *Antiquities* (idem, RBFY, 8).

²⁶¹³ Generally speaking, Qumran manuscripts abbreviate the proto-MT text form of the book of Jeremiah for, perhaps, various reasons. Such textual reduction or omission can be seen in 4Q71, 4Q72, 4Q72a, 4Q72b, and even in 4Q70, especially before its scribal corrections.

²⁶¹⁴ E.g. cf. LXX Jer 28:59 and LXX 45:27.

²⁶¹⁵ E.g. cf. Bogaert, “De Baruch,” 168-73. Also cf. the placement of LXX Jer 51:31-35 in comparison to that of MT 45:1-5.

²⁶¹⁶ Vonach, “Jeremias,” 2700-701. The context of LXX 25:1-19 suggests that Elam was associated with Jeremiah’s famous “Foe from the North.” Perhaps HRLXXJ’s placement of Elam first among the oracles against the foreign nations suggests a popular midrashic perspective of his time, especially given the fact that MT Jeremiah implies that nations from the north would also attack Babylon as well (cf. MT Jer 50:3, 9, 41; and 51:48). Thus, Elam is a natural choice for a nation that is “north” of Babylon. However, perhaps all nations were thought by HRLXXJ to represent Jeremiah’s “Foe from the North,” since MT 46-51’s material, although in a different sequence, occurs also in LXX 25:14-32:24 (e.g. cf. the depictions of the nations in the War Scroll of 1QM and 4Q491-497).

²⁶¹⁷ Brooke explains the logic of “sense exegesis” in rewritten scripture when he notes that “an earlier text is re-presented, that is, made present again, through individual authors reflecting their own contexts of discourse or desire to mould [sic] them” (idem, RBFY, 122).

Crawford²⁶¹⁸ and Segal.²⁶¹⁹ Perhaps HRLXXJ carefully abbreviated his proto-MT Jeremiah textual material with no predetermined plan or rule.²⁶²⁰ However, the placement of Elam²⁶²¹ with the following foreign nation oracles after LXX 25:13²⁶²² and the positioning of the oracle to Baruch (MT 45:1-5) just before the Babylonian narrative of LXX 52 were most likely planned from the outset of the LXX *Vorlage*'s composition.²⁶²³ Furthermore, one notes a "close adherence"²⁶²⁴ of LXX Jer 10:1-18 to the text of MT 10:1-18, but exegetical alterations, along with similar claims to divine authority (e.g. LXX 1:1 and 18) as that found in MT Jeremiah.²⁶²⁵ Along with Segal, I observe HRLXXJ's inclusion in a "new narrative frame"²⁶²⁶ with the divine "voice"²⁶²⁷ engendering the composition (LXX 1:1).²⁶²⁸

If one can show that LXX Jeremiah's material is a secondary development from the proto-MT text as I have done in 10:1-18, then one can make compelling arguments for LXX Jeremiah's now lost *Vorlage* (HRLXXJ) to be a rewritten composition that claims the same scriptural status as its source text (e.g. 1 Esdras).²⁶²⁹ Although scholars debate issues

²⁶¹⁸ Idem, *Rewriting*, 12-13. White Crawford describes certain spectrums of Rewritten Scripture as possessing "a close adherence to a recognizable and already authoritative base-text," "a recognizable degree of scribal intervention into that base-text for the purpose of exegesis," and "a claim to the authority of revealed Scripture, the same authority as its base text" (ibid., 13).

²⁶¹⁹ Idem, "Between," 20-27.

²⁶²⁰ It is possible the apparently random textual omission could be due to a historical reality of various layers of scribal redaction or abbreviation over an extended period of time. Such was the impression I received from a discussion by Alexander Rofé on the relationship of LXX and MT Jeremiah at IOSOT 2013 Munich.

²⁶²¹ LXX 25:1-19's context suggests that Elam was midrashically associated with Jeremiah's famous "Foe from the North."

²⁶²² Vonach, "Jeremias," 2700-02.

²⁶²³ The positioning of LXX Jer 51:31-35 or MT 45:1-5 just before LXX chapter 52 by HRLXXJ implies that the scribe Baruch lived in Babylon to compose the final chapter of the book of Jeremiah and to observe

Ἰωακίμ "Jehoiakim" in the Babylonian context of LXX 52:31-34 (not MT 52:31's יהויכין "Jehoiachin").

Thus, one also notes that Jehoiakim's son Jeconiah is the king of 1 Bar 1:3 and 7, within a work probably viewed as an appendix to LXX Jeremiah's story and, therefore, gives a "good ending" to the MT Jer 36 (LXX 43) debacle of Baruch and Jehoiakim. LXX Jeremiah, moreover, leaves the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt (as, perhaps, in MT as well), but Baruch (by implication) lives and writes from Babylon, in accordance with the same scenario pictured in Apoc Jer C (Dimant, "From the Book," 466-68).

²⁶²⁴ White Crawford, *Rewriting*, 13.

²⁶²⁵ White Crawford states that rewritten scripture, in some spectrums, will "make claim to the authority of revealed Scripture" (ibid.).

²⁶²⁶ Segal, "Between," 21-22.

²⁶²⁷ Ibid., 22-23.

²⁶²⁸ E.g. cf. LXX Jer 28:59 and LXX 45:27.

²⁶²⁹ Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts tell us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (TCS 4; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 91-126.

surrounding the authoritative relationship of a rewritten text to its source text,²⁶³⁰ it seems clear that HRLXXJ and MT Jeremiah both claim the same authoritative voice and were intended to be read with the same authority as Scripture.²⁶³¹ Since the prophet Jeremiah becomes a second Moses figure²⁶³² to the diaspora (e.g. 2 Macc 2:1-8), it is not surprising that his scriptural material was reused and rewritten like Mosaic rewritten scriptural material in the Second Temple Period.²⁶³³

Before lemmatized quotation with Rabbinic interpretation common in postbiblical periods,²⁶³⁴ one finds in the earlier Second Temple Period rewritten compositions a claim to the same status and authority as that of its assumed tradition or transmission source (e.g. HRLXXJ's use of proto-MT's status).²⁶³⁵ Thus, Tov's two edition theory²⁶³⁶ for HRLXXJ and MT would accommodate the context of 10:1-18 in such a world of "Jeremianic discourse,"²⁶³⁷ although my study has demonstrated a reversal of Tov's conclusions for 10:1-18.²⁶³⁸ Yet, my "reversal" hypothesis remains to be proved among the remaining textual evidence in Jeremiah outside of LXX 10:1-18 in forthcoming scholarship. Future studies must ask which text form of Jeremiah was the source material for the secondary edition to assume its authority and, thus, rewrite or reuse its base text form. Whatever the case, clearly LXX Jer 10:1-18 rewrote²⁶³⁹ MT 10:1-18 specifically, although I would argue this has further implications for the relationship of the MT and HRLXXJ as well. For

²⁶³⁰ Campbell notes that not all works labelled by some "rewritten Bible" actually claim the status of Scripture (idem, RBFY, 62-63). Peterson, moreover, states rewritten scriptures "could render their scriptural antecedents superfluous" (ibid., 33).

²⁶³¹ E.g. Segal, "Between," 13-14.

²⁶³² Seitz, "Prophet Moses."

²⁶³³ Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (SJSJ 77; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 16-17 and 39-40.

²⁶³⁴ Segal, "Between," 28.

²⁶³⁵ White Crawford, *Rewriting*, 13-14.

²⁶³⁶ Idem, GHB, 363-84.

²⁶³⁷ I am hearkening to Najman's terminology of "Mosaic Discourse." I suggest that HRLXXJ rewrote proto-MT Jeremiah with at least three of the four features (the first, second, and fourth feature) of "Mosaic Discourse" that are listed by Najman. Although, of course, one must replace the prophetic personality of Moses with that of Jeremiah (idem, *Seconding*, 16-17).

²⁶³⁸ Tov, GHB, 363-84. Stipp has a more nuanced position, with an early bifurcation of the proto-MT and LXX textual strands and with subsequent textual modifications to both text traditions (idem, MASJ, 145-65).

²⁶³⁹ One must focus on the exegetical "process" aspect found in the term "rewritten scripture," thus, hopefully avoiding some of the criticisms of Bernstein (idem, "Rewritten," 195).

example, HRLXXJ attempts to correct perceived complications in proto-MT's original message, such as the basic question of why MT 10:11's verse is in Aramaic or popularly uttered against evil spirits,²⁶⁴⁰ the troubling fact that King Jehoiakim²⁶⁴¹ did not repent at Baruch's words in MT 36:1-32,²⁶⁴² and the difficulty of Babylon representing a viable "Foe from the North" prophetic fulfillment as in MT 20-21.²⁶⁴³ However, such implications cannot be treated fully at this moment and must remain for future enquiry in light of the Qumran and LXX textual evidence comparison.²⁶⁴⁴

²⁶⁴⁰ Rewritten scripture often tailors biblical texts to popular usage or contemporary interpretive tastes. The fact that HRLXXJ tailored LXX 10:11-16's hymnic content to be uttered against idols or their associated evil spirits could indicate much about the popular usage of 10:11's Aramaic content (or the entire hymn of LXX 10:11-16) in HRLXXJ's diaspora context.

²⁶⁴¹ Nor his son Jeconiah, as described in MT Jer 22:24-30.

²⁶⁴² 1 Baruch rectifies the disturbing reality of both MT Jer 22:24-30 and MT 36:1-32 by means of the "happy ending" of 1 Bar 1:3-5. Thus, 1 Bar 1:3-5 demonstrates that King Jeconiah displays repentance and a change of heart at the reading of Baruch's recitation of Jeremiah's book, in contrast to his father Jehoiakim in MT Jer 36:1-32.

²⁶⁴³ MT Jer 50:3, 9, 41; and 51:48 all reference a nation attacking Babylon from the north. Thus, perhaps HRLXXJ wished to allow for Elam to represent a legitimate possibility for Jeremiah's famous "Foe from the North" prophecy.

²⁶⁴⁴ Generally speaking, Qumran manuscripts abbreviate the proto-MT text form of the book of Jeremiah for, perhaps, various reasons. Such textual reduction or omission can be seen in 4Q71, 4Q72, 4Q72a, 4Q72b, and even in 4Q70, especially before its scribal corrections.

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