

PROVERBS 9: TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE
COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HEBREW, GREEK,
ARMENIAN AND LATIN TEXTS

Ylenia Riccardi

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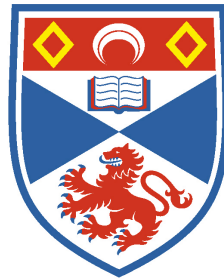
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Proverbs 9:
Towards a Better Understanding of the Complex
Relationship between the Hebrew, Greek, Armenian
and Latin Texts

Ylenia Riccardi



University of
St Andrews

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

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I was admitted as a research student in 2012 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September 2017 the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2012 and 2017.

I, Ylenia Riccardi, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of language, grammar, spelling or syntax, which was provided by Miss Paula Anderson.

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Abstract

In the first part of this thesis, most of the scholarly research on the textual history of the Hebrew and the Greek text was analysed, resulting in the *Status Quaestionis*. As there has not yet been a critical edition for the Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs* published, it was not an easy task to distinguish between, on the one hand, the Old Greek, and the later strata of revisions and text developments.

In order to understand the Greek text, its textual tradition and especially its relationship with its *Vorlage*, it was necessary to study the translation technique of the translator. This research was done in chapter 2, where every verse was studied, word by word, phrase by phrase, and sentence by sentence, comparing the Greek text with the Hebrew and, in relevant sections, retroverting the Greek back in Hebrew. At the end of chapter 2, we have summarized where the Old Greek demonstrates its fine capacity for translating Hebrew text to Greek and where the Old Greek text reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* which is different from the Masoretic Text.

Then, in chapter 3, we considered both the Latin and Armenian texts. Whereas the *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian text are both daughter versions of the LXX text, we have demonstrated that they both stand, at least with regard to *Proverbs* chapter 9, in the hexaplaric tradition of the Greek text. We have also demonstrated that, whereas the Vulgate has been traditionally considered to be reflecting the MT text, there is now evidence that the Vulgate is actually a mixed text, at least with regard to *Proverbs* 9.

To Francesco

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Notes

In this dissertation, abbreviations are taken from the *SBL Handbook of Style*. In addition to the SBL abbreviations, the following volumes have been abbreviated as follows:

- *BDB* : Brown, Francis, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Boston: Hendrickson, 1906¹³.
- *BHQ* : de Waard, Jan. *Biblia Hebraica quinta editione cum apparatu critico novis curis elaborato Proverbs*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008.
- *BHS* : Elliger, K. and W. Rudolph editors. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967-1977.
- *DELG*: Chantraine, Paul. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1968.
- *H-R*: Hatch, Edwin, and Henry Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Version of the Old Testament Supplementum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897-1906, and Grand Rapids: Baker Book House Company, 1983⁶.
- *Lewis-Short*: Lewis, Charlton and Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.
- *Lisowsky, Konkordanz*: Lisowsky, Gerhard. *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1958².
- *Muraoka, Lexikon*: Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Greek-English Lexicon to the Septuagint*, Louven: Peeters, 1993.
- *Muraoka, Index*: Muraoka, Takamitsu. *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint Keyed to the Hatch-Redpath Concordance*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998.
- *ThLG*: Stephanus, H. *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*. Edited by C.B. Hase, G.R.L. De Sinner e T. Fix. Voll. I-VIII. Parisiis 1831-1865 (rist. in IX voll., Graz 1954).

- *TDOT*: Botterweck, Johannes G., and Helmer Ringgren. Eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Voll. I-XVI. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1974.

Chapter 1

Status Quaestionis

It is often stated that the LXX is more than a simple translation and/or a textual witness to the biblical text.

«The Septuagint, it should be remembered, is not only a translation. It is a node of transmission in which a variety of literary traditions meet».¹

In some cases, such as the *Books of Jeremiah, Joshua, Ezekiel* and *The Story of David and Goliath*, the LXX reflects a recension stage in the development of the biblical books, which could be different from the one that is attested in the MT.² For instance, the LXX could be a translation of an older Hebrew text, even a text with additions not accepted in the MT; or a translation of the Hebrew text, to which the translator made additions; finally, the LXX itself also underwent different levels of revisions.³

Concerning the *Book of Proverbs*, understanding the relationship between the text known as the LXX and the MT is not easy:

«It is a well-known fact that there are many variations between the Greek and Hebrew texts of the *Book of Proverbs*. The order of the chapters in the latter part of the book in Greek is quite different from that in the Hebrew: 30,1-14 follows 24,22, and 30,15-31,9 follows 24,34, giving the arrangement 22,17-24,22; 30,1-14; 24,23-

1] Cf. Fox, Michael V., "The Strange Woman in the Septuagint Proverbs," *JNSL* XXII/2 (1996): 32.

2] Cf. Tov Emanuel, "Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs", in *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Attridge H. W. et al., (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990): 43.

3] Cf. Fox, "The Strange Woman," 31.

34; 30,15-31,9; 25-29; 31,10-31. The order found in the Greek text is probably older than that of the Hebrew. The Greek text also has a different order of verses at the end of chap. 15 and at the beginning of chap. 16, as well as in chap. 20. [...] Besides these differences in general arrangement the LXX has important textual variations from the Hebrew. In it is found new material which has no Hebrew counterpart in the MT [...], as well as numerous double translations of verses or single *stichoi* [...]. It also omits numerous verses and *stichoi* which are found in the Hebrew [...]. Then, too, the Greek translation of *Proverbs* is characterized by a certain freedom of expression and by certain peculiarities in the mode of translating».⁴

Comparing the MT with the LXX *Book of Proverbs*, the Greek text, in some cases, is not a literal translation of the Hebrew, but is a free translation; however, the category of 'free translation' is not sufficient to explain some textual phenomena. For example, in the *Book of Proverbs* smaller and larger deviations from the MT are identified: variations in subject and object; plural forms instead of singular forms; but also omissions, additions,⁵ double translations⁶ and different chapter ordering.

«Beyond the freedom of the translation of *Proverbs*, one discerns in the translation editorial features recognizable in its differences in order, minuses, and pluses, all differing from the MT. [...] Many verses, [...], are lacking in the translation.

4] Cf. Fritsch Charles T., "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs," *JBL* LXXII/3 (1953): 169.

5] For the list of omissions and additions see Fritsch's article, "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs," 169—181.

6] The problem of the double translations is a phenomenon occurring in some others LXX books, but it has a particular relevance in the *Book of Proverbs*. Fritsch, in his "Hexaplaric Signs", counted 76 examples of double translations, including double translations of words, of a single colon or a verse, of phrases (cf. Fritsch, "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs," 170, and de Waard Jan, "Some Unusual Translation Techniques Employed by the Greek Translator[s] of Proverbs", in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, edited by Sollamo Raija and Sipilä Seppo, [Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2001]: 190).

Likewise, many verses have been added, though only some of them are based on a different Hebrew original».⁷

The LXX Greek of *Proverbs* ought to have been translated from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, which is different, in some passages, from the current MT, because of the huge number of differences. Furthermore, it is also plausible that the Greek LXX text underwent a series of recensions, not yet clearly identified. I would like to demonstrate these claims using translation technique; however, before doing this, it is necessary to study what other scholars have said and argued about the *Book of Proverbs*.

In fact, in the history of the research of the *Book of Proverbs*, scholars have tended to ascribe all these deviations of the LXX from the MT to inner translation interpretation rather than to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* or inner Greek transmission factors. For example, Gillis Gerleman⁸ relates every difference from the MT to the exegetical approach of the translator and he defines a particular ideal type of translator of the *Book of Proverbs* (as will be discussed below).

In addition to the latter approach, which, since the article by Gerleman has become mainstream, the original OG⁹ has not been determined yet. In fact, there is not a critical editions in the Göttingen series nor in the Cambridge series for this book. The only text is Rahlfs' edition, which is based on Codex **B** (corrected with **S** and/or **A**), and Holmes-Parsons' limited collation. This complicates the matter, as it is not possible to identify within the text what is the OG and what is a later revision. In addition, Origen's work, the *Hexapla*, in which he aimed to compare the MT with the LXX, complicates the task, because Origen added to the text known as the LXX elements from other translations, in order to align¹⁰ the Greek better

7] Cf. Tov Emanuel, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992³), 337.

8] Gerleman first wrote about the *Book of Proverbs* in an article, published in 1950, "The Septuagint Proverbs as Hellenistic Document," and then he developed his ideas in a book, published in 1956, *Studies in the Septuagint. III. Proverbs*.

9] The LXX is the Greek text of the Bible, attested in the *Codex B*, and reproduced in Rahlfs' edition. Codex **B** is considered a mixed text with multiple strata. Instead, the Old Greek, which is still difficult to identify, is the first Greek translation dated between the 3rd and 1st B.C.E. Two important issues in the case of the *Book of Proverbs* are to recognize what the OG is and isolate it from the numerous revisions that seem to be added to the first strata.

with the Hebrew text — the so-called Proto MT.¹¹ However, as will be discussed below in the third section of this introduction and as recent discoveries of the *Book of Proverbs* in the *Papyrus of Antinoopolis* show, Origen himself did not have the original Greek text, but an already mixed text.

As will be argued below in the survey of the research, all these issues forced scholars to study the *Book of Proverbs* from a mainly exegetical perspective rather than from philological and text-critical ones.

10] As described in the *Commentary to Matthew* (cf. PG XIII 1293c) and in the *Letter to Africanus* (cf. PG XI 56b), Origen took his textual-critical approach from Aristarchus of the school of Alexandria. He adopted his diacritical signs in order to equalize the MT with the Greek text. He used the obelus for highlighting a verse or word attested in the LXX without any Hebrew correspondence. He adopted the asterisk when a verse or word was missing in the Greek text, but was attested in the Hebrew text, taking this verse or word from one of the three revisors (occasionally Aquila or Symmachus, but mostly Theodotion).

11] The final text of the MT was finalized late, and it is dated to the Middle Ages. Instead, its consonantal framework has an ancient tradition, more than a thousand years earlier than the *Codex Leningradensis* and the *Aleppo Codex*. Accordingly, scholars designate this consonantal base of the MT as proto-Masoretic text (cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 23).

1.1 History of research

Paul de Lagarde is the first critical scholar of LXX studies¹² and, in particular, of the *Book of Proverbs*, to which he dedicated a commentary in 1863.¹³ His main contribution is to have laid down the principles for its study.¹⁴ In fact, his *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* is still fundamental not only for the study of the *Book of Proverbs*, but also for LXX studies in general, because he proposed some important rules. In the introduction to his commentary, de Lagarde says that the Hebrew text of many Biblical books looks like the

12] Before de Lagarde, between the 19th and 20th centuries, other scholars contributed to Septuagint studies with diplomatic editions and other tools, still fundamental to this field. Holmes-Parsons' critical edition of the LXX, published between 1798 and 1827, was the result of the first effort to give an exhaustive critical apparatus. Its importance is in the number of volumes of collations with readings from the uncial and cursive MSS, but also from the *Old Latin*, Coptic, Slavonic, 'Ostrogothic', Georgian, Armenian, Arabic versions, Complutensian (1517-1521) and Aldine (1518) editions and Grabe's edition of *Codex Alexandrinus*. Furthermore, the importance of Holmes-Parsons' edition is much more relevant, because for some books, like the *Book of Proverbs*, it is the only available collation with a consistent number of readings. The most important editions were published only from the second half of the 20th century, such as the editions for the Göttingen and the Cambridge series. The Göttingen series developed around de Lagarde's ideas. Its purpose is to reconstruct the OG text with an eclectic approach. Instead, the Cambridge series, which is also not completed, is based on a diplomatic method that considers the *Codex Vaticanus* as the most trustworthy MS. Along with these two editions, two last works must be mentioned, which are not critical editions, but are fundamental for contemporary LXX studies: Field's edition of Origen's *Hexapla* and the *Concordance* of Hatch-Redpath, both published in Oxford. The aim of Field's edition of the *Hexapla* was to assemble together all the available hexaplaric material — discovered in 1896 by Cardinal Mercati in the Ambrosian Library of Milan of a palimpsest of the *Psalter* in a continuous script but without the 1st and 2nd columns, some discoveries in the Cairo Geniza together with the *Syro-Hexapla* and Eusebius and Jerome's notes — with a systematic form. Finally, the last important tool, published in 1906, is a systematic concordance LXX-MT, in which all possible correspondences to every Greek word of the LXX are given. It also contains the apocryphal books and Aquila's, Symmachus' and Theodotion's translations and revisions (cf. Swete Henry B., *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, II, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896²), 171-194, and Jellicoe Sidney, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1-25 and 127-133).

13] He was the first scholar who approached the LXX with a text critical point of view. It is appropriate to quote three earlier scholars who studied the *Book of Proverbs*: the first one is Georg J. L. Vogel, who published in 1769 *Alberti Schultensii Versio Integra Proverbiorum Salomonis et in eadem commentarius quem in compendium redegit et observationibus criticis*; the second one is John G. Jäger, who wrote in 1788 *Vetus Testamentum Graecum juxta septuaginta interpretes, ex auctoritate Sixti Quinti pontificis maximi editum juxta exemplar originale Vaticanum cum Latina translatione*; and finally, D. Schleusner, who published in 1812 *Opuscula Critica ad Versiones Graecas veteris Testamenti Pertinentia*, and who dedicated a section to *Proverbs*. As mentioned, de Lagarde is the scholar who contributed to the study of the *Book of Proverbs*, and for this reason, it has been decided to start the history of the research with his contribution. However, Vogel's, Jäger's and Schleusner's commentaries will be considered, if their observations are relevant for the comprehension of the text of the *Book of Proverbs*.

14] Cf. Jellicoe Sidney, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 6.

Urform of the OG translation, but most of the time — and in the case of the *Book of Proverbs* this is especially true — it is complex to distinguish between what is the OG and what is a later addition.

«Die griechische Übersetzung des alten Testaments ist zuerst von den Judenchristen geändert worden, welche ihre ideen in dieselben hineintrugen; später wurde sie durch die vergleihung mit den jüngerer versionen verdorben».¹⁵

In fact, de Lagarde argues that there is a sort of black hole in the textual transmission of the Greek text between the first translation and Origen.

«Für die durch beischriften aus Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion entstandene verwirrung des Septuagintatextes wird sehr mit unrecht Origenes verantwortlich gemacht, da schon Clemens von Alexandrien ein durch einschiebsel aus diesen übersetzern verderbtes exemplar des griechischen alten testaments vor sich hatte».¹⁶

In the conclusion of his introduction, de Lagarde proposes three rules in order to reconstruct the OG and a later revision:

1. All the MSS in our possession are the result of an eclectic process. Whoever wants to find the real text must be eclectic in retroverting Greek variants into Hebrew and in understanding whether the variants happened on the Hebrew or Greek level;
2. When we have a Hebrew verse with two Greek translations, of which one is free and the other literal, the free translation is the original. And finally;

15] Cf. de Lagarde Paul, *Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1863), 2.

16] *Ibidem* 3.

3. If we have two variants next to each other, both representing the Hebrew text, the first one is the original and the second one a revision.¹⁷

As will be shown below, with regard to the *Book of Proverbs*, most scholars did not follow de Lagarde's rules and perspectives, but adopted a different method of research.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, some commentaries on the MT of the *Book of Proverbs* were published. In 1890, the first commentary was written by Antoine Jean Baumgartner. Baumgartner analyses the Hebrew text of the *Book of Proverbs* verse by verse and proposes conjectures for textual problems. In these cases, he compares the MT with the LXX and also refers to the *Peshitta*, *Targum* and *Vulgate*. In his conclusion, he argues that the translator of the LXX *Book of Proverbs* had a unique approach in comparison with the other books of the LXX canon. In fact, Baumgartner claims that some of the differences between MT and LXX are not explicable as reading mistakes by the translator or as problems in textual transmission. On the contrary, his research points to the peculiar translation method of the translator of the *Book of Proverbs*.¹⁸

In 1899, Crawford H. Toy published his commentary. He divides every chapter according to its structure, and then comments line by line on the MT of the *Book of Proverbs*. Between each section, he quickly compares the LXX text with the MT, in order to underline the differences. However, nowhere in his commentary does he summarize the results of his analysis, nor does he add anything about the LXX version.

A few years later, in 1901, a new commentary was published by August Müller and Emil Kautzsch. They reproduce the Hebrew text, comment on some difficult passages and words from each chapter and, at the end of the book, they list the differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX.¹⁹

In 1921, an Italian scholar, Giacomo Mezzacasa, wrote his commentary. His brief introduction is devoted to the figure of Solomon, whom he considers the real author of the *Book of Proverbs* except for the final appendices (chaps. 30-31). Furthermore, Mezzacasa

17] *Ivi*.

18] Cf. Baumgartner Antoine Jean, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du Livre des Proverbes d'après les principales traductions anciennes*, (Leipzig: Imprimerie Orientale W. Drugulin, 1890), 6-17.

19] Cf. Müller August and Kautzsch Emil, *The Book of Proverbs. Critical Edition with the Hebrew Text with Notes*, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901), 33-84.

proposes that the final redaction of the Hebrew text was conducted in the time of Ezekiel.²⁰ After this introductory section, Mezzacasa also translates the MT into Italian and offers some notes on the comparison between the LXX and the MT.

William Oscar E. Oesterley, in his commentary published in 1929, dedicates some pages to the comparison of the MT with the LXX.²¹ He argues that in some passages — especially in the second collection, chaps. 10:1-22:16 — the LXX readings are preferable, because they presuppose a Hebrew text superior to the MT. However, it is also true that in the LXX an amount of material has no correspondence in the MT, which may have been taken to some extent from a now-lost Hebrew collection (Oesterley gives here the example of 9:12a-c). Oesterley also remarks that this material can have come from some Greek collections. Moreover, there are a few omissions and a couple of cases where the Greek translator did not understand the meaning of the Hebrew. And finally, there are some passages that in the Hebrew and in the Greek texts have a different organisation and different sequences: 15:28-16:9 and 30-31. With regard to the latter case, according to Oesterley, this suggests that:

«In some cases the order of passages in the Septuagint differs from that of the Hebrew [...]; this suggests that originally the various collections circulated separately».²²

Oesterley cautiously points out that the LXX may help scholars to reconstruct the Hebrew text of the *Book of Proverbs*.

As previously mentioned, Gerleman also treated the *Book of Proverbs* in an article in 1950 and later in 1956 in his *Studies in the Septuagint. III. Proverbs*, and his approach changed the history of research. In his opinion, what was lacking in the studies of the LXX *Book of Proverbs*, specifically in relation to its source text, which was according to him the MT, was a deep understanding of the goals of the translation in relation to the translator's cultural background.

20] Cf. Mezzacasa Giacomo, *Libro dei Proverbi di Salomone*, (Torino: Società Editrice, 1921), V-XIII.

21] Cf. Oesterley William Oscar E., *The Book of Proverbs with Introduction and Notes*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1929), XXVIII-XXX.

22] *Ibidem* XXXI.

«What is lacking is a clear exposition of the translator's nature and aims. The following study is an attempt to take up the task of fixing the general character of the LXX Prov. Only if this task can be accomplished will it become possible to form an opinion of the value of this translation in criticising MT».²³

According to Gerleman, it is necessary to comprehend fully the Greek reshaping of the *Book of Proverbs*, especially in relation to content, style and ideas. In particular, he focuses on how Hebrew assonance is rendered by the translator. First, he notes that the translator reproduced and reinforced the aesthetic value of the Hebrew with alliterations, etymological figures, anaphoras, epiphoras and chiastic order. Secondly, Gerleman focuses on how the translator rendered Hebrew parallelism in Greek, transforming synonymous parallelism — which strongly prevails in old Hebrew poetry — into antitheses. Furthermore, when in the Hebrew text the antitheses already exist, the translator then tried to make the contrast stronger and more precise.²⁴

Moreover, Gerleman considers the religious content in the Greek translation, noting that the Greek religious and moral significance is more intensified than in the Hebrew text.²⁵ In the conclusion of this analysis, Gerleman underlines the fact that the Greek translation is a document illustrating the early comparison of the Hebrew Bible's piety with stoicism, an Hellenistic philosophy of that time.²⁶

«The benevolent attitude to Hellenistic culture which is transparent in the LXX Prov. has left its traces first and foremost in the stylistic form of the translation. At the same time, however, it is undeniable that Hellenistic ideas, especially of a Stoic stamp, have found their way into the Greek interpretation of Proverbs».²⁷

23] Cf. Gerleman Gillis, *Studies in the Septuagint. III. Proverbs*, (Lund: Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, 1956), 5.

24] *Ibidem* 11-35.

25] Cf. Gerleman Gillis, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document," *OTS* VIII (1950): 16-21.

26] *Ibidem* 22-27.

In his commentary on the *Book of Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, published in 1965, R. B. Y. Scott dedicates an introductory section to the establishment of the monarchy with David first and then with Solomon, who created the need for an administrative system beside the King. The people of this administrative system were possibly the scribes and/or secretaries, the ‘wise men’, borrowed from the Egyptian system.²⁸ However, Scott, even though he highlights the similarities — contextual and textual — between Egyptian and Hebrew wisdom, recognises that theological differences exist:

«The differences are chiefly theological, and are particularly obvious in Hebrew ideas of reward and punishment in this life, in contrast to the Egyptian orientation toward judgment in the hereafter. Furthermore, there is no real counterpart in Egyptian Wisdom to the profound probing of the problems of justice and religion [...]».²⁹

In 1970, our own William McKane published his commentary. In his introduction, he analyses the first collection of the MT *Book of Proverbs*, chaps. 1-9, using the Near—East Instruction³⁰ of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria as a point of departure. He points out that some parts of the *Book of Proverbs*, in particular chaps. 1-9, belong to an international genre with specific features. Then, McKane dedicates a whole section of his commentary to the LXX translation, trying to explain the origins of the different phenomena which occur in the Greek text in relation to the Hebrew.³¹

Some scholars have continued with Gerleman’s focus on the character of the LXX *Book of Proverbs* and the translator’s background. In 1986, Karl-Gustav Sandelin published a book about *Wisdom as Nourisher*, taking into account especially *Prov.* 9:1-6, because it is the only

27] Cf. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 57.

28] Cf. Scott Robert Balgarnie Y., *Proverbs – Ecclesiastes*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1965), XXX-XXXII.

29] *Ibidem* XLVII.

30] For the definition, see below in section 4.

31] Cf. McKane William, *Proverbs, A New Approach*, (London: SCM, 1970), 6-10.

passage in the whole book in which a 'nourisher'³² wisdom is developed. He first analyses the MT of this passage and hypothesizes that Canaanite imagery was involved in Wisdom's banquet. Then, he also considers the LXX translation for this section and argues that the Greek translation presents some critical problems. There are, in fact, some major and minor deviations and, in Sandelin's view, some aspects of the Hebrew text are accentuated in the Greek text, in order to stress a Mystery³³ atmosphere³⁴.

In 1987, John Gammie also wrote on the *Book of Proverbs*, taking Gerleman's book on Job (*Studies in the Septuagint. I. The Book of Job*) as a point of departure, and arguing against Gerleman, who supported the existence of a common translator for *Job* and *Proverbs*. After a detailed analysis, Gammie finds similarities in poetic style and some shared vocabulary between these two books. However, he also underlines some differences in style and in mentality, specifically in relation to Greek culture in the two books, concluding that this translator ought to have had two different personalities, because the ideologies found in *Job* and *Proverbs* are not the same.³⁵

Finally, in the past thirty years, other scholars have approached the *Book of Proverbs* with different methods and perspectives: Johann Cook, Emanuel Tov, Richard J. Clifford, David-Marc D'Hamonville, who published a commentary on the Greek text in the series *La Bible*

32] The word 'nourisher' derives from the verb *nourish*, attested in the Middle English (A.D. 1250-1300) as *norisse* from the Latin *nutrire*. 'Nourisher' indicates 'who sustains with food or nutriment, and doing this, foster and keep alive someone'.

33] The term 'Mystery religion' denotes a special form of personal religion of the ancient world and links the fate of a god (dying-rising type) with the individual human being. The mystery religions offered an answer to the problems not considered in public religions (like Greek or Roman religion which were more formal), like the meaning of life and the liberation of man. They had two main characteristics: secrecy (it was known only to the initiate) and sacred literature. Recently, Ranuccio Bianchi categorized the Graeco-Roman mysteries as forms of personal religious choice in three modes: 'mystery' proper, like Eleusis, that is an entire structure of some duration and complexity; 'mystic' cult, which involves a relation of intense communion (ecstatic or enthusiastic); 'mysteriosophic' cult, like Orphism, which offers an anthropology, eschatology and a practical means of individual reunion with divinity (cf. Price Simon and Kearns Emily, *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 361-362).

34] Cf. Sandelin Karl-Gustav, "Wisdom as Nourisher A Study of an Old Testament Theme, its Development within Early Judaism and its Impact on Early Christianity," in «Acta Academica Aboensis» LXIV/3 (1986): 73-75.

35] Cf. Gammie John G., "The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint Proverbs," *CBQ* IL (1987): 30-32.

*d'Alexandrie*³⁶, Michael V. Fox, who has recently written both a new commentary on the MT³⁷ and a textual commentary on the Hebrew and Greek text (2015),³⁸ Gerhard Tauberschmidt, who wrote a book in 2004 about the treatment of the parallelism in the LXX *Book of Proverbs*; the latest one is James Aitken,³⁹ who devoted an article in 2007 to the ideology of the Greek translation of the *Book of Proverbs*.

Cook has devoted his life to studying the *Book of Proverbs* and has written numerous articles on it. He has been focusing on the relationship between the MT and the LXX, especially chaps. 1-9, trying to understand how the translator has creatively approached the Hebrew text and how extensive the impact of Hellenism was on the translator.⁴⁰ However, Cook's point of view is different from Gerleman's view. In fact, Cook agrees with Gerleman that, most of the time, the *Vorlage* of the Hebrew text is the same as the MT and that the approach of the Greek translator is absolutely free. Nevertheless, he does not think that the translator was a Greek person who tried to 'hellenise' his translation. On the contrary, he argues that the translator was surely an expert on Greek culture. In fact, in Cook's opinion, the translator used Greek stylistic devices in order to stress the Jewish ideas of the MT.⁴¹ For this reason, the translator can be considered a conservative translator, who freely rendered his text in order to avoid misunderstanding, for he was aware of the dangers involved in Hellenism. According to this,

36] f. D'Hamonville Davi-Marc, *La Bible d'Alexandrie Les Proverbes*, Paris: Cerf, 2000.

37] Cf. Fox Michael V., *Proverbs 1-9: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, New York: Yale University Press, 2000.

38] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

39] Cf. Aitken James, "Poet and Critic Royal Ideology and the Greek Translator of Proverbs", in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, edited by Rajak Tessa et al., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

40] Cf. Cook Johann, *The Septuagint of Proverbs Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic colouring of LXX Proverbs*, (SVT 69, Leiden: Brill, 1997): 40.

41] Cf. Cook Johann, "Hellenistic Influence in the Septuagint Book of Proverbs," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989*, edited by Cox Claude E., (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991): 351.

Cook also argues that the *Book of Proverbs* might have been translated in Alexandria, where contacts with foreign wisdom were stronger than elsewhere.⁴²

Tov has written about the *Book of Proverbs* too, and holds an interesting middle position with an eclectic perspective that allows him to approach the text considering fully most of the factors of the complex textual transmission of this book.

Tov argues that scholars tend to ascribe the deviations of the Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs* to inner translational factors rather than to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. According to him, exegetical deviations and deviations resulting from a different Hebrew text coexist in the *Book of Proverbs*⁴³, and this combination makes studying this book attractive. More specifically, he argues that the different sequence of verses and chapters (as in chaps. 15-16 or 24-31) is due to a different Hebrew text rather than to an exegetical intention of the translator.⁴⁴ However, it is possible to explain some double translations only from an exegetical perspective or by studying the textual history of the Greek text.

Clifford, after a brief survey of the date of composition of the Hebrew text of the *Book of Proverbs* and its relations with neighbouring wisdom literature — topics analysed in the foregoing sections — notes in his commentary that ‘the original Hebrew manuscript of Proverbs has not survived’.⁴⁵ He said that only two fragments from Qumran have survived, attesting a Proto-Rabbinic Hebrew text in line with the MT; however, in his opinion, the *Book of Proverbs* had a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, which is still attested behind the free style of the LXX translator. Furthermore, the LXX was subject to an intense action of recension and Jewish revision — which will be discussed below — that brought the Greek closer to the MT:

«The Septuagint bears the marks of the ongoing revision. Its free translation style is the work of the earliest translators. Only after the original translation had circulated for a time could the next stage have occurred: correcting verses and half-

42] Cf. Cook Johann, “The Dating of Proverbs,” «Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses» LXIX (1993): 399.

43] Cf. Tov, “Recensional Differences”, 43.

44] *Ibidem* 49-52.

45] Cf. Clifford Richard J., *Proverbs A Commentary*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 28.

verses back toward the Hebrew text. One result of this correcting process is the famous Septuagint doublets, some seventy-six in Fritsch's count».⁴⁶

D'Hamonville published a commentary on the Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs* in the series *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. In the introduction, he attempts to contextualize the Greek translation by defining the place of the *Book of Proverbs* in the Greek canon, and by studying its structure and characteristics. He also writes about the personality of the translator and with regard to this topic, he goes further than Gerleman. D'Hamonville first underlines the originality and the strong coherence of the whole book. Then, he deals with the culture of the translator, which is clearly Greek — from the brilliant use of the language, from his poetical choices and from his literary quotations. In his opinion, the translator is not simply an artist, but a thinker who read the Hebrew text and explained the traditional message in a new way:

«Du point de vue de l'interprétation, de véritables lignes de fond sous-tendent le livre grec, qui manifestent que le traducteur n'est pas seulement un littéraire, un artiste, mais aussi un penseur. Les valeurs qu'il exalte, la sagesse, la justice, le piété, la miséricorde, l'amitié, ne sont pas profondément originales: ce sont les grands thèmes de la pensée juive aux abords de l'ère chrétienne, que l'on voit par exemple longuement développés dans le livre du *Siracide*. La mise en œuvre de ces clés de lecture dans la traduction des *Proverbes* ne représente donc pas une rapture avec la tradition, mais une mise en lumière de ce qui était sans doute jugé comme le cœur du livre».⁴⁷

At the end of his argument, D'Hamonville follows Martin Hengel in stating that the translator can be named: he is Aristobulus, the Jewish philosopher who lived in Alexandria during the 2nd cent. B.C.E.⁴⁸

D'Hamonville's commentary is interesting because it is one of the few available commentaries on the Greek text. However, it has two main problems. First, D'Hamonville does

46] *Idem*.

47] Cf. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 133.

48] *Ibidem* 134.

not consider that the LXX *Book of Proverbs* is a translation, and therefore that some phenomena can only be explained by taking into account the Hebrew text. Secondly, whereas D'Hamonville quotes Church Fathers and their commentaries in order to understand some passages, it is more coherent to look first at the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text and only in the second instance to look at what happened later, namely in the first Christian communities.

Fox published one commentary in two volumes, the first one on chaps. 1-9, and the second one on chaps. 10-22 of the MT. He mostly works on the Hebrew text, rather than on the LXX; however, he dedicates a few notes and appendices to the LXX. Furthermore, in 1996, he wrote an article in response to Cook, about the interpretation of the "strange woman" (see below) in chaps. 1-9. In his article, Fox asks what the role of the Septuagint is in the interpretation of this metaphor, because he points out that the LXX is not "a simple translation, but a node of transmission, where a variety of literary traditions meet";⁴⁹ for this reason, the LXX can help scholars in understanding the meaning of this metaphor. Regarding the deviation between the MT and the LXX of the *Book of Proverbs*, different phenomena could have occurred: a possible older Hebrew text; some Hebrew additions not later accepted in the MT; additions by the Greek translator; additions by a later scribe, and finally, various levels of revisions. According to Fox, it is possible, albeit not easy, to distinguish these strata, and he argues that the LXX of *Proverbs*, which is sometimes close to the MT and sometimes swings away from it, is an excellent basis for this inquiry.⁵⁰

As previously mentioned, Tauberschmidt published a book in 2004 entitled *Secondary Parallelism a Study of Translation Technique in LXX Proverbs*. He noted that in the Greek *Book of Proverbs* the translator adapted Hebrew parallelism, in order to have Greek lines more closely corresponding to the Hebrew, and this implies that a Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was close to the MT. Consequently, Tauberschmidt demonstrates, with several comparisons between the LXX and the MT — sometimes, in my opinion, without combining a comprehension of the translator's translation technique with a textual and historical approach — that many LXX readings were born from the translation technique of its translator and they cannot be analysed as variant readings deriving from a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁵¹

Aitken, as mentioned before, published an article on royal ideology. At the beginning, he writes an introduction concerning the institution of Alexander and the Jewish reaction to the

49] Cf. Fox, "The Strange Woman," 31.

50] *Idem*.

Hellenic rulers. Then, without resting on the *Letter of Aristeas*, the *Book of Maccabees*, Philo's *On Joseph* and *Life of Moses*, Aitken considers the LXX translation, and in particular the *Book of Proverbs*, as a document that can help scholars to understand Jewish reflections on kingship and Jewish discussions about Hellenic history.

«A lack of precision or consistency in vocabulary would support this, in that it suggests the translators were not aiming to draw up a Jewish constitution or to develop a consistent Jewish-Greek ideology. Nevertheless, in their choices of certain terms and words, we might infer how they viewed their position in relation to wider Graeco-Roman society, and whether the *articulation* of Jewish ideas in Greek terms can reveal something of their *understanding* of those ideas».⁵²

Considering the vocabulary of the *Book of Proverbs*, after a brief analysis of the poetic terminology used, Aitken also makes a connection between all the textual problems of this book — pluses, lexical variations, preference for certain words, and more frequent use of certain administrative and political expressions than in other translations — and the literary pretensions of its translator.⁵³

Recently, in collaboration with an independent Italian scholar, Lorenzo Cuppi, Aitken wrote the introduction to the *Book of Proverbs* for the *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. In this introduction the main characteristics and problems of this book are taken into consideration and he says that the right approach to the textual variants is a precise understanding of the translator's translation technique.⁵⁴

51] Cf. Tauberschmidt Gerhard, *Secondary Parallelism A Study of Translation Technique in LXX Proverbs*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 230.

52] Cf. Aitken James, "Poet and Critic. Royal Ideology and the Greek Translator of Proverbs", in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, edited by Rajak Tessa et al., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 193.

53] *Ibidem* 195-197

54] Cf. Aitken James, and Lorenzo Cuppi, "Proverbs," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, edited by James Aitken, (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 341-355.

1.2 Structure of the *Book of Proverbs* according to the MT and the LXX

The MT of *Proverbs* is not a homogeneous book. Variances in its structural form show that the proverbial literature went through stages of development and that later additions were gradually added by scribes or revisors.⁵⁵ For this reason, the *Book of Proverbs* is to be regarded as a combination of different “collections”⁵⁶, which could have had different authors and different dates of composition.

Regarding the date of the first redaction of the Hebrew *Book of Proverbs*, scholars have divergent and sometimes opposite opinions. In his commentary, Toy tries to reconstruct the history of the composition of the *Book of Proverbs* and he ascribes the whole book to a post-exilic time.⁵⁷ He argues that chaps. 10:1-22:16 and chapters 25-29 were written by different authors and reached their present form between 350-300 B.C.E., whereas 22:17-24 was produced in the next half century and inserted between the other two collections. Then the opening section is from the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.E. — except for 6:1-19 and 9:7-12, added later by a scribe or by the final redactor. Finally, chaps. 30-31 are from the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C.E. Despite these data reconstructed by inner text evidences, Toy does also say that the forms of proverbs allowed copyists to introduce into the text errors not only in words and phrases, but also in the arrangement of lines and couplets. As a consequence, this implies that it is not possible to give an exact date for its composition.

In contrast with Toy’s analysis, Oesterley hypothesizes that the oldest collections of this book belong to pre-exilic times.⁵⁸ He argues that a body of popular sayings existed before the Exile in oral form and at that time there were also wise men, the scribes. In addition, he says that nothing in the first and last collection allows us to point to a post-exilic time.

55] Cf. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XI.

56] As will be analysed below, Fox has recently argued in his commentary that the term “collection” is appropriate only to the central part of the *Book of Proverbs*, while it is not apt for the first and the last part, because they are not compilations of proverbs, but poems (cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 4).

57] Cf. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, XXX-XXXII.

58] Cf. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XX-XXII.

As the dating of the different collections remains inconclusive⁵⁹, it is possible to give only a very general reconstruction of the possible division of *Proverbs*⁶⁰; below there is a list of the collections according to the MT:

- Chaps. 1-9: the first seven verses (1:1-7) are an introduction. The whole collection then is defined as a group of discourses about Wisdom, and it is also considered the most recent collection in the whole *Book of Proverbs*, because Wisdom is personified as a woman who expresses philosophical conceptions in pedagogical forms — a structure not found in the rest of the book — which let the scholars presume to a further evolution of the thought. The form of this section is different too, because it is a series of short sections approximating to a miniature essay-form. Finally, as written in *Prov.* 1:1, the section is traditionally ascribed to Solomon.
- Chaps. 10:1-22:16: this is a collection of aphorisms in self-contained bicolon, which are wholly independent of each other. Some scholars (such Oesterley⁶¹) believe that two smaller collections existed beyond chaps. 10:1-22:16. In fact, chaps. 10-15 are couplets of antithetic parallelisms, whereas chaps. 16-22 show other types of couplets. This difference cannot be accidental, and it might originally have been two distinct collections. In addition, some verses of this collection (in chaps. 15-16) have a different sequence⁶² in the LXX text and the reason for this is still not clear (can they be ascribed to the translator's intention? Or is it possible to speak about a different Hebrew *Vorlage*?). Finally, this whole collection traditionally belongs to Solomon (*Pr.* 10:1).

59] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 6.

60] Clifford, in his commentary, summarizes the development of the Hebrew *Book of Proverbs* in three stages: first of all, during the 10th cent. B.C.E., in the palace of the kings, the scribes produced diplomatic and liturgical texts and some of these texts were in two-line sayings; then, during the 8th cent. B.C.E., some of the collections (possibly 10-24) were in circulation, to which the 'men of Hezekiah' added 25-29; finally chaps. 1-9 were added as a preface in the early Second Temple period, between the 6th and 4th cent. B.C.E. (cf. Clifford, *Proverbs*, 6).

61] Cf. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XIII-XVII.

62] For the sequence of the colons in chaps. 15-16 see Tov, "Recensional Differences", 51.

- Chaps. 22:17-24:34: some scholars identify two distinct collections (22:17-24:22 and 24:23-34, as an appendix). They differ in form from the rest of the book and are constituted of aphoristic quatrains with synonymous parallelism, like short hortatory discourses. The authors of this part are traditionally “the wise people” (*Pr.* 22:17).
- Chaps. 25-29: this is a collection of aphoristic bicolons similar to the second collection of the book. It is not surprising that a number of bicolons and lines are identical in both these sections. There are signs of two original collections, chaps. 25-27 and chaps. 28-29, merged into one. In fact, in chaps. 28-29 there are only bicolons. Moreover, the theme of the observance of the Law and of the religious elements are much more prominent. The whole collection traditionally belongs to Solomon (*Pr.* 25:1).
- Chaps. 30-31: they are an appendix of discourses of various characters. Some scholars define them as a collection of four smaller collections: 30:1-14 and 30:15-33, 31:1-9 and 31:10-31. They are all independent, with differences in content and with a different position in the LXX text
- ⁶³ This last part, together with the first one, is most probably the most recent one.⁶⁴

These are the collections of the *Book of Proverbs* according to the MT. However, as already mentioned, this division is not precisely reflected in the LXX *Book of Proverbs*. Some parts of some chapters (30 and 31) of the Greek translation have different positions, implying a different structure of the whole *Book of Proverbs*. In addition, it also appears that the structure of the LXX *Book of Proverbs* is based on a different type of division, namely on five “sections”, differing from each other in their poetic structure. The structures are twofold: the first one is

63] Three discourses of the last collection have a different position in the LXX: 30:1-14 is after 24:22; 30:15-33 after 24:34; and then 31:1-9 after 30:15-33 (so that the sequence in the LXX is 24:22, 30:1-14, 24:23-34, 30:15-33, 31:1-9). About this particular problem Tov and Cook have two opposite opinions: the first scholar argues that the different sequence is due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, of which the LXX is the unique attestation. Instead, Cook thinks that this different order reflects the deliberate intention of the translator of the LXX *Book of Proverbs* (Cf. Tov, “Recensional Differences”, 51-55 and Cook Johann, “The Greek of Proverbs. Evidence of a Recensionally Deviating Hebrew Text?”, in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, edited by Paul Shalom M. et al., [SVT 94, Leiden: Brill, 2003]: 610-618).

64] Cf. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, VI-VIII; Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XIII-XV and Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 5.

the juxtaposition of bicolons⁶⁵, not directly related to each other; and the second one is the strophe, in which more verses are linked together. With this distinction, five sections are recognizable in the Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs*:

- Chaps. 1-9: strophes;
- Chaps. 10-22:16: bicolons;
- Chaps. 22:17-25:10: strophes. This is the most different section and gathers together more collections of the MT: 22:17-24:22, 30:1-14, 24:23-34, 30:15-33 and then 31:1-9;
- Chaps. 25:11-29: bicolons. Except for the first ten verses of chap. 25, this section corresponds to the MT collection;
- Chap. 31:10-31: strophes. This is the end of the LXX *Book of Proverbs*.

1.3 Witnesses and editions of the Hebrew and Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs*

a. The Hebrew text

The Hebrew text of the *Book of Proverbs* is attested in three main witnesses: in the *Codex Leningradensis*⁶⁶, in the *Aleppo Codex* and in some fragments from Qumran.

65] The bicolon is made up of a two colons that are single lines or a *stichoi* (from the Greek word *στίχος*, which is a "line of poetry, verse of about the same length as the average hexameter verse", cf. LSJ⁹, 1646). Therefore, the bicolon is a couple of colons, related to each other in meaning and usually in parallel (cf. Watson Wilfred G. E., *Classical Hebrew Poetry A Guide to Its Techniques*, [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984³], 12).

66] The *Leningrad Codex* 19^A, dated to 1008-1009 C.E., was copied and annotated from Samuel son of Jacob, who used the correct manuscript prepared by his teacher Aaron son of Moses Ben-Asher, as written in the frontispiece of the *Codex* itself.

Our main text is the MT as printed in the *BHS*⁶⁷, which is based on the *Codex Leningradensis*. However, the latest discoveries pointed out that at least for other biblical books⁶⁸, the MT was not the only form of the Hebrew text.⁶⁹ Nowadays, it is accordingly recognized that the MT was one of the textual types of the Hebrew Bible:

«However, [...], today the coexistence of different textual types is accepted as fact at least during the two centuries before the standardisation of the consonantal text».⁷⁰

The MT is not a precise term, as it is a group of MSS closely related to each other, which give their name to the apparatus of the Masorah attached to them. Moreover, it can really be considered Masoretic only that part of tradition which had had its final form from Aaron Ben Asher of the Tiberian group of the Masoretes. In addition to this, a pure Masoretic text is not attested in any single source, and for this reason an archetype might have not been existed. The MT group had specific characteristic, differing from other text and without relevant textual accuracy and/or quality. However, this text on a socio-religious level was an unicum, in fact a central stream of Judaism preferred and adopted this text:⁷¹

67] Cf. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by Elliger K. And Rudolph W., (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967-1977).

68] About this problem, the discoveries of Qumran have shown that the Hebrew text of some biblical books, before their canonization in the MT, have had a fluid transmission. This assumption is especially true for the *Book of Jeremiah*, whose 4QJer^{b,d} attests an Hebrew text different from the MT and closer to the hypothetical *Vorlage* of the LXX. Along with the *Book of Jeremiah*, it is also possible to mention other fragments from Qumran: 4QLev^d, 4QExod^b, 4QDeut^q and 4QSam^a, which demonstrate a possible fluid transmission of the Hebrew text (cf. Fernández Marcos Natalio, *The Septuagint in Context Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*, translated by Watson Wilfred G. E., (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 74; Tov Emanuel, "Literary history of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History", in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, edited by Tigay Jeffrey H., [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985]: 213f., and *id.*, *Textual Criticism*, 115).

69] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 5.

70] Cf. Natalio, *The Septuagint in Context*, 74.

71] Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 22-24.

«When \mathfrak{M} became the central text, at first of a central stream in Judaism and later of the whole Jewish people, no further changes were inserted into it and no additions or omissions were allowed, not even in small details such as the use of *matres lectionis*. Therefore \mathfrak{M} came to preserve the biblical text in the exact form in which it was current at a particular time in a particular circle; it preserved such minutiae as scribal points above or below letters and other para-textual elements. After the *proto-Masoretic* text had become the accepted text in Judaism, it was copied many times and as a result of its central status most of the ancient translations were based upon one of the representatives of the group of \mathfrak{M} : the Targumim, the Peshitta (\mathfrak{S}), the revisions (recensions) of \mathfrak{E} (among them *kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, and the fifth column of the *Hexapla*) and the Vulgate (\mathfrak{V}). Likewise, \mathfrak{M} is often quoted in both early and late rabbinic literature, and the great majority of the texts from the Judean Desert also reflect this text».⁷²

Regarding the MT of the *Book of Proverbs* as attested in the *BHS*, there are marked differences⁷³ among the various collections. In fact, the second collection (10:1-22:16) — probably the earliest part of the book — is in a much worse textual condition than the other parts. During the textual transmission, it suffered more than the rest of the book and the number of textual corruptions is large. There are mistakes in chaps. 14 and 16 (cases of displacement or later additions, as probably 10:6, 8, 10 and 13 and 11:7, 9). By contrast, in the third (22:17-24:34) and fourth (25-29) collection, the Hebrew text is in quite a good condition. There are corrupted verses, which need emendations, although there are fewer cases in comparison with the second collection. Finally, in the first collection (1-9), corruptions are often far less present, probably because of its later date and also because of its

72] *Ibidem* 24-27.

73] Cf. Clifford Richard J., "Observation on the Text and Versions of Proverbs", in *Wisdom, You Are My Sister: Studies in Honor of Ronald E. Murphy, O. Carm. on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Barré Michael L., (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1997). On page 51, Clifford counts 22 cases of corrupt verses in the whole *Book of Proverbs*: 6:26, 7:22c, 8:13a, 10:10b and 11b, 11:7, 12:28, 13:8 and 15, 14:7b, 16:27, 18:19, 19:7, 20:30, 22:11 and 21, 24:10 and 27b, 26:10, 27:9 and 16, 31:31; and 15 cases of haplography and dittography: 2:14, 5:2,4 and 18a, 6:5a, 7:10, 11:9, 14:21, 16:11, 19:6, 20:18, 21:11b and 21b, 22:27b, 23:32 and 25:20a.

different form of composition (the miniature essay form does not allow, most of the time, a misunderstanding of the sense of the passage).⁷⁴

As previously mentioned, another witness is the *Aleppo Codex*. This is the oldest, but incomplete manuscript of the Hebrew Bible (950 C.E.), as the *Pentateuch* is almost entirely missing.⁷⁵ Recently, a group of scholars has taken this text as the basis of their critical edition, that is the *HUBP* (*Hebrew University Bible Project*); however, the *Book of Proverbs* has not been published yet. It is only possible to consult the *Aleppo Codex* in the facsimile edition of Goshen-Gottstein (Jerusalem 1976)⁷⁶, and the attested variants of the *Book of Proverbs* are only orthographic, *plene-lene* differences and use of *shewas* with gutturals.⁷⁷

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran, two fragments of the *Book of Proverbs* were found: 4QProv^a and 4QProv^b. The first fragment contains 1:27c-2:1, dated to the middle of the 1st cent. B.C.E. The second one, dated as well to the 1st cent. B.C.E., is in two columns and contains 13:6-9; 14:5-10, 12-13; 14:31-15; 15:19-31, and possibly a small fragment of 7:9-11.⁷⁸

Some of the biblical texts from Qumran have helped scholars to comprehend better the textual transmission of the Bible. In addition, as previously reported, some of the Qumran fragments (for instance *Deut.* 31:1, *1Sam.* 1:23f. and *2Sam* 8:7) reflect a text of the hypothetical *Vorlage* of the Septuagint text.⁷⁹ However in the case of the *Book of Proverbs*,

74] Cf. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XXIX-XL.

75] The *Aleppo Codex* is only attested from *Deut.* 28:17. All the earlier books are missing (cf. *The Aleppo Codex Provided with Massoretic Notes and Pointed by Aaron Ben Asher*, edited by Goshen M. H.-Gottstein G., (Jerusalem 1976), plate 8).

76] Cf. *The Aleppo Codex Provided with Massoretic Notes and Pointed by Aaron Ben Asher*, edited by M. H. Goshen.-Gottstein, Jerusalem 1976.

77] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 360.

78] Cf. Ulrich Eugene et al., *Discoveries in the Judean Desert Qumran Cave 4 XI Psalms to Chronicles*, XVI, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 181-184.

79] Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 117.

4QProv^a and 4QProv^b can be considered proto-rabbinic fragments in line with the MT⁸⁰, and they do not reflect or support the differences as attested in the Greek *Book of Proverbs*.

For this dissertation, the diplomatic edition of the Hebrew text as printed in the *BHS* will be used and alongside, the *Aleppo Codex* will be consulted in its printed reproduction.

b. The Greek text

As stated above, the main issue for us on here is to compare the MT and the LXX. Comparing these two texts, it is evident how many differences there are between them:

- the different position of chaps. 30 and 31 in the LXX;
- the divergent order of the colons in chaps. 15 and 16;
- some lines are missing in the LXX⁸¹;
- in the LXX text there are many double translations, and it is unclear if they are the result of the translator's translation technique or the inner Greek transmission of the text;
- finally, in the LXX text there are additions without any Hebrew parallels (as in 6:8a-c, the example of the bee, or in 9:12a-c and 18a-d, the personification of Lady Wisdom and Lady Folly).⁸²

80] Cf. Clifford, "Observations," 49.

81] For example, Fritsch, in his article "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs" (p. 169), cites lines 1:16; 4:7; 7:25b; 8:33; and 20:14-19.

82] For a list of all the additions of the LXX consult Fritsch's article of 1953, "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs".

Neither Göttingen nor Cambridge has produced a critical edition of the LXX *Book of Proverbs*. Therefore, Rahlfs' edition will be used, together with Holmes-Parson's apparatus.

Rahlfs' text — published in 1935 — is a diplomatic edition, based on the *Codex Vaticanus* (**B**) — that is the most ancient and complete copy of the whole Bible, and for these reasons the most important, dated to the 4th cent. C.E.— with a short apparatus with variants from other manuscripts, mainly from the *Codex Sinaiticus* (**S**), *Alexandrinus* (**A**) and some other uncial MSS. However, MS **B** was copied much later than the first translation of the different books of the Bible, including the *Book of Proverbs*⁸³, implying that the text of the *Codex Vaticanus* could be different from the original form of the text, because immediately after the first translation, the Greek text was the object of intense recensional activity.

83] The debate about dating the Greek translation of the *Book of Proverbs* has interested scholars, but all the attempts to date it are, for many reasons, problematic. First of all, there is no evidence to back the different theories. Next, the OG text of the *Book of Proverbs* is not established yet, complicating the understanding of the origin of many Greek additions. Finally, none of the scholars who treated this topic did extensively so as to reach a clear opinion. Henry Thackeray first wrote about this problem in the introduction to his *Grammar*, and then in 1912 in an article. He dated the *Book of Proverbs* to not before 100 B.C.E. on the basis of two pieces of evidence. First, he studies the forms of the negative pronouns ουθείς, μηθείς / ουδείς, μηδείς in some of the MSS of the Bible, and he discovers that in **A**, **B** and **S** only in the *Book of Proverbs* ουδείς / μηδείς are the common forms in all the occurrences. As the δ variant begins to be reused in 132 B.C.E. and from the 2nd cent. C.E. is the common form, Thackeray supposes that the book could not have been translated before 100 B.C.E. The second piece of evidence concerns prosody. He compares the almost complete absence of anapaestic rhythm with the work of contemporary authors, like Pseudo-Phocylides, Zenobius and Ezekiel the Tragedian showing the same characteristic (cf. Thackeray Henry St. John, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909] 60, and *id.*, "The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs," *JTS* XIII [1912]: 60). After Thackeray, Gerleman treated this problem, comparing the *Book of Proverbs* with the *Wisdom of Solomon* and then with the *Book of Job*. In particular, he finds many expressions common to *Proverbs* and *Job* and he concludes that the translator might have been the same person or, at least belonged to the same group of people. As *Job* is dated by Gerleman to the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E., because of many elements of the language and because the Greek author Aristetas quotes it, the *Book of Proverbs* is also ascribed to the same time (cf. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 60). Hengel, in his *Judaism and Hellenism*, speaking about the encounter between Jewish thought and Hellenism, mentions the translation of the *Book of Proverbs*. He dates it to the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. and relates it to the first known Jewish philosopher, Aristobolus. In his conclusion, he says that, albeit it is difficult to give a specific date for the translation, the Greek *Book of Proverbs*, and in particular chaps. 1-9, shows that Jewish wisdom speculation and the doctrine of creation grew close to analogous Greek conceptions (cf. Hengel Martin, *Judasim and Hellenism Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, I, translated by Bowden John, [London: SCM, 1974], 162f.). Cook dedicated an article to this issue, in which he analyses some chapters of the *Book of Proverbs* (especially from the first collection), focusing mostly on the theological translation technique of the translator. As in other works of his literature, Cook describes the translator as a conservative Jew with a deep knowledge of Greek culture. In addition, he thinks that the divergences of the Greek text in relation to the MT are due to the translator, made in order to make the meaning of the Hebrew text clearer. Cook does not fix a precise date for the translations, he only proposes the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C.E., as this is the time when the Hellenistic environment began to make inroads into the Jewish-Hellenistic community in Alexandria (this reconstruction presumes that Alexandria was the place where the Bible was translated) (cf. Cook, "The dating of Septuagint Proverbs," 389, and *id.* and van der Kooij Arie, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, [Leuven: Peeters, 2012], 133). As stated earlier, finally, D'Hamonville, in his commentary for *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, argues that it is possible to identify the translator with Aristobolus, a Jewish philosopher of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. (cf. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 134).

Thanks to the discoveries from the Judean desert, it has been clear that the Greek LXX Bible was revised and corrected closer to the MT early in its history, a long time before Origen's *Hexapla*. In fact, two main and early recensions have been identified. The first one is the proto-Lucianic recension dated to the 2nd-1st cent. B.C. and the second one is the *καίγε* recension⁸⁴ dated to the first half of the 1st cent. A.D. These early revisions appear in different parts of the LXX. The proto-Lucianic revision is attested in (a Hebrew form in) 4QSam^a, in the MSS of the LXX *boc₂e₂* in *Samuel-Kings*, in (the Hebrew text of) *Chronicles* and in the sixth column of the *Hexapla* throughout *2Sam. 11:2-1Kgs. 2:11*. The *καίγε* revision is represented in 4QJer^a, in the MS of the Twelve Prophets from Nahal Hever and in the βγ and γδ of *Samuel-Kings*.⁸⁵

Regarding the *Book of Proverbs*, these two recensions, *καίγε* and proto-lucianic, have not been clearly identified. As previously discussed, the Greek text is mixed, with many differences in comparison to the MT, and with many hexaplaric additions. Moreover, and like some other books of the Bible⁸⁶, it could be conceived that Origen worked with an already mixed text of the *Book of Proverbs*.⁸⁷

Regarding this problem, the *Antinoopolis papyrus* (MS 969) is a very important witness for the Greek textual transmission of the *Book of Proverbs*. It was discovered in 1913-14 and

84] With his book *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, published in 1966, Barthélemy showed the existence of the *καίγε* recension. Before him, Thackeray, considering the sections βγ and γδ of *Samuel-Kings*, hypothesized these sections belong to an anonymous translator who had close affinities with Theodotion, but was not identifiable with him. Therefore, he argued that their translator was a pioneer of the literal school, whose aim was to bring the Greek text closer to the MT, and the predecessor of Aquila. Furthermore, in addition to *Samuel-Kings*, he also identified *Job*, *Daniel* and *Esdras B* as belonging to this anonymous translator. Starting from an analysis of Aquila's method of translation, Barthélemy finds out that the main feature of Aquila's translation — translation of כִּי with *καίγε* — was also observed in the the papyrus of *Dodecapropheton* discovered among the fragments from the Judean desert and dated to the 1st cent. C.E. However, it was impossible to attribute this fragment to Aquila, because his *terminus ad quem* is 120 C.E. In addition, the only name that could be related to this translation — attested in the *Dodecapropheton*, but also in *Judges*, *Ruth*, βγ and γδ of *Samuel-Kings*, *Esdras B*, *Quinta* of *Psalms*, *Cantica*, pluses in *Jeremiah* and finally *Daniel* — was Theodotion, but until Barthélemy's investigation, Theodotion was dated to the end of the 2nd cent. C.E. Combining all the elements, Barthélemy backdated Theodotion to 30-50 C.E. and identified him with Jonathan ben 'Uzziel, a disciple of Hillel. Barthélemy identifies Theodotion with the *καίγε* or R revision of the LXX, whose aim was to translate the LXX closer to the MT (see Barthélemy Dominique, *Les devanciers d'Aquila Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète trouvés dans le Désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat Palestinien*, [SVT 10, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963], and Jellicoe Sidney, "Some Reflections on the *καίγε* Recension," *VT* XXIII/1 [1973]: 16-22).

85] Cf. Natalio, *The Septuagint in Context*, 247-250.

published by C. H. Roberts in 1950.⁸⁸ It contains some fragments from the Greek *Book of Proverbs*, and is dated not later than the 3rd cent. A.D.

In 1956, Zuntz studied this Papyrus and discovered that the *Antinoopolis papyrus* has 21 unique readings not attested in the LXX, with a “masoretischen Sonderlesarten”⁸⁹, and a few cases of them are also present in Clement.⁹⁰ Zuntz first tries to relate this Papyrus to Origen’s activity. However, from a textual comparison between **B** and **S** — which are surely influenced

86] In the LXX there are different signs of a possible recension before Origen’s time. The *Book of Daniel*, for example, is attested in two different forms, accordingly named as the LXX text and the other one “Theodotion”. However, Schmitt’s monograph (Schmitt A., *Stammt der Sogenannte “Θ”-Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?*, MSU IX, Göttingen 1966]) subverted the traditional image of Theodotion. In fact, he underlined that words of the Θ Text do not occur in the LXX, but are found in Symmachus, and, in addition, some deuterocanonical parts show a relationship with Symmachus. At the end of his enquiry, Schmitt is sure that the Θ Text can be no longer be attributed to Theodotion, but its connection with the LXX text still has no explanation. Other examples of a work of recensions in the Greek text are the *Book of Tobit*, the *Book of Judges*, the *Book of Kings* and *Ezra-Nehemiah*. Regarding the *Book of Tobit*, it has been transmitted in three text forms, two complete (G_I and G_{II}), and one incomplete (G_{III}). Their relationship is complex, because there is evidence of interdependence, but, at the same time, there are differences that let scholars think about autonomous textual forms, instead of recensions. For the *Book of Judges*, de Lagarde first printed the texts as A and B separately. Recently, scholars argued that the Greek text of B is the *καίτε* recension of the original LXX; instead, A is a late revision, very close to the Hexaplaric recension. The *Books of Reigns* also present a complicated textual transmission of the Greek text. The problems of these books are still unresolved, besides the 4QSam^{a-c} from Qumran. These books were divided by scholars into different sections: αβ 1Rgs. 1:1-2Rgs. 11:1, βγ 2Rgs 11:2-3Rgs. 2:45, γγ 3Rgs. 2:45-21:29, γδ 3Rgs. 22:1-4Rgs. Analysing these texts, scholars found out that αβ and γγ attest a Greek text that often swings away from the corresponding MT, beside βγ and γδ attest a recension closer to the MT and with some of the characteristics of the *καίτε* recension. Finally, there is the case of *Ezra-Nehemiah*, for which, in the Greek LXX *Ezra A* and *Ezra B*, which contains the story of *Nehemiah*, are attested (cf. Natalio, *The Septuagint in Context*, 88-101).

87] Cf. Cook Johann, “The Hexaplaric Text, Double Translations and Other Textual Phenomena in the Septuagint (Proverbs),” *JNSL* XX/2 (1996): 136ff. In addition, writing my Master’s thesis, I focused on two passages (2,3 and 6,11) that let me suppose that it is possible to find in the *Book of Proverbs* some recensional strata before Origen’s work.

88] Cf. Roberts Colin H., *The Antinoopolis Papyri / Edited with Translations and Notes*, I, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950).

89] Cf. Zuntz G., “Der Antiope Papyrus der Proverbia und das Prophelogion,” *ZAW* LXVIII (1956): 177.

90] I personally located all the passages common to Clement and the *Antinoopolis papyrus*, and I discovered that in two cases (6:9 and 8:9) the text in the Papyrus is the same as in Clement (*Protr.* 8 and *Str.* I 13). In six other

by Origen — with a group of MSS called by Zuntz **Γ**⁹¹ and the Papyrus, he discovered a textual relationship between **Γ** and the Papyrus closer than the one between the Papyrus and **B** and **S**. In his conclusion, Zuntz — assuming Roberts' hypothesis for the date, that is 250-300 C.E. — proposes a common archetype for **G** and for the Papyrus, and argues that Origen did not have the pure Old Greek text, but a text which already had adaptations and hebraizations towards the MT.⁹²

«Natürlich nicht im buchstäblichen Sinne: Statt Pap. wäre ein älterer Repräsentant der gleichen Textform, “in maioribus omnibus satis a quails”, anzustzen. Mit anderen Worten, der Text, den wir “hexaplarisch” nennen, wurde nicht von Origenes aus einem “reinen” LXX-Text durch Zufügungen und Änderungen nach den “anderen” Übersetzern geschaffen. Er existierte fast völlig in der gleichen Form schon vorher».⁹³

In conclusion, for this dissertation the diplomatic edition is Rahlfs'. I also used the printed edition of the *Antinoopolis Papyrus*. Finally and most importantly, I had access to the collation of *Proverbs* of the Göttingen Project, with which I built up a critical apparatus.

cases (6:23 and 9:3,10,12a and 18) the text in Clement (*Str.* I 17, *Str.* II 18, *Str.* I 19, and *Paed.* 11) differs from the LXX and also from the Papyrus. It is noteworthy that four of these six cases are in *Pr.* 9, which might prove how complex its textual transmission was, and that the text was not fixed until later time.

91] Along with the group **G**, Zuntz includes the *Prophetologion*, the uncial **V**, the minuscules 336, 443^s, and 252. In addition, there are some textual affinities also with minuscules 109, 390, 766 and, rarely, 733 (Cf. Zuntz, “Der Antinoe Papyrus,” 165).

92] Cf. *Ibidem* 176-178, and Cook, “The Hexaplaric Text,” 136.

93] Cf. Zuntz, “Der Antinoe Papyrus,” 178.

1.4 Chapters 1-9 of the *Book of Proverbs*: collection of instructions

The first part of the *Book of Proverbs* — chaps. 1-9 — and the last one — chaps. 30-31 — are the most recent collections⁹⁴, showing a high level of theological thought.

In 1924 and 1925, two scholars underlined the literary relationship and the affinities between the Egyptian instruction of *Amen-em-opet* and *Prov.* 22:17-23:11. The first one was Adolf Erman, who published an article in which he supposes that the external resemblances (subject, setting, style and language) of this collection to non-Israelite wisdom literature suggest that the Israelite authors borrowed from a foreign literary tradition.⁹⁵ The second scholar was Hugo Gressman, who wrote in 1924 the article “*Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels*,” which was further elaborated in his 1925 book, entitled *Israels Spruchweisheit im Zusammenhang der Weltliteratur*. According to Erman’s and Gressman’s hypothesis, it is obvious that the *Book of Proverbs* was not an isolated phenomenon, but that the sapiential instruction in Hebrew culture had to be related to the proverbial instruction of Ancient Near Eastern culture generally.⁹⁶

Regarding Egyptian instruction and from an analysis of their texts,⁹⁷ the instruction genre is defined by these words, which holds true for both the Egyptian and the Israelite instruction. It is:

«The literary type of those works which contain an instruction of a teacher to a pupil (often in the form of an instruction of a father to his son) or the fiction of such an instruction. The teacher guides his pupil to a right attitude towards life on the

94] For a definition of ‘instruction genre’ see below.

95] Cf. Erman Adolf, “Eine ägyptische Quelle der “Sprüche Salomos”,” *SAB* XV (1924): 86-93.

96] Cf. Simpson D. C., “The Hebrew Book of Proverbs and the Teaching of Amenophis,” *JEA* XII/3,4 (1926): 232, Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, XXXIIIff., R. B. Y. Scott, “The Study of the Wisdom Literature,” «Interpretation» XXIV (1970): 25-27, and Fox Michael V., “Two Decades of Research in Egyptian Wisdom Literature,” *ZÄS* CVII (1980): 120.

97] Cf. Erman Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians Poems, Narratives, and Manuals of Instruction, from the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC*, translated by Blackman Aylward M., (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), 54-85.

basis of his own experience, and above all on the basis of knowledge which has been transmitted to him». ⁹⁸

As a result, scholars have analysed not only chaps. 22:17-23:11, but the whole *Book of Proverbs* in relation to neighbouring cultures and to the instruction genre. Therefore, trails of this international instruction were discovered in other collections of the *Book of Proverbs*, and relationships with the instruction genre were also highlighted in the first nine chapters.

Whybray defines the first collection of the *Book of Proverbs* as a sequence of ten discourses, which take their models from Egyptian instruction. As inferred from his quotation, common features of the instruction genre are:

- a father, who exhorts his son to listen to his words;
- instruction beginning with the expression ‘my son/sons’;
- the authority of the teacher is constantly reaffirmed;
- the teacher’s words are useful for daily life. ⁹⁹

All these characteristics are also found in the first nine chapters of the *Book of Proverbs*, thus allowing us to consider them as belonging to the instruction genre.

However, in Whybray’s reconstruction, chaps. 1-9 of the *Book of Proverbs* are not a literary unity. ¹⁰⁰ Whybray identifies three stages, reflecting a process of expansions of the text itself. First, as defined by Whybray, some material is much more ancient and is to be called ‘discourse’. There are ten discourses ¹⁰¹, into which theological additions were inserted in

98] Cf. Whybray Roger N., *Wisdom in Proverbs The Concept of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9*, (London: SCM Press, 1965), 53.

99] Cf. *Id.*, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 33.

100] *Ibidem* 31.

101] According to Whybray’s analysis, ‘discourse’ is the Hebrew parallel for the Egyptian “instruction”, with six common elements: the opening words “my son/sons”; the command to hear; the authority of the teacher; the value of the teacher’s words; the teacher is the only reference; and finally wisdom is conceived as human

strategic positions during the expansion process of the text. These theological additions are twofold: the first group was added to the ten discourses first and their purpose was to interpret the teaching by identifying wisdom with human teaching; the second group was added to the first group of additions, and it shows a Judaic goal, in which wisdom is identified with Yahweh's Wisdom. According to Whybray, this is the structure of the first collection:¹⁰²

	1: 1-5		preface
	1:7	(group 2)	
I	1: 8-19		avoidance of evil company
	1: 20-33	(group 1)	
	1:29	(group 2)	
II	2:1, 9, 16-19		avoidance of the strange woman
	2: 2-4	(group 1)	
	2: 5-8	(group 2)	
	2:10f.	(group 1)	
III	3: 1-10		duties towards God
	3: 13-18	(group 1)	
	3:19f.	(group 2)	
IV	3: 21-24 and 27-32		duties towards one's neighbour
		(no theological additions)	
V	4: 1-5		character of wisdom
	4:5a and 6-9	(group 1)	
VI	4: 10-12 and 14-18		avoidance of evil company
	4:13	(group 1)	
VII	4: 20-27		importance of vigilance
		(no theological additions)	
VIII	5: 1-6, 8, 21		avoidance of strange woman
		(no theological additions)	
IX	6: 20-22, 24-25 and 32		avoidance of strange woman
		(no theological additions)	
X	7: 1-3, 5, 25-27		avoidance of strange woman
	7:4	(group 1)	
	8: 1-32 and 33-36	(group 1)	
	8:13a, 22-31 and 35b	(group 2)	
	9: 1-6 and 13-18	(group 1)	conclusion

Whybray's analysis has some methodological weaknesses. First, it is problematic to discern exactly the original instruction text, and, second, it is also difficult to accept that

understanding (Cf. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 34, and Camp Claudia V., *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs*, [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985], 42).

102] Cf. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 73.

Israel's wisdom tradition began as a secular phenomenon, albeit with already fixed features.¹⁰³ McKane, starting from these observations, criticizes Whybray, who was correct to see a connection between chaps. 1-9 of the *Book of Proverbs* and the Egyptian instruction, but who did not engage in a systematic analysis of the formal structure of the instruction. McKane thus sets out first to study the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian instructions and discovers the formal characteristics of the instruction — words of command, exhortation and giving reasons for seeking wisdom and the direct address to the son/sons — and argues that only some parts of the *Book of Proverbs* can be counted as belonging to this more international instruction genre (chaps. 1-9, 22:17-24:22 and 31: 1-9).¹⁰⁴ He also responds to the theory as put forward by Schmidt¹⁰⁵, who analysed the structure of the *Book of Proverbs* and sketched the linear development of the form of the proverb from a single colon to a multiple colon.

According to McKane, one cannot analyse chaps. 1-9 according to this scheme, as it does not take into consideration that there is also — especially in the first part of the book — instruction material.

As a consequence, McKane divides chaps. 1-9 in the following way:¹⁰⁶

I	1:1-7	(introduction)
II	1:8-19	(material which is strictly instruction)
	3:1-12 and 21-35	
	4	
	5	
	6:1-5 and 20-35	
	7:1-5 and 24-27	
III	2	(development and slackening of the structure of the instruction)
	3:13-20	

103] Cf. Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine*, 43-44.

104] Cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 5.

105] In his book *Studien zur Stilistik der alttestamentlichen Spruchliteratur* (1936), Schmidt argues that chaps 1-9 of the *Book of Proverbs* have a later date of composition, because they show an advanced stage in the process of the development of the wisdom sentence. In fact, in his argument the form of מִשְׁל has three variants: one-colon saying, two-colon saying, and multi-colon saying. According to Schmidt's reconstruction, wisdom literature developed from the single verse into the most complex one: from one-single saying to two and multi-limbed sayings. However, according to McKane's point of view this reconstruction does not consider the genre of the instruction, to which parts of the *Book of Proverbs* belong (cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 1-10).

106] *Ibidem* 7.

	6:6-11	
	7:6-23	
IV	1:20-33 and chap. 8	(absence of imperatives)
V	6:12 15 and 16-19	(any connection with the instruction)
VI	chap. 9	(its keynote is the invitation)

Fox argues that chaps. 1-9 are not the work of a single person, but that they were a work in progress carried out by several generations of scribes. He reconstructs four main hypothetical stages in the process of redaction of the first section:

- The prologue 1:1-7 was written together with the cycle of lectures such as the introduction to chaps. 10-29;
- In a different moment of its history, different authors composed the five interludes;
- Then, a few minor scribal insertions were added and, finally,
- The process of expansion continued during the translation of the LXX, which in fact shows more additions and more lines in comparison with the MT.¹⁰⁷

Therefore, the ten lectures are the major and most ancient part of the first collection.¹⁰⁸ Their main characteristic is that they are a father-to-son discourse, in which the father (or sometimes the mother) gives advice to her son, and each one has three different constituents: a *n exordium*, which encompasses an address to the son, an exhortation to hear and a motivation; the body of the teaching is the lesson; and finally a conclusion, which also contains a final summary.¹⁰⁹ The second stage is the interlude, which is in five parts and in which a

107] Cf. Fox, "Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9," *JBL* CXVI/4 (1997): 614 and *id.*, *Proverbs 1-9*, 322.

108] In his commentary, Fox uses a new name for defining the instructional material of Whybray's investigation called 'discourse'. He proposes the term 'lecture', in order to stress better their original nature, which is of lecturing son/sons (cf. *id.*, *Proverbs 1-9*, 45).

109] *Ibidem* 44.

description of wisdom as a female figure and/or her relationship with God is depicted as well as/or her opposition to the strange or foreign woman.¹¹⁰

According to Fox's interpretation, lectures and interludes also express a different conception of wisdom. Whereas in the lectures, wisdom belongs to people's words and thoughts, in the interludes wisdom transcends individual minds and it is not addressed to a particular audience.¹¹¹

According to Fox's reconstruction, this is the structure of chaps. 1-9:¹¹²

	1: 1-7	prologue
	1: 8-19	the seductive gang
	A. 1: 20-33	wisdom's calling and its first personification
II.	2: 1-22	the path of wisdom and the years of life
III.	3: 1-12	the wisdom of piety
	B. 3:13-20	in praise of wisdom
IV.	3: 21-35	the wisdom of honesty
V.	4: 1-9	loving wisdom, hating evil
VI.	4: 10-19	the right path
VII.	4: 20-27	the straight path
VIII.	5: 1-23	another man's wife
	C. 6: 1-19	folly and evil and their examples
IX.	6: 20-35	adultery
X.	7: 1-27	seductress
	D. 8: 1-36	the creation
	E. 9: 1-18	the two banquets

In comparison with other analysis, Fox gives the most complete examination of the first collection of the *Book of Proverbs*. He has built on the discoveries of previous scholars and added a critical-philological inspection to a theological perspective. In fact, as previously mentioned, Fox identifies two different strata, expressing two distinct ideas of wisdom. In the lectures, wisdom is a moral attitude, reached by the son through the education of the father's

110] Cf. Dell Katharine J., *The Book of Proverbs in Social and Theological Context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 19.

111] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 327.

112] Cf. Fox, "Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9," 614, and Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 323.

instruction. In the most recent interludes, the concept of wisdom goes beyond the one expressed in the lectures and is identified with the personification of Lady Wisdom.¹¹³

Scholars have tried to identify this figure. For instance, Bernhard Lang suggested she was the Canaanite wisdom¹¹⁴, Christa Kayatz the Egyptian concept of Ma'at,¹¹⁵ and Richard J. Clifford the Ugaritic Aqht.¹¹⁶ Fox, without presuming a possible mythological model, emphasizes that the model behind the personification of Lady Wisdom is, first of all, the figure of the teacher, thus strengthening the relationship with the lectures.¹¹⁷ Lady Wisdom as a teacher is most evident in interludes A, B, D and E.

Moving a step forward, it is not by chance that these sections — A, B, D and E — are those that show a further and greater theological development in the thought of wisdom expressed in chaps. 1-9. In fact, in these four interludes, wisdom is not only identified with the “fear of Yahweh” (1:7 and 9:10), but it is also expressed that Yahweh himself is the main source of wisdom.¹¹⁸

Given all the former analyses, it is clear that chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs* is the culmination and the conclusion of the representation of Lady Wisdom. In addition, this chapter shows interesting textual problems both in the MT and in the LXX, thus making chap. 9 a fascinating topic for our investigation.

113] Cf. *Id.*, “Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9,” 620.

114] Cf. Lang Bernhard, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs An Israelite Goddess Redefined*, (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1986), 4.

115] Cf. Kayatz Christa, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9 Eine Form-und Motivgeschichtliche untersuchung unter einbeziehung ägyptischen Vergleichsmaterials*, (Assen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966), 14.

116] Cf. Clifford Richard J., “Proverbs IX: A Suggested Ugaritic Parallel,” *VT* XXV/3 (1975): 305.

117] Cf. Fox, “Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9,” 626.

118] Cf. *Id.*, “Aspects of the Religion of the Book of Proverbs,” *HUCA* XXXIX (1968): 67.

1.5 Structure of chap. 9 in the MT and in the LXX according to the scholars

Delitzsch, in his commentary on the MT of *Book of Proverbs* published in 1874, does not provide a precise structure of chap. 9. He underlines, through his analysis, two main sections: vv. 1-12, in which Wisdom is the subject, and vv. 13-18, in which Folly is the topic. However, in the first section, Delitzsch highlights four subsections: vv. 1-3, the description of the house of Wisdom; vv. 4-6, the 'street-sermon' of Wisdom; vv. 7-9, the discourse of Wisdom to the simple; vv. 10-12, the principle of Wisdom.¹¹⁹

In his commentary, as mentioned in this first chapter, Toy analyses every chapter of this book with the aim of comparing, if relevant for the investigation, the MT with the LXX. Regarding chap. 9, he divides it into three sections: vv. 1-6, Wisdom is personified as a householder, while she is preparing a feast; vv. 13-18, in contrast with the first part, the foolish woman calls and invites men to her house; in the middle of these two parallel descriptions, there are vv. 7-12, which, according to Toy, are separate aphorisms. By the contents of vv. 7-12, they ought to belong to the following collection (10:1-22:16), but they were inserted here perhaps due to a scribal mistake.¹²⁰

Regarding the structure of chap. 9, Müller and Kautzsch only note that vv. 7-10, despite their attestation in the LXX, in the MT, in the *Peshitta* and in the *Targum*, are a later insertion. They propose two textual reasons for this hypothesis: first, vv. 7-10 are not addressed, instead as vv. 4-6 and 11, to the 'simple', and further כ in v. 11 joins perfectly with v. 6.¹²¹ However, they do not take any position regarding v. 12.

In his commentary, Oesterley underlines the parallelism between a first section, vv. 1-6, and a third one, vv. 13-18. He argues also that vv. 7-12 were inserted in the middle of this

119] Cf. Delitzsch Franz, *Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs*, translated by Easton M. G., I, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1874), 195.

120] Cf. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 183.

121] Cf. Müller and Kautzsch, *The Book of Proverbs*, 42.

parallelism by a scribe, who did not recognise the contrast between the two personifications.¹²²

Scott, in his commentary on the MT of the *Book of Proverbs*, argues that chap. 9 could be divided into three sections. First of all, in vv. 1-6 and vv. 13-18 there are the two personifications of Lady Wisdom and Madame Folly. Then, he relates vv. 10-12 to the first part as it is s the continuation of Wisdom's invitation. Finally, the third part is vv. 7-9, with its contrast of the scoffer and the wise man, which, according to Scott, was brought into the text by a later copyist.¹²³

As already discussed in the "History of the research" at the beginning of this chapter, one of McKane's purposes, in his commentary, is to prove that chaps. 1-9 of the *Book of Proverbs* is largely constituted of pieces of instruction and pieces keeping with a further development of the formal structure of the instruction.¹²⁴ About chap. 9, he remarks that there are traces of instruction in vv. 6, 8 and 9; however, the instruction exercises little influence on its structure. For this reason, he defines chap. 9 more as 'invitation' than as instruction, in which Lady Wisdom competes with the personification of the foolish woman. At the end of this argument, McKane divides the chapter into three parts: vv. 1-6 and vv. 13-18, with a parallel structure, and vv. 7-12, which disrupts both the continuity and the balance of the chapter. Therefore, he concludes that the text of this chapter was not fixed until a late period.¹²⁵

Whybray, regarding the structure of chap. 9, agrees with McKane's point of view, and identifies the same three sections. With regard to vv. 7-12, Whybray thinks they are incorrectly placed in relation to the rest of the chapter, because these verses weaken the contrast between Lady Wisdom and the 'woman of foolishness'.¹²⁶

In his theological commentary about the background of the Wisdom personification, Lang proposes that the composition of chaps. 1-9 is not as late as other scholars put forward, but

122] Cf. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, 66.

123] Cf. Scott, *Proverbs-Ecclesiastes*, 76.

124] Cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 7.

125] *Ibidem* 359.

126] Cf. Whybray Roger N., *The Book of Proverbs*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 54.

that these chapters are an independent collection, much older than the rest of the *Book of Proverbs*. In addition, the conclusion of this section was not 9:18, but 9:7-10 — verses that are now misplaced.¹²⁷ Within the commentary, Lang dedicates a whole chapter to the reconstruction of the redactional process of chap. 9. He argues that vv. 7-9 are about the teacher and his teaching; moreover, v. 10 is the colon about ‘the fear of Yahweh’. Lang also observes that there are many additions in the LXX. According to Lang’s reconstruction, the original sequence of the verses was: vv. 1-6; vv. 11-18 and finally; vv. 7-10. Secondly, vv. 7-10 were moved to between 1-6 and 11-18, and finally the additions of the LXX were added to the text.¹²⁸

As previously discussed, in 1997, Cook focused on the comparison of the MT and the LXX of some chapters of the first section of the *Book of Proverbs* and on the textual problem of the different sequence of the last chapters of the book. More specifically, Cook worked on chaps. 1, 2, 6, 8 and 9. Regarding chap. 9, he divides the MT into three main parts: vv. 1-6 “the wisdom invitation”; vv. 7-12 “the mocker and the wise”; and finally vv. 13-18 “the invitation of Madame Folly”.¹²⁹ Cook compares the Greek text and the Hebrew text, considering the textual history, the translation technique, the poetical genre of proverbs and finally the exegetical character of the LXX.¹³⁰ He points out that the Greek text of chap. 9 has 17 extra colons and many more little pluses in comparison with the MT. According to Cook, this implies that chap. 9 of the MT has a complex textual history and development.¹³¹ In Cook’s opinion, the 17 colons found in the LXX are Old Greek, because their purpose is to stress the opposition between the foolish and the wise (vv. 12a-c and vv. 18a-d), and to explain the importance of the Torah (v. 10a). For these elements — which, according to him, in his last book, are related to some passages of Sirach, such as 5:9-13 and 37:19-26¹³² —, Cook argues that the Greek translator

127] Cf. Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs*, 4.

128] *Ibidem* 87-90.

129] Cf. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 247.

130] *Ibidem* 12.

131] *Ibidem* 247, and *id.* and van der Kooij Arie, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom*, 116.

was more conservative than the MT author, because he avoided misunderstanding in a possible non-Jewish or Hellenistic environment.¹³³

In an article published in 1997, Rick Byargeon analysed the structure of chap. 9 and the relevance of vv. 7-12 in relation to the whole section. At the beginning, he focuses on a stylistic investigation, considering paranomasias, parallelisms, repetitions and the chiasmic structure of vv. 7-12, with v. 10 in the middle. At the end of this survey, Byargeon comes to the following two conclusions. First, Lady Wisdom and Madame Folly are juxtaposed throughout the whole first collection. However, the personification of Madame Folly appears here for the first time (vv. 13-18), whereas in the foregoing chapters (2:1,9, 16 and 19, 5:1-8, 21, 6:20-25, 32, 7:1-17) she is defined as a “strange woman”. Second, Byargeon defines vv. 7-12 as “theological navigation”, because they are meant for the aid of the young man, in order for him to decide for Lady Wisdom and against Madame Folly.¹³⁴

D’Hamonville, in his commentary on the Greek text, as it has been seen before, analyses the structure of every chapter of the Greek text. Regarding chap. 9, he argues that it is the conclusion of the first section, in which the double invitations of wisdom and folly are represented. However, in the Greek text the double additions (12a-c and 18a-d) completely change the structure. In fact, D’Hamonville recognises that the first section, vv. 1-6, is common to both the Greek and Hebrew text, then he finds a second section, vv. 7-12c, in which the opposition between σοφός/ κακός is clearer than in the MT. Finally, the third section is vv. 13-18d, which has many additions and variants in comparison with the MT, finalised to create a sharper opposition of the invitations between Lady Wisdom and Madame Folly.¹³⁵

In the most recent commentary on the MT of the *Book of Proverbs*, published, as previously mentioned, in 2000 by Fox, the author proposes a new structure for chap. 9. Fox identifies two main sections, as most other scholars have: vv. 1-6 and vv. 13-18; but regarding vv. 7-12, he proposes a new idea. He argues that v. 11, linking this chapter with verse 4:10,

132] *Id.* and van der Kooij Arie, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom*, 117.

133] Cf. *Id.*, “הזר אשה (Proverbs 1-9 Septuagint): A Metaphor for Foreign Wisdom?,” *ZAW CVI* (1994): 472, and *Id.* and van der Kooij Arie, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom*, 121.

134] Cf. Byargeon Rick W., “The Structure and Significance of Prov. 9,7-12,” *JETS XL/3* (1997): 372.

135] Cf. D’Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 211.

must be related to the first section that is then made up of vv. 1-6 and v. 11, because v. 11 reinforces v. 6 and is its original continuation. Then, he considers vv. 7-10 as an obvious addition, as it seems to be an independent epigram, later inserted in this position as an answer of the ignorant to Wisdom's summons. However, within vv. 7-10, v. 10 also seems a later addition as it is isolated in comparison with vv. 7-9; furthermore, v. 10 adds a comment on moral-religious education and seems a quotation of a principle that is also found at the beginning of the *Book of Proverbs* (v. 1:7). Finally, Fox defines v. 12 as a later addition, separately inserted within vv. 7-10.¹³⁶

Fox also devoted an article to the LXX translation of chap. 9 and to the interpretation of the Strange Woman, in response to Cook's article of 1994.¹³⁷ Fox recalls all the appearances of the Strange Woman in chaps. 1-9, and affirms that chap. 9, with all its number of additions, "is the site of the major reinterpretation of the Strange woman".¹³⁸ As argued in his commentary, Fox is convinced that the MT of this chapter was already an expanded text; however, he also notes that within the LXX, many additions are attested without any correspondence in the MT. For instance, in his argument, 9:6c is a hexaplaric addition and 9:10 is an addition not relevant for the interpretation of the strange woman. Instead, the two major additions, vv. 12a-c and vv. 18a-d, give a new meaning to the text.¹³⁹ In his conclusion, Fox summarises the evolution of the strange woman, saying that in chaps. 5, 6 and 7 she is only a 'human seductress', that in chap. 2 the Greek translator removed every cross reference to the feminine figure, and that, finally, in chap. 9 the "strange woman" is more precisely defined by the two additions:

«Both additions assume, independently, that 9:13-18 refers to foreignness. The source of this assumption is twofold: the foolish woman is equated with the Strange Woman described in chaps. 2, 5 and 7, and her "strangeness" is equated to

136] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 295-318.

137] Cf. Cook, "אשה זרה (Proverbs 1-9 Septuagint)," *ZATW* CVI (1994): 458-476.

138] Cf. Fox, "The Strange Woman," 37.

139] Fox also reconstructs possible stages for the growth and development of this chapter: the first stratum is the text maintained in the MT; then there has been a first addition with a possible Hebrew *Vorlage* that is attested only in the Greek vv. 12A-b; and finally, a further development only in the Greek text without any Hebrew *Vorlage* in vv. 12c (possibly) and vv. 18a-d (Fox, "The Strange Woman," 37).

be ethnic foreignness. The latter idea was not derived from the Greek translation.

In the OG, ἀλλότρια has the same sense as in Hebrew». ¹⁴⁰

Moreover, Fox argues that the strange woman is not identified only in one way, but that she is an heterogeneous symbol:

«The Strange Woman was a multivalent symbol with the potential for application to an indefinite variety of inimical realities, including bad advice, folly of all sorts, foreign doctrines, and foreign civilizations and cultures». ¹⁴¹

Clifford, in his commentary, agrees with Fox about the structure of the chap. 9 in the MT. In fact, he argues that there is the first direct opposition between Lady Wisdom (vv. 1-6 and 11) and Madame Folly (vv. 13-18), and between them five independent sayings — vv. 7-10 and 12, with a debated and still unknown origin — which recall chap. 1 and also introduce the second collection. Then, Clifford notes that the LXX text has additional colons after v. 12 and 18. ¹⁴²

So far, I have discussed the history of research, the structure of the *Book of Proverbs* according to the MT and the LXX, the witnesses and editions of the Hebrew and Greek text of the *Book of Proverbs*, the genre of chaps. 1-9 as a collection of instruction, and finally the structure of chap. 9 in the MT and the LXX. With regard to chap. 9 in the MT and in the LXX, I note, according to the scholarship I have surveyed, the following major and minor differences:

1. Seventeen colons are in the Greek text without any Hebrew parallel:

1.1 in v. 6 there are three colons, instead of the Hebrew ternary parallelism, apparently with a double translation;

140] *Ibidem* 42.

141] *Ibidem* 43.

142] Cf. Clifford, *Proverbs*, 102.

- 1.2 in vv. 10, 12 and 18 there are other additions — and particularly, the additions in vv. 12 and 18 completely change the structure of the chapter, as analysed before;
2. There are some smaller differences:
- 2.1 for instance, a singular in the LXX against a plural in the MT (v. 1);
- 2.2 addition of the conjunction *καί* (vv. 1-2 and 4);
- 2.3 an inversion (v. 17);
3. There are additions and/or interpretations of some expressions or single words (vv. 2-3, 7-8, 9, 12a-c, 14, 16, 17, 18a-d);
4. Some words are missing in the LXX, but attested in the MT: for example, there are no translations of עֵינַי (v. 9) and of אֲרֻחֹתָם (v. 15).

There are thus many differences between the MT and the LXX, and the scholarly debate about them is still ongoing. None of the scholars, except Cook — and even he is not consistent — approaches each texts using both translation technique studies and a textual-critical and text-historical method, comparing the MT and the LXX from a translation perspective and considering the textual manuscript data. In other words, this difficult chapter, full of textual problems and with a complex textual history in both the MT and the LXX, needs to be approached with a philological perspective combined with an analysis of the Greek translation technique, mixing both the analysis of text-critical and text-historical data.

1.6 The method used in this research

Tov has defined ‘translation technique’ with these words:

«The term has become a terminus technicus denoting the special techniques used by translators when transferring the message of the source language into the target language.¹⁴³ This includes the choice of equivalent, the amount of adherence to the Hebrew text, the equivalence of Greek and Hebrew grammatical categories, and etymological exegesis. It also refers to some conditions under which the translation was written and about which information is included in the translation itself: cooperation between translators and use of earlier translations. In this definition revisional activity is not included, although that, too, could be included under the heading of translation technique».¹⁴⁴

Regarding the *Book of Proverbs*, the relationship between the Greek and Hebrew text is still unresolved. Studying the translation technique of the Greek translator is helpful in understanding and describing the extent to which the LXX *Book of Proverbs* can be defined as a 'literal' or a 'free' translation — as the *Book of Proverbs* is generally considered to be¹⁴⁵ —

143] In the case of the LXX, and also of the *Book of Proverbs*, the target language is κοινή Greek. The term κοινή διάλεκτος is the language of the world from Italy to India and from Egypt to the Black Sea used from Aristoteles to the 9th cent. C.E. After the multiformity and division of the different city-states and after the golden century of Athens, the superiority of the language and culture of Athens was decided with the Macedonian conquest of Greece. In fact, with the Macedonian kings, the language of Athens was adopted, Attic Greek, with the mitigation of its local features by Ionic. The characteristics of this language, without any local features, are the following: complete disappearance of the dual form; rare use of the optative; regularisation of the irregular verbal — new forms in -ω from the root of the -μι verb are created — and nominal forms; use of -σαν for the 3rd person plural forms of the secondary tense. The κοινή is known through the witness of papyrus, inscriptions, and, among the literary productions, the LXX and the NT. In fact, the LXX was translated between the 3rd and the 1st cent. B.C.E. and the NT was written during the 1st cent. C.E., when the κοινή was fixed (cf. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 16-25, and Meillet Antoine, *Lineamenti di storia della lingua greca*, translated by De Felice Emilio, (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1976²), 305-366).

144] Cf. Tov. Emanuel, "The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint", reprinted in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, (SVT 72, Leiden: Brill, 1999): 240.

145] Cf. Barr J., "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," «MSU» IX (1979): 279; Tov Emanuel and Wright Benjamin G., "Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX," *Textus XII* (1985): 149-187, reprinted in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, edited by Tov Emanuel, (SVT 72, Leiden: Brill, 1999), 236; Aejmelaeus Anneli, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint?," *ZAW IC* (1987): 58-89, reprinted in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators Collected Essays*, edited by Aejmelaeus Anneli, (Leuven: Peeters, 2007): 78.

and comprehending the Hebrew *Vorlage* of this book.¹⁴⁶ The whole second chapter will be devoted to the comparison of the MT and the Greek text of the Book of Proverbs, with the goal to better understand the personality and the translation technique of the Greek translator.

In order to isolate the Old Greek from later corruptions and revisions, the Armenian text, the *Vetus Latina*, and the Vulgate will be analysed in the third chapter, as witnesses to the Greek text in the first centuries C.E.

146] Cf. Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage*," 76.

Chapter 2

Analysis of the LXX Text of Chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs* in Comparison with the MT

First, in this chapter, the Greek text will be analysed in comparison with the MT. The Greek text is the Rahlfs' text, as a critical edition for *Proverbs* does not exist yet. But sometimes I corrected it when the Göttingen collation allowed me to do it. Instead, for the Hebrew text, BHS is the text quoted and used in the next chapter. In addition, I used the apparatus and commentary on BHQ, and I also consulted the Aleppo Codex.

For each verse, the Hebrew and Greek verse are offered together with their own translation, NRSV for the Hebrew and NETS for the Greek. After both texts, I built up an apparatus for each verse, using the information from the Göttingen collation.¹⁴⁷ In order to facilitate the comparison, I offer a chart with the Greek words and their corresponding Hebrew expressions in juxtaposed columns.

Finally, the analysis is divided in two sections: the first one is devoted to the textual transmission of the texts and will be based on the readings as attested in the collation and as organised in the apparatus; the second one is devoted to the word by word comparison of the Greek and Hebrew text.

^{147]} For a list of MSS quoted in the apparatus see in Appendix 1.

2.1 Prov. 9:1¹⁴⁸

חֲכָמָה בָּנְתָה בֵּיתָהּ הִצָּבָה עֲמֻדָּיה שִׁבְעָה

«Wisdom has built her house
she has hewn her seven pillars»

ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον

καὶ ὑπήρρισε στύλους ἑπτὰ

«Wisdom built herself a house
and supported it with seven pillars»

9:1 > 336*, 728 | 9:1¹ ᾠκοδόμησεν: οικο- **B** || 9:1² καὶ ὑπήρρισε 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤃 (𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤃): frt 1 הִצָּבָה: ὑπήρρισεν **A, 254, 336, 339, 549, 637, 706***: -ρισεν **B*, S, V, 253, 534**: υπειρρισεν **512**: ηπηρρισε **797**: -ηρησε **795***: υπειρησε **338**: ηπειρησε **125**: ἐλατόμησε **A. Σ.** | στύλους: στυλοις **109, 139, 333, 705, 732**, Syh.: στύλλους **543*, 706, 795** | ἑπτὰ + και Syp^a

-	ἡ
חֲכָמָה	σοφία
בָּנְתָהּ	ᾠκοδόμησεν
בֵּיתָהּ	οἶκον
הִצָּבָה	ἑαυτῇ

-	καὶ
הִצָּבָה	ὑπήρρισεν
עֲמֻדָּיה	στύλους
שִׁבְעָה	-
שִׁבְעָה	ἑπτὰ

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

In the Göttingen collation ὑπήρρισε without -ν ephelcistic is read, whereas in Rahlfs' diplomatic edition, there is ὑπήρρισεν, according to **A, 254, 336, 339, 549, 637, 706***. I follow

148] The apparatus for each analysis was all made by me, using the data from the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen collation, which I consulted. For this reason, I would like to thank the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen. In addition, in the third appendix there is the explanation for the critical signs used in the apparatus.

the reading without -ν, as the latter is also not necessary from a grammatical perspective. For the verb ὑπερείδω, which will be analysed from a translation technique perspective also in the following section, Muraoka makes a correction,¹⁴⁹ in order to do justice to the meaning of both the LXX and the MT and two other witnesses, the *Peshitta* and the *Targum*, which are both in agreement with the LXX. Whereas נָצַח only occurs once in the *Book of Proverbs*, meaning ‘hew out’, the other three witnesses, the LXX, the *Peshitta* and the *Targum*, have a verb meaning ‘to build up’, ‘put under as a support’ with transitive meaning.¹⁵⁰ For this reason, in the apparatus of *BHS* there is the variant הִצַּח, *hiphil* from נָצַח,¹⁵¹ ‘set up’, ‘erect’.

In the apparatus, there are twice readings of στύλος. In fact, MSS **109, 139, 333, 705, 732**, and Syh. attest στυλοις, implying an object, as the NETS translation. However, Rahlfs reads στύλους, as can be found in the majority of the witnesses, as noted in the Göttingen collation. MSS **706, 543*** and **795** have στύλλους, never attested in the Greek literature with double λ. It could be a scribal mistake of transposition (reduplication).

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

Regarding the poetical structure of both texts, the Hebrew and the Greek text have a parallelism proper-congruence.¹⁵²

About the correspondence between נִצְחָה and σοφία, the Greek term is the right translation¹⁵³ of the Hebrew. The plural form נִצְחָה is a “plural of majesty”,¹⁵⁴ which has three other attestations in the MT: in *Pr.* 1:20 and 24:7 as subject, and in *Ps.* 49:4 as object. In all

149] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 262.

150] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1862, Chantraine, *DELG* 366.

151] This verb occurs only two other times in the *Book of Proverbs*, in 8:2 as *qal* form, translated in the LXX with ἵστημι, and in 15:25 as *hiphil*, translated in Greek with στηρίζω (cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 949).

152] For the poetical structures of this verse and of the following ones see Watson, Wilfred G. E. *Classical Hebrew Poetry A Guide to Its Techniques*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academy Press, 1984³.

these occurrences, the Greek text was translated with σοφία, because in Greek the plural of σοφία would mean not ‘wisdom’, as intellectual capacity or virtue, but ‘technical art’, ‘art craft’ (that is the etymological meaning of σοφία) or ‘sophistries’.¹⁵⁵ To avoid misunderstanding in the Greek, the translator adopted the singular form, to pinpoint the right meaning of the Hebrew.

Secondly, regarding the presence of the article in the LXX, all its occurrences in the *Book of Proverbs* were investigated, considering the Greek text in comparison with the MT. At the end of this enquiry, it was noted that the article is there in Greek, according to a good Greek style, every time that in Hebrew there is:

- a construct state;
- a possessive;
- a vocative;
- a numeral;
- a participle or adjective used as a noun.

However, the occurrences of the Greek article without any correspondence in the MT underline two important details. First, the term σοφία could be treated in this passage as the name of God — in Hebrew both יהוה and אלהים are translated in Greek with both κύριος and θεός. In fact, κύριος and θεός do not have an article¹⁵⁶ when they are used in the genitive case. When in Hebrew there is a construct state, they usually, although not systematically, have the article

153] In most of the occurrences, σοφία is the usual translation of חֵכְמָה. However, there are a few exceptions: in 1:7 and 1:29 σοφία corresponds to דָּעָה; in 2:3, 3:5 and 18:2 to בִּינָה; in 8:33 to מִדְּבָר, where, however, σοφία is a variant in **A**, whereas **S**² has παιδεία, which is the usual translation for the *Book of Proverbs*. For this reason Muraoka's *Index* (p. 79) put 8:33 in double brackets; finally, in 4:5 (in Origen's *Hexapla* there is the asterisk), 6:8, 8:12, 17:28; 20:29; 22:4 and 31:5 there is no correspondence (cf. H.-R. 1279; Muraoka, *Index*, 50).

154] Cf. Muraoka, *Grammar*, 500.

155] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1664, *ThGL* VIII 522, Chantraine, *DELG* 1030.

if they are subject or object.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, in 9:1 σοφία appears to be treated as a divine name. Second, the presence of the article in 9:1 indicates a possible link with chap. 8 in which the creation of the world is described in terms of cooperation between God and Wisdom. In this chapter, verses 8:1 and 12 are close from the perspective of the translation technique. In both these passages, the Greek translator translated חִכְמָה with ἡ σοφία: it is possible that the translator makes a link between chaps. 8 and 9, saying that the ‘Wisdom’ who cooperated with God to create the world is the same ‘Wisdom’ personified in chap. 9 and who is inviting someone to come to her house.

The verb of the first line: בָּנָה means ‘build’ a city or a house and occurs in another two passages of the *Book of Proverbs*: 14:1 in *qal* (as in 9:1), and in 24:3 in *niphal*, meaning ‘be built’, ‘be established’.¹⁵⁸ In the LXX the same verb οἰκοδομέω, ‘to build’, is used,¹⁵⁹ resulting in a perfect correspondence.¹⁶⁰

Considering the word ‘house’, there is a perfect correspondence between the Greek and the Hebrew. In fact, בַּיִת — denoting both ‘house’ as a dwelling habitation and ‘family’¹⁶¹ — is

156] However there are three exceptions in 1:29, where, however, the article is a variant reading in **A** and **S**²; 19:21, and 30:9.

157] Cf. H-R 642 and 826.

158] Cf. *BDB* 124f., *TDOT* 166-167.

159] Cf. LSJ⁹ 146 and 1204, Chantraine, *DELG* 781-782.

160] Cf. H-R 970-972, Muraoka, *Index*, 236.

161] Cf. *BDB* 108.

translated generally,¹⁶² but not systematically,¹⁶³ with οἶκος — denoting in Greek any dwelling place, not just ‘house’, and in Attic laws also ‘property’ left at a person’s death.¹⁶⁴

Finally, בֵּית is followed by the possessive adjective; in Greek a possessive-reflexive pronoun is attested. If there is in the MT a possessive, the Greek translator could choose from three different constructions for expressing possession: a simple possessive, or an unstressed form of the genitive of the personal pronoun, or a reflexive-possessive adjective which is systematically placed between the article and the noun, according to good Attic prose.¹⁶⁵ The case in 9:1 is different, as in Greek the reflexive possessive is a dative of advantage, found in the LXX *Book of Proverbs* in other cases, in which, however, there is no correspondence in the MT.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, also in 31:22,¹⁶⁷ a possessive in the MT is translated with a reflexive possessive in dative of advantage in the LXX.

162] Cf. H-R 973f., Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 222, Muraoka, *Index*, 27.

163] First, there are attestations of οἶκος without any correspondence in MT; 7:17, 23:5 and 27, and 27:15. In 6:31 the Hebrew expression אֶת-כָּל-הוֹן בֵּיתוֹ is translated with the neuter plural present participle of ὑπάρχω; in 8:2 בֵּית is translated with an adverbial expression ἀνὰ μέσον; in 21:12 in the LXX (and also in the Peshitta) it is read καρδία, and consequently in the apparatus of BHS בֵּית is presupposed that probably the Syriac and Greek translators read לבית; in 25:17 the Hebrew term has an adverbial meaning, מִבֵּית ‘within’, translated in the LXX with πρὸς; in 14:11 and 25:24 (in the latter case the MT has similar expression to 21:9, but they are translated in two different ways in Greek, in which the translation of 21:9 is a variant in 23 for 25:24) בֵּית is translated with οἶκος, denoting ‘family’ or ‘group’ from which one descends; in 15:27 the Hebrew expression עֵקֶר בֵּית is translated with the *hapax legomenon* ὁ δωρολήμπτης, ‘greedy of gain’; in 27:27 there is the Hebrew expression לָלֶחֶם בֵּיתָךְ and in the LXX εἰς τὴν ζωὴν σου, regarding this passage in the apparatus of BHS it is written that the Greek translation of the Hebrew expression is missing and it should be deleted (*dl*).

164] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1204f., Chantraine, *DELG* 781.

165] Cf. Heilmann Luigi, *Grammatica storica della lingua greca*, (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1963), 185, Chantraine Paul, *Morphologie historique du Grec*, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1945¹²), 142-143.

166] In the following cases the reflexive pronoun seems to be an exegetical addition of the LXX: 4:13, 7:4, 13:11, 16:27, 17:18 and 28 and 25:10a. However, there are cases in which the LXX translates the *hithpael* in 18:9 and 30:32, with the reflexive possessive.

167] This case is anomalous, as in the first colon there is a reflexive in the MT translated with a genitive of the personal pronoun, but in the second colon in which there is a possessive in the MT, it is translated with a reflexive as dative of advantage in the LXX.

In the second colon, *καί* in the LXX is without any correspondence in the MT. Looking at all the occurrences of *καί* at the beginning of the verse, it appeared that *καί*, together with *δέ* always in second position according to good Greek style, is the common translation of the Hebrew copulative *ו*. However, there are other cases, as in 9:1, in which there is no correspondence in the MT for the Greek conjunction.¹⁶⁸

The verb of the second *stichos*: *ὑπερείδω* has only three occurrences¹⁶⁹ in the whole LXX. In addition to *Pr.* 9:1, *ὑπερείδω* is in *Jb.* 8:15 in which the *niphal* of *נָצַח* is translated, and in *Sir.* 23:11 (where **B** and **S** attest the variant *ὑπερίδῃ*) for which there is no Hebrew *Vorlage* in the recent discoveries from Cairo Genizah and Masada.

Considering *שָׁבַע* and *עַמּוּד*: in the LXX they appear without attestations of the possessive pronoun, “as often when the antecedent of a possessive is clear.”¹⁷⁰ The word *עַמּוּד*, meaning ‘pillar’, ‘column supporting house’,¹⁷¹ occurs only in this passage¹⁷² of the *Book of Proverbs* and is rightly translated with *στύλος*, ‘pillar’ as a support or a bearing.¹⁷³ Finally, *שָׁבַע* is translated with *ἐπτά*. The Hebrew *שָׁבַע* occurs six times in the MT of the *Book of Proverbs*. It is systematically¹⁷⁴ translated with the same Greek root,¹⁷⁵ also in compound words.¹⁷⁶

The OG of 9:1 is a precise translation of the MT 9:1.

168] See *Prov.* 1:23, 2:2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 14 and 16, 5:4, 6:2, 6, 18, 21, 24 and 31, 7:9, 8:18, 20, 27, 28 and 36, 9:4, 15 and 18, 13:13a, 15:18, 17:18, 20:4, 21:12, 22:4, 18, 20 and 29, 23:11, 31 and 35, 24:21, 30:1 and 14, 24:27 and 31, 30:15, 19, 23, 26 and 28, 31:8, 25:18, 27:23, 29:19, 31:18 and 28.

169] Cf. H.-R. 1409, and see Beentjes Pancratius C., *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A Text Edition of all extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, Leiden-New York-Köln: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997.

170] Cf. Fox, Michael V. *Proverbs, An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, Society of Biblical Literature 1, (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 162.

171] Cf. BDB 765.

172] Cf. H-R 1298, Muraoka, *Index*, 112.

173] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1657, Chantraine, *DELG* 1066.

2.2 Prov. 9:2

מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת מְבַחַחַת

«she has slaughtered her animals,
she has mixed her wine,
she has also set her table»

ἔσφαξε τὰ ἑαυτῆς θύματα

ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον

καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν

«she slaughtered her own sacrificial victims
she mixed her own wine in a mixing bowl
and she prepared her own table»

9:2¹ ἔσφαξε: -ξεν B*, S, A, V, 248*, 253, 336, 339, 443, 534, 542, 549, 637, 706, 795, 797 || 9:2² + καὶ in 68, 103, 106, 109, 125, 147, 252, 296, 339, 705, 795, 797, Arm. et Arab. | εἰς κρατῆρα hab. in Sa., Bo. 38, Bo^B sed > φη et sub ~ in Syh. || 9:2³ > 329 et 333 | καὶ in Syh. et Arab. sed > Sa. et Ach. | ἡτοιμάσατο: ἡτοίμασε B, 106, 130, 593 : παρέταξεν A προσέθηκεν Σ ἐστοίβασεν Θ

מְבַחַחַת	ἔσφαξε
מְבַחַחַת	θύματα
הָ -	τὰ ἑαυτῆς ¹⁷⁷

מְבַחַחַת	ἐκέρασεν
-	εἰς κρατῆρα
הָ -	τὸν ἑαυτῆς
יַיִן	οἶνον

174] There are two exceptions in the LXX, 6:16 and 26:16 in which the Hebrew word has no correspondence in the Greek.

175] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1400.

176] See *Prov.* 6:31, 24:16 and 26:25.

177] As has been argued before, the reflexive-possessive is one of the ways to express the corresponding Hebrew possessive, and for this verse the Greek LXX always uses the same form.

אֶף	καὶ
עֲרֹכָה	ἡτοιμάσατο
הַ -	τὴν ἑαυτῆς
שָׁלַחַן	τράπεζαν

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

Considering the apparatus, I accepted ἔσφαξε without -ν ephelcistic, instead in **B*, S, A, V, 248*, 253, 336, 339, 443, 534, 542, 549, 637, 706, 795, 797** there is the reading ἔσφαξεν, accepted in Rahlfs.

In the second *stichos*, a part of the textual transmission, which are MSS **68, 103, 106, 109, 125, 147, 252, 296, 339, 705, 795, 797**, has at the beginning καί, attested also in the Armenian and Arabic tradition.

Regarding εἰς κρατῆρα, it is also attested in Sa., Bo., but omitted in the MT, and sub ~ in Syh. As will be analysed in chap. 3 of this work, this reading is also attested in the Armenian translation and in the *Vetus Latina*. As it has an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, it could be Old Greek.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The Hebrew and the Greek texts have similar structures. In fact, in both of them, a *parallelism (proper congruence)* is found: verb, possessive, object, with the only exception being the insertion of εἰς κρατῆρα in the second line of the LXX, which will be discussed further.

The first line, σφάζω occurs in the *Book of Proverbs* only in this passage, and it translates טָבַח.¹⁷⁸ The Hebrew verb means ‘to slaughter’, ‘slay animals for food’, in Greek σφάζω is used to

178] According to Muraoka, טָבַח is also translated in Greek with other words: θύω that also occurs in *Prov.* 16:7 (I have corrected here what is written in Hatch-Redpath’s *Concordance*, that reports 16:5 instead of 16:7 (cf. H.-R. 659)), without any Hebrew correspondence, and μαγειρεύω (not in the *Book of Proverbs*)(Cf. H-R 1324, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 542, Muraoka, *Index*, 57).

indicate ‘to slay’, ‘slaughter’ of cattle, and also of human beings, in the context of sacrificial slaughtering,¹⁷⁹ for this they can be considered equivalent.

The term θύμα translates תִּבְיָה. The Greek word means ‘victim’, ‘sacrifice’, and in the plural can be used to indicate ‘animals slaughtered for food’. The Hebrew תִּבְיָה, from the same root תִּבַּח, which often occurs as an internal accusative means properly ‘to slaughter animals for food’.¹⁸⁰ In the LXX *Book of Proverbs*, θύμα also occurs in 17:1, where the MT presents תִּבְיָה,¹⁸¹ and in 27:9 — attested only in S. The term תִּבְיָה occurs another time in *Pr.* 7:22, where it is translated with σφαγή, ‘slaughter’.¹⁸²

Regarding the second line, the Greek verb κεράννυμι, meaning ‘to mix’ — especially indicating diluting wine with water¹⁸³ — translates תַּמַּח, which in Hebrew means ‘to mix’, ‘produce by mixing with spices’ in reference to wine — ‘mixing with water’ is a later tradition as attested in *2Macc.* 15:39 and was mostly a Greek custom.¹⁸⁴ There is a perfect correspondence between the Hebrew and the Greek verb. In fact, in the MT, they occur only in *Pr.* 9:2 and 5 and in both cases are translated with the same Greek word.¹⁸⁵ Looking at the prophetic books, תַּמַּח occurs also in *Is.* 5:22 and 19:14, where it is translated with κεράννυμι,

179] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1781, Chantraine, *DELG* 1073.

180] Cf. LSJ⁹ 809, *BDB* 370.

181] This term properly means ‘sacrifice’ and according to Muraoka’s *Index* (cf. 43), it occurs in *Prov.* 7:14, 15:8, 21:3 and 27, where it is always translated with θυσία, (from the same root as θύμα but with the suffix *-si- and meaning ‘sacrifice’), and 16:7, where it has no correspondence in the MT.

182] Cf. Mandelkern, *Concordantiae*, 436, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 542.

183] Cf. LSJ⁹ 940, Chantraine, *DELG* 517.

184] Cf. *BDB* 587.

185] Cf. Mandelkern, *Concordantiae*, 695, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 833, Muraoka, *Index*, 84.

and also in *Ps.* 101(102):10,¹⁸⁶ in which the archaic *κινάω* is used, which in the Greek language become *κεράννυμι* through nasalization.¹⁸⁷

The Greek *οἶνος* has many occurrences¹⁸⁸ and every time there is a perfect correspondence with *יין*. There are only three exceptions in the *Book of Proverbs*: the first one is in 3:10, where *οἶνος* translates *תִּירָשׁ*, ‘must’, ‘fresh wine’; in 12:11a, which is a Greek addition without correspondence in the MT; and finally, in 27:9.

The word *κρατήρ* appears only here and in 9:3 in *Prov.*, and in neither passages does it have any correspondence in the MT. Furthermore, in the Syh. this expression has an obelus before it, as already noted. However, in the whole LXX, this word occurs also in *Ex.* 24:6 and *Ca.* 7:3, where it translates *אֵבֶן*,¹⁸⁹ and in *Ex.* 25:31, 33 and 34,¹⁹⁰ where it translates *כַּיִּיךְ*, ‘cup’.¹⁹¹ In Greek culture, *κρατήρ*, the *nomen instrumenti* derived from the same root of *κεράννυμι*, is a ‘vessel for mixing wine and water’.¹⁹² In all the analysed passages, *κρατήρ* has a *Vorlage* in the MT and, except in *Ca.* 7:3,¹⁹³ the word is never used with reference to mixed wine. Regarding the use of the preposition *εἰς*, which together with *κρατήρ* is sub obelus in Syh., it coexists with *ἐν* in the *koinè dialektos*, for expressing both ‘rest in a place’ and ‘motion to a place’. It also took

186] Cf. H-R 759 and 765.

187] Cf. LSJ⁹ 953, Chantraine, *DELG*, 516.

188] Cf. *Prov.* 4:17, 9:2 and 5, 20:1, 21:17, 23:30 and 31, 31:4 and 6. Furthermore, in *Pr.* 23:20 the Hebrew expression *כַּבֵּיִין*, ‘wine-bibber’, is translated with the compound word *οἶνοπότης* (cf. Mandelkern, *Concordantiae*, 476, H-R 983-984, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 600, Muraoka, *Index*, 61).

189] This word means literally ‘bowl’, where clothes can be washed, or ‘basin’ used in rituals (cf. *BDB* 8).

190] Cf. H-R 784.

191] The Hebrew *כַּיִּיךְ* occurs in other passages of the MT and is translated in the LXX also with other Greek words: in *Jer.* 42(35):5 *κεράμιον*, ‘earthen vessel’, ‘wine jar’, is used; in *Gen.* 44:2, 12, 16 and 17 *κόνδυ*, ‘drinking-vessel’, an Asiatic term, is used (cf. H-R 759 and 777, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 305, Muraoka, *Index*, 32).

192] Cf. LSJ⁹ 991, Chantraine, *DELG*, 517.

up functions of ἐπί, πρὸς and περί.¹⁹⁴ In fact, here in 9:2, in contrast with classical Greek, εἰς with accusative means ‘to rest in a place’. For a better understanding all the occurrences of this preposition in the *Book of Proverbs* were investigated.¹⁹⁵ In the whole *Book of Proverbs*, εἰς, although many occurrences are without any parallel in the MT, mostly translates the Hebrew prepositions -בְּ, -לְ, -אֶל- or -עַל-.

In the last *stichos*, the verb ἐτοιμάζω has several occurrences in the LXX *Book of Proverbs*: only in 9:2 it translates the *qal* of עָרַךְ; in 16:12 and 19:29 (*niphal*), 21:31 (*hophal*), 6:8, 8:27, 24:27 and 30:25 (*hiphil*) it translates בָּנָה; in 8:35 the *middle* voice of the ἐτοιμάζω translates the *hiphil* of בָּנָה, which is judged as implausible by Muraoka in his *Index*;¹⁹⁶ finally, in 23:12 there is no correspondence.¹⁹⁷ The Greek verb means ‘to prepare’,¹⁹⁸ albeit in many different ways. In fact, in this verse, it translates עָרַךְ, meaning ‘to arrange in order’ as in everyday life ‘arranging a table’ precisely as is described in chap. 9. The same expression which is found in 9:2, שִׁלְחָן עָרַךְ, occurs also in other passages translated in the LXX in the same way: in Ps. 23:5 and 78:19 and in Is. 21:5 and 65:11. However, as explained before, ἐτοιμάζω is used in most of the

193] However, in this passage, there is an explicit reference to wine mixed with spices in the MT, with מִינֵי (‘spiced wine’, cf. *BDB* 561). In the Greek text this is translated with κράμα, ‘mixture’ also in reference to ‘mixed wine’ (LSJ⁹ 989).

194] Cf. Thackeray Henry St. John, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 46, Bortone Pietro, *Greek Prepositions From Antiquity to the Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 186.

195] The preposition εἰς was used by the translator for rendering different Hebrew constructions: for a constructive-absolute state; for the preposition -בְּ in all its usage (mostly “rest in a place”); for direction; and for -לְ in all its usages (indicator of accusative, with verbs of motion, *dativus commodi* and *incommodi*).

196] This verb occurs in the *Book of Proverbs* another three times and it is always translated with different Greek verbs: in 3:13 the aorist of ὁράω, ‘know’, is used; in 12:2 there is εὕρισκω, ‘find’; in 18:22 there is λαμβάνω, ‘take’ (cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1151, Muraoka, *Index*, 118).

197] Cf. H-R 563-564.

198] Cf. LSJ⁹ 703, Chantraine, *DELG* 382.

occurrences of the *Book of Proverbs* for translating כָּן:¹⁹⁹ in its *hiphil* form meaning ‘to establish’;²⁰⁰ in its *niphal* form meaning ‘to be established’, ‘be set up’;²⁰¹ in its *hophal* form meaning ‘to be prepared’.

Finally, τράπεζα translates תַּבִּישׁ. This Greek word has only two occurrences: here and in 23:1. The latter is however without counterpart in the MT.²⁰²

Except for the addition of εἰς κρατῆρα, the LXX 9:2 is a precise translation of the MT.

2.3 Prov. 9:3

שְׁלַחַה נְעֻרֶיהָ תִּקְרָא עַל-גְּפִי מִרְמֵי קִרְתִּי

«She has sent out her servant girls,
she calls from the highest places in the town,»

ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἐαυτῆς δούλους

συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα

«She sent out her slaves,
summoning with a stately proclamation to the drinking feast, saying:»

199] This verb appears in the *Book of Proverbs*, once in *qal* form in 21:29, translated in Greek with συνίημι, ‘understand’, and once in the *hitpael* form in 24:3, with the medio-passive form of ἀνορθόω, ‘set up again’.

200] This form of כָּן is also translated with other Greek verbs: in 16:9 (LXX 15:29b) it is translated with διορθόω, ‘make right’ for expressing the meaning of ‘order aright’ (cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 671f., Muraoka, *Index*, 68).

201] Other Greek verbs are used for translating this form: in 4:18, 12:3 and 19 and 25:5 κατορθόω is used in its active form and meaning ‘prosper’ except in the first occurrence, in which it means ‘set upright’; in 4:26 κατευθύνω in its active form, ‘make straight’, occurs; in 22:18 there is εὐφραίνω, ‘gladden’, in its active form; in 29:14 there is καθίστημι in its passive form, ‘be set’ (cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 68).

202] Mandelkern, *Concordantiae*, 1178, H.-R. 1369, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1444-1445, Muraoka, *Index*, 151.

9:3¹ ἀπέστειλε: -λεν **B***, **A**, **229**, **248***, **253**, **254**, **296**, **336**, **443**, **534**, **542**, **549**, **637**, **706***, **728**, **795**, **797**: -στιλεν **A** et **V** | τοὺς ἑαυτῆς δούλους : παιδίσκας **A** κοράσια **Σ** νεάνιδας **Θ** sed > Syh. || συγκαλοῦσα: συνκ- **S** et **V**: συγκαλουσης **338** || 9:3² ὑψηλοῦ: υψηλων **130***: ἐπὶ ὕψεων **A** ἐπὶ ὕψεων πόλεως **Σ** **Θ** | ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα sub~ in Syh.

שְׁלַח	ἀπέστειλεν
נַעֲרָתִי	δούλους
הִיא-	τοὺς ἑαυτῆς

תַּקְרָא	συγκαλοῦσα
עַל-	-
יָפִי	-
מִרְמֵי	μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ
קִרְיָה	κηρύγματος
-	ἐπὶ
-	κρατῆρα
תַּקְרָא	λέγουσα

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

As in the previous verses, I accepted ἀπέστειλε without -ν ephelcistic. Instead, and according to the Göttingen collation, MSS **B*** and **A** and minuscules **229**, **248***, **253**, **254**, **296**, **336**, **443**, **534**, **542**, **549**, **637**, **706***, **728**, **795**, **797** read ἀπέστειλεν.

Regarding the expression τοὺς ἑαυτῆς δούλους, which will be analysed below in the translation technique analysis, it does not have any translation in the Syro-Hexapla.

Finally, ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα is attested with an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, being an addition in the Greek text.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

First, looking at the poetical structure of both texts, in the MT the structure of the first *stichos* is subject-verb-object / subject-verb-noun, resulting in an incomplete parallel. In the LXX, in the first *stichos* there is: an aorist with its object; in the second *stichos* there is a participle and a noun forming a chiasmus with the second part of the second *stichos*. So summarising, the structure seems to be as follows: verb-object / verb-prepositional clause,

with an internal opposition between the aorist of the first *stichos* and the participle of the second one.

The verb ἀποστέλλω, ‘to send away from’, is used as ‘to send’, frequently related to messengers and/or a message.²⁰³ It has another four occurrences in the *Book of Proverbs*: in 25:13 and 26:6 ἀποστέλλω translates, as in 9:3, שְׁלַח. There is also in 21:8 and 26:13, where however, according to H-R, there is no Hebrew correspondence. In all these occurrences of ἀποστέλλω (except in 26:13 where it is used in its passive form), it is used to underline the concept of sending messengers or a message.

When the Hebrew verb שְׁלַח means ‘to send’, without specifying messengers, other Greek roots are used.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, for שְׁלַח in *piel* or *pual* form, compounds of πέμπω are used²⁰⁵ (with the exception of 6:14, where there is συνίστημι and in 29:15 where there is πλανάω).²⁰⁶

The term δούλος in Greek can be used for both male and female,²⁰⁷ and if there were not the masculine article τούς, it would have been a correspondence with the Hebrew. In the Greek, the masculine gender is used, whereas the MT reads a feminine, as נַעֲרָה means ‘girl’, always used in the plural, ‘maids’, to refer to female attendants.²⁰⁸ In the *Book of Proverbs*, there are another two occurrences of נַעֲרָה: in 27:27 and 31:15, in which θεράπων,²⁰⁹ male in

203] Cf. LSI⁹ 219.

204] When שְׁלַח occurs in the *qal* form, in 10:26 χράομαι is used in the same participle form that however, according to Hatch-Redpath, does not match any correspondence, and in 22:21 προβάλλω is used (cf. H-R 141-142, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1441-1442).

205] See *Prov.* 6:19, 16:28 and 17:11.

206] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 150f.

207] Cf. H-R 447.

208] Cf. *BDB* 655.

209] It is also present in 18:14, without any correspondent words in the MT.

Greek, and *θεράπεινα*, female of *θεράπων*, are used.²¹⁰ Fox argues, and I agree with him, that the masculine form for the Hebrew feminine “may reflect the translator’s notion of propriety or his assumption about which servants would be sent out”.²¹¹

In the second *stichos*: *συγκαλέω* renders in the *Book of Proverbs* קָרָא only here.²¹² The Hebrew verb occurs fifteen times; most of the time (ten) the Greek translator used compound verbs of *καλέω* to render it.²¹³ However, in a few passages,²¹⁴ the Greek translator reads קָרָא, meaning ‘to meet’, ‘encounter’,²¹⁵ and translates it with *συναντάω*, that is, exactly ‘to meet face to face’, ‘encounter’. Furthermore, there are other two passages, 20:6 and 7:4, in which קָרָא does not have a Greek correspondent and translating it with *περιποιέω* seems, according to Muraoka, implausible.²¹⁶ Finally, there are 1:21 and 8:1, two interesting passages with regard to translation technique. In both passages the verb קָרָא is, as here in 9:3, a feminine *qal* imperfect placed at the end of the first *stichos*, and the LXX translated the verb קָרָא with *κηρύσσω*. However, syntactically speaking, in 1:21 the Greek text has used a passive present form, probably reading קָרָא as feminine *niphal* imperfect,²¹⁷ but in 8:1 a second person future tense for the presumably second person of the *qal* imperfect. Going back to 9:3, the choice of

210] Cf. H-R 792-793.

211] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 416.

212] Cf. H-R 1299.

213] Cf. *Prov.* 1:24 and 28, 2:3, 8:4, 9:15, 16:21, 18:6, 21:13, 27:16.

214] Cf. *Prov.* 9:18, 12:23 and 24:8.

215] Cf. *BDB* 896.

216] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1269-1270, Muraoka, *Index*, 131-132.

217] For similar cases, see Tov, *Textual Critical Use of the LXX*, 160-161, and Chaim Rabin, “The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject,” *Textus* II (1962): 60-76.

συγκαλέω is in line with the translation technique of the translator; however, the translator clearly missed the link between 1:21 and 8:1, which, as demonstrated by Fox,²¹⁸ are connected. Looking at all the occurrences of participial forms in the Greek text, it appears that the participle is mostly used for translating a Hebrew participle, a noun or adjective. Moreover, the Greek translator sometimes translated Hebrew parataxis in Greek hypotaxis with a participle. However, 9:3 remains unusual.

The term κήρυγμα: this is the only occurrence in *Proverbs*, and, according to H-R, it does not have any Hebrew equivalent. However, Muraoka proposes a new equivalent for this word, that is קָרָא. This possibility confirms what was said above: the translator transformed the Hebrew parataxis in hypotaxis. In addition, the Hebrew word מְרוֹם, 'height', 'elevation', is translated²¹⁹ with ὑψηλός.²²⁰

In the MT, the second *stichos* ends with קָרָא, which occurs in the *Book of Proverbs* four times, in 8:3, 9:3, 9:14 and 11:11.²²¹ It is interesting that 9:3 and 9:14 have in the MT the same Hebrew expression, with only one minor variance: 9:3 קָרָא מְרוֹמֵי מְרוֹמֵי and 9:14 קָרָא מְרוֹמֵי מְרוֹמֵי, strictly connecting the first part (9:1-6) with the second one (9:13-18). However, as will be analysed further, the two Greek translations (9:3 and 9:14) are completely different.

As some scholars have proposed,²²² in the Greek translation of the first part of the second *stichos*, the translator could have read here a kind of hendiadys, and decided to translate only one part of it. In fact, it appears that קָרָא מְרוֹמֵי is not perfectly translated in Greek. The translator

218] See analysis v. 9:1

219] Cf. H-R 1420, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 864, Muraoka, Index, 88.

220] In *Prov.* 8:2, and in 30:13 and 25:3 ὑψηλός corresponds to מְרוֹם. In *Pr.* 17:16 (v. 19 in the MT), instead, it translates נָבִיא. Finally, in 10:21 and 18:19 the Greek does not have any correspondent words in the MT.

221] According to Hatch-Redpath, the only passage in which there is a correspondence between the MT and the LXX is 11:11. Looking at the text, it appears that קָרָא in 11:11 is not translated with πόλις; πόλις occurs in 11:10, where it translates קָרָא (cf. H-R 1174-1175).

222] Cf. Müller and Kautzsch, *The Book of Proverbs*, 42, De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 30, Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 251.

could have read קָרָה מִלְמִי as מִן רוֹם קָרָה,²²³ linking קָרָה to קָרָא. This could explain why κήρυγμα is found in Greek. Moreover, this also connects *Prov.* 9:3 with both 1:21 and 8:1.

Finally, the Greek text attests words that have no equivalent in the MT. They are marked with an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, namely ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα. The Greek verb λέγω has many occurrences in the *Book of Proverbs* (fifteen). Usually, it translates מֵרַם,²²⁴ although in this passage it does not have a *Vorlage*. However, as can be read in the chart above, λέγουσα can translate מִתְקַרֵּא.

In addition, there is also the problem related to the expression ἐπὶ κρατῆρα, that, as in the previous verse, does not have a correspondence in the MT. Fox argues that “κρατῆρα is taken from v. 2, but nicely resonates the sound of קָרָה.”²²⁵ Looking at the *Antinoopolis Papyrus* for this passage, new information appears in comparison with Rahlfs’ edition and the collation of the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* in Göttingen.²²⁶ In fact, in the Papyrus v. 3 seems to be divided into three *stichoi*. However, the first line is completely missing, in the second line only συγ- is readable, and in the third line only επι; both readings have been restored by Roberts according to the space in the Papyrus.²²⁷ The new third line (ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα) is marked by an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, and it is possible to analyse λέγουσα as a translation of מִתְקַרֵּא. Combining the disposition on three *stichoi*, which is attested in the Antinoopolis papyrus, and the possible translation of מִתְקַרֵּא with λέγουσα, I wonder if it is possible to identify in συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ

223] It is difficult to give records about prepositions, but in some other passages μετά translates מִן (cf. 21:9 and 19 and 25:24).

224] Cf. *Prov.* 1:10 and 21, 4:4, 9:4 and 16, 25:7, 26:13 and 19 (cf. H-R 868, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 119, Muraoka, *Index*, 19).

225] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs*, 163.

226] According to Roberts, «Division into στίχοι is carefully observed and where a given στίχος is too long for the line the final word or words are either written, indented, on a new line or placed at the end of the preceding line and surrounded by a bracket» (cf. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 2).

227] Cf. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 10; *Folio V Fr. 13 recto* (reference on the papyrus itself).

κηρύγματος / ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα another case of double translation in *Proverbs*, in which however the Fox's hypothesis about κρατῆρα taken from v. 2 is really plausible. If this is reasonable, and considering also the obelus in the Syro-Hexapla on ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα, the second and the third *stichoi* could be a double translation, with the third one, ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα, being the Old Greek indicated with an obelus, with also the possibility (in line with Fox's thoughts) that ἐπὶ κρατῆρα come from the previous verse.

2.4 Prov. 9:4

מִי־פְתִי יִסֵּר הִנֵּה חֹסֶר־לֵב אֲמַרָה לּוֹ

«“You that are simple, turn in here!”,
to those without sense she says,»

ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με

καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν εἶπεν

«“He who is a fool, let him turn aside to me,”
and to those lacking sense she said:»

9:4¹ ἐστιν > 𐤀𐤋 | + ημων 797* | + υμων 46, 157, 390, 631, 732, 766 | ἄφρων: αφρονεστατος 46, 109, 139, 147, 157, 390, 631, 705, 732, 766, 797 | ἐκκλινάτω: εκκλεινατω B* || 9:4² καὶ > 𐤀𐤋 | τοῖς: τους 797* | ἐνδεέσι: ἐνδέησι V: -σιν 248* | εἶπεν: εἶπε 728 | + αυτοις sub * in Syh.

מִי־	ὅς
-	ἐστιν ²²⁸
פְתִי	ἄφρων
יִסֵּר	ἐκκλινάτω
הִנֵּה	πρὸς με

-	καὶ ²²⁹
חֹסֶר־	τοῖς ἐνδεέσι
לֵב	φρενῶν

228] In opposition to the Greek, where the verb 'to be' is most expressed, in Hebrew it is not there, but is implied by the context.

אִמְרָה יִי יְיָ	εἶπεν ²³⁰
לִי	-

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

In the textual transmissions, in the first *stichos* there is the genitive personal pronoun with partitive meaning. In MSS **797*** there is *ἡμῶν*, whereas in **46, 157, 390, 631, 732, 766** there is *υμῶν*.

In addition, in the Syro-Hexapla there is *αὐτοῖς* at the end of the second *stichos* with an asterisk.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

According to the poetical structure of these *stichoi*, in the MT there is a parallelism proper congruence, reproduced in the LXX.

Regarding the pronoun at the beginning of the first *stichos*, the Hebrew *אִי* occurs eleven times in the *Book of Proverbs*, and it is most translated as an interrogative pronoun with *τίς*.²³¹ However, as noted in Muraoka's *Grammar*,²³² it can sometimes introduce a generalizing relative clause²³³; in this passage the Greek translator used the Greek relative pronoun, as in *Pr.* 9:16.²³⁴

229] See *Prov.* 9:1.

230] See *Prov.* 9:3.

231] Cf. *Prov.* 18:14, 20:6 and 9, 23:29, 24:22, 27:4, 30:4 and 9 and 31:10.

232] Cf. Muraoka, *Grammar*, 536.

233] See also MT *Judg.* 7:3 and *Num.* 23:8.

The correspondence ἄφρων / אָפֶן, the Hebrew word refers generally to people who are educable and able to receive wisdom.²³⁵ Consequently, the general meaning can be ‘simple’, ‘open-minded’. However, in both the Hebrew and Greek languages, אָפֶן is a *vox media* that sometimes can be used in a good sense, ‘simple’, as someone ready to receive wisdom, and sometimes in a bad sense, as someone who has already rejected wisdom and, so, meaning ‘foolish’.²³⁶ In the Greek *Book of Proverbs*, for this unspecified meaning, אָפֶן is translated with different words. In five cases,²³⁷ it is translated with ἄκακος,²³⁸ assuming that אָפֶן is susceptible to seduction, but the person who is אָפֶן can still abandon callowness. In only one occurrence, 1:32, this Hebrew word is translated with νήπιος,²³⁹ ‘young boy’, showing that, in 1:22-32, the translator made a clear distinction between the κακός or ἀσεβής man, who already decided against Wisdom, and ἄκακος or νήπιος, who are still able to choose the right path. Considering the occurrence of אָפֶן in 9:6, the Greek translation will be discussed and analysed later. Finally, ἄφρων / אָפֶן can be also found in 7:7, 9:16, 14:18, 19:25 and 22:3. The Greek word means ‘silly’, ‘foolish’²⁴⁰, a strong translation of אָפֶן, with which the translator wanted to underline a specific category of man. In addition, by using this translation, the passage is automatically linked to

234] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 789, Muraoka, *Index*, 81.

235] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 98.

236] Cf. *BDB* 834.

237] See *Prov.* 1:4, 1:22, 8:5, 14:15 and 21:11.

238] There is an exception in 1:22, where it seems that אָפֶן occurs as foolish people who have already rejected Wisdom. The LXX translation treated the Hebrew very loosely and shows a different meaning in comparison with the MT. Probably here, the translator might have guessed that there were no reasons for Wisdom to be calling fools, who are deaf to her. In addition, De Lagarde proposed an emendation, correcting ἔχωνται with ἔρωνται. Furthermore, for this mistaken interpretation the Greek translator used δικαιοσύνη translating the second אָפֶן, that, according to Muraoka, is an implausible translation (cf. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 8, Muraoka, *Index*, 123, Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 371).

239] This Greek translation for אָפֶן occurs also in *Psalms*, 18:8, 63:8, 114:6, 118:130, where νήπιος means ‘young boy’, ‘innocent’, and so, under God’s care.

vv. 7:7 and 9:16. In fact, in all these three verses, in the MT as well as in the LXX, Wisdom and Folly refer to two categories of people, ἄφρων / פְּחִי and ἐνδής φρενῶν / חֲסִידֵי-לֵב.

Regarding the variant for ἄφρων, as referred to in the *apparatus* above, it is plausible that ἀφρονεστατος is a late variant, as it has not been attested in manuscripts before 10th cent. C.E., correcting ἄφρων using 9:16 as a basis, as internal harmonisation of v. 4 with v. 16.

The verb ἐκκλίνω translates סוּר, being also the most common translation²⁴¹ for סוּר in the *Book of Proverbs*.²⁴² However, there are a few cases, in which the translator used other Greek roots for סוּר, to better express the Hebrew text or to offer a *variatio*. Furthermore, in 4:24 and 27:22 περιαιρέω translates the hiphil form of סוּר, 'remove'. Finally, in 11:22, 13:19 and 5:7, a better and more appropriate Greek style is used, for expressing the different meanings of the Hebrew.²⁴³ The grammatical form used in both the Hebrew and Greek texts, it is clear that the translator offered a consistent translation. This can be demonstrated with one case: in 3:7, a *qal* imperative is translated with a present imperative in the LXX. However, when there is in Hebrew a *qal* imperfect, albeit jussive in meaning, the Greek translator uses the aorist imperative,²⁴⁴ which he also uses when in Hebrew there is an *hiphil* imperative,²⁴⁵ underlining the timeliness of an order or a wish.

240] In fact, it is generally used in the *Book of Proverbs* for translating כָּסִיל (fourty times) or אָוִיל (fourteen times) (cf. H-R 186-187).

241] However, ἐκκλίνω is used also for other Hebrew roots: in 1:15 for translating כָּנַע, 'withhold', in 4:15 and 7:25 for שָׁפַח, 'turn aside'; in 4:27, 17:23 and 18:5 for נָטָה, that occurs in the *hiphil* form meaning 'turn'; finally in 5:12 for נָאץ, 'condemn', where is used with an accusative and it means 'avoid' (cf. H-R 434).

242] Cf. *Prov.* 3:7, 9:16, 14:16, 14:27, 15:24, 15:27 (16:6 in the MT), 16:17, 28:9.

243] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 992, Muraoka, *Index*, 103.

244] Cf. *Prov.* 5:7, 9:4 and 16.

245] Cf. *Prov.* 4:24 and 27.

Although the correspondence of הָנָה / πρόσ με does not look appropriate, this is standard in the *Book of Proverbs*, even if there are only a few cases. It occurs in 9:4 and in its parallel verse of 'Madame Folly' section (9:13-18) in 9:16, and finally also in 25:7.²⁴⁶

Finally, the last expression חֶסֶד-לֶב / τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν is considered. The common Greek translation for לֶב is καρδία, used also in compound words; חֶסֶד is translated with ἐνδεής.²⁴⁷ However, for the expression in question, חֶסֶד-לֶב, the translator always (six times) uses φρήν. The only interesting exception is at v. 9:16, which will be analysed further.

In conclusion, the Greek text is based on the MT and it is possible to say that the translator is precise.

2.5 Prov. 9:5

לְכוּ לֶחֶמוֹ בְּלֶחְמִי וְשִׁתּוֹ בַּיַּיִן מִסִּכְתִּי

«“Come, eat of my bread
and drink of the wine I have mixed»

ἔλθατε φαγέτε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων

καὶ πίετε οἶνον ὃν ἐκέρασα ὑμῖν

«“Come, eat of my bread,
and drink the wine which I have mixed for you”»

9:5¹ ἔλθατε **B, A, V, 46*, 637**: ἔλθετε **795, 797** | φαγέτε: φαγεται **V** | τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων: τον εμον αρτον **B, 46, 68, 106, 125, 130, 147, 248*, 252, 260, 297, 311, 338, 443, 534, 543, 613, 631, 705, 728, 766, 795, 797**: απο του αρτον μου Syh. || 9:5² πίετε: πιεται **V**: πίετε τον **336** | ὃν > **¶** | ἐκέρασα **B, S, A, 139, 157, 248, 253, 254, 311, 339, 443, 534, 542, 549, 706, 732**: κεκερακα **795** | ὑμῖν > **¶**

לְכוּ	ἔλθατε
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246] Cf. Mandelkern, *Concordantiae*, 339.

247] Cf. *Prov.* 6:32, 7:7, 9:4, 11:12, 12:11, 15:21, 24:30 (cf. H-R 1438).

לֶחֱמוֹ	φαγέτε
-	-
יְ -	τῶν ἐμῶν
לֶחֱמוֹ	ἄρτων

וְ	καὶ
שִׁתּוּ	πίετε
בַּיִן	οἶνον
-	ὄν
מִסְכָּתִי	ἐκέρασα ²⁴⁸
-	ὑμῖν

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

Considering the grammatical form of ἔρχομαι: two forms are attested in the collation of Göttingen, ἔλθετε attested in **795** and **797** and ἔλθατε, a variant attested in **B, A, V, 46*** and **637**. The form ἔλθατε should be read as the oldest form attested originally in the *Book of Proverbs*. In fact, although ἔλθετε is Ionic-Attic and the right form in classical Greek, in the later Greek of the Old and New Testaments, ἔλθατε started to become the common form. In fact, the second aorist (tematic) has been regulated on the first one (sigmatic),²⁴⁹ as is widely attested in the

248] For this correspondence, see analysis of v. 2.

249] Cf. LSJ⁹ 694, Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament*, 233, Debrunner Albert, and Friedrich Blass, *Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 134, Palmer, Leonard R., *The Greek Language*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 185.

Old²⁵⁰ and New Testaments,²⁵¹ in some inscriptions²⁵² and papyri.²⁵³ It is right to note that ἔλθατε could be a later form, attested in the most ancient MSS, but not necessarily the original one. However, based on all the parallel attestations, I would prefer to consider it to be the oldest original reading, and in this case ἔλθετε, although it is the correct classical form, a later scribal hyper-correction. However, both forms can be seen as an appropriate translation of the Hebrew.

With regard to κεραυνύμι, as mentioned above: the choice of the Greek verb has been explained in the analysis of v. 9:2. Here the textual tradition and the grammatical form as attested in the MSS will be taken into consideration. In fact, whereas in a large part of the Greek textual tradition, as can be seen in the apparatus, there is the aorist form ἐκέρασα, in 795 and some patristic literature an unusual form of the perfect is used. Comparing the Greek translation with the *qal* perfect of the MT, it appears that the translator usually preferred to translate the *qal* with an aorist form rather than with the perfect, although the latter is attested in a few passages. In this case, I think the appearance of both the aorist and perfect

250] Cf. *Ge.* 19:14, 42:33 and 45:17, *Ex.* 5:4, 12:31, 16:9 and 32:27, *Le.* 10:4, *Nu.* 12:4, *De.* 2:24, *Jo.* 1:11, 6:22 and 22:4, *Jd. (A)* 21:20, *1Sam.* 25:5, *1Ki.* 21:33, *2Ki.* 18:31, *2Ch.* 23:14, 24:5 and 30:8, *Ps.* 33:6, 99:2 and 4, *Ca.* 3:11, *Am.* 6:2, *Jl.* 1:13, *Is.* 23:6, 49:9 and 52:11, *Je.* 26:9, 27:8 and 42:11, *Pss.* 8:16 and *1Ma.* 10:63.

251] Cf. *Mat.* 7:13, *2Co.* 6:17 and *Rev.* 18:4.

252] There are three inscriptions attesting ἔλθατε. The first one is IG II² 13302, that is a biblical quotation of *Ps.* 33:6 written on a quadrangular block of Pentelic marble and discovered in Koropi (Attica, Greece). It was dated to the 4th-5th cent. C.E. (for the online reference: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>). Furthermore, in Afyonkarahisar (Turkey), a third late inscription was discovered. It is again the biblical quotation of *Ps.* 33:6, decorating an epistyle block of the Imperial period and probably adorning a house, tomb or church (however not a synagogue, as it is the attestation of a Christian selection). It was related by other scholars to other two inscriptions (CB 740 and 675, attesting Isaiah's quotations) because of the same spelling peculiarities; for this reason, it was hypothesised that they were part of an epigraphy of a Church, not later than the 4th cent. C.E. (Buckler W.H., and W. M. Calder. *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), inscription n. 385). Finally, the last inscription is IGLSyr 4 1946, dated to C.E. 598/9 and founded in Apamene (Nawa), (for the online reference: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>).

253] There are seven attestations in Papyri. The POxy are the earliest; in fact, 42POxy 3035 is dated to 28th February 256; 46POxy 3296 to 10th June 291; 42POxy 3064 to 3rd cent. C.E.; and 56POxy 3856 to 3rd-4th cent. C.E. Then, there is an attestation in PSI 1563, that is a private letter, dated to the 4th cent. A.D. Furthermore, an Italian papyrus, PGen 85, reports the final part of a private letter with a byzantine phraseology, dated to 4th-5th cent. C.E. Finally, two papyri are both dated to 6th-7th cent. C.E., PLond 1032 and SB 12474.

form is a problem of the inner Greek textual tradition. In fact, in the indirect tradition (patristic literature), there is an active form of the perfect that is never attested²⁵⁴ in the classical literature until our indirect tradition.²⁵⁵ In addition to this later attestation of the perfect active of *κεραννύμι*, Jannaris in his book says that sometimes in Attic Greek the perfect is used instead of the aorist;²⁵⁶ however, the full development of this overlapping is mostly manifested in Greco-Roman times rather than before.²⁵⁷

There is a last variant which is interesting to reflect about. In the Greek text there is the genitive plural form *τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων*. However, in MSS **B, 46, 68, 106, 125, 130, 147, 248*, 252, 260, 297, 311, 338, 443, 534, 543, 613, 631, 705, 728, 766, 795, 797** there is the reading *τον εμον αρτον*, in singular accusative form, which is a closer translation of the MT.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

In the MT and in the LXX this verse has a similar structure. In fact, they are both examples of parallelism proper congruence, with the ellipsis in the second line of the verb “come”. In addition, in Hebrew the rhythm is given by the repetition of the same sound (for example: כ, נ...) and by the same structure in the first and second lines (for example: imperative and -ך).

254] In fact, Chantraine *DELG* p. 517 and LSJ⁹ p. 940 show as attested only the passive form of the perfect. Also Jannaris, in his analysis of the verbs in *-νυμι*, says that only the perfect passive form of *κεραννύμι* is attested (A. N. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time* [London: MacMillan & Co, 1897], 237f.).

255] The only passages in which *κεραννύμι* is attested in its perfect active form are quotations of this passage: Or. *Sel. In Ps.* PG XII 1125A, *hom. 1-20 in Jer.* XIII 377c, *schol. in Cant.* XVII 281 B, *Ath. Ar. 1-3* PG XXVIII 456 C-D, Gr. *Naz. In Aeg. Adv.* PG XXXVI 248B, Michael Psellus *Theologica* 8:18 (Paul Gautier, *Michaelis Psellis Theologica*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner Vorlagsgesellschaft, 1989)). In addition to these quotations of 9:5, there is one form attested as the usual form for *κεραννύμι* in Oppianum *Scholia et Glossae in Halieutica* 1:649 (Fr. Dübner and Cats U. Bussemaker, *Scholia in Theocritum et Scholia et Paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum*, [Paris: Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, 1849]).

256] Cf. Th. I 21 and Dem VII 29.

257] Cf. *Ex.* 32:1, *Matt.* 13:46, *John.* 4:6, 6:3 and 9, *Hebr.* 11:7, *Herm.* 1:1.

Instead, in the Greek text, the rhythm is scanned by suffixes of second person plural of the verbs.

Regarding הָלַךְ, it has the general meaning ‘to go’, ‘walk’,²⁵⁸ and for this reason in most of its occurrences (sixteen times),²⁵⁹ it is usually translated with πορεύομαι and its compounds. By contrast, for its wider meanings, ἔρχομαι is used for different Hebrew roots in the *Book of Proverbs*. For 9:5, it corresponds to הָלַךְ four times²⁶⁰ and in all of them a *qal* imperative form is attested.²⁶¹

Proceeding with the analysis of the first *colon*: ἐσθίω corresponds always, with the unique exception in 9:5,²⁶² to אָכַל.²⁶³ As can be read in the chart above, in 9:5 in Hebrew there is אָכַל, occurring especially in poetry.²⁶⁴ In the whole *Book of Proverbs*, it has only four occurrences and it is always translated with a different Greek verb.²⁶⁵ First, in v. 4:17 σιτέομαι is used,

258] Cf. *BDB* 229f.

259] Exceptions are vv. 6:22 and 28, 8:20 and 23:31, where הָלַךְ is translated with περιπατέω; in v. 7:22, ἐπακολουθέω translates אָכַל הָלַךְ; in v. 15:12, the Hebrew verb, meaning ‘gather’, is translated with ὀμιλέω; in v. 16:29, the *hiphil* form of הָלַךְ means ‘lead’ and is consequently translated with ἀπάγω; in v. 20:7, הָלַךְ is *hithpaal* meaning ‘move to’ and consequently is translated with ἀναστρέφομαι; in v. 30:29, the *qal* form is translated with διαβαίνω (cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 41).

260] Cf. *Prov.* 1:11, 7:18 and 9:5. In addition, in 3:28 הָלַךְ is translated with a compound verb of ἔρχομαι (cf. H-R 548f.).

261] Cf. H-R 548f., Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 422.

262] Cf. *Prov.* 30:14 (with a possible double translation in Greek) and 30:17, in which אָכַל is translated with the compound κατέσθιω.

263] Cf. H-R 554, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 77.

264] Cf. *BDB* 536.

265] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 722, Muraoka, *Index*, 74.

reproducing the figura etymologica in the MT. Then, in vv. 23:1 and 6 there is *δειπνέω* (in v. 23:6 in the compound form *συνδειπνέω*). Finally, in v. 9:5 Muraoka, in his *Index*, identified a new correspondence, not matched in Hatch-Redpath's *Concordance*. Here, *אכל* is translated with *ἐσθίω*, and thus, contrary to v. 4:17, it does not express the figura etymologica of the MT. Furthermore, the Greek translator was accurate, as the construction of *אכל* followed by *א* ('eat of') is not omitted in Greek. In fact, he used the construction of *ἐσθίω* with a genitive²⁶⁶ (which is also Classical Greek construction).²⁶⁷

As stated above, the figura etymologica in the MT, *אכל אכל*, is not reflected in this case in Greek and *אכל* is translated with *ἄρτος*, as in some other passages of the *Book of Proverbs*.²⁶⁸ There are a few cases in which some different Greek words/expressions are used. For example, in 4:17, as already noted, 30:22 and 31:27 *σῖτος* or *σιτίον*²⁶⁹ are used; in 23:6 *אכל אכל* is translated with only *συνδειπνέω*, translating exactly what the MT expresses as the emphasis is not on the food but on the injunction not to eat with an evil man. In 6:8 and 30:25, in which the Hebrew expression is the same (but feminine in the first case, referring to an ant, and masculine in the second, in relation to ants), *אכל* is translated according to its general meaning of 'nourishment', 'food', with *τροφή*; in 30:8 *אכל* is instead translated with *τὰ δέοντα*, where the Greek translator probably tried to express the idea of the whole Hebrew sentence, that is *אכל אכל*. Finally, in 31:14 *βίος*, in its meaning of 'livelihood', 'means of living', is used.²⁷⁰ As a consequence, *ἄρτος* is the common translation for *אכל*, but there are few exceptions.

266] Cf. LSJ⁹ 696.

267] Cf. *Il.* IV 237, *Od.* IX 292, *Hes. Th.* 773, *Xen. HG* III 3.

268] Cf. *Prov.* 6:26, 9:17, 12:9 and 11, 20:13, 22:9, 28:19 and 21.

269] The term is from *σῖτος*. It means 'grain', but is mostly used for 'victuals', 'provisions' (cf. LSJ⁹ 1601, Chantraine, *DELG*, 1007).

270] Cf. H-R 161, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 722f., Muraoka, *Index*, 74.

The correspondence $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ / הָשָׂה : in the *Book of Proverbs*, they form an almost perfect match.²⁷¹ However, there are two exceptions. The first one is in v. 9:18, which we will discuss further; for now it is enough to say that this verse is an addition of the Greek text. The second exception is v. 4:17, in which הָשָׂה is translated with $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\kappa\omega$, ‘to get drunk’ in its passive form, exaggerating the meaning of the MT text.

Furthermore, in Greek the translator has made the asyndetic relative clause of the MT clear. In fact, whereas in Hebrew it is possible to have an inexplicit relative clause, in which the relative pronoun is omitted,²⁷² this construction is less possible in Greek, which usually uses a participle or a relative clause, as is the case here. The Greek translator literally reproduced the Hebrew text, taking into consideration the language into which he was translating.

With regard to $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\mu\iota$, as mentioned above: the choice of the Greek verb has been explained in the analysis of v. 9:2.

In this verse, the Greek translator is again precise, trying to express the meaning and the structure of the MT in a good Greek style (see the genitive following $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\acute{\iota}\omega$, or the addition of the relative for the translation of הַחֵן).

2.6 Prov. 9:6

עֲזֹבוּ פְתָאִים וַחַיּוּ וְאֲשֵׁרוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ בִּינָה

«Lay aside immaturity, and live,
and walk in the way of insight»

ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην καὶ ζήσεσθε

καὶ ζητήσατε φρόνησιν ἵνα βιώσητε

271] Cf. *Prov.* 5:15, 9:5, 23:7, not present in H-R, 26:6, 31:4, 31:5, 31:7 (cf. H-R 1134, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1502, Muraoka, *Index*, 156).

272] Cf. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 593-594.

καὶ κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν

«Abandon folly, and you will live,
and seek prudence, in order that you may live,
And erect understanding with knowledge”»

9:6¹ ἀπολείπετε: ἀπολίπετε **46, 106, 130, 260, 296, 297, 311, 338, 390, 613, 631, 728, 754, 766, 795** | ἀφροσύνην: ευφροσυνην **V** | καὶ ζήσεσθε = ꝥ in **V, 68, 103, 106, 109, 161, 248, 252, 253, 254, 260, 295, 297** et **A Σ Θ** sed ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε **B, S, A, 46, 125, 139, 157, 248, 296, 311, 390, 534, 613, 631, 706, 732, 795** sed καὶ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ φρονήσατε παιδείαν **103, 161mg, 248, 259, 260, 339**, La. Ach. Arm. || 9:6² sub ~ in Syh. > **336, 728** | καὶ > Arm. | καὶ ζητήσατε: ζητῆσατε καὶ **103** | καὶ ζητήσατε τὴν **297** | ἵνα βιώσητε > **B et S** | plus καὶ **130, 260**, Arm. | βιώσητε: βιώσετε **130, 260** || 9:6³ sub ~ in Syh. | κατορθώσατε: κατορθώσητε **311, 295, 297, 766** | γνώσει: γνώσι **S** | σύνεσιν > **103** | καὶ κατευθύνητε ἐν ὁδῷ συνέσεως **A Σ**

עֲזְבוּ	ἀπολείπετε
פְּתָאִים	ἀφροσύνην
וְ	καὶ
חִי	ζήσεσθε
וְ	καὶ
-	ζητήσατε
-	φρόνησιν
-	ἵνα
-	βιώσητε
וְ	καὶ
אֲשֶׁר	κατορθώσατε
בְּ	ἐν
דָּרְךָ	γνώσει
בִּינָה	σύνεσιν

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

First, regarding the grammatical form of ἀπολείπω, Rahlfs has the present imperative ἀπολείπετε, whereas many MSS (**46, 106, 130, 260, 296, 297, 311, 338, 390, 613, 631, 728, 754, 766, 795**) have its aorist form, ἀπολίπετε, as attested in Göttingen collation. The Hebrew form, עֲזְבוּ, is an imperative, translated in Greek with the present imperative of ἀπολείπω, according to Rahlfs. However, checking all the other occurrences of the imperative of עֲזָב, it has been noted that in one instance, 3:3, there it is translated with the aorist imperative; furthermore, in three examples, that are 4:2, 4:6 and 27:10, there is the negative jussive imperative, which is, in all the three verses, translated with the negative aorist conjunctive. Consequently, it would be accepted ἀπολίπετε as correct.

The second part of the first *stichos* has different readings. In fact, *καὶ ζήσεσθε*, the one attested in Rahlfs, is the literal translation of the MT and is also attested in **V, 68, 103, 106, 109, 161, 248, 252, 253, 254, 260, 295, 297**. However, there is *ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε* in **B, S, A, 46, 125, 139, 157, 248, 296, 311, 390, 534, 613, 631, 706, 732, 795**. Finally, *ὁρθῇ ὁδῷ φρονήσατε παιδείαν* is the reading of **103, 161mg, 248, 259, 260, 339** and of some translations from the Greek text (La., Ach. and Arm.).

For the following analysis, it is important to underline that both *stichoi* second and third have an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla tradition.

In the third *stichos*, there is *κατορθώσατε*, which is *κατορθώσητε* in **311, 295, 297, 766**, probably because it has been read as conjunctive linking the verb to the *ἵνα* of the previous *stichos*.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The poetical structure in the MT is a parallelism with the ellipsis of *וְיָחַד* in the first position of the second *stichos*. By contrast, the structure of the LXX is difficult to define, as there is clearly a double translation:

- *Stichos a* is what is read in Rahlfs' edition. However, as can be seen in the apparatus above, MSS. **A, B, S** have *ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε* instead of *ζήσεσθε*. De Lagarde²⁷³ says that this is an expansion based on *Wis.* 6:21;
- *Stichos b*, according to Fox,²⁷⁴ is a doublet of *a*, that corresponds precisely to MT 6a. In addition, Fox observes that 'seek prudence' of the LXX corresponds to *עֲזְבוּ פְתָאִים*, 'lay aside immaturity' of the MT. He also argues that if there is something added later, it is surely LXX's 6a;

273] Cf. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 30.

274] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 417.

- *Stichos c* does not have any problems, except for one word, which will be analysed further.

In my opinion, and as will be demonstrated further, 6a could be a later translation and an attempt to being LXX closer to the MT. Consequently, 6b and c, which have an *obelus* in Syh., are the OG.

The verb ἀπολείπω translates עָזַב, and is used for the same correspondence²⁷⁵ also in 2:17. Furthermore, considering the retroversion from Hebrew into Greek, עָזַב is always²⁷⁶ translated with a compound of λείπω.²⁷⁷

With respect to the object in the first *stichos*, both the LXX and the Three (Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion),²⁷⁸ translate the concreteness (חֲבִיב) of the MT in an abstract manner. In fact, for rendering חֲבִיב, ἀφροσύνη is used, which usually²⁷⁹ in LXX *Proverbs* translates חֲבִיב, ‘folly’. Elsewhere, חֲבִיב is translated with the adjective:²⁸⁰ ἄκακος,²⁸¹ ἄφρων,²⁸² νήπιος.²⁸³ Here,

275] There are other three occurrences of the Greek verb: in 9:12b, where there is no correspondence, in 19:9, where ἀπολείπω is a variation of ἀπόλλυμι only in S, and in 19:27, where it translates עָזַב and means ‘cease’ (cf. H-R 136).

276] The unique exception is 10:17, where anyway it translates two words linked together.

277] *Prov.* 2:13, 3:3, 4:2, 4:6, 27:10, 28:4 (cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 109).

278] Cf. Field, F. *Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, II, (Oxford: Clarendon 1864, 1874), 328.

279] *Prov.* 5:23, 18:13, 19:3, 26:4f., 27:22. There are few passages without correspondence in MT: 5:5 and 18:2 (cf. H-R 186).

280] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 123.

281] *Prov.* 1:4, 1:22, 8:5, 15:15 and 21:11.

282] *Prov.* 7:7, 9:4 and 16, 19:25, 22:3 and 27:12.

the abstract is rightly used. Proof of this correctness can be found in 6b (that, as said above, should be the OG) using an abstract noun (φρόνησις).

Finally, for the first *stichos*, there is the correspondence ζᾶω / הָיָה, that²⁸⁴ is found also in 1:12, where the Greek verb translates the same Hebrew root. The Hebrew הָיָה is found four times²⁸⁵ in *Proverbs*: 4:4 is not attested in the LXX; in 7:2 and in the second *stichos* of 9:6 βιόω is used; finally, in 15:27 there is σφῶζω. In this way, different Greek verbs are used for the same Hebrew word.

The second *stichos* in LXX *Proverbs*, as said before, could be the OG. The verb ζητέω does not have any correspondence in Hebrew. Usually,²⁸⁶ it translates שָׁקַח (seek),²⁸⁷ or שָׁחַח (look diligently).²⁸⁸ However, there are three other occurrences²⁸⁹ without correspondence.

The word φρόνησις, in the Greek *Book of Proverbs*, usually²⁹⁰ translates בִּינָה or its radical חִבּוּנָה. In Hatch-Redpath, it is given as a possible correspondence between φρόνησις and בִּינָה of the third *stichos*. Here in 9:6, the translator gives the consequence of what is said in Hebrew:

283] *Prov.* 1:32.

284] There are in *Proverbs* other occurrences of ζᾶω: 3:22, where it translates the expression “there will be life”; 9:11 that will be discussed in its analysis; 9:18 and 25:25 are without Hebrew correspondence, and finally 28:16 (H-R 594-595).

285] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 483-484, Muraoka, *Index*, 49-50.

286] Cf. H-R 598.

287] Cf. *Prov.* 2:4, 11:27, 14:6, 15:14, 17:9 and 16, 18:1 and 15, 23:35 and 28:5.

288] Cf. *Prov.* 1:28 and 8:17.

289] Cf. *Prov.* 16:8, 27:21, a verse added only in the LXX, and 29:10, where ζητέω is a variation of MSS A.

290] Cf. *Prov.* 1:2, 3:13 and 19, 7:4, 8:1, 8:14, 10:23, 14:29, 16:16, 19:8 and 30:2. There are only a few different translations: in 9:16 φρόνησις occurs for לֵב; in 16:32 does not have a correspondence; in 24:5 occurs for דָּעָה (cf. H-R 1439, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 213, Muraoka, *Index*, 27).

“to abandon Folly” means “to seek for prudence”. This can be confirmed with the translation of the second part of the second *stichos* of the MT. The final clause in Hebrew can be expressed by ׀ plus an indirect volitive, as it is in the first *stichos* of line 9:6. The first *stichos* of the LXX does not express this subordination and it only has the imperative. The second *stichos* expresses this with ἵνα (final clause), as in many other verses of Greek *Proverbs*.²⁹¹ The second Greek *stichos* is thus in line with the rest of the OG of *Proverbs*.

Regarding βιόω, it occurs twice translating הָיָה.²⁹² This again could confirm what has been said before, namely that the second *stichos* is the OG.

The verb καταρθόω:²⁹³ it corresponds to different Hebrew roots. Here in 9:6, it translates (uniquely) אָשַׁר in its *qal* form.²⁹⁴

The term γνῶσις here translates הָדָר. This is an unusual correspondence, as γνῶσις is usually used for wisdom words. It is possible that here the translator did the same mental interpretation as in the second *stichos*: “the path of understanding” is to “erect understanding with knowledge”. In Greek *Proverbs*, γνῶσις always translates הָדָר, except a few times,²⁹⁵ where there are no correspondences.²⁹⁶ The word הָדָר is usually translated with δόδος, resulting in a

291] Cf. H-R 686.

292] Cf. H-R 220, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 483-484, Muraoka, *Index*, 49-50.

293] Cf. H-R 756.

294] In the MT, אָשַׁר occurs also twice in its *piel* form, meaning ‘guide’ and is translated with ζηλόω in 4:14 and with κατευσύνω in 23:19, and once in its *pual* form, translated instead with ἀσφαλής in 3:18 (according to Muraoka, this probably corresponds to the Aramaic root שָׁרַר) (cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 172, Muraoka, *Index*, 23).

295] Cf. *Prov.* 13:19, 16:5, 19:23, 22:21 and 27:31.

296] Cf. H-R 273.

perfect correspondence.²⁹⁷ There are also other different Greek translations²⁹⁸ – v. 23:19 is noteworthy, since דָּרַךְ is translated with ἔγνωσα.

Finally, as written above, σύνεσις perfectly matches בִּינָה. In fact, σύνεσις always, except once, translates בִּינָה and its corradical תְּבוּנָה,²⁹⁹ although בִּינָה is also translated with other Greek wisdom words.³⁰⁰

In accordance with Fox,³⁰¹ in the Greek text 9:6 b and c are the OG. Probably, 9:6a, which is closer to the MT, has been added later in the textual tradition in order to offer a more literal translation of MT 9:6a. This can be confirmed from the data in apparatus in which καὶ ζήσῃσθε is a reading attested also in Aquila, Simmachus and Theodotion.

2.7 Prov. 9:7

יִסְרֹא לֵץ לִקְהָל לֹא קָלוֹן וּמוֹכִיחַ לְרָשָׁע מוֹמָז

«Whoever corrects a scoffer wins abuse;
whoever rebukes the wicked gets hurt»

ὁ παιδεύων κακοὺς λήμψεται ἑαυτῷ ἀτιμίαν

ἐλέγχων δὲ τὸν ἀσεβῆ μωμήσεται ἑαυτόν

«He who instructs evil people will gather disgrace unto himself,
and he who rebukes and impious person will find fault with himself»

297] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 370, Muraoka, *Index*, 39.

298] Cf. *Prov.* 2:20, 7:8, 14:12, 16:25, 28:18 and 30:19.

299] Cf. H-R 1314.

300] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 213, Muraoka, *Index*, 27.

301] Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 417.

9:7¹ κακούς: λοιμόν Σ χλεναστήν Θ | λήμψεται **B, A, 37, 336, 534**: ληψεται **795, 797**: λημψετε **S** | έαυτῶ: αυτω **147, 534, 549**: εαυτη Ald. || 9:7² μωμήσεται: μωμησηται **336, 543, 728**: μωμησετε **390, 637, 705**: plus -τε in **S** | έαυτόν: εαυτω **106, 130**: αυτον **S*², 103, 543, 766** | plus οί γάρ έλεγχοι τῶ άσεβεῖ μάλωπες αὐτῶ in **V, 68, 104, 147, 157, 161, 252, 254, 295, 297, 795**, Sa. Ach. Arm.: > **B, S, A, 106, 248*, 253, 260, 296, 311, 329, 333, 338, 339, 534, 542, 549, 706, 766, 797**, Arab.: sub ~ in Syh. (άσεβεῖ: άσεβη **139*, 254, 390, 443*, 705, 732, 795** | αὐτῶ: εαυτω **130, 254**)

לֹא־יִרְדּוּ	ό παιδεύων
יָצַח	κακούς
לָקַח	λήμψεται
וְ	έαυτῶ
וְיִלְכֹּץ	άτιμίαν

וְ	δέ ³⁰²
וְיִלְכֹּץ	έλέγχων
וְ	τόν άσεβῆ
וְיִלְכֹּץ	μωμήσεται έαυτόν

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

Regarding λαμβάνω, MSS **B, A, 37, 336, 534** preserved the future form with -μ-,³⁰³ whereas others, which are **795** and **797**, transmitted the classical form ληψεται. The verbal root λημψ-

302] See v. 9:1 above.

303] This is the form that occurs in other passages of the *Book of Proverbs* (Prov. 11:21 and 27, 13:21, 22:27), whereas the other one without - μ - is never attested.

is found in many passages of the LXX,³⁰⁴ New Testament literature³⁰⁵ and in many authors of the first centuries C.E. Furthermore, what is noteworthy is that this root with -μ- is also found in some inscriptions dated from before the Common Era.³⁰⁶ For this reason, I assume that the Old Greek form is λήμψεται, that is the oldest one, with ληψεται most probably being a later over-correction.

In the apparatus, it is also noted that this verse has a *stichos* more, οἱ γάρ ἔλεγχοι τῷ ἀσεβεῖ μώλωπες αὐτῷ in MSS **V, 68, 104, 147, 157, 161, 252, 254, 295, 297, 795** and in the Armenian translation, as will be analysed further in chapter 3. This reading is however omitted in **B, S, A, 106, 248*, 253, 260, 296, 311, 329, 333, 338, 339, 534, 542, 549, 706, 766, 797** and Arab. translation and it is sub ~ in the Syro-Hexapla. In the apparatus of Field's edition of Hexapla, there is written that this extra line has a *scholion* saying that it is not in the other MSS and also in the **O'** (the last one indicating the Greek origenian column of the Septuagint text).³⁰⁷

304] Cf. *Ge.* 6:21, 14:23 and 24, 18:5, 21:30, 24:4,7,24,38 and 40, 27:46, 28:1 and 6, 30:15, 31:50, 34:16 and 21, 42:36, 44:4, *Ex.* 4:9 and 17, 6:7, 7:15, 10:26, 12:4,5,7 and 22, 15:9, 18:22, 20:7, 21:14, 23:8, 25:2 and 3, 28:5,8,12 and 29, 29:1,7,12,13,15,19,20,21,22,25,26,31, 30:16, 40:9, *Le.* 4:30, 5:1, 7:18, 12:8, 14:4,6,10,12,14,21,25,42,49 and 51, 15:14 and 29, 16:7,12,14,18 and 22, 17:16, 18:17 and 18, 19:8,15 and 17, 21:7,13 and 14, 23:40, 24:5 and 15, 25:36, 26:6, *Nu.* 1:49, 3:41 and 47, 4:9,12 and 14, 5:17,25 and 31, 6:19, 8:8, 9:13, 11:17 and 23, 13:20, 14:34, 18:1,23 and 32, 19:4,6,17 and 18, 30:16, 31:30, 34:18, 35:31 and 32, *De.* 2:6, 5:11, 7:3 and 25, 15:17, 16:19, 19:12, 20:7, 21:3, 22:7 and 18, 25:5, 26:2 and 4, 28:15, 28:30 and 45, 30:4,12 and 13, *Jo.* 2:5, *Jd.* 4:6, 6:26, 13:3, 20:10, *1Ki.* 2:16, 6:8, 8:11,13,14 and 16, 10:4, 21:10, 25:11, 30:8, *2Ki.* 12:11, 14:14, 17:13, *3Ki.* 11:12,35 and 37, 21:6, *4Ki.* 5:16,20 and 26, 7:12, 9:3, 19:4, 20:18, *2Ch.* 28:23, *2Es.* 1:4, 15:3, 20:31, *Ju.* 2:5 and 10, 8:14, 14:2, *To.* 6:13(6²),17(6¹), *Jb.* 15:35, 27:21, 35:7, 40:28, 42:8, *Ps.* 3:6, 17:38, 23:5, 48:18, 88:22, 115:4, 138:20, 145:9, *Ec.* 5:14, *Ca.* 2:6, 8:2 and 3, *Wi.* 2:18, 5:16,17 and 19, 18:9, *Si.* 2:6, 15:1,7, 27:8, 35:13, 37:5, 38:2, *Ho.* 4:8, 5:14, *Am.* 4:2, 6:10, 9:3 and 13, *Mi.* 1:11, 6:6 and 16, *Jl.* 2:8, *Hb.* 2:6 and 23, *Za.* 6:13, 11:7 and 10, 14:13 and 21, *Ma.* 1:8 and 9, 2:3, *Is.* 2:4, 3:6, 4:1, 5:29, 8:4, 10:10,14 and 29, 14:4 and 7, 19:9, 23:5, 26:11, 28:19, 30:28, 33:14, 35:10, 39:6 and 7, 40:24, 41:16, 42:1, 46:4, 47:3, 49:24 and 25, 51:11, 57:13, 59:16, 63:19, 64:2, 66:21, *Je.* 3:14, 20:10, 25:9, 30:17,18 and 24, 36:22, 38:4, 39:3 and 28, 41:2,3 and 22, 44:8, 45:3, 49:16, *Ez.* 4:4,5 and 6, 5:1,3 and 4, 14:10, 15:3, 16:39, 17:12,13 and 22, 18:8 and 20, 23:25,26,29 and 49, 26:17, 27:32, 36:7 and 24, 37:16 and 19, 39:26, 43:11,20,21 and 22, 44:10,13 and 22, 45:18,19 and 20, *Da.* *TH* 2:6, 7:18, 11:12, 15 and 18, *1Ma.* 9:58, *2Ma.* 4:6, 10:24, *3Ma.* 3:28, 5:5, *4Ma.* 8:7.

305] Cf. *Ev. Matt.* 10:41, 19:29, 20:10, 21:22, *Ev. Mc.* 12:40, *Ev. Luc.* 1:31, 20:47, *Ev. Jo.* 5:43, 14:3, 16:14 and 24, *Act. Ap.* 2:38, *Ep. Rm.* 13:2, *1 Ep. Cor.* 3:14, *Ep. Col.* 3:24, *Ep. Jac.* 1:7 and 12, 3:1.

306] Cf. Syll³ 609/610 dated to 190 BC, IG XII 5 721 and IK Arykanda 2 both dated to the 1st B.C.E.

307] Cf. Field F., *Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1864, 1874), II, 328.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The poetical structure of the Hebrew verse is a parallelism with the omission of לִקְחָהּ in the second *stichos*, whereas the Greek text reproduces the parallelism with two different translation of לִקְחָהּ.

The verb παιδεύω correctly translates יָסַר in meaning and in grammatical form (as a participle is found in Hebrew and in Greek).³⁰⁸ The Greek verb corresponds to יָסַר in other occurrences.³⁰⁹ Besides, there are a few cases in which the Greek does not have any correspondence,³¹⁰ and four cases³¹¹ in which the Greek verb is used to render other Hebrew roots. In addition, looking at the retroversion, יָסַר is the only possible translation for παιδεύω.³¹²

The term κακός has a wide range of meanings, and thus it translates many different Hebrew words.³¹³ The verb לִיָּץ occurs only three times³¹⁴ in the *Book of Proverbs* as a definitive verb, and it has many occurrences as a participle.³¹⁵ However, only four times³¹⁶ is a

308] Cf. H-R 1047, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 616.

309] Cf. *Prov.* 19:18, 29:14 and 19, and 31:1.

310] Cf. *Prov.* 10:4, 22:3 and 28:17.

311] The first case is 3:12 in which παιδεύω translates יָבַח. This translation makes sense because the translator might have used it with the meaning of 'reprove', 'correct'. The second case is 5:13, in which παιδεύω translates מוֹרֶה, meaning 'teacher', with a participle form. Finally, in vv. 13:24 and 23:13 the Greek verb translates מוֹסֵר, 'correction'.

312] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 62-63

313] Cf. H-R 709-710.

314] Cf. *Prov.* 3:34 and 14:9 where it does not have any translation in Greek and in v. 19:28 it is translated with αἰθερίω (cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 727).

315] Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 770, Muraoka, *Index*, 74.

316] Cf. *Prov.* 9:7, 8 and 12 and 14:6.

correspondence with *κακός* found, and three of them are in chap. 9. With the exception of 9:12, in which the singular form is used in parallelism with the positive *σοφός* and refers to a precise kind of man, *κακός* always translates *רָעָה* with a plural form. The Greek translator is thus attempting to amplify the meaning of *κακός*, considering *all* men evil and treating *רָעָה* as a collective noun.

The verb *λαμβάνω* translates *קָבַץ* in most of its occurrences;³¹⁷ however, looking at the retroversion, *קָבַץ*, which has a wide spectrum of meaning, it is translated with different Greek roots.³¹⁸

The reflexive pronoun: when there is in the MT the preposition *עִמָּךְ* plus a pronoun, in Greek a reflexive or personal pronoun is found (there are only a few cases of translation with the passive form).

There are only a few occurrences in the *Book of Proverbs* of the term *ἀτιμία*, and it mostly corresponds to *רָעָה* or its root (v. 22:10).³¹⁹

The verb *ἐλέγχω* has a perfect³²⁰ correspondence with the verb *קָבַץ*, used with *עִמָּךְ*, as here.³²¹

Regarding *ἀσεβής*, the most common equivalent in the MT is *עָשָׂה*, although it is not a systematic translation.³²² This unsystematic equivalence is also attested where other Hebrew roots are used for stressing different nuances.³²³

317] There are only twice exceptions: in v. 11:21, in which there is no correspondence, and in v. 18:22, in which *λαμβάνω* translates *קָבַץ*, meaning 'obtain' (cf. H-R 847-848).

318] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 730f., Muraoka, *Index*, 75.

319] There are only a few cases in which the LXX does not have any correspondence (v. 11:16 and 12:11), and one case in which *ἀτιμία* translates the participial form of *קָבַץ* (H-R 176, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1259, Muraoka, *Index*, 130).

320] There is only one different retroversion in v. 18:17, where *קָבַץ* appears in the MT (cf. H-R 449).

321] Cf. H-R 449, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 601, Muraoka, *Index*, 61.

322] Cf. H-R 170f., Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1358.

Finally, the verb *μωμάομαι* plus the reflexive pronoun corresponds to *מום* plus the suffix of the third person.³²⁴

In the entire verse, the OG translator again shows himself as a good and fine translator, because there is a correspondence between the MT and the Greek text.

2.8 Prov. 9:8

אֶל-תּוֹכַח לֵץ פְּרוֹשֵׁנָהּ הוֹכַח לְחָכָם וַיֵּאָהֱבֵהָ

«A scoffer who is rebuked will only hate you,
the wise, when rebuked, will love you»

μὴ ἔλεγχε κακοὺς ἵνα μὴ μισῶσίν σε

ἔλεγχε σοφόν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε

«Do not rebuke evil people, lest they should hate you,
rebuke a wise person, and he will love you»

9:8¹ μισῶσίν **S, A**: μισήσωσί **795, 797**: μισήσωσιν **B, 252, 253, 254, 248*, 296, 339, 443, 534, 542, 549, 637, 706, 728, 766**: μισησουσιν **157*, 336**: μεισουσιν **V** || 9:8² ἔλεγχε: ἐλεγεξον **338, 766** | ἀγαπήσει: ἀγαπήσῃ **V** | plus ασοφον και μιμησει σε **S, A, 248, 252** (sub asterisk), **253, 254, 296, 311, 338, 399, 443, 542, 549, 706***: ἀφρονα και προσθησει του μισησαι σε **254, 754**, Arm. et Syh. sub ~.

לֵץ	μὴ
תּוֹכַח	ἔλεγχε ³²⁵
לֵץ	κακοὺς ³²⁶
וַיֵּאָהֱבֵהָ	ἵνα μὴ ³²⁷

323] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 141.

324] Cf. H-R 938, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 743, Muraoka, *Index*, 79.

325] Cf. See previous verse. Here in addition the congruence between a Hebrew jussive and a Greek imperative can be stressed.

326] Cf. See previous verse. Here, again the singular form of the MT is translated with a plural in Greek.

יִשְׁנָא יִשְׁנָא	μισῶσίν
ךְ-	σε

הוֹכַח לִי- הוֹכַח	ἐλεγχε ³²⁸
מִן	σοφόν
וְ	καὶ
יִאְהַב יִאְהַב	ἀγαπήσει
ךְ-	σε ³²⁹

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

As can be read in the apparatus, some Greek MSS and some daughter versions have a *stichos* more, which is not reproduced in Rahlfs' edition. MSS **254** and **754**, and also *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian version show a line more, as will be analysed in chap. 3, in comparison to the Greek text, which is *αφρονα και προσθησει του μισησαι σε*. This line is also in the Syro-Hexapla marked with the obelus, meaning that Origen did not find it in the MT. A similar Greek text, *ασοφον και μιμησει σε*, is also in MSS **S, A, 248, 252, 253, 254, 296, 311, 338, 399, 443, 542, 549, 706*** but MS **252** has it with an asterisk.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The poetical structure in Hebrew is an anti-congruence parallelism, as the wise man and the scorner are in opposition.³³⁰ The same structure is reproduced in Greek.

327] One way for expressing final negative clause in Hebrew is with **וְ**, indicating a negative wish. The right translation with *ἵνα μὴ* occurs in other passages of the *Book of Proverbs* (H-R 686, Muraoka, *Grammar*, 596-597).

328] See above the analysis of the previous verse.

329] The personal pronoun of second person translates the corresponding Hebrew personal pronoun.

330] Cf. Watson, *Hebrew Poetry*, 118.

Considering *μισέω*, it has its Hebrew equivalent in *סָנַן*.³³¹ However, when *סָנַן* occurs in its participle form, *ἐχθρός* or *μισητός* is found in the Greek.³³² The grammatical form of both verbs, in Greek a subjunctive is used in line with a good Greek style, corresponding to an imperfect aspect in Hebrew.

There is a simple correspondence³³³ between *σοφός* and *חָכָם*. Furthermore, there are only two other verses in which the Greek translator chose different adjectives: in 3:7 *φρόνιμος* translates *חָכָם*, and in 13:1 *πανοῦργος* was used.³³⁴ Regarding v. 3:7, Fox in his commentary defines vv. 3:1-12 as the lecture about “The Wisdom of Piety”,³³⁵ and for 3:7 he comments: “even when you acquire wisdom, you must hold to humility and not allow confidence in your own intellect and learning to displace the demands of religious conscience and faith. It is best to be wise but not to think you are.”³³⁶ I think here the translator chose *φρόνιμος* for *חָכָם*, because it better expresses this, that is “the possession of discernment.”³³⁷ About the translation of *חָכָם* with *πανοῦργος* in 13:1, *πανοῦργος* mostly (eight times) is used in a good sense in *Proverbs* for *עָרוּם*.³³⁸ In 13:1 there is the opposition between a obedient / disobedient son with the twice possible consequences. I think the translator in 13:1 used *πανοῦργος* for *חָכָם*,

331] Except two cases in which the Greek does not have a correspondence, there are another two passages in which it translates other roots: v. 15:32 *סָנַן*, and v. 22:14 *סָנַן* (cf. H-R 929).

332] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1379, Muraoka, *Index*, 143.

333] There are also few cases where *σοφός* does not have a Hebrew equivalent (cf. H-R 1280-1281).

334] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 491, Muraoka, *Index*, 50.

335] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 141.

336] *Ibid.*, 150.

337] Cf. H-R 1956.

338] Cf. *BDB* 791.

because חָכָם in the MT is an attribution for both the obedient and disobedient son. For this reason, for not qualifying 'wise' also the disobedient son, the translator chose πανοῦργος, as a more neutral adjective, meaning 'ready to do anything'.³³⁹

The verb ἀγαπάω translates אָהַב, and this is a systematic correspondence.³⁴⁰ Looking at the retroversion, in the Greek text sometimes other verbs are used for translating אָהַב, for specifying different nuances.³⁴¹

In this verse, the Greek translator was literal and precise.

2.9 Prov. 9:9

תֵּן לְחָכָם וַיִּחְכְּמוּ עוֹד הוֹדַע לְצַדִּיק וַיִּוְסֶף לָקֶחַ

«Give instruction to the wise and they become wiser stil,
teach the righteous and they will gain in learning»

δίδου σοφῶ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται·

γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι

«Give a wise person an opportunity, and he will become wiser,
inform a just person, and he will continue to receive»

9:9¹ δίδου: διδους **637*** | ἀφορμὴν > **¶** | σοφώτερος: σοφοτερος **795, 797** || 9:9² προσθήσει: προσθήση **103** | δέχεσθαι: δέξασθαι **V, 103, 139, 253**

תֵּן	δίδου
לְחָכָם	

339] Cf. H-R 1299.

340] There are a few cases in which the Greek translates other Hebrew roots (v. 4:3, 15:32, 28:4 and 17). In addition, some Greek verses do not have any correspondence in MT (cf. H-R 5-6).

341] In v. 4:6 ἐράομαι is used, underlining sexual passion, in v. 1:22 there is the construction of ἔχω plus a genitive meaning 'to cleave to', in vv. 8:17, 14:20, 17:19, 21:17, 27:6 and 29:3 the φιλ- root is used, stressing not sexual or physical love but the love between people related to each other; and finally in v. 17:19 χαίρω is found (Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 28-29., Muraoka, *Index*, 14.).

-	ἀφορμὴν
וְ	καὶ
יִחְכֵּם	σοφώτερος ἔσται
עוֹד	-

הוֹדַע לִי	γνώριζε
צִדִּיק	δικαίῳ
וְ	καὶ
יוֹסֵף	προσθήσει
לִקְחָה	τοῦ δεῖχσθαι

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

In the apparatus it is noted that the word ἀφορμὴν is not attested in the MT. There are no critical Origenian connected with this variant reported in the textual history. It is translated also in the Armenian text and in the *Vetus Latina*. Moreover, also in some MSS, the Vulgate corresponds to the Greek reading, as will be analysed in the third chapter.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

Regarding the poetical structure, both texts present a parallelism. The Greek text presents an addition (ἀφορμὴν) which interrupts its rhythm.

The verb δίδωμι, it is usually the common translation of נָתַן in the *Book of Proverbs*.³⁴³ However, this translation is not systematic as there are cases in which other correspondent Hebrew verbs³⁴⁴ are found, and cases in which there are no correspondences.³⁴⁵

342] For this correspondence see above at v. 9:8.

343] Cf. H-R 317.

344] In v. 12:14 the Hebrew verb is שָׁוָה, and in v. 23:12 the Hebrew verb is בָּזַר.

345] Cf. *Prov.* 17:14, 22:26, 23:26 and 28:17.

For what concerns ἀφορμή, it has only three occurrences in the whole Bible: here, in *Ez.* 5:7 and in *3Macc.* 3:2. This verse and the one in *3Macc.* do not have any Hebrew counterpart; *Ex.* 5:7 could translate תַּהֲרֹם, 'be turbulent'.³⁴⁶ In my opinion, the Greek translator added ἀφορμή to clarify the meaning of the Hebrew text. In fact, without the object the sentence appears as suspended, and that is why the translator probably attempted to fix it. The translator explained what was implicit in the Hebrew.

The comparative form in Greek perfectly translates מִצָּרָה,³⁴⁷ in fact Hebrew uses an adjectival or verbal form for expressing a comparison.³⁴⁸ Regarding the Greek, it sometimes uses εἰμί³⁴⁹ or γίγνομαι with σοφός/ σοφώτερος without any difference in meaning.³⁵⁰ The presence of the adverb ὅτε³⁵¹ in the MT, in my opinion, underlines here the Hebrew comparative form, which the translator found in the Hebrew text. Likewise in v. 11:24 it stresses a comparative.

Considering γνωρίζω, it appears four times in the *Book of Proverbs*. In only one case³⁵² it does not have a correspondence in the MT, in all three other occurrences it translates יָדַע.³⁵³

346] Cf. H-R 186.

347] Cf. H-R 1280-1281.

348] Cf. Muraoka, *Grammar*, 489.

349] Cf. *Prov.* 1:5, 9:12, 13:20 and 20:1.

350] The use of γίγνομαι (in vv. 6:6, 9:12, 19:20 and 23:15) could be related to the use of the aorist tense, as εἰμί does only have present and future forms. However, 23:19 and 27:11 have γίγνομαι in its present tense but here it could have the meaning 'became'.

351] It has two other occurrences, in 23:35 and 31:7, in the MT *Book of Proverbs*, where it is used as adverb. In the first case there is no translation in Greek, in the second one it is rendered with ἔτι.

352] Cf. *Prov.* 15:10.

353] Cf. *Prov.* 3:6, 9:9 and 22:19 (cf. H-R 273).

However, retroverting יָדַע, it has many other translations in Greek;³⁵⁴ and יָדַע is translated with γνῶρίζω, in order to stress not the meaning of ‘to teach’, but the idea of revealing, of making known. In fact, with the exception of v. 15:10 in which the verb is passive, in the other three cases the construction is with the accusative and dative (so ‘making known something to someone’).³⁵⁵ In v. 9:9, the object in Greek is implied by the context, that is ‘instruction’.

For what concerns δίκαιος, it translates many different Hebrew words, although צַדִּיק is the most frequent equivalent.³⁵⁶ The Greek has a wide spectrum of meaning, as firstly it means ‘observant of rule’, then ‘lawful’, ‘just’, the latter also in the religious sense. For this reason, it is used for translating different Hebrew roots.³⁵⁷ However, looking back from Hebrew to Greek, the root δίκαι- is always used, except in v. 12:12³⁵⁸ where εὐσεβής is found for צַדִּיק.³⁵⁹

Considering προστίθμι, in most³⁶⁰ of its occurrences it translates יָסַף.³⁶¹ What is relevant here is the construction of προστίθμι. In fact, although in Hebrew it has a direct object, in the LXX and the NT προστίθμι, when it means ‘to continue’ or ‘to repeat an action’, is constructed

354] Cf. Lisowsky, *Kondordanz*, 572f., Muraoka, *Index*, 217.

355] Cf. LSJ⁹ 355.

356] Cf. H-R 330-331.

357] The Greek δίκαιος is used for: נָקִי, ‘innocent’, in vv. 1:11 and 6:17; יָשָׁר, ‘straight’, in vv. 3:32, 4:25, 11:4, 14:9, 21:2; שָׁלֵם, ‘be free from fault’, in v. 11:1; מִשְׁפָּט, ‘judgement’, in vv. 16:33, 29:4 and 26; גִּדְיָם, ‘generous’, ‘noble’, in vv. 17:7 and 21:7; דִּין, ‘judgement’, in v. 20:8; תָּמִים, ‘free of blemish’, in v. 28:18; טָהוֹר, ‘clean’, ‘pure’, in v. 30:12.

358] In this case, εὐσεβής was probably chosen, in opposition to ἀσεβής, creating opposition by the prefixes (εὐ- and ἀ-).

359] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1205-1251, Muraoka, *Index*, 323.

360] However, there are a few exceptions. In two cases, two other verbs are used, φερέω in 16:23 and ἔρχομαι in 23:35. In another three verses comparative forms are used for rendering the idea of adding, cf. 1:5, 11:4 and 16:21.

361] Cf. H-R 1222, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 614-615, Muraoka, *Index*, 221.

with the infinitive.³⁶² The presence of the articular genitive, not required here by *προστίθῃμι*, is a characteristic belonging to the *koiné*, expressing purpose, whereas in classical Greek a noun or a verb requiring a genitive would have been found.³⁶³

Finally, for what concerns *δέχομαι*, it never translates the noun *קָבַץ*, but it is always related to the verb *קָבַץ*. There are five occurrences of it in the *Book of Proverbs*,³⁶⁴ and they are always translated with different Greek words.³⁶⁵ Finally, in this case it could be argued that the translator, without the vocalization, reads the verb instead of the noun, and this could explain the Greek translation.

The translator shows himself again as a precise translator, even making what is implicit in the Hebrew text more explicit.

2.10 *Prov.* 9:10^{a-b} and 9:10a

תְּחִלַּת חִכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְרֵשִׁית קִדְשִׁים בִּינָה

«The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom,
and the knowledge of Holy One is insight.»

9:10^a ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου

9:10^b καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις

9:10a τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

362] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1527-1258.

363] Cf. Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 206.

364] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 738, Muraoka, *Index*, 243.

365] In 1:5 σοφώτερος εἶναι is used; in 4:2 there is δῶρον; in 7:21 ὁμιλία translates *קָבַץ*; in 16:21 there is ἀκούω that according to Muraoka was read; finally in 16:23 there is ἐπιγνωμοσύνη.

«Beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord,
And counsel of saints is understanding,
For to know the law is the sign of a sound mind»

9:10^b > 754 | βουλή: βουλημα S* | σύνεσις: συνεσεις V || 9:10a > fl sed sub ~ Syh. (= 13:15b) | γάρ: S, A, V, 68, 106, 109, 130, 161, 234, 248*, 252, 254, 260, 295, 297, 333, 336, 443, 542, 543, 549, 613, 728, 754, 766, 928, Syh.

תְּחִלָּתָא	ἀρχή
חִכְמָא	σοφίας ³⁶⁶
יִרְאָתָא	φόβος
יְהוָה	κυρίου

וְ	καί
בְּעִתָּא	βουλή
קְדִישִׁים	ἀγίων
בִּינָה	σύνεσις ³⁶⁷

-	γάρ
בְּעִתָּא	τὸ γινῶναι νόμον
בִּינָה	διανοίας ἀγαθῆς
-	ἐστίν

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

The word βουλή in the second *stichos* is attested as βούλημα in MS S*. Both of them, βουλή and βούλημα, derives from βούλομαι, and are *nomen rei actae*. The first one, βουλή, is the most used and it properly means 'council', 'decision'; instead βούλημα is 'purpose'.³⁶⁸ The right reading, that is also the literal translation of the MT, is βουλή, which is attested in the all other MSS.

366] For this correspondence see v. 9:1.

367] For this equivalent see v. 9:6.

368] Cf. H-R 325, Chantraine, *DELG*, 189.

Considering 9:10a, it has an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla tradition and, in fact, it does not have any *Vorlage* in the MT. According to De Lagarde,³⁶⁹ as 9:10a in Syro-Hexapla has an obelus, it is the older translation of the MT. Baumgartner affirms that 10a seems to be in line with the translation technique of the translator and thus is to be the authentic translation. Cook, quoting many scholars' opinions, agrees with De Lagarde that 10a is of the translator. He relates this addition to his analysis of 1:7 and he says that this addition was necessary in order to relate the law to wisdom. In his commentary,³⁷⁰ Fox, summarised other scholar's points of view, notes that 9:10a "identifies wisdom with the study of the Torah."³⁷¹ He also argues that "it could be the work of the original translator no less than a later scribe."³⁷² Fox then concludes that 9:10a could come from 13:15b.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The poetical structure of the Hebrew text is a parallelism, reproduced in Greek in the first two *stichoi*. However, in the Greek text there is an extra line (10a), that changes the balance of the entire verse.

The word תְּחִלָּה means 'first principle', 'beginning'.³⁷³ It is not frequently used word in the LXX Bible. In the *Book of Proverbs* it is used only in 9:10, referring to Wisdom.³⁷⁴ For its part,

369] Cf. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 31.

370] Cf. Fox Michael, *Proverbs. An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 165.

371] *Ibidem*.

372] *Ibidem*.

373] Cf. *BDB* 321.

374] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1516, Muraoka, *Index*, 378.

ἀρχή occurs in other passages: in 1:7,³⁷⁵ 8:22 and 17:14 it translates ראשית, ‘beginning’, as the first step in a course of events; in 8:23, with an adverb of time, it translates מראש, ‘from the beginning’; in 15:33, לפני is an adverb meaning ‘before’, that in Greek becomes the subject ἀρχή; in 16:12, ἀρχή occurs with the meaning of ‘first power’, ‘sovereignty’, translating כֶּסֶף with the expression θρόνος ἀρχής;³⁷⁶ finally, in 16:7 there is no correspondence.³⁷⁷

The term φόβος, except twice when there is no correspondence in Hebrew,³⁷⁸ translates יראָה, ‘fear’, specifically proper of God, so ‘reverence’, ‘piety’. In fact, יראָה is always³⁷⁹ followed by a genitive of a word meaning Lord or God. However, there is one case in which יראָה is translated with εὐσέβεια (1:7),³⁸⁰ in which verse there is a double translation.³⁸¹

The word κύριος has many occurrences in *Proverbs*, and it mostly translates יהוה, one time אלהים and one time אדון. However, it is not the only possible translation for יהוה, in fact, many times θεός is used and one time δεσπότης (29:15).³⁸²

Considering βουλή, it is used several times in the *Book of Proverbs* and it translates a few different Hebrew roots. Usually it renders עצה, although it also translates מִזְמָה in 2:11, תושיה in

375] In this verse, there is a double translation of the entire verse; in both of them ראשית is translated with ἀρχή (cf. Fritsch, *The Treatment*, 169-170).

376] In 16:12 כֶּסֶף is translated with θρόνος that is here a plus.

377] Cf. H-R 163.

378] Cf. *Pr.* 10:29 and 18:8.

379] The only exception is 18:8, in which φόβος does not have a correspondence in Hebrew.

380] Cf. H-R 1435f., Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 635, Muraoka, *Index*, 225.

381] See Fritsch's article “The Treatment of the Hexaplaric signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs”.

382] Cf. H-R 800-801, Muraoka, *Index*, 215 and 218.

3:21, עֲרֻמָּה in 8:12 and סֹד in 11:13.³⁸³ About the retroversion of דַּעַת, this is the only case in which it is translated by βουλή, because its correspondences are generally from a wisdom background.³⁸⁴ According to Fox,³⁸⁵ the translator here thought about the Holy's counsel, so he expressed the effect instead of the cause.

The word ἅγιος occurs only twice in the Greek *Proverbs*, here and in 30:3. Both times it translates קִדְּוֶה.³⁸⁶

It is possible, as stated by other scholars summarized above, that 9:10a is a doublet of 9:10^b of the MT. In fact, γιγνώσκω, except for a few times in which there are no correspondences, translates the root of יָדַע.³⁸⁷ The word νόμος always translates תּוֹרָה, except once when it translates מִצְוָה in 6:20.³⁸⁸ Consequently, the translator could have explained again what the 'knowledge of Holy' is, namely, that it is 'knowing the law' (and hence, the translator adds γάρ, which explains the plus). Finally, διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς is good Greek, not a literal translation but expressing the thought in a good and poetic Greek style. The expression διανοίας ἀγαθῆς, according to Hatch-Redpath and Muraoka,³⁸⁹ translates בִּינָה, although διάνοια by itself is generally used for לֵב.

In conclusion, line 9:10a and 9:10^b could be twice translation of the same Hebrew text, but the translation of 9:10a explains in a better Greek the meaning of the Hebrew. It is plausible that 9:10^b is the literal and later translation of the MT, whereas 9:10a is the Old Greek

383] Cf. H-R 227-228.

384] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 368, Muraoka, *Index*, 182.

385] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs An Eclectic Edition*, 165.

386] Cf. H-R 12-13, Muraoka, *Index*, 329.

387] Cf. H-R 267-268.

388] *Ibid.* 947.

389] Cf. H-R 306, Muraoka, *Index*, 27.

translation, which expresses the meaning of the Hebrew text not word by word, but the meaning is clarified in its context.

2.11 Prov. 9:11

כִּי־בִי יִרְבּוּ יָמֶיךָ וַיִּסְיִפוּ לְךָ שָׁנֹת חַיִּים

«For by me your days will be multiplied,
and years will be added to your life»

τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον

καὶ προστεθήσεται σοι ἔτη ζωῆς

«For in this way you will live a long time,
and years of your life will be added to you»

9:11¹ τούτῳ: τουτο **297, 637*, 754, 795** | γὰρ in Syh. sed > **103**, Bo.^B et Arm. | πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον: πολλους χρονους
ζήσεις **103** | πολὺν: πολλυν **336** | ζήσεις > **443*** (corr. prim. man.): ζηση **A, 260, 542, 928**: ζησει **V**: ζησον **248**: ζησις **S**:
ζησης **109, 125, 795** || 9:11² > **297** | προστεθήσεται: -σονται **542** | σοι > **147** | + σου in **B, S, 46, 139, 157, 248, 534, 631, 705, 732**

כִּי	γὰρ
בִּי	-
-	τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ
יִרְבּוּ	ζήσεις ³⁹⁰
יָמֶיךָ	πολὺν χρόνον
לְךָ	-

ו	καὶ
וַיִּסְיִפוּ	προστεθήσεται ³⁹¹
לְךָ	σοι
שָׁנֹת	ἔτη
חַיִּים	ζωῆς

390] For its correspondence see 9:6.

391] For the translation technique of προστίθωμι and construction see the analysis of 9:9.

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

I note that *γάρ* is attested in the Syro-Hexapla but is omitted in **103** and in Bo. and Arm. translation — a detail that is of significance and that will be further investigated especially in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The only interesting note is the presence of the genitive of the personal pronoun (σου) at the end of the second *stichos*, which is attested in MSS **B, S, 46, 139, 157, 248, 534, 631, 705, 732**. In the Vulgate, MSS **X** has this reading, with the possessive instead of the dative of advantage.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

In the poetical structure of the MT a chiasmus of the first two elements of the line is offered. In fact, there is an inversion of the particle plus pronoun and of the verb: לֵךְ / כִּי־בִי יִרְבֶּה. The structure of Greek is more difficult because the translator changed the text.

The particle *γάρ*, always in second position in the sentence, is the most common translation for כִּי, in fact it occurs for כִּי fifty-six times.

Regarding *τρόπος*, it occurs three times,³⁹² and in this case Hatch-Redpath does not note any Hebrew equivalent.³⁹³ All the occurrences of the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος were investigated, and, except for a few cases with no Hebrew equivalent, it translates the personal pronoun of the 3rd person or the correspondent demonstrative pronoun. However, there are two cases, 6:15 and 7:15, in which it is used in an adverbial expression, both times translating עַל־כֵּן. Considering *τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ* as a whole, it is a classical Greek expression.³⁹⁴ According to the *apparatus* of BHS, **Θ**, but also **Σ** and **Τ** following independently **Θ**, has read כִּי־בִי. As **Θ**, **Σ**

392] In 23:7 and 24:29 there is *ὁν τρόπον* that translates two different Hebrew words: in the first case כִּנּוּ, and in the second one כִּנְיָן.

393] Cf. H-R 1375.

394] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1827.

and \mathfrak{T} reflect the same *Vorlage* without dependency on each other, it is plausible that a part of the Hebrew transmission had this reading.³⁹⁵

The verb $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$, as was already investigated in 9:6, has its Hebrew counterpart in 9:11 is רָבָה , ‘to multiply’, which is not its equivalent.³⁹⁶ In this case, the isolated lexeme should not be analysed, but the contextual meaning. In fact, the sense of ‘adding’, of ‘many’ is in the Greek text in πολύς , and χρόνος translates יָמִים .³⁹⁷ Here, the translator does not render the Hebrew text literally, but he does express the meaning in the context. It is noteworthy that he uses the same expression ($\text{πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον}$) also in 28:16, where there is however μακρός instead of πολύς , $\text{μακρὸν χρόνον ζήσεται}$. In addition, the Hebrew possessive pronoun is deleted in Greek, as the translator moved to use the second person as the subject of the sentence.

Regarding προστίθῃμι , it is adopted in its passive form, as the translator tried to compensate for the lack of a subject in Hebrew.

The word $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ has few occurrences: in three of them it does not have a correspondence, in the other cases it always translates יָמִים . For what concerns the retroversion of יָמִים into Greek, there is only one verse (5:9) in which יָמִים is translated with $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$.³⁹⁸

The word $\zeta\omega\eta$ perfectly translates יָמִים in most of its occurrences (thirty-one times).³⁹⁹

In this verse, we again see a translator at work who attempts to precisely translate a Hebrew text.

395] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs. An Eclectic Edition*, 166.

396] Cf. H-R 594, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1311-1312, Muraoka, *Index*, 340.

397] Cf. H-R 1476, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 592, Muraoka, *Index*, 218.

398] Cf. H-R 565-566, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 372, Lisowsky, *Index*, 1479-1480.

399] Cf. H-R 599-560, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 486f., Muraoka, *Index*, 200.

2.12 Prov. 9:12

אִשָּׁה חָכְמָה תִּלְבֹּץ לָךְ חֵכְמָה חֵכְמָהּ אִתָּךְ

«If you are wise, you are wise for yourself;
if you scoff, you alone will bear it.»

υἱέ, ἐὰν σοφὸς γένη σεαυτῷ, σοφὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς πλησίον

ἐὰν δὲ κακὸς ἀποβῆς, μόνος ἀναντλήσεις κακὰ

«My son, if you become wise for yourself, you will be wise for your neighbours as well,
however, if you turn out evil, you will bear the evil alone»

9:12¹ υἱέ > in **¶** | ἐὰν: εα **A*** | σεαυτῷ: σεαυτον **103** | σοφὸς > **147** | καὶ τοῖς πλησίον > in **¶** sed sub ~ in Syh. et plus σου in **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 295, 297, 336, 534, 613, 728, 766, 795, 797, Sa.** | τοῖς: τω **A, 106, 130, 534** || 9:12² ἐὰν δὲ κακὸς ἀποβῆς: κὰν λοιμὸς γένη **Σ** | ἀποβῆς > **S*, 728** | μόνος ἀναντλήσεις: μόνος βασταξεις **Σ** | ἀντλήσεις **797**: ἀναντλήσεις **B*, A, 339, Bo.**: ἀναντλήσης **B^c, 109, 125, 542**: ἀντλήσεις **248***: ἀντλήσης **68, 297, 795** | plus τα **V, 46, 68, 106, 130, 139, 147, 157, 252, 254, 260, 296, 297, 311, 329, 333, 336, 338, 339, 390, 443^c, 534, 543, 613, 631, 637, 706, 728, 732, 754, 766, 795, 797** | κακὰ > **¶** et **109** sed sub ~ in Syh. || plus υἱος πεπαιδευμενος σοφος εσται τω δε αφρονι διακονω χρησεται (=10:4) in **V, 68, 106, 125, 130, 161, 248^c, 252, 336, 478, 534, 613, 637, 705, 728** (πεπαιδευμενος: παιδευμενος **252, 336, 534, 728**: πεπαιδευμος **V**: πεπαιδευμενος **68, 161** | διακονω: νομω **336, 728**)

-	υἱέ
אִשָּׁה	ἐὰν
חֵכְמָה	σοφὸς γένη ⁴⁰⁰
לָךְ	σεαυτῷ
חֵכְמָה	σοφὸς ἔσῃ ⁴⁰¹
-	καὶ
-	τοῖς πλησίον

-	ἐὰν ⁴⁰²
דֵּ	δὲ
תִּלְבֹּץ	κακὸς ἀποβῆς
חָכְמָה	μόνος
אִשָּׁה	ἀναντλήσεις

400] Cf. See analysis of 9:9.

401] *Id.*

402] Here the translator makes explicit the hypothetical clause that in Hebrew is expressed only in the first *stichos*.

-	κακά
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TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

In regard to *καὶ τοῖς πλησίον*, it is not attested in the MT and it is sub ~ in the Syro-Hexapla. It is with *σου* in MSS **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 295, 297, 336, 534, 613, 728, 766, 795, 797** and in the Sa. translation.

The verb *ἀναντλέω* is attested with many differences among the MSS. Rahlfs, in his edition, has *ἀναντλ-*, according to **A, B and 339**; instead we find *ἀντλήσεις*, attested in **797**. In addition, also **68, 297, 795** have the same root as **797**, although with a different grammatical form. Considering both forms, *ἀντλέω* literally means ‘to draw water’, ‘drain dry’, and metaphorically ‘to drain to’ meaning to toil or suffering;⁴⁰³ *ἀναντλέω* means ‘to draw up or out’, and it also signifies ‘to go patiently through’ with an object.⁴⁰⁴ I would accept here the form *ἀναντλέω*, besides *ἀντλέω*, as it is the one attested in the oldest MSS, and especially because of the meaning of the sentence. The verb *ἀντλέω* as found in **797**, I would not accept it as **797** is a later MS that tends to have later corrections: the scribe might have considered the double *αν-* as a ‘dittografia’, *αν-* being repeated as a mistake, and thus the scribe of **797** has corrected it.

The end of the second *stichos* with *κακά* is not in the MT, as will be analysed further, and also in MS **109**. It is also with an ~ in the Syro-Hexapla. In addition, the MSS **V, 46, 68, 106, 130, 139, 147, 157, 252, 254, 260, 296, 297, 311, 329, 333, 336, 338, 339, 390, 443^c, 534, 543, 613, 631, 637, 706, 728, 732, 754, 766, 795, 797** has *κακά* also preceded by the article *τα*.

Finally, closing the second *stichos*, there is *υἱος πεπαιδευμενος σοφος εσται τω δε αφρονι διακονω χρησεται* in MSS **V, 68, 106, 125, 130, 161, 248^c, 252, 336, 478, 534, 613, 637, 705, 728**.

403] Cf. LSJ⁹ 166, Chantraine, *DELG*, 93.

404] Cf. LSJ⁹ 114.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

Regarding the poetical structure, the MT presents an anti-congruence parallelism, with the opposition wise/scorner. The Greek text has a different structure, which is not easily to define. Firstly, the presence of the vocative at the beginning of the first *stichos*, *υἱέ*, is without any counterpart in the MT, and changes the *incipit*. According to Fox,⁴⁰⁵ here the translator is attempting to assimilate the Greek text to the MT usage.⁴⁰⁶ Besides the *incipit*, in the first *stichos* the Greek translator created the opposition to *σεαυτῷ* and *τοῖς πλῆσίων*, changing the poetical structure of the Hebrew text. Moreover, the second *stichos* is a proper-congruence parallelism, in which the object *κακά* has been added, to better explain the MT as *נֶפֶשׁ* is without object, thus the translator simply made it clearer.

Considering the reflexive pronoun of second person, it does not have many occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*. According to Greek koiné, the reflexive has lost its original functions, namely for being used as a personal pronoun. Also, it is more likely to find the reflexive as direct object, referring to the subject.⁴⁰⁷ Usually, in Greek *Proverbs* this reflexive translates Hebrew personal pronouns.⁴⁰⁸ However, there are two example of reflexive as a direct object, in 22:26 and 30:32. In four instances⁴⁰⁹ the reflexive maintains its proper function, and these are cases without any Hebrew *Vorlage*. Among these, there is 9:12, as it does not translate the personal Hebrew pronoun *נִפְלֵא*. However, the translator is attempting to make a new opposition, which is not present in Hebrew, namely between *σεαυτῷ* and *τοῖς πλῆσίων*. D'Hamonville argues that the Greek text expresses a different meaning than the MT.⁴¹⁰ I think that the translator simply amplified the content. Furthermore, as stated in the apparatus, *καὶ τοῖς πλῆσίων* is without correspondence in MT and is with an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla. This could be another proof

405] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs. An Eclectic Edition*, 95.

406] Cf. *Prov.* 2:2 and 16, 7:2, 10:4, 11:19, 13:13, 16:15, 17:21, 19:20, 23:22 and 24, 24:1, 29:27, 28:17 (H-R 1384-1385).

407] Cf. Debrunner, *Grammar*, 147-148.

408] This is the case in 2:1, 3:7 4:24, 7:1, 22:20, 25:10 and 25:17, in this last verse it occurs in genitive case

409] Cf. *Prov.* 4:13, 7:4, 9:12 and 25:10.

410] Cf. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 214.

that the translator is amplifying and is not only considering the text word by word. The word *πλησίον* occurs twice in Greek *Proverbs*, here and in 26:27.⁴¹¹

The verb *ἀποβαίνω*, it only occurs here in the Greek text of *Proverbs*.⁴¹² The adjective *κακός* (which was already analysed in 9:6) occurs here combined with *ἀποβαίνω* as a translation for *רָחֵק*,⁴¹³ being a good translation for the Hebrew verb.

The Greek *μόνος* perfectly matches *יָחִיד* plus a personal pronoun, and there is only another case of this correspondence in 5:17.⁴¹⁴

The verb *ἀναντλέω* translates *נִשְׁמָה*, but the Greek is also used to render other Hebrew roots.⁴¹⁵

Finally, *κακά* is an object without attestation in Hebrew. It is plausible that here the translator, as has been done elsewhere in the chapter, added something that is implicit in Hebrew. Again, he tried to explain the Hebrew meaning in a good Greek. In this sense, the translator is a good one, and he, precisely, made the meaning of the Hebrew clearer (see *κακός ἀποβῆς* and *ἀναντλήσεις κακά*).

411] Cf. H-R 1148.

412] Cf. H-R 125.

413] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 727, Muraoka, *Index*, 241.

414] Cf. H-R 933.

415] Cf. H-R 112, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 956-957, Muraoka, *Index*, 283.

2.12.1 Prov. 9:12a-c⁴¹⁶ of the Greek Proverbs

(a) ὃς ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν, οὗτος ποιμανεῖ ἀνέμους,

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς διώξεται ὄρνεα πετόμενα

(b) ἀπέλιπεν γὰρ ὁδοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος,

τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνηται

(c) διαπορεύεται δὲ δι' ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου

καὶ γῆν διατεταγμένην ἐν διψώδεσιν,

συνάγει δὲ χερσὶν ἀκαρπίαν

«He who supports himself with lies will as well herd winds
and the same person will pursue flying birds,
for he has forsaken the ways of his vineyard
and he has caused the axles of his own farm
Yes, he travels through an arid wilderness
and a land destined to drought
and gathers barrenness with his hands»

9:12a-c sub asterisk in Syh. pro ~ et > **¶** || 9:12a¹ ἐρείδεται: ενειδεται **336**: ερειδετε **A**: εριδεται **S**, **694** | ἐπὶ > **328**, **333** | ψεύδεσιν: ψεύδειν **295**: σι- **728** | ποιμανεῖ **68**, **106**, **248**, **252**, **253**, **254**, **297**, **754**, **797**, Syh.: -μαινει **B**, **S**^c, **260**, **296**, **311**, **336**, **443**^{*}, **542**, **706**, **795**, Sa., Ach., Bo.: ποιομανει **694** | ἀνέμους: αναιμους **478** || 9:12a² > **S**, **329**, **333** | δ': δε **338**, **297**, Bo.^B | διώξεται: διώξει **297**, **797** | πετόμενα: πτερωτα **V**, **68**, **103**, **106**, **130**, **252**, **311**, **336**, **338**, **390**, **613**, **637**, **728**, **795**: πετωμενα **478** || 9:12b¹ ἀπέλιπεν **B**^{*}, **S**, **252**, **254**, **333**, **443**^c, **478**, **728**: απελειπεν **A**, **V**, **253**, **296**, **336**, **339**, **443**^{*}, **542**, **637**, **706**: απελειπε **329**, **797** | γὰρ ὁδοὺς Bo., Sa. | ἑαυτοῦ: αυτοῦ **766** || 9:12b² ἄξονας: **338**, **795** | γεωργίου: γεωργου **V** | πεπλάνηται: απελάνηται **125** || 9:12c¹ διαπορεύεται: διαπεπορεύεται **338**: διαπορεύετε **705** | δέ Ach. Bo.^B sed > **125**, **295**, **797**, Arm., Sa. | ἐρήμου: ποταμου **336**, **728** | γῆν: γης **613** | διατεταγμένην: τεταγμένην **106**, **130**: διατεταμένης **613**: διατεταμμένην **46**, **297**, **631**: διατεταμένην **103**, **125**, **139**, **147**, **157**, **248**, **252**, **253**, **336**, **390**, **534**, **542**^{*}, **543**, **705**, **728**, **732** | διψώδεσιν **B**, **S**, **A**, **157**, **248**^{*}, **254**, **260**, **296**, **336**, **339**, **390**, **443**, **534**, **542**, **543**, **549**, **637**, **706**, **795**, **797** || 9:12c² συνάγει: συναγαγη **260**: -αγη **68**

I will consider this huge addition separately from the rest of the analysis, and I will do similarly for 9:18. First, I will go through the point of view of several scholars, in order to

416] As already noted in the introductory chapter, this is called '12a-c because of Rahlfs, as it follows 9:12 and it is usually considered as a Greek addition to it. For this addition see also Fields, *Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum*, 328 footnote 14.

evaluate all the different way of thinking of the scholars. Then, I will analyse the Greek text of these two passages, 9:12a-c and 9:18a-d, and pay attention to their syntax, semantic and style. In this section, I will take advantage of *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* by Raymond A. Martin and apply it to these verses.

Considering 9:12a-c, first, in the apparatus it is noteworthy that in the Syro-Hexapla these lines are marked with an asterisk instead of ~. This is interesting, as an asterisk means addition from the 'Other Three', Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion, according to Origen's critical work. This can be a case of wrong annotation of Origenian signs, as happened in many other lines (and in many other books).⁴¹⁷

De Lagarde thinks that the *Vorlage* of this addition was a deviating Hebrew text.⁴¹⁸ Cook argues that these verses are exegetical readings, which are in line with the other major addition of the chapter (9:10a and 9:18a-d). He also relates them to passages from the *Book of Ben Sira*. In conclusion, he labels all these three additions expressions of the "theological and exegetical perspectives" of the translator.⁴¹⁹ About 9:12a-d in particular, he says that "the second addition (*alias* 9:12a-d) seems to represent a rejection of a too individualistic way of life. In my opinion this way of life was characteristic of the Hellenistic mode of living in the inter-testamental period and is, so to speak, "corrected" by means of the addition."⁴²⁰

On the other hand, Fox argues that 9:12 is a later addition, attached in this place in order to associate with חכָּה and לֵב of 9:7-10. He maintains that 9:12a-c are offering an interpretation of the Strange Woman, which fits perfectly in the middle of the first section about Wisdom, vv. 1-6, and the second one about Folly, vv. 13-18. Fox emphasizes that these verses (12c) are partly addition in Greek *Proverbs* and partly they (12a-b) are the translation of an Hebrew text that have no any *Vorlage* in MT. Fox also lists all the evidences he found for an original Hebrew text underneath the Greek (only for 12a-b, as 12c has originally been written in his opinion in Greek and it is an expansion of 9:12b and influenced by *G-Jer. 2:6b*):

417] See chap. 4 of "Hexaplaric Material Marked Uncorrectly."

418] Cf. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 32.

419] Cf. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 266-268.

420] Cf. *Ibid.* 273.

- the retroversion of ἐρείδεται to תָּמַךְ: the Hebrew verb means ‘to hold’, besides ἐρείδεται ‘to lean on’. Although the Greek text makes sense, the Hebrew reconstructed text would be better, as it would be ‘he who grasps deceit’;
- τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας in an etymological translation of מַעֲגָלִי, ‘axles’. In a text which could have been originally in Greek, a more simple word for ‘path’ would have been chosen;
- the expression πεπλάνηται plus an accusative is unnatural Greek.⁴²¹

Analysis of 9:12a: semantic, syntax and style

The verb ἔρειδω occurs nine times in the Greek *Book of Proverbs* and, except here, it always has a *Vorlage*. Its medial form without accusative means ‘to lean on’ and in classical Greek a dative or ἐπί plus genitive follow it.⁴²² Its usual counterpart is תָּמַךְ, ‘to grasp’, ‘lay hold of’, that can have a direct object of thing, -אָ of person and thing or -אָ of instrumental.

The substantive ψεῦδος has two other occurrences, it appears twice in 29:27, but all of them are without *Vorlagen*.⁴²³

Considering ποιμαίνω, it is attested in three other instances: in 28:7 and 29:3 it translates רָעָה, whereas in 22:11 it is without correspondence.⁴²⁴ Its object, ἄνεμος, has few occurrences and it mostly (five times) translates רִיחַ.⁴²⁵

421] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs*, 166-169.

422] Cf. H-R 544.

423] Cf. H-R 1485.

424] Cf. H-R 1169.

425] Cf. H-R 87.

In the second *stichos*, διώκω always translates נִדָּךְ, except in 21:6 where its *Vorlage* is נִדָּךְ.⁴²⁶ Its object, ὄρνεον, occurs four other times and it always corresponds to צִפּוֹר.⁴²⁷ Finally, πέτομαι does have only another attestation.⁴²⁸

Regarding the syntax of this verse, the expression ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν is noteworthy. In fact, the verb is in its medial form and is combined with the preposition ἐπὶ plus dative, which is not a classical Greek construction. If one reconstructs the Hebrew *Vorlage* with בְּ-, then one can understand that the Greek translator might have tried to reproduce this construction by using ἐπὶ in Greek, and then the Greek translator turned the verb into a medial form, in order to better express the meaning of the whole construction.

In this passage, there is a typical Greek construction, which is the putting forward of the relative clause. This inversion can also be found in Hebrew (for instance see v. 9:4 and 16), but in Greek this truly emphasizes the importance of the relative clause and for the presence of the subject οὗτος (the same construction can be found in 11:28 and 13:13, where there is a participle and not a relative clause in MT).

Finally, about the style, I need to make an important note about ὄρνεα πετόμενα. In good Greek style the adjective usually precedes the noun and is between the article and the noun. Here there is not any article, as mostly happens when Greek translates a Semitic language. Moreover, the noun is before the participle, which has an adjective value.

My reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* is not much different from Fox's reconstruction:

מי תמך תומך בשקר ירעה רוח

וירדף צפריים מעופף

Analysis of 9:12b: semantic, syntax and style

For the analysis of the verb ἀπολείπω see v. 9:6: for ὁδός and see v. 9:15.

426] Cf. H-R 338.

427] Cf. H-R 1014.

428] Cf. H-R 1129.

The word ἀμπελῶν has two occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*: here and in 24:30, where it translates מְרִנָּה.⁴²⁹

The substantive ἄξων in classical Greek means ‘axis’, but only in 2:9 of *Proverbs* it means ‘path’. In fact, it appears in another two instances, 2:9 and 18.⁴³⁰ In both these cases, it translates מַעְגָּל, but in 2:18 means a ‘wheel’.⁴³¹

The adjective ἰδίος, which can have a possessive value in Greek, occurs many times in the Greek text. Sometimes, it does not have a *Vorlage*, but its counterpart in MT could be a personal suffix.⁴³² Considering γεώργιον, in its few occurrences (six), except in 24:30 and 31:16, where it translates הַשָּׂדֶה, usually it does not have a *Vorlage* in MT.⁴³³

Considering the verb πλανᾶω, it means ‘to lead astray’ in its reflexive-passive form. In classical Greek, it can occur with *accusative loci*, as is the case.⁴³⁴ Although its many occurrences in Greek *Proverbs* with the reflexive-passive form, it never appears with an *accusative loci*, marking this case a unique case. It usually translates הַשָּׂדֶה.⁴³⁵

Regarding the syntax of this verse: γάρ can be seen as a translation of וְ (for the analysis see v. 9:11), which again points to the Greek being a translation from Hebrew. Moreover, the expressions ὁδοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος and τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου are noteworthy. According to good Greek style, there would have been the article before ὁδός; its genitive would have been between ὁδός and its article, in attributive position. In the second expression,

429] Cf. H-R 67.

430] Cf. H-R 113.

431] Cf. LSJ⁹ 172.

432] Cf. H-R 673.

433] Cf. H-R 240.

434] Cf. LSJ⁹ 1411.

435] Cf. H-R 1139.

ἄξιον has the article, but its genitive follows it. Again, in good Greek, it would have been between ἄξιον and its article or before it, to better explain its reference.

My reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of 9:12b is as follows:

כִּי עֵץ (אֲבָחִי) דֶּרֶכִּי כִרְמוֹ

וּמַעֲגָלִי שְׂדֵהוּ הַחֲעָה

Analysis of 9:12c: semantic, syntax and style

The verb διαπορεύω, found usually in its passive form, is constructed with an accusative or with other loci prepositions, like here διά. This verb occurs only twice in Greek *Proverbs*, here and in 5:16, where it translates פָּלַג.⁴³⁶

Considering ἀνυδρος, there is only once in Greek *Proverbs*, besides ἔρημος also appears in 21:19, where it translates אֶרֶץ.⁴³⁷

In the second *stichos* of 12c, there is an ellipsis and a *variatio*. In fact, the main verb of the sentence is again διαπορεύω, implied by the context, but here followed by an *accusative loci*, γῆν. The word is frequent in Greek *Proverbs* and it usually translates אֶרֶץ or sometimes אֲדָמָה.⁴³⁸ The word γῆ is followed by the participle of διατάσσω that is again a unique occurrence in Greek *Proverbs*.⁴³⁹ Ending this *stichos*, there is διψῶδης that occurs only here in the whole Bible. This term is semantically an adjective, meaning ‘thirsty’, which is rare also in the Greek literature and attested as a noun only in this passage.

436] Cf. H-R 308, Muraoka, *Index*, 119.

437] Cf. H-R 112 and 546.

438] Cf. H-R 250.

439] Cf. H-R 316.

Taken for granted the ellipsis of the verb διαπορεύω in the second *stichos*, as the meaning of its first and second *stichos* is the same, this could be again a case of double translation, never noted before.

Also here, stylistically speaking, it is noteworthy the non-use of the article and the position of ἐν διψώδεσιν, that according to Greek good style, should have been between γῆν and διατεταγμένην.

Regarding the last *stichos*, the verb συνάγω has few occurrences, and it mostly translates different Hebrew roots.⁴⁴⁰ Its object, ἀκαρπία, occurs only here in the whole Bible.⁴⁴¹ Finally, χεῖρ has many attestations in Greek *Proverbs*, sometimes without *Vorlage*, but mostly (twenty-two times) it translates כַּף, except few cases (four times) where it renders כַּף.⁴⁴²

If my thinking about the first and second *stichoi* of 12c is correct, that also 12c would have had a Hebrew *Vorlage*. Consequently, my possible *Vorlage* would be as following:

יבל לארץ בלימים

בוא בידים פרים

2.13 Prov. 9:13

אִשָּׁה כְּסִילוֹת הַמִּיָּה פְתִיזוֹת וּבִלְיָדָהּ מָה

«The woman of stupidity is loud,
she is ignorant and know nothing»

γυνή ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ἐνδεὲς ψωμοῦ γίνεται

ἣ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃ

440] Cf. H-R 1307.

441] Cf. H-R 43.

442] Cf. H-R 1463.

«The foolish and audacious woman who knows no shame,
comes in need of a morsel of food»

9:13¹ ἄφρων: αφρον **125** | καὶ > θη | θρασεῖα: θρασια **V, 125, 336, 390, 478, 637** | ψωμοῦ: αρτων **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637, 728**, Syh.: αρτου **103, 253**, Arm. | γίνεται: γεινεται **V** || 9:13² ἦ: και **222, 329** = θη et + et in Arm. | פְּתִיחַ frt. l. וְנִפְתָּח et cj. c. הַמִּיָּה | αἰσχύνην l. כְּלִמָּה

אִשָּׁה	γυνή
כְּסִילוֹת	ἄφρων
-	καὶ
הַמִּיָּה	θρασεῖα
-	ἐνδεής ⁴⁴³
-	ψωμοῦ
-	γίνεται ⁴⁴⁴

פְּתִיחַ ⁴⁴⁵	-
-	ἦ
וְ	-
כֹּל-	οὐκ
יָדָעָה	ἐπίσταται
מָה	αἰσχύνην

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

It is noteworthy in the apparatus that for ψωμός some MSS have a different readings. In fact, MSS **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637, 728** and the Syro-Hexapla have αρτων in the plural, whereas **103** and **253** have αρτου in the singular. About the daughter versions, considered in the third chapter, both the Armenian text and the *Vetus Latina* have the singular form for 'bread'.

443] For this analysis see v. 9:4.

444] As has been already considered in 9:12, γίγνομαι does not correspond to a specific word in Hebrew. Usually, the translator translated it in combination with an adjective or a noun, for considering the wide meaning and not just the single word (H-R 256-257).

445] This is its only occurrence in the whole Bible, meaning 'simplicity' (Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1198).

Finally, it should be noted that the second *stichos* in the Armenian version, but not the *Vetus Latina*, has at the beginning *καί* for a Greek *καί* that is attested also in MSS **222** and **329**.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The poetical structure in Hebrew is hard to define. There is no parallelism, and there is a strong enjambement that cuts the symmetry of the first *stichos*. This lack of parallelism is reflected in Greek, where there are on the one hand apparently many differences and where on the other hand the strong enjambement is erased.

The word *γυγνή* is the usual translation for *אָנָה* in Greek *Proverbs*.⁴⁴⁶ There are also instances where it translates different Hebrew roots⁴⁴⁷ and only one case (19:13) in which *אָנָה* is translated with *ἐταίρα*.⁴⁴⁸ In Hebrew, a construct state is found, which in Greek *Proverbs* became a noun with an adjective — the latter is better Greek style, with *ἄφρων*⁴⁴⁹ translating the noun *כְּסִילֹהֶה* (which is the only occurrence in the whole Old Testament).⁴⁵⁰ However, *ἄφρων* is an usual translation for its correspondent adjective *כְּסִיל*.⁴⁵¹

According to Hatch-Redpath and Muraoka's *Index*, *θρασεῖα* translates here the participle of *הָמָה*. It has a few occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*, and it has always a negative nuance. The Hebrew word *הָמָה* occurs four times in *Proverbs*. One time (1:21) it means 'bustling' in the streets, but in three other instances, 7:11, here and 20:1, the verb is related to a shameless

446] Cf. H-R 278-279, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 164-165.

447] In *Prov.* 5:3 there is *דָּוָר*; in 14:1 *בִּזְזָה*; in 30:23 *שִׁפְחָה*; in addition, there are few examples without Hebrew *Vorlage* (5:2, 11:16, 18:22, 30:16 and 31:30).

448] Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 155.

449] The Greek word has been already analysed in 9:4.

450] Cf. H-R 186-187, Muraoka, *Index*, 234.

451] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 689-690, Muraoka, *Index*, 234.

woman or man. In these cases, the translator used different Greek words for specifying her/his shameless.⁴⁵²

The addition of καί is here justified by the transposition induced in the text. In fact, the Greek translator changed the syntax and used more adjectives, instead of using the genitive, which would have been more similar to the Hebrew. For this reason, I think that the translator here did not use θρασεῖα for translating הָמָה, but used both ἄφρων and θρασεῖα for pinpointing the noun כְּסִילֹוֹת. He has doubled the adjective in order to be more specific with regard to the meaning.

Looking at the BHS apparatus, it is noted that probably פָּחַזִּית should be read as וּמְפַחֵה with הַמִּיָּה. In fact, וּמְפַחֵה with הַמִּיָּה, expressing ‘seducing’ and ‘turbulent’, can clarify the Greek ἐνδεής ψωμοῦ. Regarding ψωμός specifically, it has four occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*, and it translates twice (17:1 and 28:21) פָּחַ and twice (here and 23:7) it is without a *Vorlage*.⁴⁵³

Regarding the relative pronoun, its use has been already analysed in 9:4. Here, as in few other instances, it does not have a correspondence in Hebrew. This case can be another example of parataxis in Hebrew with ו whereas there is hypotaxis in Greek.

The verb ἐπίσταμαι has a few occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*, and, aside from two instances without Hebrew *Vorlage*, which are 10:21 and 29:7, it always translates יָדַע and one time דָּעָה (of the same root).⁴⁵⁴ However, taking into consideration the retroversion of ἐπίσταμαι into יָדַע, the latter Hebrew has been translated in many ways in Greek, as has been already demonstrated in 9:9.

Finally, the accusative of αἰσχύνῃ does not translate מָחָה, but, as attested in BHS *apparatus*, the translator would have read מַלְמָחָה, ‘insult’, that occurs only another time in 18:13, where

452] Cf. H-R 654, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 426, Muraoka, *Index*, 187.

453] Cf. H-R 1490.

454] Cf. H-R 529.

ὄνειδος is used.⁴⁵⁵ Moreover, αἰσχύνη has three occurrences, but two instances, here and 26:11 are without *Vorlage* in MT and in 19:13 it translates הָיָה.⁴⁵⁶

In 9:13, there are again some examples of how specific and precise the Greek translator rendered the Hebrew text, and how he also produced good Greek.

2.14 Prov. 9:14

וַיֵּשֶׁבֶת לַפֶּתַח בֵּיתָהּ עַל־כִּסֵּא מַרְמִי קִרְתָּ

«She sits at the door of her house,
on a seat at the high places of the town»

ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ θύραις τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου

ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐμφανῶς ἐν πλατείαις

«She sat at the doors of her own house,
on a seat, openly in the streets»

9:14¹ ἐκάθισεν: εκαθησεν **V, 254, 339, 543, 728** || 9:14² ἐμφανῶς: ενφανως **A** | ἐν: επι **297** | πλατείαις: πλατιας **S, A, V, Sa., Ach., Bo^B: πλατεια 125** | + *et* Arm.

וַיֵּשֶׁבֶת	-
בֵּיתָהּ	ἐκάθισεν
לַפֶּתַח	ἐπὶ
עַל־כִּסֵּא	θύραις
מַרְמִי	τοῦ οἴκου ⁴⁵⁷
קִרְתָּ	ἑαυτῆς ⁴⁵⁸

455] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 683, Muraoka, *Index*, 233.

456] Cf. H-R 37.

457] For its analysis see v. 9:1

458] *Ibidem*.

על-	ἐπὶ
כָּפֹא	δίφρου
מִרְמֵי קֶרֶת ⁴⁵⁹	-
-	ἐμφανῶς
-	ἐν
-	πλατείαις

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

In the MT there is a bicolon with a proper congruence parallelism with the ellipsis of the main verb (יָשָׁבָה). However, it might be possible that it was originally a tricolon, as in the syntagm על-כָּפֹא, the ellipsis of בֵּיתָה could be hypothesised too. Regarding the LXX text, the first colon presents the same poetical structure as the MT, but the second one has freely translated its Hebrew equivalent colon.

The verbs καθίζω / יָשָׁב correspond perfectly. In fact, καθίζω occurs five times in Greek *Proverbs* and it always translates יָשָׁב.⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, the retroversion of יָשָׁב pinpoints that it is translated with καθίζω when the verb means ‘to sit’ and with οἰκέω when it means ‘to dwell’. Only in one instance, that is 3:29, it is rendered with παροικέω, as it indicates ‘to live as a stranger’.⁴⁶¹ Furthermore, it is used here with an aorist form for for a present of a stative verb; as an aorist in its absolute form, this might be considered an archaism.

459] For its analysis see v. 9:3

460] The is only one exception in 22:10, where the verb does not have a Hebrew correspondent verb (cf. H-R 702).

461] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 643, Muraoka, *Index*, 65.

The term *θύρα* is used in two instances, here and 5:8,⁴⁶² for rendering פתח.⁴⁶³ However, as פתח means properly ‘opening’, other words are also used for it in Greek *Proverbs*: in 8:34 εἴσοδος is used, whereas in 1:21 there is πύλη.⁴⁶⁴

Regarding ἐπί, all its occurrences have been investigated. The translator mostly used it for rendering על in all its meaning, although ἐπί has been adopted for other preposition too. What is striking is the end-repetition קרת מרמי / על-גפוי / קרת / על-צפא מרמי קרת in v.9:3 and 9:14 (although there is a variant with על-גפוי / על-צפא). In the MT, this end-repetition strictly links the first part about the Wise Woman with the second one about the Foolish Lady. Besides, in Greek *Proverbs* these expressions were translated freely and in different ways. However, in the LXX text, it seems that the link between the two verses is moved to the opposition between the ‘bowl’ (9:3) and the throne (9:14), the first one is of Wisdom and the second one of Folly.

Regarding the adverb ἐμφανῶς, it has only this occurrence in the LXX and it is without Hebrew equivalent. It is possible that the translator again translated not word by word the MT, but that he explained the meaning in its wide context. In fact, the MT says that Folly sits in a high place, consequently in a place visible to everyone. The translator expresses the meaning not literally but in context. According to this, πλατεῖα is not the literal translation of the MT, but it is the translation which fits in the context: as the ‘high place of the town’ of the MT is a place in which Lady Wisdom can be seen by everyone, in Greek *Proverbs* it becomes ‘visible in the streets’.

Again, a precise translator can be seen at work.

462] Regarding this line, Muraoka corrects προθυρα of Hatch-Redpath in προ θυρα, as attested in **B** and **S** (Cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 123).

463] In 8:34 and 26:14 θύρα is used for הלך; and in 14:19 translates שער (cf. H-R 662-663).

464] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1197.

2.15 Prov. 9:15

לְקַרְא לְעַבְרֵי־דָרֶךְ הַמְּשֻׁרִים אֲרֻחָתָם

«calling to those who pass by,
who are going straight on their ways»

προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας

καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν

«inviting those who are passing by
and who are keeping straight in their ways»

9:15¹ παριόντας: παροντας **248***, **329** | + ὁδον **A, V, 106, 125, 130, 252, 253, 296, 311, 336, 339, 443, 542, 543, 549, 613, 706, 728, 795** || 9:15² καί: καὶ τοὺς **V, 125, 296, 311, 336, 543, 549, 706, 795** | κατευθύνοντας: κατευθύνοντα **106, 339** | ταῖς: τοις **253**

לְקַרְא ⁴⁶⁵ לְ-	προσκαλουμένη
עַבְרֵי־	τοὺς παριόντας
דָּרֶךְ ⁴⁶⁶	-

-	καὶ
הַמְּשֻׁרִים	κατευθύνοντας
אֲרֻחָתָם	ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν ⁴⁶⁷

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

In the apparatus above, in MSS **A, V, 106, 125, 130, 252, 253, 296, 311, 336, 339, 443, 542, 543, 549, 613, 706, 728, 795** there is the reading ὁδον, addition close to the MT having דָּרֶךְ, 'path'.

465] As already noted, קָרָא has לְ for expressing the direct object. Besides, the Greek προσκαλέω wants the accusative.

466] For its analysis see v. 9:6.

467] For the analysis of the genitive pronoun used as a possessive see v. 9:1.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

About the poetical structure of this *colon*: both the MT and the LXX text present a proper congruence parallelism with the ellipsis of the main verb.

The verb προσκαλέω, that only occurs here, translates אָקָרָא.⁴⁶⁸ Its retroversion was already considered in v. 9:3, and it was found that אָקָרָא is usually translated with καλέω and/or its compound. About the morphological and grammatical form, the Hebrew presents an infinite construct for expressing a causal clause. In this regard, the LXX text reproduces the MT, translating the infinitive construct with a participle with a causal nuance.

Concerning ἀρείμι, it occurs only twice in Greek *Proverbs*: here, where it translates בֵּרַךְ הַדֶּרֶךְ, and in 15:10, where it does not have a corresponding Hebrew counterpart.⁴⁶⁹ Considering also the retroversion from Hebrew into Greek, בֵּרַךְ has many other occurrences, in which other Greek roots are used.⁴⁷⁰ In this line, again the translator, without translating the text word by word, expresses the same meaning of the MT in context. In fact, the expression ‘who pass in the streets’ has become ‘who is passing by’ in Greek *Proverbs*, as the translator has already mentioned the streets in the previous verse.

The Greek verb κατευθύνω has many occurrences, and in only two instances it translates יָשָׁר in its *piel* form.⁴⁷¹ However, יָשָׁר is translated also with other Greek roots. In 3:6 and 11:15 ὁρθοτομέω is used, as the subject are ‘wisdom’ in the first case and ‘justice’ in the second one, so they must ‘direct’; besides, here and in 15:21 the subject is the man, so he does have to ‘go straightforward’, ‘make straight his paths’. In 4:25 there is another occurrence of יָשָׁר in its *hiphil* form, in which the translator used νέω δίκαια.⁴⁷²

468] Cf. H-R 1216.

469] Cf. H-R 1070.

470] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1018f., Muraoka, *Index*, 107.

471] Cf. H-R 750.

472] Cf. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 655, Muraoka, *Index*, 66.

Finally, *ὁδός*, as already analysed in 9:12b, has many occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*: here it is used for translating *דָּרֶךְ*, which is a perfect rendering of the Hebrew.⁴⁷³

The translator continues in this verse to translate the Hebrew in good Greek, with in one case slightly not translating a word, which was used in the previous verse, albeit there is a part of the tradition, MSS A, V, **106, 125, 130, 252, 253, 296, 311, 336, 339, 443, 542, 543, 549, 613, 706, 728, 795**, which have the reading *οδον*, addition close to the MT, and for this reason it is plausible that it is a later addition.

2.16 Prov. 9:16

מִי־פְתִי יֹסֶר הִנֵּה וְחֹסֶר־לֵב וְאִמְרָה לֹא

«You who are simple, turn in here!,
And to those without sense she says,»

ὅς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με

ἐνδεέσι δὲ φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα

«“He of you is most foolish, let him turn aside to me,
and to those that are in need of prudence I urge, saying»

9:16¹ ὅς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος: τίς νήπιος Σ | ἐστιν: ἐστις 106 | ὑμῶν > **125, 261^c, 534** | ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος: ἀφρονέστατος ὑμῶν **103, 613**, Sa., Ach., Bo^B | ἀφρονέστατος: ἀφρων **S***: ἀφρον **125** | ἐκκλινάτω: ἐκκλινάτω **B** | πρὸς με = *הִנֵּה* || ἐνδεέσι: ἐνδεεσει **S** | δὲ > **125, 339, 766** | ἐνδεέσι δὲ: καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεεσι **46, 68, 106, 125, 130, 139, 147, 157, 252, 297, 543, 329, 333, 336, 390, 549, 631, 637, 728, 732, 795, 797**: καὶ τῶ ἐνδεει **V** | φρονήσεως: φρενων **46, 109, 125, 139, 157, 254, 295, 333, 390, 631, 732, 754, 797**: φρονεσεως **V** | παρακελεύομαι: παρακελεуетαι **139**

מִי־	ὅς ἐστιν ⁴⁷⁴
-	ὑμῶν
פְּתִי	ἀφρονέστατος
יֹסֶר	

473] Cf. H-R 962, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 140, Muraoka, *Index*, 22.

474] See v. 9:4.

הָנָה ḥānā	πρός με ⁴⁷⁶
-וְ	δὲ
חֲסֵר־	ἐνδεέσι ⁴⁷⁷
לֵב	φρονήσεως
וְ	-
-	παρακελεύομαι
אִמְרָה imrah	λέγουσα ⁴⁷⁸
לִי	-

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

In the MT, this verse is parallel to 9:4. In fact, in 9:4 the verse speaks of Lady Wisdom, who turn away foolish men who lack understanding, in 9:16 Lady Folly speaks similarly.

Regarding the poetical structure of both texts, the Hebrew and the Greek, a parallel anti-congruence is found, as the subject of the first *colon* became the dative of the second one. There is thus a grammatical opposition. However, in the LXX there is the addition of λέγουσα, which does not have a *Vorlage* in MT (exactly as in 9:3).

The first *stichos* in Hebrew presents the same text as 9:4. However, it is noteworthy that Greek *Proverbs* does not have the same translation. In fact, חֲסֵר־ is rendered with the same Greek word, ἄφρων, but in 9:16 ἄφρων occurs in its superlative form. In addition, there is personal pronoun in its partitive function. The same structure, ἄφρων in a superlative form plus a partitive, occurs also in 30:2, but in this instance it literally translates the MT.

Furthermore, in MT too, the second *stichos* is identical to 9:4, but in Greek *Proverbs* again there are differences between the translation of 9:4 and 9:16. In fact, in 9:16 לֵב is translated

475] *Idem.*

476] *Idem.*

477] *Idem.*

478] See v. 9:3.

with φρόνησις,⁴⁷⁹ the latter also occurs in 19:8. According to *BDB*,⁴⁸⁰ in 9:16 it is used with a specific reference to mind, and for this reason the Greek translator used φρόνησις.

Finally, παρακελεύομαι has only two occurrences in the whole Bible, here and in *4Macc.* 5:2.⁴⁸¹ For its retroversion see the analysis of 9:4. This verb plus λέγουσα, as in v. 9:4, is an expansive rendering aimed to maintain the first person, an expression found also in classical Greek.

A last question remains: why is there a slightly different translation for the same Hebrew text? There are two options. It is plausible that the MT has been finalized later than when the Greek translation was done and this later redactor made the parallel between 9:4 and 9:16 clearer. It is, however, also plausible, that the Greek translator might have decided to differentiate Wisdom's words from Folly's word, in order to better define the man who rejects Wisdom and the one who rejects Folly. The scholarly literature does not pay attention to this difference. Cook only notes that "verse 4 also presents a possible backdrop to this passage. Be it as it may, the translator applied internal harmonization in order to render this verse."⁴⁸² Fox, however, adds a very interesting note, in line with my thoughts, that the translator is differentiating Wisdom's and Folly's words. Fox also notes that the use of the first person singular is correct here, as it is Folly's speech.⁴⁸³ Thus, the specific translation of *Proverbs* 9:16 also made the difference between Lady Wisdom and Lady Folly more evident.

479] Cf. H-R 1439.

480] Cf. *BDB* 524.

481] Cf. H-R 1061.

482] Cf. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 278.

483] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs*, 170.

2.17 Prov. 9:17

מִיּוֹם־נִנְבָּהִים יִמְחַקוּ וְלֶחֶם סֶתֶרִים יֵנַעַם

«“Stolen water is sweet,
and bread eaten in secret is pleasant”»

ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε

καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ

«“Take secret bread gladly,
and sweet water of theft”»

9:17¹ ἄρτων : αρτον **147***, **797** | ἄψασθε > ~~ψ~~ et -σθαι **A, V, 252, 339, 443***, **534, 549, 637** || 9:17² ὕδατος : οἰτατος **336** | κλοπῆς > **543** : κοπης **A** | γλυκεροῦ : γλυκαιρου **797** | πίετε **106, 147, 795, 797**, Ald., Arm. sed > **B, S, A, 248***, **253, 260, 296, 311, 333, 338, 339, 443, 542, 706, 766, 534**, Sa., Syh., Ach., Bo^B : πιεσθε **329**

מִיּוֹם־	ὕδατος
נִנְבָּהִים	κλοπῆς
יִמְחַקוּ	γλυκεροῦ
וְ	καὶ

לֶחֶם	ἄρτων ⁴⁸⁴
סֶתֶרִים	κρυφίων
יֵנַעַם	ἡδέως ἄψασθε

TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND READINGS IN THE APPARATUS

The most interesting reading in apparatus regard the verb *πίομαι*, which is omitted in the major MSS and many minuscules, **248***, **253, 260, 296, 311, 333, 338, 339, 443, 542, 706, 766, 534**, plus some translation, Sa., Syh., Ach., Bo^B. It should be noted, however, that there is *πίετε* in **106, 147, 795, 797** and also in the Armenian translation and in the *Vetus Latina* as well.

484] See v. 9:5.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

First, concerning the poetical structure: in the Greek text the first Hebrew *stichos* becomes the second one in Greek, and vice-versa. Moreover, in the MT there is a parallel proper-congruence. In Greek *Proverbs*, although the inversion, there is a parallelism proper-congruence. However, the parallelism is not between the construct state and its adjective as in MT, but it is between the verb and its genitive, with the ellipsis of the verb in the second Greek *stichos*. In fact, whereas in MT there is a change of the subject, water / bread, in Greek the subject is always 'you'.

Regarding ὕδωρ, it perfectly translates מַיִם in all (twelve times) of its occurrences.⁴⁸⁵

The word κλοπή is the only attestation in Greek *Proverbs* and translates the passive *qal* participle of נָבַח. However, looking at the retroversion from Hebrew into Greek, נָבַח occurs twice, in 6:30 and 30:9. In both these instances, it is translated with the verb κλέπτω, having the same root of κλοπή (with a different apophonic grade, κλεπ- / κλοπ-).⁴⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that the Greek translator in 9:17 has switched the Hebrew adjective and the participle, in both *stichoi*. Furthermore, the 'delightful' of the Hebrew (second *stichos*) in Greek *Proverbs* (first *stichos*) is incorporated into the verb, as will be demonstrated further.

The adjective γλυκερός has here its unique occurrence, and it translates מֶתֶק. Considering also the retroversion, מֶתֶק occurs in other three instances, 16:24, 24:13 and 27:7, in which it is always used the root of sweetness, γλυκ-.⁴⁸⁷

The word κρύφιος is only here and it translates סֵתֵר. Looking at the retroversion, סֵתֵר occurs also in 21:14 and 25:13, but other Greek roots have been used.⁴⁸⁸

485] Cf. H-R 1381, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 785.

486] Cf. H-R 772, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 329, Muraoka, *Index*, 35.

487] Cf. H-R 270, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 886, Muraoka, *Index*, 91.

488] Cf. H-R 793, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1008, Muraoka, *Index*, 106.

Finally, the Greek expression ἡδέως ἄπτω translates נָעַם.⁴⁸⁹ It is clear that again the translator is pinpointing the wide meaning of the Hebrew text, not translating it word by word.

2.18 Prov. 9:18

וְלֹא יָדְעָה כִּי־רַפָּאִים שָׁם בְּעִמְקֵי שְׁאוֹל כְּרָאִיָּהּ

«but they do not know that the dead are there,
that her guests are in the depths of Sheol»

ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ'αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται

καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ

«But he does not know that the shades perish with her,
and he meets up with a springboard of Hades»

9:18¹ καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βαθέσι τοῦ ἄδου οἱ κλητοὶ αὐτῆς A Σ Θ | οἶδεν : εἶδεν **613** : εἶδεν αὐτην **766** | γηγενεῖς : ῥαφαεῖν A θεομάχοι Σ γίγαντες Θ | γεγενεῖς Ald.: γεγενης παρ'αὐτῇ ὀλλυται **766** | αὐτῇ : αὐτης **296, 311, 706** : αὐτω **542** | > et ὄλλυνται **68, 106, 390**: -ντο **443*** : ὀλλυνται **103** : ὀλοῦνται **S^c, 613** || 9:18² καὶ > **¶** | ἐπὶ : εἰς **329, 333** | πέτευρον **B*, S*, A, 253, 549** : πεταυρον **795, 797** : πεταυρων **637** : plus του **339** | συναντᾷ : καταντα **106**

-	ὁ δὲ
וְ	-
לֹא	οὐκ
יָדְעָה	οἶδεν
כִּי	ὅτι ⁴⁹⁰
רַפָּאִים	γηγενεῖς
שָׁם	-
-	παρ'αὐτῇ

489] Cf. H-R 604, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 935, Muraoka, *Index*, 97.

490] The Hebrew particles has been already analysed in v. 9:11, where it translates γάρ. However, for its meaning, it can be translated also with a declarative or causal nuance, especially when the Greek translator changes the paratactic structure in a subordinate clause.

-	ὄλλυνται
---	----------

-	καί
-ב-	ἐπὶ
עֲמָקִי	πέτευρον
שְׁאוֹל	ἄδου
קָרָא	συναντᾷ
יְהִי-	-

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

Regarding the poetical structure: the MT presents a parallel anti-congruence with the ellipsis of the main verb, but its meaning is not completely clear. Probably for its obscurity, the Greek does not represent the poetical structure of the MT, but adds the verbs in the second *stichos* and παρ'αὐτῇ in the first one.

About the correspondence εἶδον / עָדַע, the Greek verb occurs many times in Greek *Proverbs* and, except few instances without *Vorlage*, they are a perfect equivalence.⁴⁹¹ For its retroversion, see the analysis of 9:9.

The word γηγενής appears only twice (2:18 and 9:18) in *Proverbs* and in both of them רָפָה is the Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, Muraoka in his *Index* corrects the *Vorlage* with the plural form for both passages. Considering the retroversion, רָפָה has one more occurrence in 21:16 and it is translated with γίγας.⁴⁹²

The expression παρ'αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται does not have a correspondence in Hebrew. The Greek verb ὄλλυμι has many occurrences, mostly without Hebrew *Vorlage*. In three instances (1:32, 10:28 and 11:7), it translates אָבַד and in only one case (2:22) בָּרַח.⁴⁹³ In this instance, the Greek translator might have added παρ'αὐτῇ for pinpointing better the Hebrew meaning. Moreover,

491] Cf. H-R 374-375.

492] Cf. H-R 255, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1352, Muraoka, *Index*, 140.

493] Cf. H-R 987.

with the addition of the personal pronoun at the beginning, the Greek translator tried to precisely express the two actors, the man and Lady Folly.

Regarding πέτευρον, it is only here in Greek *Proverbs*. However, there is its Hebrew counterpart also in 25:3, where the Greek translator used βαθύς.⁴⁹⁴

Considering ἄδης, it is the usual translation for לַאֲדָם in *Proverbs*. It has many occurrences (nine), there is only one case (2:18) without *Vorlage* in MT and in one instance (14:12) ἄδης translates חַיָּה.⁴⁹⁵

Finally, συναντάω appears eight times in Greek *Proverbs*. There are two נִקְרָא in Hebrew, the first meaning 'to call' and the second one meaning 'to meet'.⁴⁹⁶ In two instances, here and in 24:8, the Greek translator misunderstood the Hebrew, reading 'to call' instead of 'to meet'.⁴⁹⁷

2.18.1 Prov. 9:18a-d of the Greek *Proverbs*

(a) ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον, μὴ ἐγχρονίσης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ

μηδὲ ἐπιστήσης τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν

(b) οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον

καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον

(c) ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου

καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίνῃς,

(d) ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον,

494] Cf. H-R 1129, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1093, Muraoka, *Index*, 112.

495] Cf. H-R 24, Lisowsky, *Konkordanz*, 1390, Muraoka, *Index*, 145.

496] Cf. *BDB* 894.

497] Cf. H-R 1311.

προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς.

«On the contrary, run away, do not linger in the place,
Neither fix your eye upon her,
for so you will cross strange water
and pass through a strange river,
However, abstain from strange water
and do not drink from a strange well,
that you may live for a long time,
and years of life may be added to you.»

9:12^{a-b} sub ~ in 248 et 9:12a²-9:12d sub ~ in Syh. || 9:12a¹ ἀλλὰ : ἀλλ' 106, 130, 253, 296, 311, 329, 333, 338, 542, 706, 795, 797 | ἀποπήδησον : δισον 795 | ἐγχαρονίσης : χρονίσης B, S, 46, 139, 254, 297, 338, 390, 443, 549, 631, 637, 732, 754, 797^c : χρονησης 705, 766 : χρονησεις 543 : -νησης 254*, 797* : ενχρο- A, V, 336, 728 | τόπω : τροπω 534 : + αυτης S^c, V, 68, 103, 106, 130, 252, 253, 295, 297, 329, 333, 336, 534, 543, 549, 613, 728, 816, Syh., Arm. | 9:12a² > 329, 333 | ἐπιστήσης : επιστης A : -σεις 795 : -σησης 109 | τὸ > 160, 248, 295, 297, 336, 338, 390, 478, 728 || 9:12b¹ οὕτως : οὕτω S, 252, 253, 260, 296, 311, 329, 333, 338, 339, 706, 754 | διαβήση : διαβησεται S*, 534 | -σει : 125, 795 : υπερβηση 329, 333 : διαβη 68 : + ως 46, 125, 139, 147, 157, 631, 705, 732, 797 || 9:12b² > B, S*, 46, 125, 139, 147, 157, 296, 311, 390, 631, 706, 705, 732, 795, 797 | 9:12c¹ > 329, 333 | 9:12c² πηγῆς : πιγης V : υδατος 161, 248 | πίνης : πινε 766 || 9:12d¹ πολὺν ζήσης post χρόνον in Syh. | πολὺν : πολλὸν 728 : πολλὸν 336 | ζήσης : ζησεις 549 : ζηση A : βιωσης 248 | 9:12d² προστεθῇ : προστεθησεται 46, 139, 125, 147, 157, 254, 260, 336, 390, 534, 613, 631, 637, 728, 732, 754 | δέ > 125, 260, 336*, 613, 637, Arm. | ἔτη : ετι V | ζωῆς + σου 46, 109, 139, 157, 631, 732, 797: σοι + 147

Toy and McKane⁴⁹⁸ both agree that these verses underwent a lot of redactional changes after their composition. Toy states that the four couplets were added by a scribe, in order to better end the chapter.⁴⁹⁹ According to Cook,⁵⁰⁰ these additions are the result of contextual factors. In fact, he says that 'foreign water' is a metaphorical ancient image for wisdom (as in Babylonian tradition). Consequently, the foreign wisdom is "the 'dangerous' foreign wisdom of the time, namely the Greek philosophy of the kind encountered in the Hellenistic period".⁵⁰¹ Cook also argues that 9:18d describes another relation of wisdom to reality, in fact 'if you do

498] Cf. McKane, *Proverbs*, 359.

499] Cf. Toy, *Book of Proverbs*, 191.

500] Cf. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 283-286.

501] *Id.*, 285.

what is said above, you become wise.’ Finally, Fox⁵⁰² also sees a Greek origin behind 9:18a-d, as it was destined for a Diaspora audience. The foolish woman is a symbol, and now this symbol is further defined with another symbol, the foreign water. Fox says that “the foolish woman is equated with the Strange Woman described in chs. 2, 5 and 7, and her ‘strangeness’ is understood to be ethnic foreignness.”⁵⁰³ However, ἀλλοτρία is not derived from the OG, in fact, it has the same meaning in Hebrew (see. 5:20).

Analysis of 9:18a: semantix, syntax and style

The conjunction ἀλλά is not frequent in Greek *Proverbs*. It mostly occurs without a correspondence in Hebrew;⁵⁰⁴ in three instances (4:13, 23:17 and 23:31) it translates כִּי and once (1:25) וְ.

The verb ἀποπηδάω has only this occurrence.⁵⁰⁵ Regarding ἐγχρονίζω, it is used only three times in the whole Greek Bible and only in *Proverbs*:⁵⁰⁶ in 10:28 it translates הוֹחֵלֵחַ, and in 23:30 אֶחָר.

The substantive τόπος occurs few times (seven), but (except 15:3 where it translates מְקוֹם, which is a usual translation in the LXX Bible) it does not have a *Vorlage*.

The verb ἐφίστημι, it occurs in four instances and, except here, it does always have a Hebrew counterpart. In 22:17 and 27:23 it translates שָׁיַת, and in 28:5 עָנָה.⁵⁰⁷

502] Cf. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 423.

503] *Ibidem*.

504] Cf. *Prov.* 20:9, 24:8, 25:10 and 26:5.

505] Cf. H-R 139.

506] Cf. H-R 367.

507] Cf. H-R 585.

Finally, concerning ὅμμε, it usually translates עֵין.⁵⁰⁸

Regarding the syntax and the style, the use of the possessive between the noun and its article is noteworthy, because it is in the right place according to a good Greek style. Furthermore, there is μή plus conjunctive, in order to express negative imperative.

Analysis of 9:18b: semantic, syntax and style

The word οὕτως has many occurrences (thirty), mostly without correspondence; in a few instances, it translates כֵּן or כֵּן.⁵⁰⁹

The verb διαβαίνω has another occurrence in 30:29, where it translates הִלֵּךְ.⁵¹⁰

For ὕδωρ see v. 9:17.

Considering ἀλλότριος, it has many occurrences in Greek *Proverbs*, and it usually translates זָר or זָר.⁵¹¹

The verb ὑπερβαίνω only occurs here; ποταμός in 18:4 translates נָחַל.⁵¹²

Regarding syntax and style, the position of the adjective in both *stichoi* is relevant. In fact, in classical Greek, the adjective usually precedes its noun. Instead, here the adjective follows the noun in both examples which can point to this phrase being a translation from a Hebrew text.

508] Cf. H-R 991.

509] Cf. H-R 1035-1037.

510] Cf. H-R 298.

511] Cf. H-R 57.

512] Cf. H-R 1409 and 1196.

Analysis of 9:18c: semantic, syntax and style

For ὕδωρ see v. 9:17 and for ἀλλότριος see above.

The verb ἀπέχω has few occurrences (six), and it always translates different Hebrew roots.⁵¹³

Regarding πηγὴ, it occurs many times (fourteen) in *Proverbs* and it usually translates מְקוֹר or מַעַי.⁵¹⁴

For πίνω see v. 9:5.

About the style of this verse (and also of the previous one), it is noteworthy that the translator used the same structure for both *stichoi*: 18b verb-accusative / verb-accusative, 18c preposition-genitive-verb / preposition-genitive-verb. In addition, καί is used at the beginning of both verses; this coordinating particle is used more frequently than δέ when the text is a translation from a semitic language, as Greek usually prefers δέ.

Analysis of 9:18d: semantic, syntax and style

For the semantical analysis of this verse see v. 9:11.

Although semantically similar, the syntax and style of 9:18d is quite different from 9:11. In fact, in 9:18d there is a final clause instead of γάρ, which could be a more literal translation (assuming a similar Hebrew text to 9:11) representing the coordinative syntax of a semitic language. Moreover, there is here δέ instead of καί, which is in this position less used in good Greek.

All the scholars quoted at the beginning of the analysis of this verse argued that this addition stems directly from the Greek translator. However, as I have shown in my analysis, there are two more cases (the position of the adjective and the use of καί / δέ), albeit weak evidences, that point to the Greek being a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, which is slightly different from the MT.

513] Cf. H-R 122.

514] Cf. H-R 1130.

2.19 Conclusion

The analysis of the Greek and Hebrew text, in its textual transmission and its comparison, took a lot of work, combing data and comparing a Indo-European language with a Semitic one.

First, I will summarise the conclusion for each verse, after which I will offer a synthesis:

- the Greek v. 1 is a precise translation of v. 1 of the MT. In addition, we have a part of the textual tradition that has *ὑπερείδω* with the -ν ephelcistic;
- the Greek v. 2 corresponds to v. 2 of the MT, except for the expression *εἰς κρατῆρα* which is sub obelus in the Syro-Hexapla. Again here in some (hexaplaric?) MSS there is *σφάζω* with the -ν ephelcistic;
- the Greek v. 3 has *ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα* under obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, and it is also difficult to define the translation technique of this verse. In addition, there is *ἀποστέλλω* in a part of the textual tradition with the -ν ephelcistic;
- the Greek v. 4 is congruent to the MT v. 4;
- also the Greek v. 5 is the precise translation of v. 5 of the MT. In addition, there are some MSS which, instead of *τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων*, have the reading *τον εμον αρτον*, which is closer to the MT;
- regarding v. 6, in the apparatus there are some readings (*ἀπολίπετε, καὶ ζήσεσθε* and *καὶ ὁρθῇ ὁδῷ φρονήσατε παιδείαν*) being (hexaplaric?) corrections over the MT. In addition, although there is an obelisk in the second and third *stichoi* of the Syro-Hexapla, I concluded that the 6a is a much later translation as it is a literal reproduction of the MT;
- albeit that there is an extra *stichos* in the textual tradition of v. 7, v. 7 is actually a close translation of the MT of v. 7;
- albeit that there is an extra *stichos* noted in the textual tradition of v. 8, the Greek of v. 8 is a literal transition of the MT;

- again v. 9 of the Greek is a congruent translation of the MT. However, as underlined in the analysis, the translator probably added the accusative ἀφορμήν in the first *stichos*, making in this way explicit what in Hebrew is implicit;
- v. 10 is divided in the both *stichoi* 10^a and ^b and 10a, according to Rahlfs' text. I have concluded that 10^a and ^b are very parallel to each other, with 10^b being a later an even more literal translation which is closer to the MT and 10a being the OG;
- also v. 11 is a close translation of the MT;
- v. 12 is a literal transposition of the MT, with the ending addition of κακά, again making explicit what in Hebrew is implicit. Regarding the big addition 12a-c, I reconstructed its possible Semitic *Vorlage*, in many points similar to Fox's reconstructed *Vorlage*;
- about v. 13 has in the Greek ψωμός. I pointed to the fact that some of the variants (αρτων or αρτου) as noted in the apparatus can also be found in some of the daughter versions, which I will deal with in chapter 3. The Greek translator again proofs to be a good one and again, expressed the meaning of the Hebrew text in context and not word by word;
- v. 14 is a precise translation of the MT;
- v. 15 again is a precise translation, in which however there is the omission of the word 'street', in Hebrew דֶּרֶךְ. There is, however, a part of the textual tradition which have ὁδός;
- v. 16 was analysed in comparison to v. 4. Both verses have in the MT a similar text, albeit that the Greek translator rendered these verses in Greek with different words. Following Fox, I propose that this was because the translator wanted to differentiate between Wisdom's words and Wisdom's Folly;
- the Greek v. 17 has in a part of the textual tradition the verb 'to drink', πίομαι, which, as will be underlined in the third chapter, is also in the *Vetus Latina* and in the Armenian text. Again in this verse, the translator did not translate the Hebrew

text word by word, but rendered its parent text considering the meaning in its context. The translator again demonstrates good Greek style;

- v. 18 has a big addition, 18a-d, which is considered by many *Proverbs*'s scholars as of Greek origin. I have found however more evidences, albeit maybe not so strong evidences, of its possible Semitic *Vorlage*, such as the position of the adjective and the use of *καί* / *δέ*.

Albeit that it is difficult to come to final conclusions regarding family relations between manuscripts based on the analysis of just one chapter of a book, I can offer some preliminary observations:

- considering the -ν ephelcistic of the first three verses, it could put together MSS **A, 336, 549, 637, 706**;
- there are some MSS having corrections toward the MT — with the corrections clearly being later readings. These MSS are **46, 68, 106, 130, 248, 252, 260, 297, 311, 338, 613, 631, 728, 795**, which present in vv. 5, 6 and 15 corrections adapted upon the MT;
- v. 12, as said, is a quite close translation of the MT, with the only exception of *κακά* or *τὰ κακά* at the end of the verse, however attested in most of the MSS in which I found possible readings related to the MT.

Considering the translation technique of the whole chapter, the Greek text reproduces quite faithfully the MT, as listed. However, there are some verses which are debatable, as they might have some later corrections distinguishing between OG and later addition. These verses are vv. 2-3, 6, and 12:

- verses 2 and 3 are a close translation of the MT, except for the expressions *εἰς κρατῆρα* and *ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα*. About *ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα* in v. 3, it is possible, as Fox says, that it comes from v. 2, as internal harmonization. Beside, in v. 2 it seems to be an addition of the Greek text, which in fact has an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla;

- about v. 6, I hypothesised that *stichoi* b and c are OG, instead 6a is a later revision towards MT, as it is a more literal translation;
- v. 10 is divided, according to Rahlfs' diplomatic edition, in 10 *stichoi* ^a and ^b plus 10a. According to my investigation, 10^b and 10a are a double translation of the same Hebrew text. As 10^b is a more literal and close translation, according also to De Lagarde point of view, explained in the *Status Quaestionis*, I supposed that 10^b is a later reading, instead 10a is OG;
- finally, with regard to the addition of v. 12. I reconstructed, often like Fox, but not always, its Hebrew *Vorlage*, indicating that the addition is not to be credited to the Greek translator, but to his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

In addition to all these data, it should be said that in some passages the translator did not express the Hebrew text word by word, but he preferred to give a good Greek style, offering a translation of the meaning in its wide context or sometimes rendering explicit what in Hebrew remains implicit. This is the case of vv. 9, 15 and 17.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Hebrew text which the Old Greek translator worked with, was really close to the MT, albeit sometimes a bit longer (as was the case in v. 12) and sometimes a bit different.

Chapter 3

Analysis of the *Vetus Latina*, Vulgate and Armenian translation of Chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs*

In the third chapter, the Latin translation, both the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate, and the Armenian text of chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs* will be taken into consideration. As will be explained specifically in the introduction to each section, it is necessary to analyse the daughter versions in order to better understand the Greek text. In fact, a translation could be very important in understanding the parent text, as a daughter version can sometimes be the only attestation of an Old Greek reading.

3.1 *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate: History of the Translation⁵¹⁵

Scholars characterize the *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin) as the Latin translation of the Bible from Greek into Latin, having undergone different stages of development. The first Latin translations were based on Greek MSS dated from before 200 C.E.⁵¹⁶ However, a unique version of the *Vetus Latina* does not exist. Its history is that of endless revisions during the

515] I would love to thank Sr. Bonifatia. The *Vetus Latina* literature is not easy to find and it is even more difficult to find someone who can help manage and evaluate the critical value of the readings. For this reason, I really want to thank her for her kindness and her prompt replies.

516] Cf. Bogaert Pierre-Maurice, "The Latin Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible From the Beginning to 600*, vol. I. Edited by James C. Paget and Joachim Schaper, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 509.

centuries, to make the text better accord with the Greek text, and to make the Latin accord better with the evolving Latin language. For this reason, the *Vetus Latina* can be considered a collective term for all the Latin versions circulating at the beginning of the Christian era,⁵¹⁷ with the exception of Jerome's work.

In order to establish the readings of the *Vetus Latina* the following sources have to been consulted:

- Quotations in patristic literature, which however are to be considered with prudence as they are citations;
- Latin biblical MSS up to 800 B.C.;
- Carolingian and medieval Bibles;
- Glosses and additions to Jerome's translation;
- Liturgical texts;
- *Capitula* and *tituli*.⁵¹⁸

Despite the condition of the text, the *Vetus Latina* is a good witness of the Greek text, showing sometimes Greek readings of a Hebrew text, nowadays lost but older than the MT:⁵¹⁹

517] Jellicoe, *Modern Studies*, 249-250.

518] Cf. Bogaert Pierre-Maurice, "The Latin Bible," 507.

519] *Idem*, 509.

«Whenever a passage or a singular reading of the Old Greek translation has been altered by the hexaplaric or Lucianic revisions (not to speak of the *kaige* recension), the Old Latin text, where extant, can be very helpful, or even the only possible way of approaching the OG text. In some of these cases this OG text proves to be based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT.»⁵²⁰

The *Vulgate* was commissioned to Jerome by Pope Damasus, in order to standardise the “infinite variety” of *Vetus Latina* translations.⁵²¹ However, the Pope’s request was that a revision be made based on the Greek text used at that time. In fact, at the beginning, Jerome used the Greek text (see his work on the *Psalter*) and from this experience hybrid texts were born. However, deepening his knowledge of the Greek text, that was hexaplaric, he also started to admire the Hebrew text. Soon, the Hebrew text became his reference text. In fact, generally speaking, Jerome’s *Vulgate* is a faithful translation of the Hebrew Bible (MT).

There are in the *Vulgate* also examples of the two sources that Jerome used, resulting in rather hybrid texts, as can be found in the Books of *Esther*, *1-2 Samuel* and *Proverbs*. At the beginning, Jerome’s translations circulated in partial Bible codices or in “pandects”, that were influenced by other revisions or additions. With regard to *Proverbs*, Bogaert writes: «A certain Peregrinus chose to open his edition of Jerome’s *Iuxta Hebraeos* with two prefaces by Jerome, and his translation from a Hexaplaric Greek. He added a brief signed commentary. He inserted numerous passages belonging to the Septuagint, using Jerome’s (lost) first translation, from the Hexaplarian Greek.»⁵²² Thus Bogaert points to the mixed character of the text and this will

520] Cf. Treballe Julio, “Old Latin, Old Greek and Old Hebrew in the Book of Kings (1Kg. 18:27 and 2Ki. 20:11), *Textus XIII* (1986) : 85.

521] Jellicoe, *Modern Studies*, 251.

522] Cf. Bogaert Pierre-Maurice, “The Latin Bible,” 514.

be seen by my investigation, as chap. 9 has indeed a mixed text, based on the MT but with many Greek readings.

There is not yet a critical edition of the *Book of Proverbs* in the *Vetus Latina* series. I adopted the *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica* by Sebatier,⁵²³ that has in its notes a large number of patristic readings. For the *Vulgate*, I used both *Biblia sacra Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem*⁵²⁴ and *Biblia sacra Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*,⁵²⁵ but especially the first one, as it has a more complete and detailed critical apparatus.

In addition, I also consulted the *Altlateinische Handschriften Manuscripts Vieux Latins Répertoire descriptive Première partie: Mss 1-275 d'après un manuscrit inachevé de Hermann Josef Frede* by Gryson,⁵²⁶ but it does not have MSS about chap. 9.

523] Cf. P. Sabatier (ed), *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, vol. II (Remis, 1743).

524] Cf. *Biblia sacra. Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem*. Cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O.S.B. edita, Bd. 11, 1957.

525] Cf. Fischer B., nxcjfnovns I., Sparks H.F.D., Thiele W. And Weber R. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007.

526] Gryson, Roger. *Altlateinische Handschriften Manuscripts Vieux Latins Répertoire descriptive Première partie: Mss 1-275 d'après un manuscrit inachevé de Hermann Josef Frede*. Vol. I/2a. Beuron: Verlag Herder Freiburg, 1999.

3.2 *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* as Translations

I decided to investigate the Latin texts together. For this reason, in the following pages, there are the *Vetus Latina* with its translation and simultaneously the *Vulgate* with its own translation. The *Vetus Latina* has been translated by me; for the *Vulgate* the translation is that of Challoner.⁵²⁷ Beneath the *Vulgate*, I reported its apparatus,⁵²⁸ combining *Biblia sacra Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem* and *Biblia sacra Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, because their readings will be helpful to make a comparison with the Greek text and with the MT.

Finally, I also reproduced the Greek text below the *Vetus Latina* and the MT below the *Vulgate*, in order to facilitate the reader to follow my analysis.

3.2.1 *Prov. 9:1*

VL

*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum,
et subdit columnas septem.*

«Wisdom built for herself a house,
and placed seven pillars»

ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον
καὶ ὑπήρεισεν στύλους ἑπτὰ

Vulg.

*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum
Excidit columnas septem*

«Wisdom hath built herself a house
she hath hewn her out seven pillars»

9:1¹ *sapientia* < C | *aedificavit* : *aedificabit* X, Φ^p, Ψ^d ||
9:1² *excidit* < G, A

חֲכָמוֹת בָּנְתָה בֵּיתָה חֲצֵבָה עֲמֻדֶיהָ שִׁבְעָה

527] Challoner, Richard. *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible*. New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1954.

528] All the MSS of the apparatus are listed in the Appendix 2 *List of MSS and abbreviations used in the Vulgate Apparatus built up in the third chapter*.

In the *Vetus Latina*, the first verse has exactly the same word order as the Greek text. This is a consistent feature of all the verses in this chapter, as the *Vetus Latina* reproduces, sometimes also against good Latin syntax construction, the syntactic order of the Greek text.

Moreover, as in the Greek text, there is in the first *stichos* a dative of advantage, *sibi* for *ἐαυτῇ*, against the Armenian text and the MT, which have a possessive. The *Vetus Latina* has also *et* between the first and the second *stichos* as the Greek text, which is in opposition to the MT.

It is noteworthy that also the *Vulgate* attests the dative of advantage *sibi*, instead of the possessive in accordance with the MT. In fact, despite the relationship of the Vulgate with the MT, in this instance the Vulgate has a correspondence with the Greek text, *sibi* / *ἐαυτῇ*.

3.2.2. Prov. 9:2

VL

*Mactavit suas hostias,
miscuit in cratera vinum suum,
et paravit suam mensam.*

«She slaughtered her victims,
mixed in a bowl her wine,
and prepared her table.»

ἔσφαξεν τὰ ἐαυτῆς θύματα
ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἐαυτῆς οἶνον
καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἐαυτῆς τράπεζαν

Vulg.

*immolavit victimas suas,
miscuit vinum
et proposuit mensam suam.*

«She hath slain her victims,
mingled (her) wine
and set forth her table.»

9:2¹ *immolavit* < **C, M** : *immolabit* **C** : *inmolabit*
X || 9:2² *vinum* > **II**^H

שְׁבַחָהּ שְׁבַחָהּ מִסֵּכָה יִינָה אֶף עֲרֹכָה שְׁלֵחָנָה

The *Vetus Latina* is again an exact translation of the Greek text. In fact, it has the possessive in all the three *stichoi*, in accordance with the Greek text. I also note the use of the possessive in Greek and in Latin. In fact, the Greek has a possessive with a reflexive meaning and the *Vetus Latina* uses *suus-sua-suum*, used when the possessor is of the subject of the sentence (reflexive –possessive). It has a singular form for *crater*, like in the Greek text, in which εἰς κρατῆρα is a Greek addition without attestation in MT, as analysed in the previous chapter. Regarding the Latin expression *in cratera* for εἰς κρατῆρα, not attested in the *Vulgate*, it is interesting to see the use of the preposition both in Greek and in Latin, because, according to good Greek style, a locative should be there.⁵²⁹ This grammatical ‘mistake’ was possible because the distinction between εἰς and ἐν was not so strong anymore as in classical Greek, and εἰς absorbed in its meaning some uses of ἐν.⁵³⁰ The literalism of *Vetus Latina* preserves the construction; in fact, there is *in* plus accusative, which is used in classical Latin for *motum ad locum*. This is interesting because it shows the literal reproduction of the Greek text in the *Vetus Latina*.

In contrast to the Armenian text that adds and omits ‘and’ without any precise criteria but solely to produce internal harmonizations, the *Vetus Latina* also in this instance reports *et* between the second and the third *stichoi*, precisely as the Greek text.

About the *Vulgate*, in the second *stichos*, *miscuit vinum*, it does not have the possessive linked to the wine, in contrast to the Greek text but also to the MT.

529] Cf. *Il.* IV 260, *Od.* XX 253 (cf. LSJ⁹ 940-941).

530] Cf. Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 110-111.

3.2.3 Prov. 9.3

VL

*Et misit servos suos
convocans cum excelsa praedicatione
ad craterem, dicens:*

«and she sent her slaves
calling with loud proclamation
to the crater, saying:»

Vulg.

*Misit ancillas suas
ut vocarent ad arcem et ad moenia civitatis*

«She hath sent her maids
to invite to the tower and to the walls
of the city

9:3¹ *misit* < G, C, A, M || 9:3² *ut* > T* | *vocarent* : *vocaret*
A : *vocarem* Y* | *et* < G | *ad* > Σ, Υ, Γ^{A*} | *civitatis* + *dicens*
T

ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς ἑαυτῆς δούλους
συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα

שְׁלַחָהּ נְעֻרֶיהָ תִּקְרָא עַל־יְפֵי מִרְיָי קָרַח

This verse is a precise translation of the Greek text, even reproducing the same word order.

The *Vetus Latina* has a masculine form as object of the first *stichos*, corresponding to the Greek text, and the *Vulgate* has the feminine *ancillas* corresponding to the MT, as it should. About the syntax, there are two participles in the *Vetus Latina*, although not representing a standard Latin form, corresponds to the Greek: *convocans* / συγκαλοῦσα and *dicens* / λέγουσα.

The complement *cum excelsa praedicatione* perfectly matches with the Greek μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος, whereas *ad craterem* translates the Greek *motum ad locum* ἐπὶ κρατῆρα without misunderstanding.

The critical apparatus of the *Vulgate* reports some interesting different readings:

- In T* *ut* is omitted;

- In **A** there is *vocaret*, meaning that the subject is ‘wisdom’ as in LXX, albeit the Greek text has an implicit construction and the Vulgate a explicit one;
- In **T** there is *civitatis dicens*, and the participle *dicens* is the translation of the Greek λέγουσα.

Despite these readings, the Latin text of the *Vulgate* is not the exact translation of the MT. In fact, it translates with a hypotaxis the parataxis construction of the MT. Moreover, it translates with *arx* and with *moenia* the Hebrew concept for ‘highest place’.

3.2.4 Prov. 9:4

VL

*Qui est insipiens, declinet ad me.
Et egentibus sensu dixit:*

«Whoever is foolish, let he turn aside to me.
And to those lacking sense, she said:»

ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με
καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν εἶπεν

Vulg.

*Si quis est parvulus veniat ad me
et insipientibus locuta est:*

«Whosoever is a little one, let him come to me
and to the unwise she said:»

9:4¹ *si* < **G, C, A, M** || 9:4² *et* < **G** | *insipientibus* :
insipientibus **Ω**^{M*} | *est + dicens* **Q** | *est* : *sum* **L**

מִי־פָתִי יֵסֶר הַנָּה חֲסֵר־לֵב אֲמָרָה לּוֹ

The *Vetus Latina* is again a close translation of the Greek text. The adjective *insipiens* corresponds to the Greek ἄφρων, and it is used for the same Greek word also in vv. 13 and 16. Moreover, both words, *insipiens* and ἄφρων, etymologically speaking are constructed with the negative prefix in- and α-, and this is significant because it means that the Latin translators

reproduced the Greek text also in this aspect. The verb in Greek is a third singular person of the aorist imperative, and rightly the *Vetus Latina* has a conjunctive that is imperative in meaning. About the second *stichos*, again the *Vetus Latina* correspond to the Greek text, also in the word order, the only difference is the translation of φρενῶν with the singular *sensu*, which is an ablative as requested by the verb *egeo*.

The *Vulgate* is closer to the MT, as it should. In fact, for פָּתִי, the Greek uses ἄφρων and the Latin *insipiens*, both with moral meaning, instead the *Vulgate* translates with *parvulus*, ‘little child’, which can also indicate be ‘lacking’ in something, following semantically the word פָּתִי.

There are also little traces of a possible Greek influence. In fact, the *Vulgate* has *et* at the beginning of the second *stichos* and it has a perfect tense closing it, like the Greek text followed also by the *Vetus Latina*.

3.5.5 Prov. 9:5

VL

*Venite, edite de meis panibus,
et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis.*

«Come, eat of my breads,
and drink the wine that I have mixed for you.»

Vulg.

*Venite comedite panem meum
et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis.*

«Come, eat my bread,
and drink the wine which I have mingled for
you.»

9:5¹ *venite* < **G, C, A, M** | *meum* : *mecum* **G*** || 9:5² *et* < **G**
vinum + *meum* **C, Ψ^D** |

ἔλθατε φαγέτε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων
καὶ πίνετε οἶνον ὃν ἐκέρασα ὑμῖν

לִכְבֹּד לַחֲמֹו בְּלַחֲמֵי וְשִׁחֹו בַּיַּיִן מִסֻּכְתִּי

The *Vetus Latina* is a literal translation of the Greek; and in this regard, the construction *edite de meis panibus* is noteworthy. In fact, the verb *edo* is followed by *de* plus plural ablative, albeit an accusative would have been expected. It seems possible that here *de* plus ablative, maybe with a partitive nuance, reproduces the plural genitive of the Greek. Moreover, at the end of the verse there is the personal pronoun *vobis* like in Greek. For this instance, also The *Vulgate* is close to the Greek. In fact, the *Vulgate* reproduces again the MT, but there are however a feature reminiscent of the Greek text. In fact, like the Greek and the *Vetus Latina*, also in the *Vulgate* there is the personal pronoun *vobis* closing the verse.

Looking at the first *stichos* of the *Vulgate*, in opposition to the *Vetus Latina*, which has *edo*, it uses *comedo*, ‘eat together’. The verb *edo* in Latin is athematic and it was little by little normalized, and in later Latin, it was substituted by *comedo*, its compound.⁵³¹ In the *Vulgate*, *comedo* is followed by a singular accusative (good Latin construction) and singular (*panem meum*), as in MT, in opposition to the *Vetus Latina* that has a plural genitive following the Greek, as it would have been expected.

3.2.6 Prov. 9:6

VL

*Derelinquite stultitiam,
et quaerite prudentiam,
et corrigite scientiam in intellectu.*

«Abandon foolishness,
and look for intelligence,
and improve knowledge in understanding.»

Vulg.

*Relinquite infantiam et vivite
et ambulate per vias prudentiae.*

«Forsake childishness, and live,
and walk by the ways of prudence.»

531] Cf. Traina Alfonso and Giorgio Bernardi Perini, *Propedeutica al latino universitario*, (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1998), 192-193.

9:6¹ *relinquite* < **G, C, A, M** | *infantiam* : *infantia* **II^H** ||
 9:6² *et ambulate* < **G** | *per vias* **G, A** : *per viam* **C, Ω^M** : *in vias* **Φ^R, Z², Υ^D, Ω^J** : *in viis* **Φ^G**

ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην καὶ ζήσεσθε
 καὶ ζητήσατε φρόνησιν ἵνα βιώσητε
 καὶ κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν

עֲזֹבוּ פְתָאִים וְחַיּוּ וְאִשְׁרוּ בְדַרְךְ בִּינָה

The *Vetus Latina* is based on the Greek text, although the first and second *stichoi* both miss their second part. In fact, there is no attestation of καὶ ζήσεσθε and ἵνα βιώσητε, which instead are in the Greek and Armenian text. For the second *stichos*, it is possible that the *Vetus Latina* comes from a Greek MS very similar to **S** or **B**, which, according to Göttingen collation, do not have ἵνα βιώσητε.

Moreover, looking at the apparatus of Sebatier,⁵³² in *De civitate Dei* by Augustine, there is the quotation of this passage, saying: *Derelinquite insipientiam, ut vivatis / et quaerite prudentiam, ut habeatis vitam*, which is the close translation of the Greek text.

The Vulgate is a close translation of the MT. In fact, in contrast to the Greek, and consequently the *Vetus Latina*, which translates פְתָאִים with an abstract noun, underlining moral judgement, the Vulgate uses *infantia*, an abstract that is linked to the simplicity and infancy.

3.2.7 Prov. 9:7

VL
 Missing.

Vulg.
Qui erudit derisorem ipse sibi facit iniuram
Et qui arguit impium generat maculam sibi.

«He that teacheth a scorner, doth an injury to himself

532] Cf. P. Sabatier (ed), *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, vol. II (Remis, 1743).

and he that rebuketh a wicked man, getteth himself
a blot.»

9:7¹ *qui erudite* < **G, C, A, M** | *ipse* : *ipsi* **L*** | *sibi iniuriam facit* **Φ**,
Υ^o, **Ω** : *iniuriam sibi facit* **a, r, e, l, s, t** || 9:7² *et* < **G** | *generat*
maculam sibi **Π^h** : *sibi maculam generat* **Ω, a, r, e, l, b, s, t**

ὁ παιδεύων κακούς λήμψεται ἑαυτῷ ἀτιμίαν
ἐλέγχων δὲ τὸν ἀσεβῆ μωμήσεται ἑαυτόν

יִסֹּר לִי לֶקַח לוֹ קָלוֹן וּמִוִּכְיָה לְרָשָׁע מוֹמֵוֹ

There is no attestation of v. 7 in the *Vetus Latina*. There are twice possible explanations of its missing. First, the easiest one, v. 7 has been lost in all the attestations of *Proverbs 9*; second, v. 7 was not present in the Greek MSS translated in the *Vetus Latina* meaning that the Greek text we have now, which has been analysed in the previous chapter of this thesis, is a later translation of the MT, and for this reason the *Vetus Latina* did not translate it, simply because it was not in the first Greek text.

In comparison with the MT, where the verb of the second *stichos* is implicit, the Vulgate with a *variatio* makes it explicit, following in this way the Greek text. Moreover, in the MT there is לִי and then a possessive in the second *stichos*, which are in both instances translated in Greek with a reflexive pronoun. The *Vulgate* seems to translate like the Greek, using in both cases *sibi*.

In conclusion, in the analysis of v. 7 of the Greek text, I found out that the Greek text is a close translation of the MT. However, as there is no attestation of v. 7 in the *Vetus Latina*, I hypothesised that the Greek text is not OG, but a later reading and probably hexaplaric. The Vulgate translates the MT, albeit, in little details, it follows the Greek. This means that the Vulgate translates the Greek text and the Greek text translates the MT.

3.2.8 Prov. 9:8

VL

*Noli arguere malos, ne oderint te.
Corripe sapientem, et amabit te:
Corripe stultum, et adiecit ut oderit te.*

«Rebuke bad people, lest they will hate you
Reproach the wise, and he will love you:
Reproach the foolish, and he will hate you more.»

Vulg.

*Noli arguere derisorem ne oderit te
argue sapientem et diliget te.*

«Rebuke not a scorner lest he hate
thee.
Rebuke a wise man and he will love
thee.»

9:8¹ *noli* < **G, C, A, M** | *oderit* : *odierit* **G*** : *odiat* **X** || 9:8²
argue ... te > **G*** | *diliget* **G, A** : *diligit* **C, X, D, Q, Y, Θ, Z***,
T, S*

μὴ ἔλεγχε κακοὺς ἵνα μὴ μισῶσίν σε
ἔλεγχε σοφόν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε

אַל־תּוֹכַח לִין פְּרִישָׁנֶאךָ הוֹכַח לְחָכָם וַיֵּאָהֲבֶךָ

The first and second *stichoi* of the *Vetus Latina* are a close translation of the Greek text; however, the *Vetus Latina* has a *variatio* translating the Greek ἐλέγχω using in the first *stichos* *arguo* and in the second one *corripio*. This different translation is not present in the Vulgate, which uses in both *stichoi* *arguo*, following the Greek but also the MT, which has the same Hebrew verb. In contrast to the *Vulgate*, which, following the MT, has for the first *stichos* a singular accusative *derisorem*, instead the *Vetus Latina* has a plural accusative, *malos*, as the Greek text.

About the word *sapiens*, it is always used *Proverbs* 9 to translate the Greek σοφός, also in vv. 9, 11 and 12.

In the second *stichos*, in the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate two different words for 'to love' have been chosen. The *Vetus Latina* has *amo*, which corresponds to the Greek ἐράω or φιλέω, in opposition to *odisse*⁵³³ of the first *stichos* and possibly for this reason the Latin

533] Cf. Lewis-Short 107.

translator has used *amo*. The Vulgate has *diligo*, which corresponds to ἀγαπάω, both meaning first 'designate', 'esteem', 'love'.⁵³⁴

Finally, the *Vetus Latina* has a *stichos* more, in comparison with the Greek text, the Vulgate and the MT. This is the Latin translation of the third *stichos* attested also in the Armenian text. In the following analysis of the Armenian passage, it will be hypothesised that this line was based on an Old Greek text, because in the Syro-Hexapla it is marked with an obelus. In my opinion, both the *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian in this case are however based on an hexaplaric text.

3.2.9 Prov. 9:9

VL

*Da sapienti occasionem, et sapientior erit.
Notum fac iusto, et adjiecit percipere.*

«Give to the wise an opportunity,
and he will be wiser.
Make it known to the just,
and he will receive more»

Vulg.

*Da sapienti et addetur ei sapientia
Doce iustum et festinabit accipere*

«Give to a wise, and wisdom shall be added
to him.
Teach a just man and he shall make haste to
receive it.»

9:9¹ *da* < **G, C, A, M** | *da sapienti* **G*, A** : *da sapienti occasionem* **G², L², M², Q², C** = LXX : *sapientem occasionem* **M*** || 9:9² *doce* < **G, A** | *et* > **Y^p** | *festinabit* : *festinavit* **II^h, A, Q*, Y*, Z*, S*** | *accipere* : *percipere* **Σ**

δίδου σοφῶ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται·
γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι

תן לחכם ויחכמו עוד הודע לצדיק ויוסף לקח

534] Cf. Lewis-Short 580.

This verse of the *Vetus Latina* is again a literal translation of the Greek text, even in the syntactical order of the words.

As has been noted for other words in the analysis of the previous verses, there is a orderliness of translation in the *Vetus Latina*. In fact, the Greek *προστίθῃμι* is always translated in *Proverbs* 9 with *adicio* (also in v. 18), which is its correspondent Latin verb.⁵³⁵

The *Vulgate*, although apparently closer to the MT, has, however, some elements which could be seen as proof of a Greek influence. In fact, in *da sapienti*, which is the literal translation of the MT, some Latin MSS (**G**², **L**², **M**², **Q**², **C**) add *occasionem*, following the Greek and like the *Vetus Latina*.

In the second part of the first *stichos*, the *Vulgate* is not a literal translation of the MT, even if it expresses its same meaning. In fact, for example, the MT has the noun *תְּלִמָּה*, 'learning', which is translated with the verb *accipere* in the *Vulgate*, like in the Greek text. So again, albeit in little traces, the *Vulgate* shows a mixed text, based, as it should on the MT, but also influenced by the Greek text.

3.2.10 Prov. 9:10

VL

Principium sapientiae, timor Domini

[...]

Scire legem, sensus est optimi.

«The beginning of wisdom (is) the fear of the Lord

[...]

to know the law is of the mind of the best.»

Vulg.

Principium sapientiae timor Domini

et scientia sanctorum prudentia

«The fear of the Lord is the beginning
wisdom;

and the knowledge of the Holy is
prudence.»

^{535]} Cf. Lewis-Short 37.

9:10¹ *principium* < G, C, A || 9:10² *et* < G |
scientia : scientiae Q

9:10^a ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου

תְּחִלַּת חֵכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת קְדָשִׁים בִּינָה

9:10^b καὶ βουλή ἁγίων σύνεσις

9:10a τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

First, the *Vetus Latina* is clearly based on the Greek text; however, there is no second *stichos*. In the previous chapter of this thesis, I hypothesised that 9:10^b is the later and closer translation of the MT, instead 9:10a is the OG. As the *Vetus Latina* is from much before all the Greek MSS we have today, and for this reason, albeit through a translation, it is a good witness of a possible older Greek text, I think that the missing of 9:10^b signified exactly what I thought in my analysis of the Greek text. This is another proof of the later origin of 9:10^b, which could be hexaplaric (?) and surely not original.

The “third” *stichos* of the *Vetus Latina*, *scire legem, sensus est optimi*, has some little differences in comparison to the Greek text. In fact, the *Vetus Latina* does not translate the Greek γὰρ and, in addition, the positive adjective ἀγαθή is rendered with the superlative *optima*.

The *Vulgate* is, as it should be, a close translation the MT, without however the third Greek *stichos*, which is, according to my analysis OG.

3.2.11 Prov. 9:11

VL

Missing.

Vulg.

*Per me enim multiplicabuntur dies tui
 Et addentur tibi anni vitae*

«For by me shall thy days be multiplied,
 and years of life shall be added to thee.»

9:11¹ *per < G, C, A, M | me : hoc C | dies > L** || 9:11² *et < G | tibi anni vitae : tibi annis vitae A* : anni vitae tue X*

τούτω γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον
καὶ προστεθήσεται σοι ἔτη ζωῆς

כִּי־בִי יִרְבּוּ יָמַיךָ וְיִוָּסְפוּ לְךָ שָׁנֹת חַיִּים

The *Vetus Latina* is not attested for this verse. The reason of its missing, I think, can be very similar to those expressed in vv. 7 and 10. In fact, there are twice possible explanations: firstly, v. 11 has been lost in all the MSS attesting *Proverbs* 9; second, v. 11 was not in the Greek MSS translated in the *Vetus Latina*. This means that the Greek text we have now, which has been analysed in the previous chapter of this thesis, is a later translation of the MT and it is not OG, but probably it is an hexaplaric reading. For this reason, the *Vetus Latina* did not translate it, simply because it was not in the original Old Greek text.

The *Vulgate* is again a close translation of the MT, respecting also the word order of the MT.

3.2.12 Prov. 9:12

VL

*Fili, si sapiens eris tibi sapiens eris et proximis:
Si autem malus evaseris, solus hauries mala.*

- (a) **Qui fidens est in falsis, hic pascit ventos:
idem autem ipse sequitur aves volantes:*
- (b) *deserit enim vias vineae suae,
a semitis vero agelli sui erravit:*
- (c) *ingreditur autem per avia loca atque arida,
et terram destinatam in sitim;
contrahit autem manibus infructuosa.*

«Son, if you are wise for yourself
you will be wiser, and for your neighbour:
but if you went out evil,
alone you would be subjected to evil things.
(a) **Who is courageous in falsehoods,*

Vulg.

*Si sapiens fueris, tibimet eris
Si inlusor solus portabis malum.*

«If thou be wise, thou shalt be so
to thyself
if a scorner, thou alone shalt bear the
evil.»

this will as well herd winds:

but the same follows birds while they fly:

- (b) in fact, he forsakes the paths of his vineyard,
truly he wandered from the narrow ways of his little field:
- (c) but he goes through desert and arid places,
and through a land disposed in thirst;
but he gathers with hands barren things».

9:12¹ *si* > **Υ^o** | *si sapiens* < **G, C, A, M** | *eris + et proximis*
tuis **L, M, Φ^p, Ω^s** = LXX || 9:12² *si inlusor* **G, A** | *si +*
autem **A, L, M, D, Q, Y, Φ, Ξ, Z², S, Γ^A, Υ^o, Ω** | *inlusor +*
es **Υ^{o*}**: + *et* **T²**

υιέ, ἐὰν σοφὸς γένη σεαυτῷ, σοφὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς πλησίον

ⲛⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲓ

ἐὰν δὲ κακὸς ἀποβῆς, μόνος ἀναντλήσεις κακά

- (a) ὃς ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν, οὗτος ποιμανεῖ ἀνέμους,

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς διώξεται ὄρνεα πετόμενα

- (b) ἀπέλιπεν γὰρ ὁδοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος,

τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνηται

- (c) διαπορεύεται δὲ δι' ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου

καὶ γῆν διατεταγμένην ἐν διψώδεσιν,

συνάγει δὲ χερσὶν ἀκαρπίαν

The *Vetus Latina* has some interesting translation traits for this verse. First, it is clear that the whole of 9:12 is considered, like in the Armenian translation, as one unit.

The particle *autem* apparently does not have any correspondence in the Greek text, and it appears in *stichoi* 1, 2, 4 (and in *stichos* 4 twice). It is very plausible that *autem* is the translation of *δέ* with a variation in *stichos* 3, in which *vero* is used.

Considering the translation *fidens est* for ἐρείδω, it could be a interpretative translation. Whereas the Greek reads “do not lean upon falsehood” the *Vetus Latina* move a step further and reads: “be courageous.”

The literalism (against good Latin style) of the expression *idem ... ipse* is noteworthy in the second *stichos*. It is the literal translation of the Greek ὁ [δ'] αὐτὸς, in which the Latin translator rendered with two pronouns both the article and the personal pronoun.

Considering the expression *per avia loca atque arida*, it corresponds to δι'ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου, in which ἐρήμος can be an adjective and a noun. The Latin added the substantive *locus*, in order to create the same Greek expression. After this expression, the *Vetus Latina* has *terram destinatam* for the Greek γῆν διατεταγμένην, which its literal translation. However, the *Vetus Latina* clarifies the Greek construction, in fact it translated δι'ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου and γῆν διατεταγμένην both with an accusative bore by the preposition *per* and the verb *ingredior*, meaning that the Latin translator assumed the ellipsis of the verb in the second *stichos* of this verse.

Finally, the *Vetus Latina* translates with the plural neutral *infructuosa* the abstract noun ἀκαρπία.

The *Vulgate* follows the MT. But again, I note some translation traits which are reminiscent of the Greek text. For instance, in the second *stichos* the *Vulgate* does not have an abstract noun (like the MT which has לְבַדָּה) but, uses for the meaning ‘solitude’ the adjective *solus* like the *Vetus Latina* and the Greek text. Moreover, at the end of the second *stichos* the *Vulgate* adds the accusative *malum*, which is implied in the MT and which is rendered with the plural κακά in the Greek text and with *mala* in the *Vetus Latina*.

3.2.13 Prov. 9:13

VL

*Mulier insipiens et audax inops panis efficitur:
Quae non novit pudorem,*

«An unwise and audacious woman
turns out to be lacking of bread:
she who did not know shame».

Vulg.

*mulier stulta et clamosa plenaque
inlecebris et nihil omnino sciens.*

«A foolish woman and clamorous and full
of allurements,
and knowing nothing at all,»

9:13¹ *mulier* < **G, C, A, M** || 9:13² *et nihil* < **G** | *nihil omnino* : *nec omnino* Ω^S: *nicilhomius* X

γυνή ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ἐνδεὴς ψωμοῦ γίνεται
ἥ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃ

אִשָּׁת כְּסִילוֹת הַמִּיָּה פְתִיזוֹת וּבִלְיָדָה מָה

The *Vetus Latina* is again a close translation of the Greek text, again also in the word order of the text.

As noted in the analysis of v. 4, the *Vetus Latina* in the translation of chap. 9 always has *insipiens* for the Greek word ἄφρων.

However, *panis* is not the literal translation as in the Greek text there is ψωμός, 'morsel'. Looking at the previous chapter of this thesis, in the *apparatus* of 9:13, there are different readings for ψωμός. In fact, there is αρτων in **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637, 728** and in the Syro-Hexapla and αρτου in **103, 253**. It is plausible that the *Vetus Latina*, for its reading, depends on MSS related to **103** or **253**.

The *Vulgate* follows both the Greek text and the MT, showing again a mixed character. In fact, it changed the noun כְּסִילוֹת to the adjective *stultus*, as in the Greek text. Moreover, for expressing הַמִּיָּה, 'turbulent', it uses two adjectives, *clamorosus* and *plenus*. In the second *stichos*, the *Vulgate* has *inlecebris* for פְתִיזוֹת of the MT; but the second part of this *stichos* is

closer to the Greek text than to the MT. In fact, the Vulgate uses a participle, construction more similar to the Greek relative than to the finite verb of the MT.

3.2.14 Prov. 9:14

VL

*Sedet in foribus domus
in sella palam in plateis*

«She sits at the doors of the house
on the seat publicly in the squares»

Vulg.

*sedit in foribus domus suae
super sellam in excelso urbis loco.*

«Sat at the doors of her house
upon a seat, in a high place of the city».

9:14¹ < *sedit* **G, C, A** | *sedit* > **S*** : *sedet* **Σ^T, Λ, Ξ, Z, S², Γ^A, Υ^D** agre | *domus suae* : *suis* **Ω^M** : + *sedens* **L²** || 9:14²
< *super* **G** | *in* > **Γ^{A*}** : *et in* **Γ^{A2}, S***

ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ θύραις τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου

וַיֵּשְׁבָה לִפְתָּח בַּיְתָהּ עַל-כֶּסֶּא מְרֹמֵי קִרְיָת

ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐμφανῶς ἐν πλατείαις

The *Vetus Latina* is a close translation of the Greek text, except for the omission of the possessive pronoun in the first *stichos*.

The Vulgate is closer to the MT, as it should, but there is again a trace of Greek influence. In fact, it translates the Hebrew singular פֶּתַח, 'door', with the plural, like the Greek text and the *Vetus Latina*. The Vulgate translates with a perfect tense the perfect *qal* of the MT at the beginning of the first *stichos*. The Greek has an aorist, indicating an absolute action, rightly translated with a present tense in the *Vetus Latina*.

Finally, the η at the beginning of the verse is omitted in both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate*, and it is not also in the Greek text, meaning that for this both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* are based on the Greek.

3.2.15 Prov. 9:15

VL

advocans praetereuntes [...]

«calling who are passing by [...]»

προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας
καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν

Vulg.

*ut vocaret transeuntes viam
et pergentes itinere suo.*

«to call them that pass by the way
and go on their journey»

9:15¹ *ut* < **G, A** | *transeuntes viam* **C, Q, Φ^{RG}, Z², Υ^D**:
transeuntes per viam **Z*, G, A** || 9:15² *et* > **Γ^{A2}** | *itinere* :
in itinere **X, D, Y, Ω**

לְקַרְא לְעַבְרֵי־דֶרֶךְ הַמְּנַשְׁרִים אֶרְחוֹתָם

The little bit of text that survived in the manuscript tradition from the *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text.

The *Vulgate* is a literal translation of the MT, as it should, except for the singular form of *iter*, which is in the MT in the plural. There is a last note about the possessive *suo*. In fact, the *Vulgate* has a singular possessive referred to *itinere*, in opposition to the MT and the Greek in which the possessive is plural and related to those 'who are passing by' (τοὺς παριόντας) and to those 'who are keeping straight' (κατευθύνοντας). It is plausible that the *Vulgate* refers *suo* to 'her', to Madame Folly of the previous verses, as *suus, sua, suum* is used in Latin with a

possessive nuance when the possession is of the subject of the sentence, in opposition to *eius*, *eorum*, *earum*.⁵³⁶

3.2.16 Prov. 9:16

VL

*Qui est insipientior, divertat ad me.
Et indigentibus sapientia praecipio, dicens:*

«whoever is more unwise, turn aside toward me.

And who are lacking of wisdom I exhort, saying:»

ὅς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με
ἐνδεέσι δὲ φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα

Vulg.

*Quis est parvulus declinet ad me
et vecordi locuta est.*

«He that is a little one, let him turn to
me.

And to the fool she said:»

9:16¹ *quis* **G, A, M** : *qui* **C, X, II^{h2}, M, Z*, S, gsr** ||
9:16² *et* < **G** | *ad* : **a Y^p** | *vecordi* : *vecordis* **X**

מִי־פָתִי יֵסֶר הָנָה וְחִסְר־לֵב וְאִמְרָה לִּי

Considering the *Vetus Latina*, this verse should be analysed in comparison with 9:4.

First, there are some semantically variations. In fact, in 9:4 ἐκκλίνω is translated with *declino*, but here in 9:16 it is translated with *diverto*. Moreover, the adjective *egens* is used in 9:4 for ἐνδεής, whereas in 9:16 there is *indigens*. However, the *Vetus Latina* translates φρόνησις correctly with *sapientia*.

Regarding the *Vulgate*, it uses in 9:4 and here in 9:16 the same word *parvulus* for פָּתִי. However, in both of the verses there is the expression *veniat / declinet ad me*, that is a more literal translation of the Greek than of the MT. Moreover, there is the variety: *insipiens* in 9:4 and *vecor* in 9:16.

⁵³⁶] Cf. Traina Alfonso and Tullio Bertotti, *Sintassi normativa della lingua italiana*, (Bologna: Cappelli Editore, 1985³), 171-172.

3.2.17 Prov. 9:17

VL

*Panibus absconditis suaviter utimini,
Et aquam furtim dulciorem bibite.*

«Eat gently the secret bread,
and drink secretly the sweeter water.»

Vulg.

*aquae furtivae dulciores sunt
et panis absconditus suavior*

«Stolen waters are sweeter,
and hidden bread is more pleasant.»

9:17¹ *aquae* < **G, C, A, M** | *furtivae* : *fortivae* **Ξ^A**

ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε
καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ

מִי־מַגְנוּבִּים יִמְתְּקוּ וְלֶחֶם סֻתְּרִים יִנְעֶם

The *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text, reproducing the Greek word order and also the sequence, bread – first *stichos* / water – second *stichos*, precisely as the Greek. However, there are some little differences between the *Vetus Latina* and the LXX. In fact, in the second *stichos* the *Vetus Latina* uses *dulciorem*, being the comparative of the adjective, instead in the Greek there is γλυκερός, 'sweet'. The correspondence between *dulcis* and γλυκερός is perfect,⁵³⁷ but the Latin has a different morphological form. There are no evidences in the Greek MSS of a comparative adjective, and it can be hypothesised that the Latin translator confused γλυκερός with γλυκυτερός, and for this used the Latin comparative of *dulcis*.

The Greek, as noted in the previous analysis of this thesis, has κλοπή, 'theft'. This noun is changed in the *Vetus Latina* in an adverb, but it perfectly expresses the Greek meaning.

537] Cf. Lewis-Short 617.

It has been said in the Greek analysis of v. 17 that ἡδέως ἄπτω is in Greek the verbal expression for both the first *stichos* and the second one, in which it is omitted. In fact, in both *stichoi* it is with the genitive, ἄρτων κρυφίων and ὕδατος γλυκεροῦ. Differently to the Greek text, in the *Vetus Latina*, as the Armenian text, the *Vetus Latina* added the imperative *bibite* at the end of the second *stichos*, translating πίετε attested in the Greek MSS **106, 147, 795, 797**.

The *Vulgate* is close to the MT, also in the sequence water – first *stichos* / bread – second *stichos*, as the MT. However, the *Vulgate* has again features reflecting the Greek influence. In fact, it has the comparative *dulciores*, which is not in the Greek, but it is also in the *Vetus Latina*. The same comparative adjective can make hypothesised that there might have been Greek MSS with a comparative form, but there are no proof of this. Like the MT, as it should, the *Vulgate* does not have a verb, but it make explicit the verb 'to be', implicit in the MT. In addition, the Hebrew לָחֶם סְתוּרִים becomes the adjective *absconditus*, like the Greek text and the *Vetus Latina*.

3.2.18 Prov. 9:18

VL

*Et nescit insipiens quoniam terrigenae
apud eam pereunt,
et in profundum inferni incurrunt.*
(a) *Exili, noli demorari in loco eius,
neque intendas oculo tuo in eam.*
(c) *Ab aqua aliena abstine te,
et de fonte extraneo ne biberis*
(d) *ut longum vivas tempus,
adjiciantur etiam tibi anni vitae.*

«And the unwise does not know why
the earthborn die by her,
and they fall in the depth of hell.

Vulg.

*et ignoravit quod gigantes ibi sint
Et in profundis inferni convivae eius.*

«And he did not know that giants
are there
And that her guests are in the depths

Spring out, do not delay in her place,
 And do not turn your eye upon her.
 From foreign water keep away yourself,
 and from a foreign spring do not drink;
 in order to live long time,
 years of life will be also added to you.»

of hell.»

9:18¹ *et ignoravit* < **G, C, A, M**: *ignorabit* **G, X, A** : *ignovit* **II^{H*}** | *gigantes* : *gygantes* **C, M, Ω^S** : *gignantes* **Σ^T** | *sint* **L²** : *sunt* **X, L^{*3}, Y, Φ^{P*}, Ξ^{A*}, S^{*}** sed > **Ω^M** || 9:18² *et in* < **G** sed *in* > **Y, T** | *infern* : *inferi* **G** | *eius + qui adplicabitur illi* *descendet ad inferos nam qui abscesserit ab ea salvabitur* **G², C, X², Q², Ξ, Ω, arel^{bst}** [+ *enim* **X, Ω, arel** | *adplicatur* **C, X, Ξ** | *descendat ad infernos* **X** | *qui discesserit* **G** | + *qui nititur mandaciis hic pascit ventos immo autem ipse sequitur aves volantes* **C**]

ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ' αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται
 καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ

וְלֹא־יָדַע כִּי־גִיגָנִים שָׁם בְּעִמְקֵי שְׂאֵיִל קְרָאִיהָ

- (a) ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον, μὴ ἐγχρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν
- (b) οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον
 καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον
- (c) ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου
 καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίνῃς,
- (d) ἵνα πολὺν ζήσῃς χρόνον,
 προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς.

The *Vetus Latina* in comparison to the Greek text has some problems. In fact, 9:18b of the Greek text do not have a translation in the *Vetus Latina*, this section is completely missing.

Furthermore, the Greek personal pronoun ὁ δέ of v.18 of the Greek text does not have a correspondence in the *Vetus Latina*, in fact, there is not any pronoun. The Latin makes the subject of the sentence explicit with *insipiens*, linking this verse with the previous section, vv. 13-17.

The *Vetus Latina* translates with a causative clause, *quoniam*, the Greek ὅτι, which has, instead, an objective meaning in the Greek text. In this regard, also the Vulgate misunderstood

both the Greek text and the MT, which have an objective clause (ὅτι and כִּי), translating them with *quod* having a causative meaning, as *ignoro* can not have an objective clause with *quod*.

The expression ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου / בְּעֵמֶק שְׂאֵוִל, both the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* are closer to the MT than to the Greek text, like the Armenian text.

Regarding all the Greek particles of the passage, in line with 9:12, the *Vetus Latina* tried to reproduce them: in both *stichoi* of v. 18 there is *et* for δέ in the first one and for καί in the second one; in the second *stichos* of v. 18a there is *neque* for μηδέ; in the second *stichos* of v. 18c there is *et* for καί; in the second *stichos* of v. 18d there is *etiam* for δέ. The only Greek particle without a Latin correspondence is in v. 18c in the first *stichos*, in which there is δέ.

In the third *stichos* of the *Vetus Latina*, there is the pronoun *eius*, here used with possessive meaning. It does not have a correspondence in the Greek text. However, it is attested in the Armenian text, and it is attested in some Greek MSS (**S^c, V, 68, 103, 106, 130, 252, 253, 295, 297, 329, 333, 336, 534, 543, 549, 613, 728, 816**) and also in the Syro-Hexapla. It is really plausible that the *Vetus Latina* depends upon a Greek MS really close to them.

Finally, in the *Vulgate*, there is at the beginning of the second *stichos* *et*, which is not attested in the MT but is in the Greek text.

3.3 Conclusion regarding the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate

First, I will summarize verse by verse for both the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate my conclusion, then I will give my general results:

- v. 1 of the *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text, and the Vulgate to the MT, as they should. However, the Vulgate has the dative of advantage *sibi*, which is the translation of the Greek ἐαυτῇ;
- also v. 2 of the *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the LXX, and the Vulgate of the MT. But in the Vulgate, there is *vinum* without the possessive, and for this instance the Vulgate does not correspond neither to the Greek text nor to the MT;
- v. 3 of the *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text. The Vulgate here has an interesting characteristic, making the Vulgate close to the Greek text. In fact, it transforms the Hebrew parataxis in hypotaxis;
- v. 4 of the *Vetus Latina* is again close to the Greek text, and here for the first I noted a systematic correspondence between some Latin and Greek words. The Vulgate has *et* in the second *stichos*, being in this close to the Greek text;
- again v. 5 of the *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text and the Vulgate to the MT. But both text, the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate end with *vobis*, which is in the Greek, ὑμῖν, and not in the MT;
- v. 6 of the *Vetus Latina* is interesting, at the first twice *stichoi* the second part misses. The Vulgate for this verse is totally close to the MT;
- v. 7 of the *Vetus Latina* is missing. My hypothesis is that this verse was not at first in the Greek text, and the Greek text we have today is a later translation close to the MT. The Vulgate is close to the MT;

- v. 8 of the *Vetus Latina* has a *variatio*, using *arguo* and *corripio* for the same Greek verb, ἐλέγχω. In addition, the *Vetus Latina* has a *stichos* more, which will be also in the Armenian text, attested in the Syro-Hexapla under obelus. This means that *Vetus Latina* has been translated from an hexaplaric text. The Vulgate is the literal translation of the MT;
- again in v. 9 of the *Vetus Latina* a systematic translation has been found, in fact in chap. 9 the Greek προστίθμι is always translated with *adicio*. The *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text. The Vulgate has some features of the Greek text: first in the appartus some MSS add *occasionem* (ἀφορμήν) after *sapienti*; and the Vulgate also translates the Hebrew noun קִבְלָה with the infinitive *accipere*, like the Greek text having δέχεσθαι;
- in the previous chapter of this thesis, I hypothesised that 10a is the Old Greek and 10^b might be hexaplaric and not original. Considering the *Vetus Latina*, which does not have 10^b, this might be a proof more of my theory. In fact, 10^b is not translated in the *Vetus Latina*, probably because it is a later translation. However, 10a of the *Vetus Latina* has some differences in comparison to the Greek text: there is no γάρ, and ἀγαθή is translated with *optima*. The Vulgate is the close translation of the MT;
- also v. 11 of the *Vetus Latina* is missing, and I made the same hypothesis as in v. 7. The Greek text we have today could be a later translation and probably this verse was not in the Greek text from the beginning. The Vulgate corresponds to the MT;
- in v. 12 of the *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the Greek text also in the word order and in the treatment of the Greek particle. The Vulgate in the second *stichos* has *solus*, an adjective, close to the *Vetus Latina*, which has *solus*, and to the Greek, which has μόνος, instead the MT has the abstract noun לְבַדָּה. In addition, also the

Vulgate adds *malum* at the end of the second *stichos*, like the *Vetus Latina* and the Greek text;

- in v. 13 of the *Vetus Latina* there is *panis* for the Greek ψωμός. However, the Greek correspondence of *panis*, ἄρτος, is attested in MSS **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637** and **728** in the plural genitive ἄρτων, and in **103** and **253** in the singular genitive ἄρτου. It is really possible that the *Vetus Latina* derives its reading from a MS close to **103** or **253**, which, according to my analysis of the previous chapter of this thesis, have corrections toward the MT. In v. 13 of the Vulgate there is the adjective *stulta*, like the Greek text (and the *Vetus Latina* as well) having ἄφρων, and in opposition to the MT which has the abstract noun כְּסִילוּת;
- v. 14 of the *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the Greek text. The Vulgate corresponds to the MT, but it does not have the translation of הֵן at the beginning of the first *stichos*, as the Greek text and the *Vetus Latina*;
- vv. 15 and 16 of the *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text and the Vulgate to the MT;
- v. 17 of the *Vetus Latina* precisely corresponds to the Greek text, but it has the comparative *dulciorem* that is not in the Greek text; moreover, at the end of the second *stichos*, the verb *bibite* is expressed, which in Greek is not, but there are some MSS (**106, 147, 795, 797**) with this reading. The Vulgate is close to the MT, but in the second *stichos* there is the adjective *absconditus*, like in the Greek text and in the *Vetus Latina*;
- v. 18 of the *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text, and the Vulgate to the MT. But, in the *Vetus Latina* 18b is missing. Moreover, the expression *in profundum inferni* (*Vetus Latina*) / *in profundis inferni* (Vulgate) corresponds in both text to the MT, as the Greek text has πέτευρον, 'trap'.

In conclusion, the *Vetus Latina* is a translation from a Greek text, in some instances (as vv. 13 and 17) of some particular tradition of the Greek text. Surely, after this analysis it is possible to say that in some passages the *Vetus Latina* is a witness of an hexaplaric text (like v. 8). However, some verses (vv. 7, 10^b and 11) have no text in the *Vetus Latina*, and I hypothesised that the Greek text we have today is later and corrective upon the MT.

As my investigation has demonstrated, the Vulgate has an hybrid nature. It is certainly a translation from the MT, but it has also many elements that come from a Greek hexaplaric text.

3.4 The Armenian Text: History of the Translation⁵³⁸

Armenia became Christian in A.D. 301,⁵³⁹ and in order to catechize its people, it was necessary to teach the Bible in their own language. However, at that time Armenian people still did not have their own written language. Because of that, the monk Mesrop Mastoc' and

538] I would like to thank you Claude Cox for his kindness in giving me bibliography, that would not have been easy to find, like the copy of Jerusalem 1915 and Matanedaran 1500. In addition to this, he also provided me some his unpublished articles, like "Armenian Translations" and "Armenian Translations: Proverbs", which were very helpful.

539] Armenia was converted to Christianity. Until the II cent. C.E, Armenia was influenced by Syro-Palestinian Christianity from the South, then in the IV cent. A.D. there was a second evangelization from the West (Cappadocia). The official date for the conversion is A.D. 301, when Christianity became the state religion. However, historians moved the date to 314-315 C.E., as in 305 C.E. Diocletian abdicated and Armenian King Trdat, linked to him, could not be converted before 305 C.E. Moreover, until 313 C.E., there were in the Roman Empire few persecutions against Christians, under the reign of Galerio and Massimino Daia. In 313 C.E. there was the Milan Edict, and the year after at Caesarea an ecclesiastical council was called. For all these reasons, the official date for Christianity as state religion has been moved to 314-315 C.E. (cf. Nersessian, Vreg, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition*, (London: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 13ff.; Lucca, Paolo. *Le due versioni armene di 1 e 2 Cronache: analisi e confronto dei testi e loro rapporti con le versioni greca e siriana*, Diss. Venezia 2000-2001, 12).

the Catholikos Sahak invented the Armenian alphabet with the help of the Greek copyist Rufino who lived in Samosata.⁵⁴⁰

Koriwn, in chaps. VI-IX, XVI and XIX of the *Life of Mesrop*, speaking about the invention of the alphabet, says that the translation of the Bible into Armenian happened in two steps. It is not clear from this source the *Vorlage* of the first translation; surely, the second, which is not a translation but a revision of the first one, was done on the basis of Greek MSS coming from Constantinople. So, this second revision (called Arm 2)⁵⁴¹ is that found in the majority of the Armenian MSS and can be easily described; the first one (Arm 1) is more complex to identify⁵⁴². They differ in terms of translation technique. In fact, whereas Arm 2 tends toward literalism and reproduces the grammatical constructions of the parent Greek text, Arm 1 displays other characteristics⁵⁴³ and it is found only in some books of the Bible.⁵⁴⁴ After the

540] The historical source for the history of the invention of the alphabet and the translation of the Bible is *Vark' Mastoc'i* (that is, *Life of Mashtots*) by Koriwn, who was, he says, Mesrop's student.

541] Arm2 can be called 'revision', and has been done on the MSS coming from Constantinople, after the Council of Ephesus, as they were judged more faithful (cf. Lucca, Paolo. "1-2 Cronache nella versione Armena della Bibbia: dipendenze testuali e tecniche della prima versione armena." *Bazmavep* CLX (2002): 155).

542] Cf. Claude, Cox. "The Armenian Translation of the Bible." Paper presented at the International Conference "Where the Only-Begotten Descended: the Church of Armenia Through the Ages", Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, April 1-4, 2004; Lucca, *Cronache nella versione Armena della Bibbia*, 153-155.

543] Regarding 1-2 *Chronicles*, Lucca isolated both text, Arm 1 and Arm 2. From the phonetic perspective, he found out that Arm 1 transcribes λ with ղ and χ with խ, where Arm 2 uses լ and լք. Considering the morphological variants, they are not convincing, because they can depend on translation choices. Anyway, in 1-2 *Chr.*, both Arm 1 and Arm 2 added or omitted լլ freely. According to Lucca, the Syriac text has a primary role in the translation of Arm 1; however, its use is supported by the Antiochian Greek text, that explain most of the variants (Lucca, *Cronache nella versione Armena della Bibbia*, 162-165). Furthermore, Cox, in his article "The Armenian Translation of the Bible", lists the translation traits of Arm 1 that Lyonnet found out in the Gospel tradition: use of infinitive rather than a circumstantial participle; the addition of the personal pronoun after the verb; the frequent addition of լլ; the orthography of proper nouns; the alterations between singular and plural forms; syriacism. According to Lyonnet, all these traits are based on an old Syriac text (Cox, "The Armenian Translation of the Bible").

544] According to Lucca, Arm 1 is found in: *Ruth*, *1Kgs.*, *1-2 Chr.*, *Ps.*, *Sir.*, *Dan.*, *2 Macc.*

Council of Ephesus and after the second revision of the Bible, Arm 2 almost completely replaced Arm 1, which can be found only in some readings.⁵⁴⁵

Regarding the Armenian *Book of Proverbs*, it is still difficult to determine whether its *Vorlage* was Syriac or Greek. However, Cox, who made a collation of the text for chaps. 2, 9 and 20, claims that the parent text was surely hexaplaric. This hexaplaric nature is evident as the Armenian text preserves the additions of the Greek text; in some Greek witnesses, there are also the typical hexaplaric asterisks or obelus marking these additions.⁵⁴⁶

So far, there is not yet a critical edition of the Armenian text. For my translation, I used Zohrapian's diplomatic edition,⁵⁴⁷ with my own translation. In addition, I consulted MS 1925 (J1925 that has chap. 9 in folios 381–392) and Matanedaran 1500 (M1500 that has chap. 9 in folios 285–29).⁵⁴⁸

545] Cf. Cox, "The Armenian Translation of the Bible."

546] Cf. Cox, Claude. "Armenian Translations: Proverbs", in *Textual History of the Bible*. Eds. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, Matthias Henze, Russel E. Fuller. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2016.

547] Before Zohrapian's edition (1805), there was only the Oskan Bible (1666), as Armenian Bible; the latter was harmonized with the help of the Latin Vulgate. As Zohrapian judged the Oskan Bible as lacking in textual methodology, he "worked carefully and with a clear text-critical methodology" (cf. Zōhapien. *Astuatsashunch Matean Hin ew Nor Ktakaranats'*. I-IV. Venice 1805; repr. *The Zohrab Bible*, Introduction by Claude Cox, (Delmar: Caravan 1984), XIX.). He used eight complete MSS from the Venice catalogue and chose MS 1508 as base for its collation. However, in the apparatus he reports readings without specifying the MS attesting them (*Idem*, XII).

548] As most of the Armenian MSS underwent a later revision on the basis of Greek MSS (called as already noted Arm 2), it is really difficult to find a pure first Armenian text that escaped the revision. However, scholars argue that MS 1925 and Matanedaran 1500 present a purer text (cf. Zōhapien. *Astuatsashunch Matean Hin ew Nor Ktakaranats'*, XX).

3.5 The Armenian Text as Translation⁵⁴⁹

3.5.1 *Prov. 9:1*

Իմաստութիւն շինեաց իւր տուն,
եւ կանգնեաց սիւնս եւթն:

«Wisdom built her house
and supported it with seven pillars»

ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον
καὶ ὑπήρτισεν στύλους ἑπτὰ

The Armenian is really close to the Greek. In fact, it also reproduces the same word order. There is also *և* for *καί*, which is not attested in MT. However, it has been found out that both Arm 1 and Arm 2 freely added or omitted *և*, and this is also relevant for Armenian *Proverbs*. This freely adding and omitting of *և* can be considered a characteristic of the Armenian text, which tries to harmonize the readings within the text itself.

The only difference in comparison to the Greek is the use of the possessive *իւր* in the first *stichos*, instead of the dative of advantage as attested in LXX. This reproduces better the MT, which has a possessive pronoun. This details is common to the MT and the Armenian text, but both the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate are close to the Greek text, as analysed in the previous section of chapter 3 of this thesis.

549] The translation of the Armenian text is as literal as possible, for giving to the reader the best idea about the text. Moreover, for this section I thank Dr. Timothy Greenwood of the University of St. Andrews, and Claude Cox of the McMaster University for their precious help.

3.5.2 Prov. 9:2

Ձեն զգեցիս իւր,
եւ խառնեաց ի խառնելիս զգինի իւր,
եւ պատրաստեաց զսեղան իւր:

«She slaughtered her own sacrificial victims,
and mixed in mixing bowls her wine,
and she prepared her own table.»

ἔσφαξεν τὰ ἑαυτῆς θύματα
ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον
καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν

There are two differences in comparison with the Greek text. First, the term *խառնելի* is translated with a plural form, as further used in v. 3. Second, *և* is both between the first and second *stichoi*, but not attested in the Greek text, and between the second and third *stichoi*. About the presence of *և* also between the first and second *stichoi*, there is a part of the Greek tradition (MSS 68, 103, 106, 109, 125, 147, 252, 296, 339, 705, 795, 797) having also in this place, so presumably the Armenian tradition was based a MS close to the above mentioned MS cluster.

MS J 1925 does not have the third *stichos*.

3.5.3 Prov. 9:3

Եւ առաքեաց զծառայս իւր,
հրչել բարձր քարոզողութեամբ ի խառնելիս իւր՝

«And she sent out her slaves,
to summon with a stately proclamation to her drinking feast,»

ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς ἑαυτῆς δούλους

συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα

Here again, there is the addition of *ԷԼ*, which can freely be added and omitted, as said in the first verse.

Moreover, the Armenian text has ‘slave’ as male, like the Greek text, as it should be, and against the MT, which has נַעֲרָה, ‘maids’ as female, as analysed in the previous chapter.

In addition, the Armenian text changes the syntax. Whereas the Greek has a participle, the Armenian uses an infinitive. This change is also made also in v. 4 of the text, and it could be considered as an Armenian translation trait, aiming to have a better Armenian text.

3.5.4 Prov. 9:4

ԷԼ ասէ. Որ ոք իցէ անգգամ, եկեսցէ առիս:
ԷԼ ցպակասամիտսն ասէ.

«and she says: 'Whoever is a fool, let him come to me;
and to those lacking of sense understanding she says:»

ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με
καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν εἶπεν

The Armenian translators moved λέγουσα from the previous verse to 9:4, dividing the text differently from the Greek text. Moreover, the Armenian translator again changed the grammatical form, there is a participle in Greek and in the Armenian text there is a definitive verb, λέγουσα / ասէ with the addition of *ԷԼ*.

For translating the Greek ἐκκλίνω, the Armenian uses գամ, ‘come’. However, as analysed in the previous chapter, ἐκκλίνω means ‘to turn away.’ In this regard, the Greek literally translated the MT and they both express that the senseless man shall turn away from Wisdom. The Armenian, like the *Vulgate*, says that ‘he does come to her.’ Here, the Armenian text has the same verb as the *Vulgate*, which uses *venio*.

3.5.5 Prov. 9:5

Եկայք Կերայք ի հացէ իմմէ,
եւ արբէք զգինի իմ զոր խառնեցի ձեզ:

«Come, eat of my bread
and drink my wine, which I have mixed for you.»

ἔλθατε φαγέτε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων
καὶ πίνετε οἶνον ὃν ἐκέρασα ὑμῖν

The Armenian text is close to the Greek, as it should be. There is only also a difference in comparison to the Greek, that is the presence of the possessive *իմ* referring also to *գինի*, 'wine'. It has been probably added for harmonization, presumably for correspondence with 'my bread' of the first *stichos*, *ի հացէ իմմէ*.

3.5.6 Prov. 9:6

Թողէք զանդգամութիւն եւ կեցըիք.
Խնդրեցէք զիմաստութիւն զի ապրեսցիք:
Եւ ուղղեցէք զիտութեամբ զհանճար.
Եւ ուղիղ ճանապարհաւ իմացարուք զխրատ:

«Abandon folly and you will live,
seek wisdom that you may live,
and erect understanding with knowledge,
and understand advice with a right path.»

ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην καὶ ζήσεσθε
καὶ ζητήσατε φρόνησιν ἵνα βιώσητε
καὶ κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν

In comparison with the Greek text, there is no *καί* in the second *stichos*.⁵⁵⁰

550] For the analysis of *և* look at previous analysis, v. 1.

Furthermore, there is a *stichos* more in the Armenian text, that, according to the apparatus in the previous chapter (second) of this thesis, is also attested in some Greek MSS (**103, 161^{mg}, 248^{c(mg)}, 259, 260, 339**). This extra *stichos* is also attested in Sahidic and Akhmimic translations. That means that the Armenian translation comes from a similar type of text.

3.5.7 Prov. 9:7

*Որ խրատէ զչարս՝ առցէ անճիւն իւրոում անարգանս.
Եւ որ յանդիմանէ զամպարիշտս՝ ատեալ զանձն:*

«The one who instructs evil people, will gather disgrace for himself, and the one who rebukes an impious person hates himself».

ὁ παιδεύων κακούς λήμψεται ἑαυτῷ ἀτιμίαν
ἐλέγχων δὲ τὸν ἀσεβῆ μωμήσεται ἑαυτόν

The Armenian text is a word by word reproduction of the Greek text. There is *Եւ* as a translation of *δέ* in second position;⁵⁵¹ furthermore, the Armenian used a relative clause for rendering the Greek participle, *ὁ παιδεύων* / *որ խրատէ* and *ἐλέγχων* / *որ յանդիմանէ*. Moreover, the Armenian used a present tense for the Greek future in the second *stichos*.

3.5.8 Prov. 9:8

*Մի յանդիմաներ զչարս, զի մի ատեսցեն զքեզ:
յանդիմանեա զիմաստունն, եւ սիրեսցէ զքեզ.
զանմիտն, եւ յաւելցէ ատել զքեզ:*

«Do not rebuke evil people, lest they should hate you;

551] *Idem.*

Rebuke the wise person and he will love you;

(Rebuke) the foolish, and he will increase his hatred of you”».

μὴ ἔλεγχε κακοὺς ἵνα μὴ μισῶσίν σε
ἔλεγχε σοφόν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε

The first twice *stichoi* are a reproduction of the Greek text, also in the word order. There is only one little addition in the Armenian that is -ւ at *իմաստուն*, 'the wise'. This addition at the end of the word is used in Armenian grammar to determine the word itself, meaning that the Armenian translator wanted to identify a specific wise man.

Moreover, the Armenian text has here a line more, as attested in Greek MSS **254** and **754**, in the *Vetus Latina* and in the Syro-Hexapla attesting it with an obelus. As the Syro-hexapla has this *stichos* with an obelus, it means that it is quite surely the Old Greek; this proves again that the Armenian text is based on the Greek Hexaplaric tradition.

J1925 does not attest the last *stichos*.

3.5.9 Prov. 9:9

Տուր իմաստունին պատճառս՝ եւ իմաստնազոյն եւս լըցի:
տեղեկացո զարդարն, եւ յաւելցէ ընդունել:

«Give opportunities to the wise person and he will become still wiser;

inform the just person, and he will increase receive more.»

δίδου σοφῷ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται·
γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι

The Armenian text is a close translation of the Greek text, also reproducing ἀφορμὴν / *պատճառս*, albeit that *պատճառք* in the plural can be considered as *pluralia tantum*.

Both J1925 and M1500, instead of *տեղեկացո* attest *ծանո*, 'admonish'. The same reading is also in Zohrapian's apparatus; however, in this edition it is not specified which other MSS have this reading. This reading can come from the previous verse, in which the second *stichos* has a close meaning.

3.5.10 Prov. 9:10

*Սկիզբն իմաստութեան՝ երկեւղ Տեառն.
Եւ խորհուրդ սրբոց Հանճար:
Իմանալ զաւրէնս՝ մտաց առատաց է:*

«The beginning of wisdom (is) the fear of the Lord

and counsel of the Saints is understanding,

to know the law is (the sign) of a sound mind.»

9:10^a ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου

9:10^b καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις

9:10a τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

The first two *stichoi* faithfully reproduce the Greek text, also in the word order and in the position of the words. In the third *stichos*, however, there are some differences in comparison to the Greek. First, there is no γάρ in the Armenian, as in the *Vetus Latina*. Furthermore, the verb 'to be' in the Armenian text is at the end of the third *stichos*, and not in the second to last position. Moreover, the Armenian, for ἀγαθός, chose *առատ*, which has a more strong moral meaning, if compared to ἀγαθός. In fact, *առատ* means 'generous'.

3.5.11 Prov. 9:11

*Այսու աւրինակաւ բազում ժամանակս կեցցես.
եւ յաւելցին քեզ ամբ կենաց:*

«in this way you will live a long time
and years of life will be added to you».

τούτω γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον
καὶ προστεθήσεται σοι ἔτη ζωῆς

Considering the first *stichos* of the Armenian text, there is again – as in v. 10 – no γάρ, there is only *այսու աւրինակաւ* for τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ. Looking at the apparatus of v. 11 of the previous chapter of this thesis, γάρ is omitted also in MS **103** and in the Bo^B translation, meaning that there was a part of the manuscript tradition in which γάρ was not attested. As in v. 10, the verb *կեցցես*, translating ζάω, is not in the second to last position like in the Greek text, but at the end of the *stichos*. The Greek word χρόνος is rendered with the plural of *ժամանակ*, as it is again used in the singular and in the plural as a collective word.

The word order of the second *stichos* perfectly reproduces the Greek text.

3.5.12 Prov. 9:12

*Որդեակ իմ՝ թէ իմաստուն լինիցիս,
անձին քում իմաստուն իցես՝ եւ ընկերաց:
եւ եթէ անզգամ իցես՝ միայն պեղեսցես զչարիս:
Որ հաստատի ի ստույգիւն՝ նա զհոգմս արածէ*

եւ նոյն հալածէ զթռչունս թեւաւորս:

Զի եթող զճանապարհս այգւոյ իւրոյ,

եւ ի շաւղաց անդոյ իւրոյ մոլորեալ է:

Գնայ ընդ անջրդին եւ ընդ անապատն.

եւ ընդ երկիր կարգեալ ի ծարաւուտ.

եւ ժողովէ ձեռաւք իւրովք զանպտղութիւն:

«My son, if you become wise,
you will be wise for yourself and for (your) neighbours;
and if you are foolish, you bear the evils alone.
He who supports himself in falsehood, he will herd winds,
and the same person will pursue flying birds,
for he has forsaken the ways of his vineyard
and has strayed from the paths of his own field.
He travels through the waterless place and the deserted
and a land destined to drought
and gathers barrenness with his hands».

υιέ, ἐὰν σοφὸς γένη σεαυτῷ, σοφὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς πλησίον
ἐὰν δὲ κακὸς ἀποβῇς, μόνος ἀναντλήσεις κακὰ

- (a) δς ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν, οὗτος ποιμανεῖ ἀνέμους,
 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς διώξεται ὄρνεα πετόμενα
- (b) ἀπέλιπεν γὰρ ὁδοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος,
 τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνηται
- (c) διαπορεύεται δὲ δι' ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου
 καὶ γῆν διατεταγμένην ἐν διψώδεσιν,
 συνάγει δὲ χερσὶν ἀκαρπία

Generally, the Armenian text is a faithful reproduction of the Greek text, as it should be. However, there are some little differences in comparison with the Greek.

Apparently in this passage the Armenian translator added *և* in many passages; however after a deep analysis, it is clear that the Armenian translator has been so faithful to the Greek text, that he reproduced also *δέ* in second position in vv. 12, 12a, 12b and 12c; in 12c *և* also translated *καί*.

First, at the beginning of the passage the possessive adjective is added, *իմ*. This does not have any attestation in Greek manuscripts or in the *Vetus Latina*, meaning that there is no textual proof of it.

Both J1925 and M1500 have one word more, *պիսիկն*, which is connected to 'winds'. In addition, both of them use (as also in 9:18) *քանզի* instead of *զի*. Again, there are the same readings in Zohrapian's apparatus, without, however, a further specification of which MSS have this reading.

3.5.13 *Prov. 9:13*

*Կին անզգամ և յանդուգն կարաւտ լիցի հացի.
և որ ոչ գիտէ զամաւթ:*

«The foolish and audacious woman will be in need of food,
and one who knows no shame».

γυνή ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ἐνδεὴς ψωμοῦ γίνεται
ἢ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃν

The Armenian text is close to the Greek, there is only a difference. In fact, the Armenian text has *հացի*, 'bread', for *ψωμός*. However, *ἄρτος* is a variant reported in the apparatus on 9:13 of the previous chapter of this thesis: *αρτων* is in **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637, 728** and in the Syro-Hexapla.; *αρτου* is in **103, 253** and in the Armenian translation. In this way, the Armenian text corresponds to the Greek witnesses.

In addition, in the second *stichos* of the Armenian text there is ԷԼ. Looking at the apparatus of the previous chapter, *καί* is attested in MS **222** and **329**, being close to the MT.

3.5.14 *Prov. 9:14*

Նստաւ առ դրուես տան իւրոյ
աթոռով յայտնապէս ի հրապարակս.

«She sat at the doors of her own house,
on a seat, openly in the squares».

ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ θύραις τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου

ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐμφανῶς ἐν πλατείαις

The Armenian text follows the Greek, as it should. However, at the end of the verse the Armenian has *ի հրապարակս*, 'squares', translating *ἐν πλατείαις*, 'in the streets'. In addition to this, also the *Vetus Latina* has a translation closer to the Armenian, as it has *in plateis*, 'in the squares'. There are no proof for this reading in the Greek apparatus of the previous chapter of this thesis, but they both might have had a common witness now lost.

3.5.15 *Prov. 9:15*

ԷԼ կոչէ զանցաւորս
որ զնայցեն ուղիղ զճանապարհս իւրեանց:

«And she calls the passers-by
who are keeping straight in their ways.»

προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας
καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν

The Armenian uses the noun *անցաւորս* for the Greek participle τοὺς παριόντας. In addition, the Armenian text does not attest καί at the beginning of the second *stichos*, deleting the coordinative between the nouns. However, the Armenian text added *և* at the beginning of the first *stichos*, without any attestation in the Greek; this *և* is not attested in M1500. Finally, it uses a relative clause for the second participle, *որ գնացեն* / κατευθύνοντας, as happened in v. 7, in which a participle became in Armenian a relative clause.

3.5.16 Prov. 9:16

Որ որ իցէ ի փնջ առաւել անմտադոյն՝ առ իս դարձցի:
և պաղատամտացի հրաման տաւ, և ասեմ:

«Whoever of you is more foolish, let him turn to me,
and to those that are in need of prudence, as well I say.»

ὅς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με
ἐνδεέσι δὲ φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα

As analysed in the Greek text, this verse is strictly linked to v. 9:4.⁵⁵² The Armenian translation in 9:16 is a literal translation of the Greek. In fact, it translates ἐκκλίνω with *դարձուցանեմ*, 'turn'. However, comparing the translation of v. 4 and 16, in which the Greek used in both instances ἐκκλίνω, the Armenian (but also the *Vetus Latina* has this *variatio*) used two different verbs, in v. 4 *եկեցէ*, 'come', and v. 16 *դարձցի*, 'turn', both cases different from the meaning of the Greek verb. Moreover, the Greek vv. 4 and 16 have in the first *stichos* ἄφρων and its superlative ἀφρονέστατος, different form of the same Greek root. Instead, the Armenian text has here a *variatio*, in opposition also to the *Vetus Latina*, which it has been noted is

552] Cf. See chap. 2.

systematic in its translation; in fact, the Armenian in v. 4 has *անգիտամ*, 'ignorant', and in v. 16 *անմտազ*, 'foolish'.

In the second *stichos*, the Armenian text has a different word order and, again, the Armenian translator rendered (as in vv. 7 and 15) the participle λέγουσα with a finite verb, *ասեմ*, adding the coordinative *և*. Moreover, *և* at the beginning of the second *stichos* is again the translation of *δέ* in second position, as analysed in v. 12.

Concerning J1925, it has *խոտորեցի*, 'divert', instead of *դարձցի*, being in this way the original reading closer to the Greek text. Moreover, in J1925 the expression *սու իս* stands after the verb, not before. The same reading is also in Zohrapian's apparatus, but again it is not specified which other MSS attest this reading.

3.5.17 Prov. 9:17

*Հաց գաղտնի մտադելը կերիջիք,
և ջուր գողունի՝ ախորժեղով արբջիք:*

«Eat secret bread gladly,
and drink stolen water with delight.»

ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε
καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ

The Armenian has in the second *stichos* the verb to 'drink'; the latter is not attested in the Greek text and in the MT. However, looking at the apparatus of the previous chapter of this thesis, it is noteworthy that there is *πίομαι*, 'to drink', in some Greek MSS (**106, 147, 795, 797**) and in the Aldina. The addition of the verb 'to drink' indicates that the Armenian was made from a Greek MS that had this reading.

The Armenian text has an instrumental, *ախորժեղով*, 'with delight', instead of the Greek adjective. It is possible that the Armenian translator harmonized and stylized the Greek construction, as there is also in the first *stichos* an adverb.

3.5.18 Prov. 9:18

Եւ ո՞րք գիտէ թէ երկրածինք առ նմա կորնչին.

Եւ ի թափս դժոխոց հասանեն:

(a) *Այլ դու ի բաց ոստիւր, եւ մի յամեր ի տեղւոջ նորա.
Եւ մի հաստատեր զակն քո ի նա:*

(b) *Զի այնպէս անցցես ընդ ջուրն աւտար.
Եւ անցանիցես ընդ գետն աւտարական:*

(c) *Եւ ի ջրոյ աւտարէ ի բաց լինիցիս.
Եւ յաւտար աղբիւրէ մի ըջպիցես:*

(d) *Զի բազում ժամանակս կեցցես.
Եւ յաւելցին քեզ ամբ կենաց:*

«And who does not know that the mortals perish with her,
and they come to the depths of hell?

But you, run away and do not linger in her place;

and do not fix your eye upon her,

For so you will cross through strange water

and pass through the strange river.

And stay away from strange water,

and do not drink from a well,

that you may live for a long time

and years of life may be added to you.»

ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ' αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται

καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ

(a) *ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον, μὴ ἐγχρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν*

(b) *οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον
καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον*

(c) *ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου
καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίνῃς,*

(d) *ἵνα πολὺν ζήσῃς χρόνον,
προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς.*

Again as in some other previous verses, like v. 12, *և* is used for both translating *καί* and *δέ*, and in v. 18a also the negative coordinative *μηδέ*.

It is remarkable that v. 18 is closer to the MT than to the Greek. In fact, the Armenian *ի թափս դժոխոց*, 'to the depths of the hell' is in the MT *בְּאֵתְּ דִּמְּוִיָּה*, 'in the depth of Underworld', whereas in the Greek text there is *ἐπὶ πέτευρον ᾗδου*, 'in the trap of Hades'.

There is a possessive in v.18a in the expression *ի տեղւոյ նորա*. The possessive is attested in some Greek MSS (*S^c, V, 68, 103, 106, 130, 252, 253, 295, 297, 329, 333, 336, 534, 543, 549, 613, 728, 816*) and also in the Syro-Hexapla. For this reason, it can be concluded that the Armenian text comes from a source text close to the text in this cluster one of these MSS.

Both J1925 and M1500 have *յատակս*, 'land', for *թափս*, in the second *stichos* of v. 18. Furthermore, they also attest *ի բաց վազեա*, meaning 'run away', for *սստիր* in v. 18a. This reading, *ի բաց վազեա*, is a closer translation of the verb *ἀποπηδάω*, 'turn away', and being for this reason the older and original translation. The same readings are also in Zohrapian's apparatus, with again no information about the other MSS, which have the same reading.

3.6 Conclusion regarding the Armenian Text

Below, I will summarise verse by verse the results of my investigation of the Armenian text. I will focus on where the Armenian is close to the Greek and in case of differences with the Greek text, I will point out whether or not the text is close to the MT and thus could be considered hexaplaric corrections :

- v. 1 of the Armenian text is close to the Greek;
- v. 2 is close to the Greek test. However, the Armenian text has two little differences: *խառնելի* is used for *κρατήρ* in its plural form (something that happens sometimes in the Armenian text, as it uses collective forms); second, there is *և* between the first

twice *stichoi*, and *καί* is attested also in Greek MSS **68, 103, 106, 109, 125, 147, 252, 296, 339, 705, 795, 797**;

- the Armenian text for v. 3 is close to the Greek, but here for the first time in chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs* (and then this change occurs again in vv. 4, 7, 15 and 16), the Greek participle is rendered with a finite Armenian verb, that can be considered a translation trait of the Armenian text;
- v. 4 of the Armenian text is close to the Greek. It should be noted, in comparison with v. 16, that, although the Greek is systematical in the use of *ἐκκλίνω*, in vv. 4 and 16 the Armenian text uses three different verb, not respecting in this case the regular Greek translation;
- in the Armenian text v. 5 is close to the Greek. It has only been added the possessive *իմ* in concordance with 'wine', probably for harmonization with the first verse;
- v. 6 of the Armenian text is close to the Greek one in the first three *stichoi*, with the exception of the addition of *և* at the beginning of the second Armenian *stichos* without attestation in Greek. Furthermore, the Armenian text has a *stichos* more, which is also in Greek MSS **103, 161, 248, 259, 260** and **339**;
- in v. 7 there is the translation of *և* for Greek *δέ*. In addition, as mentioned previously, there is the translation of the Greek participle with a relative Armenian clause, but generally the Armenian text of this verse is close to the Greek;
- v. 8 of the Armenian text is close to the Greek. But the Armenian has a line more, which is also attested in the *Vetus Latina*, in the Syro-Hexapla (in this last one it is with an obelus) and in the Greek MSS **254** and **754**;
- v. 9 of the Armenian text reproduces the Greek text;
- v. 10 perfectly translates the Greek text. However, the third line (10a) does not have in the Armenian text the translation of *γάρ*, as mentioned earlier in the *Vetus Latina* text, and also the Armenian text does not have the same Greek word order;
- v. 11 has the same characteristics of the v. 10. In fact, there is no correspondent word for *γάρ*, and its lack is also in Greek MSS **103**. Moreover, the position of the verb of the first *stichos* has been moved from the second to last position of the Greek text to the last one;

- v. 12 is there in the Armenian text with the whole big addition, correspondent to the Greek text. In the Armenian, there is the repetition of *և* used for both *δέ* and *καί*. There is also the addition of the possessive *ի* as in line 5;
- in v. 13, as in the *Vetus Latina*, the Armenian text does not translate the Greek word *ψωμός*, but there is *հացի*, 'bread', in its singular form. The same form is attested in Greek MSS **103** and **253**. In addition, the Armenian text has *և* at the beginning of the second *stichos*, like the MT and like the Greek MSS **222** and **329**;
- v. 14 is close to the Greek text. There is only one difference: the Armenian has the expression *ի հրապարակս*, 'in the squares', as the *Vetus Latina*, for the Greek *ἐν πλατείαις*, 'in the streets';
- v. 15 of the Armenian text is close to the Greek text. As mentioned previously, the two Greek participle are translated with a noun and with a relative clause;
- the Armenian v. 16 is close to the Greek in its meaning, but the Armenian is not systematic as the Greek text. Comparing vv. 4 and 16, the Armenian uses two different words for *ἄφρων* and also for the verb *ἐκκλίνω*. In addition, again the Armenian translates with a finite verb;
- v. 17 is close to the Greek text. The only difference is the addition of the verb 'to drink' that is also in Greek MSS **68, 103, 106, 147, 795, 797**;
- v. 18 is in the Armenian with the all big addition of the Greek text. As in v. 12, *և* is used for both translating *καί* and *δέ*, and in v. 18a also the negative coordinative *μηδέ*. As in the *Vetus Latina*, the expression in the second *stichos*, *ի թափս դժոխսոց*, 'to the depths of the hell', is closer to the MT than to the Greek text. Moreover, in v. 18a, there is the addition of the possessive *հորա*. This possessive is attested in some Greek MSS (**S^c, V, 68, 103, 106, 130, 252, 253, 295, 297, 329, 333, 336, 534, 543, 549, 613, 728, 816**) and also in the Syro-Hexapla.

Generally, the Armenian text is close to the Greek. There are only two verses, in which the Armenian seems to reproduce a text that looks like the MT, that are vv. 4 and 18:

- for v. 4, analysed in relation to v. 16, the Armenian does not reproduce the parallelism of the Greek text. In fact, it seems that the Armenian text translates a verb that is closer to the Hebrew;

- the reading of v. 18 is more important. In fact, it has the same Hebrew expression, and it also has the subject of the sentence in plural, as in the MT.

These readings do not indicate that the Armenian translator had also the Hebrew text in front of him; there are no historical sources for this way of reasoning. In fact, it is clear that the source text of the Armenian translation was Greek, more precisely a hexaplaric Greek text.

There are five verses (2, 6, 8, 13, 17 and 18) that have different readings, attested also in Greek MSS. One of these verses, v. 8, has an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla, meaning that the Armenian text is based on hexaplaric tradition.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

In the first chapter of this thesis, *Status Quaestionis*, I critically reviewed what scholars said about the *Book of Proverbs*, in order to be acquainted with their opinions and scholarly analyses. With regard to the relation between the Hebrew and the Greek texts of the *Book of Proverbs*, most scholars characterized the Greek translation as a free one. More specifically, the Greek translator was considered to often add and rarely omit verses.

Among all scholars who studied this book, two of them need to be mentioned: De Lagarde and Fox. Both of them studied the *Book of Proverbs* from a wider perspective, aiming to take together the textual transmissions of both the Hebrew and Greek texts. From them I especially learned that, studying the Greek text, it could be that the Greek text is a translation from a Semitic *Vorlage* and that this Hebrew text is not necessarily the MT as we have today.

Then, I proceeded and analysed chapter 9 of the *Book of Proverbs*. I have chosen this chapter, because of its textual problems in the Greek translation. In addition, it could be a good starting point, in order to understand the translation technique of the Greek translator. I have taken into consideration the textual traditions of both the Hebrew and the Greek text and the translation technique of the Greek text in comparison to the Hebrew. For this reason, in the second chapter, I divided the analysis of each verse of chap. 9 in two sections: “Textual Development and Readings in the Apparatus” and “Translation Technique”. In the first one, “Textual Development and Readings in the Apparatus”, I analysed and explained what the apparatus, which I built up for each verse with the help of the collation of the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* in Göttingen, says, trying to give reasons for the different readings. In the second section, “Translation Technique”, I compared the Greek and the Hebrew text, combing the different levels of analysis (style, semantic, grammar).

Finally, in the third chapter, I considered the Latin translation of chap. 9 of the *Book of Proverbs*, both the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate, and the Armenian translation. Both the *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian text are considered daughter versions of the Greek text. In fact, my analyses underlined these translations as close to a Greek text, based on an hexaplaric

tradition. In contrast, the Vulgate translates the MT, as it should, but it has some characteristic proper of the Greek text, and for this reason I define the Vulgate as having hybrid features.

I will now summarise verse by verse my conclusions, combining the data found in the second and third chapters. At the end, I will give the general results:

- the Greek v. 1 is a precise translation of v. 1 of the MT. The *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian text are close to the Greek text, and the Vulgate to the MT, as they should. However, the Vulgate has the dative of advantage *sibi*, translation of the Greek ἐαυτῇ;
- the Greek v. 2 corresponds to v. 2 of the MT. In the Greek text, there is the expression εἰς κρατῆρα with an obelus in the Syro-Hexapla. For this verse, the *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the Greek, and the Vulgate of the MT. But in the Vulgate, there is *vinum* without the possessive, and for this instance the Vulgate does not correspond neither to the Greek text nor to the MT. The Armenian text is generally close to the Greek, but it has ԼԼ between the first twice *stichoi*, and καί is attested also in Greek MSS **68, 103, 106, 109, 125, 147, 252, 296, 339, 705, 795, 797**;
- the Greek v. 3 has ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα under obelus in the Syro-Hexapla. The translation technique of this verse is really difficult to define, and it can not be said that it is close to the MT. The *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text. The Vulgate, being closer to the Greek text, transforms the Hebrew parataxis in hypotaxis. Finally, the Armenian text for v. 3 corresponds to the Greek;
- v. 4 of the Greek text is congruent to the MT. In the *Vetus Latina* and in the Armenian text, v. 4 is again close to the Greek text. In addition, for the first time, there is a systematic correspondence between Latin and Greek words. The Vulgate has *et* in the second *stichos*, as the Greek text;
- the Greek v. 5 is the precise translation of v. 5 of the MT. However, there are some MSS, instead of τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων, having the reading τον εμον αρτον, closer to the MT. The v. 5 of the *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text and the Vulgate to the MT. But both texts, the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate end with *vobis*, which is in the Greek, ὑμῖν, and not in the MT. The Armenian text of v. 5 is close to the Greek;

- regarding v. 6, in the apparatus there are some readings (ἀπολίπετε, καὶ ζήσεσθε and καὶ ὁρθῇ ὁδῷ φρονήσατε παιδείαν) being hexaplaric corrections over the MT, and καὶ ζήσεσθε is also in Field's edition of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. In addition, as there is an obelus in the second and third *stichoi* of the Syro-Hexapla, I concluded that the 6a is a much later translation, as it is a literal reproduction of the MT. The *Vetus Latina* for this verse is interesting, as at the first twice *stichoi* the second part misses. The Vulgate for this verse is totally close to the MT. The Armenian text corresponds to the Greek in the first three *stichoi*, with the exception of the addition of 𐎠𐎡 at the beginning of the second Armenian *stichos* without attestation in Greek. Furthermore, the Armenian text has a *stichos* more, which is also in Greek MSS **103, 161, 248, 259, 260** and **339**;
- v. 7 is a close translation of the MT. The *Vetus Latina* is missing for this verse, and my hypothesis is that this verse could not be at first in the Greek text, and the Greek text we have today is a later translation close to the MT. Instead, the Vulgate is close to the MT, and the Armenian text to the Greek;
- there is an extra *stichos* in the textual Greek tradition of v. 8 and it is a literal translation of the MT. The *Vetus Latina* for this verse has a *stichos* more, which will be also in the Armenian text, attested in the Syro-Hexapla under obelus, and in Greek MSS **254** and **754** without Origenian signs. This means that *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian text, which is also close to the Greek, have been translated from an hexaplaric text;
- v. 9 of the Greek is a congruent translation of the MT. However, the translator probably added the accusative ἀφορμήν in the first *stichos*, making explicit what in Hebrew is implicit. In v. 9, the *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text. The Vulgate has some features of the Greek text (in the apparatus some MSS add *occasionem* [ἀφορμήν] after *sapienti*, and the Vulgate also translates the Hebrew noun מַּחְשָׁבָה with the infinitive *accipere*, like the Greek text having δέχεσθαι). About v. 9 of the Armenian text, it reproduces the Greek text;
- about v. 10, I have concluded that 10^a and 10^b are very parallel to each other, with 10^b being a later and even more literal translation which is closer to the MT and 10a being the OG. In this way, 10a could be the Old Greek and 10^b might be hexaplaric and not original. The *Vetus Latina* does not have 10^b, and this might be a proof more of my

theory. In fact, 10^b is not translated in the *Vetus Latina*, probably because it is a later translation and was not there at the time when the *Vetus Latina* was used. However, 10a of the *Vetus Latina* has some differences in comparison to the Greek text, as said in the previous chapter of this thesis. Instead, the Vulgate is the close translation of the MT. The Armenian text of v. 10 perfectly translates the Greek text. However, the third line (10a) does not have in the Armenian text the translation of γάρ, and also it does not have the same Greek word order, as the *Vetus Latina*;

- v. 11 of the Greek text is a close translation of the MT. In the *Vetus Latina* v. 11 is missing, and I made the same hypothesis as in v. 7 and 10^b, that the Greek text could be a later and hexaplaric translation. The Vulgate corresponds to the MT. Finally, for the Armenian text, v. 11 has similar characteristics of v. 10: there is no correspondent word for γάρ, and its lack is also in Greek MSS **103**. Moreover, the position of the verb of the first *stichos* has been moved from the second to last position of the Greek text to the last one;
- v. 12 is a literal transposition of the MT, with the ending addition of κακά, making explicit what in Hebrew is implicit. Regarding the big addition 12a-c, I reconstructed its possible Semitic *Vorlage*, in many points similar to Fox's reconstructed *Vorlage*. The *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the Greek text also in the word order and in the treatment of the Greek particle. The Vulgate in the second *stichos* has *solus*, an adjective, close to the *Vetus Latina*, which has *solus* as well, and to the Greek, which has μόνος, instead the MT has the abstract noun לְבַד־לֵב. In addition, also the Vulgate adds *malum* at the end of the second *stichos*, like the *Vetus Latina* and the Greek text. The Armenian text of v. 12 is correspondent to the Greek text;
- v. 13 of the Greek text corresponds to the MT, except for ψωμός. The Greek expressed the meaning of the Hebrew text in context and not word by word. In the *Vetus Latina* and in the Armenian text there is *panis* and ჯაფი for the Greek ψωμός; however, the Greek correspondence of *panis* and ჯაფი, ἄρτος, is attested in MSS **V, 68, 106, 130, 252, 336, 613, 637** and **728** in the plural genitive ἄρτων, and in **103** and **253** in the singular genitive ἄρτου. The *Vetus Latina* and the Armenian text derive their readings from a MS close to **103** or **253**, which, according to my analysis in the second chapter of this

thesis, have corrections toward the MT and probably hexaplaric. In v. 13 of the Vulgate there is the adjective *stulta*, like the Greek text (and the *Vetus Latina* as well) having ἄφρων, and in opposition to the MT which has the abstract noun כְּסִילוּת;

- v. 14 is a precise translation of the MT, and the *Vetus Latina* is the literal translation of the Greek text. The Vulgate corresponds to the MT, but it does not have the translation of וְ at the beginning of the first *stichos*, as the Greek text and the *Vetus Latina*. Finally, the Armenian text is close to the Greek text, but the Armenian has the expression չորապարակս, 'in the squares', as the *Vetus Latina*, for the Greek ἐν πλατείαις, 'in the streets';
- v. 15 of the Greek text is a precise translation of the MT. However, in the Greek text, there is the omission of the translation of the word 'street', in Hebrew יָרֵךְ, and a part of the Greek textual tradition has ὁδός. The *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text and the Vulgate to the MT; the Armenian text corresponds to the Greek text, in which two Greek participle are translated with a noun and with a relative clause. This change can be considered a translation feature of the Armenian text;
- v. 16 has been analysed in comparison to v. 4. Both verses have in the MT a similar text, albeit that the Greek translator rendered these verses in Greek with different words. Following Fox, I propose that this was because the translator wanted to differentiate Wisdom's words and Wisdom's Folly. The *Vetus Latina* is close to the Greek text and the Vulgate to the MT. The Armenian v. 16 is close to the Greek in its meaning, but the Armenian is not systematic as the Greek text. Comparing vv. 4 and 16, the Armenian uses two different words for ἄφρων and also for the verb ἐκκλίνω. In addition, again the Armenian translates with a finite verb. Probably, the Armenian wanted to differentiate more than the Greek text Wisdom's words and Folly's words;
- for v. 17, the translator did not translate the Hebrew text word by word, but rendered its parent text considering the meaning in its context. In the apparatus, this verse has in a part of the textual tradition the verb 'to drink', πίομαι. The *Vetus Latina* precisely corresponds to the Greek text, but it has the comparative *dulciorem* that is not in the Greek text; moreover, at the end of the second *stichos*, the verb *bibite* is expressed,

which is not in Greek, but there are some MSS (**106, 147, 795, 797**) with this reading. The Vulgate is close to the MT, but in the second *stichos* there is the adjective *absconditus*, like in the Greek text and in the *Vetus Latina*. Finally, the Armenian text is close to the Greek text. The only difference is the addition of the verb 'to drink' as in the *Vetus Latina* and in Greek MSS **106, 147, 795, 797**;

- the big addition 18a-d is considered by many *Proverbs*' scholars as of Greek origin. I have found however a few evidences, albeit maybe not strong, of its possible Semitic *Vorlage*, such as the position of the adjective and the use of *καί* / *δέ*. The *Vetus Latina* corresponds to the Greek text, and the Vulgate to the MT. But, in the *Vetus Latina* 18b is missing. Moreover, the expression *in profundum inferni* (*Vetus Latina*) / *in profundis inferni* (Vulgate) corresponds in both text to the MT, as the Greek text has *πέτευρον*, 'trap'. As in the *Vetus Latina*, in the Armenian text, the expression in the second *stichos*, *ի թափս դռխոց* is closer to the MT than to the Greek text. In addition, v. 18a of the Armenian text has the addition of the possessive *հորա*. This possessive is attested in some Greek MSS (**S^c, V, 68, 103, 106, 130, 252, 253, 295, 297, 329, 333, 336, 534, 543, 549, 613, 728, 816**) and also in the Syro-Hexapla.

Combining all the data found so far in the analysis of chapter 9 of the *Book of Proverbs*, it is possible to say that the MSS, **46, 68, 103, 106, 130, 147, 248, 252, 253, 260, 297, 311, 338, 613, 631, 728, 795** and **797** are related to each other and they are a 'family' of hexaplaric texts, as they show reading towards the MT and as they also sometimes have Origenian signs within the text. I also believe that **795** and **797** are strictly related to each other, because they have often same readings.

The Greek text of *Proverbs* has been always defined as a free translation by the scholars, but my analysis has started to point out that the Greek translation can be sometimes quite literal and that he can sometimes translate the Hebrew text not word by word but within the context (vv. 9, 15 and 17). However, I also think that the text we have now has a few addition of a later revisions; possibly Origen himself did not recognize them as not OG. This can be the case of vv. 6a and 10^b which are really a close translation of the MT. In particular, the latter verse, 10^b, is not also attested in the *Vetus Latina*, which only have 10^a and 10a. This can be another proof of what said before, that 10^b was a later revision toward

MT and for this reason it is not in the *Vetus Latina* as it came up at some point before Origen time.

Looking at the *Vetus Latina* analysis, also vv. 7 and 11 are missing in the text and their Greek text is a really faithful translation of the MT. In this regard, I wonder if it is possible to hypothesize combining translation technique perspective with the *Vetus Latina* analysis, that vv. 7 and 11 of the Greek text are a still later revision and that they do not come from the original translation.

The Vulgate has been an important and surprising text. I thought it would have been a close reproduction of the MT, and scholars today still use Vulgate in order to study the MT. For *Proverbs*, this is not possible, as the Vulgate, at least for chapter 9, shows mixed features, combining sometimes together the MT and the Greek text. The MT was the base for the Vulgate translation, but it has been influenced also by the Greek translation.

Regarding the Armenian text, it is a good witness of a hexaplaric Greek text, as we have already noted before. In addition, all the results point to MS **103**, which has all the variants of the Armenian text in opposition to the Greek text, as a possible type text that was used as *Vorlage* of the Armenian text.

In only one verse, the Greek text made me think of another possible *Vorlage*, and that is v. 12, in which I tried to reconstruct the Hebrew text, which is quite close to Fox's reconstruction. Finally, there is only one case in which the *Vetus Latina*, the Vulgate and the Armenian text correspond to the MT that is v. 18 in which *in profundum inferni* (*Vetus Latina*) / *in profundis inferni* (Vulgate) / *ի թախս դժոխաց* (Armenian text) translate *בְּעִמְקֵי שְׂאִיל*, as the Greek text has *πέτευρον*, 'trap', for *עִמְקֵי*.

Appendix 1

List of MSS and abbreviations used in the Greek Apparatus built up in the second chapter

Codex Name	City	Location	Year
A	London	BL, Royal 1 D. V–VIII	V
B	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1209	IV
S	London	BL, Add. 43725	IV
	Leipzig	Univ.-Bibl., Gr. 1	
	Petersburg	RNB, Gr. 2	
	Petersburg	RNB, Gr. 259	
	Petersburg	RNB, Gr. 843	
	Petersburg	RNB, Fonds d. Ges. f. alte Lit., Oct. 156	
	Sinai	Neue Slg., MF 1	
V	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 2106	VIII
	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 1	
46	Paris	BN, Coisl. 4	XIII/XIV
68	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 5	XV
103	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 238	XV
106	Ferrara	Bibl. Comun., 187 I–III	XIV
109	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 24	um 1235
122	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 6	XV
125	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 30	XIV
130	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 23	XII/XIII
139	Mailand	Bibl. Ambr., A. 148 inf.	X/XI
147	Oxford	Bodl. Libr., Laud. gr. 30 <A>	XII
149	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 11	XI
157	Basel	Univ.-Bibl., B. VI. 23	XII
159	Moskau	SR Archiv, A. 107	X/XI
161	Moskau	SR Archiv, A. 170	XIV
248	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 346	XIII

252	Florenz	Bibl. Laur., Plut. VIII 27	X
253	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 336	XI
254	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 337	X
260	Kopenhagen	Kgl. Bibl., Gamle Kgl. Saml., 6	X/XI
261	Florenz	Bibl. Laur., Plut. VII 30	1323
295	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Ottobon. gr. 56	XV/XVI
296	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Palat. gr. 337	XI
297	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1802	XII
311	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 354	XII
329	Athos	Ἰβήρων, 38	XIII
333	Athos	Ἰβήρων, 379	X
336	Athos	Ἰβήρων, 555	XIV
338	Athos	Ἰβήρων, 676	XIV
339	Athos	Κουτλουμουσίου, 8	XI
352	Berlin	Staatsbibl., Phill. 1411	um 1540
353	Berlin	Staatsbibl., Phill. 1412	um 1540
356	Bologna	Bibl. Comun., A. I. 6	XVI
360	Cambridge	Trinity Coll., O. 1. 55 und 54	XI?
363	Leukosia	Βιβλ. τ. Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, 28	XIV
375	Escorial	Real Bibl., Y (griech.)-II-2	XVI
390	Genua	Bibl. Franz., 2	1075
399	Athen	EBE, Μετ. Τάφου, 51	XII
411	Jerusalem	Patr.-Bibl., Τάφου 370	XVI
425	London	BL, Royal 1 A. XV	XIV
436	Madrid	Bibl. Nac., 4749	1556
437	Madrid	Bibl. Nac., 4781	XVI
440	Salamanca	Bibl. Univ., 26	XVI
[442] verbrannt	Madrid	Arch. Hist. Univ., E. 1, no 10	XV/XVI
443	Mailand	Bibl. Ambr., B. 68 sup.	X
447	Mailand	Bibl. Ambr., C. 267 inf.	1568
462	Modena	Bibl. Estense, Gr. 64	1505
464	Modena	Bibl. Estense, Gr. 155	1550
471	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 147	XIII/XIV
475	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 355	XIII/XIV
476	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 392	XII

478	Moskau	Staatl. Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 471	XV
480	München	BSB, Gr. 32	XVI
481	München	BSB, Gr. 38	XVI
485	München	BSB, Gr. 131	1549
495	München	BSB, Gr. 561	XVI
503	Oxford	Bodl. Libr., Auct. E. 2. 16	XII/XIII
504	Oxford	Bodl. Libr., Auct. E. 2. 17 und 18	XVI
514	Oxford	Bodl. Libr., Barocc. 195	XV
517	Oxford	Bodl. Libr., Barocc. 232	XV
519	Athos	Λαύρα, 301 (Γ 61)	XV
532	Paris	BN, Coisl. 15	XVI
534	Paris	BN, Coisl. 18	XI
539	Paris	BN, Coisl. 193	XI
540	Paris	BN, Coisl. 194	XIII
542	Paris	BN, Gr. 10	IX
543	Paris	BN, Gr. 11	1186
545	Paris	BN, Gr. 18	XIII
547	Paris	BN, Gr. 35	XIII
548	Paris	BN, Gr. 36	XIV/XV
549	Paris	BN, Gr. 57	XI
560	Paris	BN, Gr. 151	XIII
562	Paris	BN, Gr. 153	XI/XII
563	Paris	BN, Gr. 154	XII
571	Paris	BN, Gr. 172	XVI
573	Paris	BN, Gr. 174	X/XI
581	Paris	BN, Gr. 999	1272
582	Paris	BN, Gr. 1002	XIV
600	Paris	BN, Gr. 2466	VIII/IX
602	Paris	BN, Gr. 2511	XV
613	Patmos	Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 209	XIII
631	Prague	Nat.-Bibl., VI. E. f. 19	XIV
632	Rome	Bibl. Angel., Gr. 113	XVI
634	Rome	Bibl. Casanat., 39, Bl. 159–206	XVI
635	Rome	Bibl. Casanat., 39, Bl. 207–274	XVI
636	Rome	Bibl. Casanat., 203	XVI
637	Rome	Bibl. Casanat., 241	XI

657	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Ottob. gr. 117	XVI
658	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1521	XVI
692	Rome	Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1770	XVI
705	Athen	EBE, 2410	XIII/XIV
706	Athen	EBE, 2641	914
728	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Append. I 13	XIV/XV
732	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 21	X/XI
733	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 22	XII
734	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 23	X/XI
735	Venedig	Bibl. Marc., Gr. 23, Vorsetzbl.	VIII/IX
752	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 115	XV
753	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 128	XIII/XIV
754	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 147	XI
755	Wien	ÖNB, Theol. gr. 199	XVI
766	Athos	Λαύρα, 355	XII
768	Athos	Λαύρα, 1085	XVI?
770	Athos	Λαύρα 234 (B 114)	XII
795	Athos	Λαύρα 291 (Γ 51)	XII/XIII
797	Athen	Mus. Ben., TA 72 (53)	XIII/XIV
798	Rom	Coll. gr. 16	XIV
810	Wien	ÖNB, P. Vindob. G 3077	V/VI
811	Wien	ÖNB, P. Vindob. G 39209	V
812	Wien	ÖNB, P. Vindob. G 30135	V/VI
[824] vermißt, frü	Damaskus	Om.-Mosch., Treu Nr. VI	V
871	Ann Arbor	UML, P. Mich. Inv. 768	IV/VI? IV/VI?
890	Ann Arbor	UML, P. Mich. 3718	VII
917	New York	PML, Pap. G. 193	VI
928	Oxford	Sackler Libr., P. Ant. 8 + 210	III
[969] zerstört	Florenz	Bibl. Laur., PSI 1297	VI/VII
979	Berlin	Äg. Mus., P. 16991	V/VI
981	Wien	ÖNB, P. Vindob. G 29245 + 29454 + 29830	VI

987	Oxford	Sackler Libr., P. Ant. 9	III?
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Appendix 2

List of MSS and abbreviations used in the Vulgate Apparatus built up in the third chapter

Codex	City and Location
A	<i>Amiatinus</i> , Firenze, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenz., Amiatino I, s. VIII in. in Northumbria
C	<i>Cavensis</i> , Cava, Archivio della Bada 1 (14), s. IX ² in Hispania
G	<i>Sangermanensis</i> , Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat 11553, s. IX in. Pariis
K	Köln, Dombibl. 43, s. VIII ex. In Italia
M	<i>Maurdramni</i> , Amiens, Bibl. Mun. 12, s. VIII ² in monasterio Corbeiensi
Q	<i>Mediolanensis</i> , Ambros. E. 26 S. IX-X
S	<i>Sangallensis</i> , St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 11, s. VIII ² in monasterio S. Galli
T	<i>Salisburgensis</i> , Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St. Peter a. IX. 16, s. VIII ex. Salisburgi
X	<i>Matritensis</i> , Univ. Centr. 31. S. x.
Y	<i>Monacensis</i> lat. 18036. S. IX.
Z	<i>Metensis</i> , Metz, Bibl. Mun. 7 (<i>deperditus</i>), s. VIII ex. Metis
Γ^M	<i>Modoetiensis</i> , Capituli A. 2. S. IX ex.
Θ^A	<i>Aniciensis</i> , Capituli. S. IX
Π^H	<i>Casinensis</i> , Abb. 553. S. XI
Σ	<i>Toletanus</i> , Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Vit. 13-1 (Tol. 2-1), s. X in Hispania
Φ	<i>Consensus codicum Φ secundum exemplar Alcuin scriptorum</i>
Φ^R	<i>Rorigonis</i> , Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 3, s. IX ¹ Turonis

Φ^G	<i>Grandivallensis</i> , Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana B. 6, s. IX ² in regione Remensi
Φ^P	Paulinus, Roma, S. Paolo f. l. m. sine num., s. IX ² in regione Remensi
Ψ^D	<i>Vaticanus</i> lat. 10511. S. XII
Ω^M	<i>Parisinus</i> , Mazarinaeus 5. a. 1231
Ω^S	<i>Parisinus</i> lat. 15467. a. 1270
Ω^J	<i>Parisinus</i> lat. 16721. S. XIII
l	León, Archivio catedralicio 15, s. VII in Hispania, <i>codex rescriptus</i>
m	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 194, s. VII-VIII in Hispania vel Gallia meridionali, <i>codex rescriptus</i>
a	Editio princeps (a. 1452?)
ƿ	(Sixto-) <i>Clementina</i> , Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti Quinti iussu recognita (et auctoritate Clementis Octavi edita), Romae, 1592 et 1593 et 1598
ε	Editio Roberti Stephani quarta, a. 1540
g	Editio Gobeli Laridii, a. 1530
r	Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem cura et studio monachorum Pont. Abbatiae S. Hieronymi in Urbe edita, Romae, 1926-1994

Appendix 3

Signs for the critical apparatus

> missing

+ added

frt fortasse

* original

= like

~ obelus

※ asterisk

A Aquila

Σ Simmachus

Θ Theodotion

ⲙ MT

Ach. Achmimic

Ald. Aldina

Arab. Arabic translation

Arm. Armenian translation

Bo^B Bohairic, as witnessed in manuscript B

Bo. 38 Bohairic as evidenced in manuscript 38

La. Latin

Sa. Sahidic translation

Syh. Syro-Hexapla

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חֲצִבָּה עֲמֻדֵיהָ שִׁבְעָה חֲכָמוֹת בִּנְתָהּ בֵּיתָהּ	ή σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπῆρεισεν στύλους ἑπτὰ	Իմաստութիւն շինեաց իւր տուն, եւ կանգնեաց սիւնս եւթն:	Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, et subdit columnas septem.	Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum Excidit columnas septem
אַף עֲרַכָּהּ שְׁלֹחֲנָהּ טַבַּחָהּ מִסֵּכָהּ יֵינָהּ טַבַּחָהּ	ἔσφαξεν τὰ ἑαυτῆς θύματα ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν	Զեն զգնելիս իւր, եւ խառնեաց ի խառնելիս զգինի իւր, եւ պատրաստեաց զսեղան իւր:	Mactavit suas hostias, miscuit in cratera vinum suum, et paravit suam mensam.	immolavit victimas suas, miscuit vinum et proposuit mensam
עַל־נְפִי מַרְמֵי קֶרֶת שְׁלַחָהּ נְעֻרֶתֶיהָ תִּקְרָא	ἀπεστείλεν τοὺς ἑαυτῆς δούλους συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα	Եւ առաքեաց զծառայս իւր, կոչել բարձր քարոզութեամբ ի խառնելիս իւր	Et misit servos suos convocans cum excelsa praedicatione ad craterem, dicens:	Misit ancillas suas ut vocarent ad arcem et ad moenia civitatis
חֲסֵר-לֵב אָמַרָהּ לוֹ מִי־פָתִי יִסֵּר הִנֵּה	ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν εἶπεν	Եւ ասէ. Որ ոք իցէ անզգամ, եկեսցէ առիս: եւ ցապկասամիտսն ասէ.	Qui est insipiens, declinet ad me. Et egentibus sensu dixit:	Si quis est parvulus veniat ad me et insipientibus locuta est:

<p>וְשִׁתּוֹ בֵּינָן מִסִּכְתֵּי לָכֹן לַחֲמוֹ בִּלְחֲמֵי</p>	<p>ἔλθατε φαγέτε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων καὶ πίνετε οἶνον ὃν ἐκέρασα ὕμῳ</p>	<p>եկայք կերայք ի հացէ իմէ, եւ արբէք զգինի իմ զոր խառնեցի ձեզ:</p>	<p>Venite, edite de meis panibus, et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis.</p>	<p>Venite comedite panem meum et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis.</p>
<p>וְאַשְׁרוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ בֵּינָה עֲזֹבוּ פְתָאִים וַחֲיוֹ</p>	<p>ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην καὶ ζήσεσθε καὶ ζητήσατε φρόνησιν ἵνα βιώσητε καὶ κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν</p>	<p>Թողէք զանգզամոլթիւն եւ կեցջիք. խնդրեցէք գիմաստութիւն զի ապրեսջիք: եւ ուղղեցէք գիտութեամբ զհանճար. եւ ուղիղ ճանապարհաւ իմացարուք զխրատ:</p>	<p>Derelinquite stultitiam, et quaerite prudentiam, et corrigite scientiam in intellectu.</p>	<p>Relinquite infantiam et vivite et ambulate per vias prudentiae.</p>
<p>לְרָשָׁע מוֹמֹ לֹא קָלוֹן וּמוֹכִיחַ יִסְרוֹ לֵץ לִקְחַ</p>	<p>ὁ παιδεύων κακούς λήμψεται ἑαυτῷ ἀτιμίαν ἐλέγχων δὲ τὸν ἀσεβῆ μωμήσεται ἑαυτόν</p>	<p>Որ խրատէ զհարս՝ առցէ անձին իւրում անարգանս. եւ որ յանդիմանէ զամպարիշտս՝ ատեայ զանձն:</p>	<p>Missing.</p>	<p>Qui erudit derisorem ipse sibi facit iniuram Et qui arguit impium generat maculam sibi.</p>
<p>ךְ הֹכַח לְחָכָם וַיֹּאחֲבֵה תֹּכַח לֵץ פְּנִישְׁנָא אַל</p>	<p>μὴ ἔλεγχε κακούς ἵνα μὴ μισῶσίν σε ἔλεγχε σοφόν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε</p>	<p>Մի յանդիմաներ զհարս, զի մի ատեսցեն զքեզ: յանդիմանեա գիմաստունն, եւ սիրեսցէ զքեզ. զանմիտն, եւ յաւելցէ ատել զքեզ:</p>	<p>Noli arguere malos, ne oderint te. Corripe sapientem, et amabit te: Corripe stultum, et adiecit ut oderit te.</p>	<p>Noli arguere derisorem ne oderit te argue sapientem et diliget te.</p>

<p>לְצַדִּיק וַיּוֹסֶף לָקַח וַיַּחֲכֶם-עוֹד הַיּוֹדֵעַ תֵּן לַחֲכָם</p>	<p>δίδου σοφῶ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται· γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι</p>	<p>Տուր իմաստնոյն պատճառս՝ եւ իմաստնազոյն եւս լիցի: տեղեկացո ղարդարն, եւ յաւելցէ ընդունել:</p>	<p>Da sapienti occasionem, et sapientior erit. Notum fac iusto, et adjiecit percipere.</p>	<p>Da sapienti et addetur ei sapientia Doce iustum et festinabit accipere</p>
<p>וַדַּעַת קְדָשִׁים בֵּינָה חֲכָמָה יִרְאֶת יְהוָה תַּחֲלִיל תַּחֲלִילִת:</p>	<p>ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου καὶ βουλὴ ἀγίων σύνεσις τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς</p>	<p>Սկիզբն իմաստութեան՝ երկեւ Տեառն. եւ խորհուրդ սրբոց հանճար: իմանալ զարէնս՝ մտաց առատաց է:</p>	<p>Principium sapientiae, timor Domini [...] Scire legem, sensus est optimi.</p>	<p>Principium sapientiae timor Domini et scientia sanctorum prudentia</p>
<p>מִלְּךָ שָׁנוֹת חַיִּי יִרְבּוּ יָמֶיךָ וַיּוֹסִיפוּ כִּי-בִי</p>	<p>τούτω γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον καὶ προστεθήσεται σοι ἔτη ζωῆς</p>	<p>Այսու աւրինակաւ բազում ժամանակս կեցցես. եւ յաւելցին քեզ ամբ կենաց:</p>	<p>Missing.</p>	<p>Per me enim multiplicabuntur dies tui Et addentur tibi anni vitae</p>

<p>לֵךְ וְלִצְחָ לְבִדְךָ תִּשָּׂא אִם-תִּכְמַת תִּכְמַתְךָ</p>	<p>υἱέ, ἐὰν σοφὸς γένῃ σεαυτῷ, σοφὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς πλησίον ἐὰν δὲ κακὸς ἀποβῇς, μόνος ἀναντλήσεις κακά</p> <p>(a) ὃς ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν, οὗτος ποιμανεῖ ἀνέμους, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς διώξεται ὄρνεα πετόμενα</p> <p>(b) ἀπέλιπεν γὰρ ὁδοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνηται</p> <p>(c) διαπορεύεται δὲ δι' ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου καὶ γῆν διατεταγμένην ἐν διψώδεσιν, συνάγει δὲ χερσὶν ἀκαρπίαν</p>	<p>Որդեակ իմ՝ թէ իմաստուն լինիցիս, անձին քուժ իմաստուն իցես՝ եւ ընկերաց: եւ եթէ անգգամ իցես՝ միայն պեղեսցես զչարիս: Որ հաստատի ի ստուծիւն՝ նա զհողմս արածէ եւ նոյն հալածէ զթռչունս թեւաւորս: Զի եթող զճանապարհս այգւոյ իւրոյ, եւ ի շաւղաց անդոյ իւրոյ մոլորեալ է: Գնայ ընդ անջրդին եւ ընդ անապատն. եւ ընդ երկիր կարգեալ ի ծարաւուտ. եւ ժողովէ ձեռաւք իւրովք զանպտղութիւն:</p>	<p><i>Fili, si sapiens eris tibi sapiens eris et proximis:</i></p> <p><i>Si autem malus evaseris, solus hauries mala.</i></p> <p><i>*Qui fidens est in falsis, hic pascit ventos:</i></p> <p><i>idem autem ipse sequitur aves volantes: no eautou deserit enim vias vineae suae, a semitis vero agelli sui erravit:</i></p> <p><i>ingreditur autem per avia loca atque arida, et terram destinatam in sitim;</i></p> <p><i>contrahit autem manibus infructuosa.</i></p>	<p><i>Si sapiens fueris, tibimet eris</i></p> <p><i>Si inlusor solus portabis malum.</i></p>
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פְּתִיּוֹת וּבִלְיָדָהּ מֶה אֵשֶׁת כְּסִילוֹת הַמִּיָּה	γυνή ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ένδεῆς ψωμοῦ γίνεται ἢ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃ	לִינְ אַנְדְּקַאמִּי בַּל יָאֵנְדְּקַנְ לַאֲרַאֲלִי לִיגְרִי לִאֲגְרִי. בַּל הִיא נִי אֲרִיִּי אֲדַאֲלִי:	Mulier insipiens et audax inops panis efficitur: Quae non novit pudorem,	mulier stulta et clamosa pleneque inlecebris et nihil omnino sciens.
עַל־כֵּסֶא מְרִמִּי קִרְתָּ וַיֵּשֶׁבָה לַפֶּתַח בֵּיתָהּ	ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ θύραις τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐμφανῶς ἐν πλατείαις	לִיִּיִ אֲנִי אֲרִיִּיִ יָאֵנְדְּקַנְ לַאֲרַאֲלִי יָאֵנְדְּקַנְ לַאֲרַאֲלִי לִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ.	Sedet in foribus domus in sella palam in plateis	sedit in foribus domus suae super sellam in excelso urbis loco.
וְאֲרִיִּיִ לְעַבְרֵי־דֶרֶךְ הַמִּישְׁרִים לְקָרָא	προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν	בַּל לִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ הִיא אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ לִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ:	advocans praetereuntes [...]	ut vocaret transeuntes viam et pergentes itinere suo.
וְחִסְרֵי־לֵב וְאֲמַרָה לִּי מִי־פָתִי יִסֵּר הַנָּה	ὅς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς με ένδεέσι δὲ φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα	הִיא אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ אֲרִיִּיִ:	Qui est insipientior, divertat ad me. Et indigentibus sapientia praecipio, dicens:	Quis est parvulus declinet ad me et vecordi locuta est.

<p>ם ולחם סתרים ינ מים־גנובים ימתקו־</p>	<p>ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ</p>	<p>Հաց գաղտնի մտադելը կերիջիք, եւ ջուր գողունի՝ ախորժելով արբջիք:</p>	<p>Panibus absconditis suaviter utimini, Et aquam furtim dulciorem bibite.</p>	<p>aquae furtivae dulciores sunt et panis absconditus suavior</p>
<p>בעמקי שאול קראיה ידע כי־רפאים שם ולא</p>	<p>ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ' αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾷ</p> <p>(a) ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον, μὴ ἐγχαρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν</p> <p>(b) οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὑδὼρ ἀλλότριον καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον</p> <p>(c) ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίνῃς,</p> <p>(d) ἵνα πολὺν ζήσῃς χρόνον, προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς.</p>	<p>Եւ ո՞ ոչ գիտէ թէ երկրածինք առ նմա կորնչին. եւ ի թափս դժոխոց հասանեն: Այլ դու ի բաց ոստիը, եւ մի յամեր ի տեղւոջ նորա. եւ մի հաստատեր զականք ի նա: Զի այնպէս անցցես ընդ ջուրն աւտար. եւ անցանիցես ընդ գետն աւտարական: եւ ի ջրոյ աւտարէ ի բաց լինիցիս. եւ յաւտար աղբւրէ մի ըմպիցես: Զի բազում ժամանակս կեցցես. եւ յաւելցին քեզ ամք կենաց:</p>	<p>Et nescit insipiens quoniam terrigenae apud eam pereunt, et in profundum infernī incurrunt. Exili, noli demorari in loco eius, neque intendas oculo tuo in eam. Ab aqua aliena abstine te, et de fonte extraneo ne biberis ut longum vivas tempus, adjiciantur etiam tibi anni vitae.</p>	<p>et ignoravit quod gigantes ibi sint Et in profundis infernī convivae eius.</p>