Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament and the Textual History of the Bible – the Wuppertal Research project

Martin Karrer – Ulrich Schmid

The authors of the early Christian writings that later became the New Testament often quoted from the Jewish scriptures. In most cases they used Greek *Vorlagen*. These *Vorlagen* offered textual forms near to the Septuagint and its revisions down to the so-called younger translations (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion). The New Testament is therefore a witness to textual forms of the Septuagint and its early revisions. In 2007 a research project started in Wuppertal in order to study the textual history of these quotations. This paper presents an outline of the project and a summary of the main observations up to the present. Since this research is still very much in progress, we anticipate more detailed results and more nuanced analysis in the future.

1. The turn of research in the late 20th century: Acknowledging the complex textual history of the Septuagint in the time before the New Testament writings

The text of the Septuagint was not consolidated in New Testament times, and old fragments and scrolls are rare (despite the findings of Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever). None of the Septuagint manuscripts used by the New Testament authors is preserved. In contrast, the manuscript evidence becomes more abundant from the 4th c. CE onwards, but then turns into a part of the tradition of the Christian Greek Bible. It may therefore legitimately be asked to what extent the Septuagint tradition remained intact under the Christian cloak.

The problem becomes crucial if New Testament quotations differ from the reconstructed Old Greek (the oldest attainable version of the Septuagint) and yet have parallels in manuscripts of the Septuagint.

In these cases, the majority of research on the Septuagint assumed for a long time that variant readings were introduced through the influence of the Christians responsible for its transmission. The longer text of Ps 13:3 in most Septuagint manuscripts presents a famous example. Alfred Rahlfs noticed this difference from the shorter Hebrew psalm (Ps 14 MT) and the parallel in Romans 3:10–18. He concluded that lines 3–10 of Ps 13:3 LXX were a Christian addition caused by the reception of Romans 3.[1]

This explanation presumed a textual preference in Christian tradition for the New Testament over the Septuagint version of such parallel passages. The history of the canon, however, did not fit this implication,[2] and important scholars – Swete and the protagonists of New Testament textual criticism – were more cautious.[3] However, the hypothesis stood firm untill the discoveries of manuscripts from the Dead Sea.

These manuscripts and further editions of important papyri from the great collections brought to light what is nowadays perceived as a variety of textual versions used in early Judaism. The kaige-revision (a textual group with readings close to the proto-masoretic text and starting in the 1st century BC) was identified.[4] Parts of (Proto-)Theodotion, Symmachus und Aquila proved to be textual developments rather than new translations; sections of these texts

---

1   A. Rahlfs, Septuagintastudien I-III. Heft 2: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters, nebst einem
     Anhang, Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W. E. Crum,
     Göttingen 1965, 105(3)-360(256), bes. 227.325.327; A. Rahlfs, Psalmi cum odis, Septuaginta
     – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, 10, Göttingen 1931 (³1979), 30f. Rahlfs
     writes in the critical edition ad locum: "ex Rom. 3,13-18, ubi Paulus haec uerba [...] cum Ps.
     13,3 iunxit" (1931, 96).

2   The Septuagint/Old Testament had great importance from the earliest times of Christianity
     whereas the New Testament canon emerged gradually.

3   H. B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge 1902, 252 wrote:
     Whether the long form "was brought into the text [...] from the Epistle, or was already in the
     Greek Psalm as known to St. Paul, cannot perhaps now be ascertained. But it doubtless had
     its origin in the Rabbinical practice of stringing together passages excerpted from various
     [scriptural] books [...] and it may have existed under this form in a collection of testimonia
     used by the Apostle […]." For the New Testament perspective see § 4.1.

4   D. Barthélemy, Les devanciers d'Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des
     Fragments du Dodécaprophéton, 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, VT.S 10, Leiden 1963. Sometimes it is very difficult to
     differentiate between the Old Greek and younger texts (kaige or so called younger
     translations); see P. J. Gentry, Old Greek and Later Revisors: Can we Always Distinguish
     Them?, in: A. Voitila/J. Jokuranta, Scripture in Transition. Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew
     Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls, FS R. Sollamo, JSJ.Suppl. 126, Leiden 2008, 301-327
     (especially concerning Job and Lamentations).

existed at the end of the 1st century CE and could have been used by New Testament authors besides the Old Greek.[5]

In 1978, Robert Kraft argued against the interdependence of New Testament and Septuagint transmission.[6] Jewish textual forms proved to be remarkably intact in their Christian reception. Three years later, Robert Hanhart – the editor of the Septuaginta Gottingensis – stated that the New Testament quotations use extant Jewish readings even if they differ from the Old Greek.[7] Consequently Kraft[8] and Hanhart raised doubts about the Christian provenance even of the mentioned "Zusatz" (addition) in Ps 13:3 LXX (par. Romans 3:13–18).[9]

Today the phenomenon of a vivid and dynamic development of textual forms from the 2nd century BCE on to the first centuries of the Christian era is widely acknowledged.[10] Philo is a witness to alternative Septuagint-readings.[11] The B-text of the historical books in Rahlfs' critical edition of the Septuagint (revised by R. Hanhart) is recognized to a greater extent as kaige-text, and a

---

5   Cf. E. Ulrich, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature, Grand Rapids 1999, esp. 211-213.

6   He alerted scholars to the "possibility that, just as an Origen or a Jerome attempted to bring the Greek or Latin materials into closer conformity to the then available Hebrew/Aramaic text, so a similar motivation to excise any suspiciously blatant >Christian glosses< might have been in operation in some Christian circles. Perhaps we should not expect to find much evidence of characteristically Christian phraseology in extant copies of Greek Jewish scriptures." R. Kraft, Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures. A Methodological Probe, in: E. de Boccard, Paganisme, Judaisme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique, Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Paris 1978, 207–226: 208 = http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/other/journals/ kraftpub/Transmission%20of%20Gk-Jewish%20Scriptures (used 2009/08/1).

7   Hanhart wrote „dass die neutestamentlichen Schriften in ihren alttestamentlichen Zitaten, auch dort, wo sie vom alten LXX-Text abweichen, auf vorgegebener jüdischer Überlieferung beruhen." The deviant readings of Septuagint texts in the New Testament are – if we follow that change of paradigm – normally not to be explained by redaction of the early Christian authors and their textual transmission: see R. Hanhart, Das Neue Testament und die griechische Überlieferung des Judentums, in: F. Paschke u.a. (Ed.), Überlieferungs-geschichtliche Untersuchungen, TU 125, Berlin 1981, 293–303: 296.

8   Kraft, op.cit., 220–222.

9   Hanhart wrote: that text „trägt in keinem Wort christliches Gepräge, so daß [...] urchristliche bzw. paulinische Herkunft fraglich bleibt." R. Hanhart, Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta in neutestamentlicher Zeit, ZThK 81, 1984, 395–416: 411.

10   Cf. H.–J. Fabry, Die griechischen Handschriften vom Toten Meer, in ders./Offerhaus (Edd.), Im Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel, BWANT 153, Stuttgart u.a. 2001, 131–154:153.

11   Cf. F. Siegert, »Expliquer l'écriture par elle-même«. Origine et vicissitude d'une maxime »Protestante«, Etudes Theologiques et Religieuses 71, 1996, 230f.

new evaluation has commenced of the so-called Antiochean (or Lucianic) text of the Septuagint.[12]

After all, it is wrong to compare the New Testament quotations solely with the reconstructed Old Greek (as is normally done in commentaries). Researchers must respect the textual variety of transmission in New Testament times.

2. The Wuppertal project

2.1 Background and Current Situation

Since Kraft and Hanhart (1978/1981) the challenge has been laid down, although it took nearly three decades until the Deutsche Forschungs-gemeinschaft funded the research project called „Der Text der Septuaginta im frühen Christentum" (The text of the Septuagint in early Christianity). The project was located in Wuppertal where it could join forces with a project on the Antiochean text of the Septuagint, directed by Siegfried Kreuzer. Work is projected to continue until the end of 2010.

The participants[13] have developed an electronic database tool, starting from the so called full Bible codices (Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and the extant part of Codex Ephraemi rescriptus),[14] and evaluate the quotations

---

12 See N. Fernández Marcos, Einführung in den antiochenischen Text der griechischen Bibel in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern (1–4 Kön LXX), in: S. Kreuzer/J.P. Lesch (Edd.), Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel 2, BWANT 161, Stuttgart u.a. 2004, 177–213 and other contributions.

13 The team includes scholars (Martin Karrer, Ulrich Schmid, Marcus Sigismund, Michael Labahn) and student assistants (Michael Kuppler, Darius Müller, Kerstin Riegel).

14 The series of great codices was larger. Euseb (v. Const. IV, 36 f.; cf. III, 1) tells of 50 codices ordered by Constantine. It is doubtful whether all these codices were full bibles (discussion in J. Schäfer, Die 50 Bibelhandschriften des Eusebius für Kaiser Konstantin. Der Katholik 4 F., XI, 1913, 90–104; C. Wendel, Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins, ZfB LVI, 1939, 165–175; Th. C. Skeat The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine, Journal of Theological Studies 50, 1999, 583–625 = J. K. Elliott [Ed.], The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat, NT.S 113, Leiden – Boston 2004, 193–240, esp. 215–220; M. Frenschkowski, Die Geschichte der Bibliothek von Caesarea, in: Th. J. Kraus/T. Nicklas (Edd.), New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 2, Leiden etc. 2006, 53–104: esp. 91–93). But the series extended until the Venetus in the 8th cent. Nonetheless all the other examples are lost. The Venetus is the only codex where at least the canones Evang. are preserved besides the Septuagint (the Gospels and other New Testament writings are lost in the Venetus; A. Rahlfs/D. Fraenkel, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Suppl.: Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, Bd. I,1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2004, 372–373).

according to two principal questions: a. To what extent did the Christian handling of the Jewish scriptures shape the Septuagint tradition textually? b. Vice versa, to what extent did the Septuagint transmission influence the New Testament textual tradition?

Some studies have already been published or are in preparation.[15] The database tool will be made public in spring 2010 (open access) and has been devised to be extended and augmented in the following years.

2.2 Cooperation and perspectives

Editions of the New Testament and the Septuagint have a long history in Germany. Collaboration with the centres in Münster (Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung) and Göttingen ("Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen") was therefore appropriate and pursued accordingly.

The "Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung Münster" has already pioneered the use of electronic tools to collect and present their data, which facilitates cooperation between the projects. It is planned to link the Wuppertal database tool (quotations in the New Testament) with the New Testament transcripts on the Münster web site (http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/ AnaServer?NTtranscripts+0+start.anv); the preparation for this has started.

The critical text and the manuscripts of the Septuagint are not accessible in electronic form. For that reason, the connection with the "Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen" (G. Kratz, B. Neuschäfer and others) is helpful but less advanced. An electronic platform connecting all the centres of textual studies remains an urgent *desideratum*.

---

15 Cf. M. Karrer/U. Schmid/M. Sigismund: Das lukanische Doppelwerk als Zeuge für den LXX-Text des Jesaja-Buches, in: H. Ausloos u.a. (Ed.), Florilegium Lovaniense. FS Florentino García Martínez, BEThL 224, Leuven u.a. 2008, 253–274; M. Labahn, Ausharren im Leben, um vom Baum des Lebens zu essen und ewig zu leben. Zur Textform und Auslegung der Paradiesgeschichte der Genesis in der Apokalypse des Johannes und deren Textgeschichte, loc cit., 291–316; M. Labahn, Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse, in: Jörg Frey/James A. Kelhoffer/Franz Tóth (Edd.), Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte und Konzepte/The Revelation of John: Contexts and Concepts, WUNT, Tübingen 2009 (in press); S. Kreuzer, Towards the Old Greek. New Criteria for the Evaluation of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension), in: M. K. H. Peters, XIII Congress of the International Organization for the Septuagint and Cognate Studies, SCS 55, Atlanta 2008, 239–253 and the other contributions listed above in M. Karrer/S. Kreuzer, Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament – Einleitung.

The Antiochean text of the Septuagint is under investigation in Spain and other places. Connection with this research is prompted by the project on the Antiochean text of S. Kreuzer in Wuppertal.

The newly established "Wuppertal Institut für Septuaginta und biblische Textforschung" will maintain the emerging quotation database with the hope of attracting international interest. The intention is to enable third parties to fill in gaps in the data collected in Wuppertal. A start has been made: a young South African scholar (Ronald van der Bergh) will enter the text of the extravagant Codex D into the database. Gert Steyn (South Africa) plans a corresponding non-electronic tool. The increase in material will broaden the possibilities of analysis.[16]

3. The electronic database

3.1 The structure of the database

The structure of the database		
One data set consists of		
One NT quotation (base: GNT/Nestle-Aland, numbered and translated)	and	One or more OT source texts (base: Rahlfs/Hanhart, numbered and translated)
Variant readings of MSS		
S/א	The lines allow the comparison LXX-NT-texts	S/א
B		B
A		A
Additional manuscripts, versions etc.		Additional manuscripts, versions etc.

The structure of the database is shown in the table. Some explanations may be added:
– The Greek words of the base texts are automatically numbered. The variants from the manuscripts can thus be directly linked to the appropriate numbers in the base texts. The words have even numbers, while the spaces between the words carry odd numbers. The projects on textual history in Birmingham and

---

16 E.g., Barnabas is part of the Codex Sinaiticus and should be added to the database. M. M. J. Menken (Tilburg University, NL) has announced his interest in the evaluation of the quotations there.

Münster employ the same basic technique, so the emerging international databases will be compatible.

– The main part of the database is formed by the above-mentioned full Bible codices (S/א, A, B and – less well preserved – C).[17] In these, the quoted passages and the quotations have been written within the same scriptoria and sometimes even by the same scribes. Their transmission can therefore be studied in one physical entity. Moreover the texts have been corrected later on (most famously in Sinaiticus), giving additional information concerning textual developments throughout the centuries.

– The Masoretic Text and a small selection of other manuscripts are added. The database provides lines for more entries (Greek manuscripts, Hebrew fragments from Qumran, papyri, Philo, so called younger Greek translations, versions etc.). But it needs more years, new editions (in the case of the Hexapla) and international collaboration to master the huge amount of material.

3.2 An example: Mt 1:23 and Is 7:14 in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus

The first dataset relates to Mt 1:23. The screenshot 1 (see the appendix of this paper) shows an entry for the Codex Sinaiticus: Scribe A (the first hand, 4th century) deviates concerning the 28th word (in the numbered critical base text).

The text of scribe A is unreadable (even in the digital edition of Sinaiticus). The αὐτοῦ shown in the table is actually the work of a corrector of the scriptorium called S1. But whatever the first hand proffered, it stood alone in the textual transmission of our verse. All of the other extant witnesses until the 4th century (papyri, B) and the first corrector of Sinaiticus support αὐτοῦ. It will be possible to compare these other witnesses by linking to the New Testament Transcripts when the database tool is completed.

Screenshot 2 presents the material of the New Testament (upper block) synoptically together with the evidence from the Septuagint, in this case Isaiah 7:14 (lower block). We call this way of presenting the data "EasyView". There an existing αὐτοῦ in Isaiah 7:14 is detected. The question arises: Did the Sinaiticus corrector make the correction as an adjustment to the Septuagint? The data from the electronic tool show that this is improbable:

S continues the text of Is 7:14 with the verbal form καλέσει, Mt 1:23 by the alternative καλέσουσιν. Both forms render וקרא (a Hebrew 3rd person

---

17   The additional writings integrated in these codices (Barn and Herm in Sinaiticus, 1 and 2 Clem in A) show the complex canonical process. The quotations of these writings can be integrated into the tool later on.

singular perfect qal) as shown by 1QIsaᵃ against the MT (קראת, second person singular perfect qal)[18]. But the translation of the Hebrew form differs (Septuagint singular, New Testament plural, both in the sense of "one will name"), yet the difference did not influence the correcting process: Neither S1 nor any of the later correctors unifies Septuagint and New Testament in that regard. They all allow the difference to stand. This indicates that the wording of the New Testament text was controlled by another New Testament manuscript of Matthew and not by the Isaiah-folio of the Codex Sinaiticus.

Codex Vaticanus corroborates our analysis. There Is 7:14 has καλέσεις, Mt 1:23 καλέσουσιν, and neither the scribe nor a corrector co-ordinate the alternatives. Moreover 7:14 B reads (ἐν γαστρὶ) λήμψεται instead of (ἐν γαστρὶ) ἕξει Mt 1:23, and again no corrector intervenes. To the contrary, the only extant correction augments the number of variants. A corrector working between the 7ᵗʰ and 10ᵗʰ century prefers the atticistic Greek form λήψεται (λήμψεται is Hellenistic). Manifestly the Septuagint and New Testament texts are to be seen separately even when both texts are written in the same scriptorium and incorporated into one physical entity, one codex.

3.3 Additional observations concerning Mt 1:23 and Is 7:14

Our example offers two additional challenges:
1. D and some other witnesses write καλέσεις in Mt 1:23 sounding like Is 7:14 MT/B. As a result the apparatus of Nestle-Aland[27] points to influence from the Septuagint. However, the role of stylistic interests in the textual transmission must be taken into account once more: τέξεται υἱόν καὶ καλέσεις in 1:23 corresponds to τέξεται δὲ υἱόν καὶ καλέσεις in 1:21. Both times Joseph is ordered to give a name to the child of Mary. Hence the witnesses with καλέσεις in 1:23 are probably more influenced by that parallel than by the quoted Septuagint text.

The complexity of the relationship between versions of the source text and the quotation requires the addition of the main witnesses of the Hebrew text (Qumran manuscripts) and more witnesses of the New Testament (D and other majuscules) to the database as soon as possible.
2. ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει has been reconstructed by Ziegler as the most ancient version of LXX Isaiah. Most of the LXX manuscripts have a different reading despite the fact that this version is quoted in Mt 1:23. Our most ancient witnesses indeed read the future form of ἔχειν (Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and their allies),

---

18   Cf. M. Menken, Matthew's Bible, BEThL 173, Leuven 2004, 117–131.

but the vast majority of the Hexaplaric and Lucianic texts and the catena groups offer ἐν γαστρὶ λή(μ)ψεται.

Both expressions emphasize different aspects of the Hebrew הרה in combination with ילד: to be pregnant = ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν and to become pregnant = ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν (Gen 16:11; Judges 13:5.7; Is 7:14; 8:3; 26:17). If Is 7:14 is taken out of the picture, we find two distinct patterns of evidence. On the one hand, the birth oracles in Gen and Judges use the verbal form of ἔχειν; on the other hand, two Isaiah passages employ the verbal form of λαμβάνειν. In deciding on the most ancient LXX version of Is 7:14 one has to weigh the possibilities

(a) An originally consistent Isaiah translation (λαμβάνειν) has been adapted to the customary form of birth oracles (ἔχειν)[19] against

(b) Standard birth oracle usage (ἔχειν) has been abandoned to make for a consistent Isaiah usage (λαμβάνειν).

In case (a) Ziegler's reconstruction of Is 7:14 must be disputed. But another point is even more important: whatever decision is made, the development of the Is-text is to be understood within the Septuagint textual tradition proper, and the most widely disseminated Christian version of LXX Isaiah 7:14 keeps ἐν γαστρὶ λή(μ)ψεται in direct conflict with the prominent New Testament version of ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει (Mt 1:23). Assimilation of the two versions is not an issue in the majority of the later LXX manuscripts.

3.4 Expanded functions for the database

The database may be enlarged in future years, as noted above, which will allow the full potential of the electronic medium to become visible. It is planned to introduce an expanded search function allowing queries across the entire body of evidence, e.g. show all the NT citations from the book of Isaiah with the variants from the 8th to 10th centuries, or show all the corrections to the passages from the Dodekapropheton in LXX and NT manuscripts. Searches like these can only be done by means of a database, and we expect more and better results with more and more data entered.

---

19   Cf. M. Menken, ibid.

4. Reconsidering the theoretical framework for reconstructing the Septuagint and the New Testament

4.1 Editors of the Greek Bible and the Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: Conflicting Attitudes and Rules of Thumb

Many examples from the database underline the observation illustrated by the first dataset (Mt 2:13/Is 7:14): direct relationships between the transmission of the New Testament and the Septuagint are rarer than is often assumed (cf. the examples in the other papers of the present volume).[20]

This observation not only contradicts the preference of Rahlfs – who suspected that the New Testament had a strong influence upon the text of the Septuagint (cf. § 1) – but also opposite views held by editors of the Greek New Testament. Bruce M. Metzger asserted: "Frequently Old Testament quotations are enlarged from the Old Testament context, or are made to conform more closely to the Septuagint wording".[21]

Even without a closer examination of the evidence both perspectives seem to conflict. It is hard to imagine how both trends can be observed simultaneously without further qualification. Nevertheless, Kurt and Barbara Aland designed "the commonly accepted rule of thumb that variants agreeing with parallel passages or with the Septuagint in Old Testament quotations are secondary" as no. 11 of their "Twelve Basic Rules for Textual Criticism".[22]

The Alands righty warned against a "mechanical" application of such "rules of thumb". And yet, the editors of the New Testament and the Septuagint often preferred the differing textual forms. All these cases must be discussed anew, especially in cases where more conflicting generally accepted rules of thumb are operative.

---

20 Additonal examples in M. Karrer/M. Sigismund/U. Schmid, Das lukanische Doppelwerk (note 15).

21 B. M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration, 3rd ed., New York/Oxford 1992, 197–198.

22 K. Aland/B. Aland, The Text of the New Testament, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids/Leiden 1989, 281.

4.2 Test cases: LXX Ps 39:7/Hebr 10:5 and Is 40:4; 45:23/ Lk 3:5; Rom 14:11

Hebr 10:5/LXX Ps 39:7		
MT Ps 40:7	LXX Ps 39:7 main mss. (B,S,A,R, pap. Bodmer 24) = Hebr 10,5	LXX Ps 39:7 Rahlfs (so called younger translations, La^G Ga)
אָזְנַיִם כָּרִיתָ לִּי	σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι	ὠτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι

A classic example of suspicion of the textual tradition of the Septuagint is Rahlfs' reconstruction of Ps 39:7 in the critical edition of 1931. He proposed ὠτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι against all the Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint, following instead the younger translations, since the alternative σῶμα agreed with Hebr 10:5.[23]

Ὠτία, to be sure, is a perfect rendering of the Hebrew אזנים from Ps 40:7. But Rahlfs could adduce no single Greek manuscript of Ps 39:7 that would read ὠτία. Instead, even the excellent papyrus Bodmer (LXX ms. 2110), which was not known to Rahlfs, supports σῶμα.

Usually such a constellation of witnesses calls for the reading σῶμα to be adopted as the original reading of the LXX, with ὠτία as a secondary adaptation to the Hebrew. Additionally, whereas σῶμα can be explained as an old free translation (a "totum pro parte" in Greek rhetoric), ὠτία fits the kaige-tendency.

In other words, Rahlfs' distrust of the Christian influence on the LXX tradition made him resort to conjectural emendation rather than accepting the reading of the Greek textual tradition for his reconstruction of the original version of the Septuagint of Ps 39:7. This prejudice even overruled the conflicting evidence from a comparison with the Masoretic text. Consequently the debate was re-opened in the last years. Rahlfs' decision must be viewed with some scepticism.[24]

---

23   Rahlfs, Psalmi cum Odis, 143 ad loc.

24   Cf. Ch. –B. Amphoux/G. Dorival, "Des oreilles, tu m´as creusées" ou "un corps, tu m´as ajusté"? À propos du Psaume 39 (40 TM), 7, in: M. Casevitz, Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz, Lyon 2006, 315–327: arguing for ὠτία and M. Karrer, LXX Ps 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7, in: D. J. Human/G. J. Steyn (Edd.), Reception of the Psalms, Edinburgh u.a. (in print): arguing for σῶμα.

Rahlfs and Ziegler: changes in editions of LXX Isaiah			
	Rahlfs	Ziegler	New Testament quotation
Is 40:4 (MT לִבְקְעָה = πεδία)	ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία (S*, Lucianic mss. etc.)	ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας (Sᶜ A etc.)	Lk 3:5 αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας (ℵ, B, A)
Is 45:23 (S*, Lucianic mss. etc. ὀμεῖται = MT תִּשָּׁבַע)	καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται (Sᶜ A etc.) πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ	καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται (Sᶜ A etc.) πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ	Rom 14:11 καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται (𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ, B, A) τῷ θεῷ

Rahlfs' prejudices exemplified from Ps 39:7 are also operative in the reconstruction of Is 40:4 in his „Handausgabe" (pocket edition). S* (scribe B) and Lucianic mss agree with MT in opposition to Sᶜ, A etc. and the New Testament quotation (Lk 3:5 main witnesses, in Sinaiticus scribe D). Again he decided in favour of the reading that agrees with MT.[25] and disagrees with the version found in Lk 3:5.

In Is 45:23 Rahlfs was confronted with the same constellation of evidence: ἐξομολογήσεται (Sᶜ A etc) agrees with the quotation in Rom 14:11. The alternative ὀμεῖται is present in S* and the Lucianic mss and agrees with the MT. In this case, however, Rahlfs decided against ὀμεῖται (see the table above) and in favour of the reading that agrees with Rom 14:11.

Ziegler noticed the inconsistency in Rahlfs' edition and corrected the text (see the table above). In the introduction to his edition of LXX Isaiah he formulated the determining factor: the weight of the manuscripts alone is decisive when parallels with a New Testament quotation clash with a (possibly secondary) parallel with the (proto-)Masoretic text. In our case the quoted ὁδοὺς λείας (the New Testament variant) is preferable.[26] This decision could

---

25 Rahlfs, Septuaginta 1935 (Handausgabe), II 619 and 629 ad locum.

26 In Ziegler's words: „In den beiden Stellen 40,4 und 45,23 stimmt die alexandrinische Überlieferung mit den Zitaten im NT überein. Man könnte vermuten, daß von hier aus die Hss. beeinflußt wären. Jedoch bürgt die Vorzüglichkeit der alexandrinischen Gruppe für die Ursprünglichkeit dieser Lesarten" (in the introduction to his edition of LXX Isaiah, Göttingen 1939, 25).

lead to another rule of thumb: variants agreeing with the MT against good manuscripts and the New Testament quotations are secondary.

Thus decisions based on prejudice are already diminishing. Other crucial parts of the theoretical framework too need to be reconsidered. Rahlfs and Ziegler thought of the Lucianic text as a young recension. Today many scholars concede a proto-Lucianic strand underlying the recension. Therefore the variants πεδία/ὁδοὺς λείας and ὀμεῖται/ἐξομολογήσεται may have competed in New Testament times. A single reconstructed version of the Old Greek does not present the full potential of the textual tradition available in the times of the NT authors.

4.3 The consequence: Acknowledging the complex textual history

The issues addressed in this paragraph show the complexities that need to be addressed when it comes to integrating all the dimensions of the textual history: the substantial independence of NT and LXX transmission, the influences nonetheless between quoted and quoting texts, and the possibility of rival textual forms existing at the same time. Considerable research is necessary to identify prejudices, identify and balance conflicting rules of thumb, and integrate the evidence within a compelling theoretical framework addressing the textual history of the entire Greek Bible of both Testaments. In the following paragraphs we start from the full Bible codices, introducing some of their basic characteristics and proceed to identify and discuss aspects of our findings that merit further attention.

5. Characteristics of the full Bible codices

5.1 The relevance of the codices

As has already been indicated, the fourth-century three and four column complete Bibles, Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, plus the two from the 5th century (Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi rescriptus) form the primary point of departure for our research. These codices are not only counted among the most ambitious book productions in history before the invention of printing: they are moreover the first examples of books that comprise both parts of the Christian Bible, i.e. the LXX (= Christian Old Testament) and the NT in one physical entity. As such, these manuscripts are of unique value for studying the interaction (or lack thereof) between a New Testament citation and its LXX source text. Many corrections from the scriptorium and

subsequent generations, especially in Codex Sinaiticus, provide additional information for assessing the ongoing interaction between LXX and NT throughout the centuries. As a consequence, we are especially interested in features accompanying the citations in these manuscripts which are clearly secondary, i.e. citation markers and corrections. In what follows, we will first look at the diplai and the introduction of prophets' names into New Testament citation formulae. Secondly, we will look at the famous quotation of Ps 13 in Romans 3 from the perspective of the activity of correctors. Both these examples draw on the brilliant new images of Codex Sinaiticus available on the internet at http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/.

5.2 Quotation markers: Diplai and names

The citation markers in the New Testament sections of the great codices catch the attention of every reader. As an example, we look at the second page of the New Testament part of Codex Sinaiticus, displaying Mt 2:6–3:7 (see screenshot 3). There are passages highlighted by markers in the margin. Such a mark is called a diplê (the term refers to the two = δυό strokes normally forming the sign; the plural is diplai) and show the awareness of the scriptorium that these are citations.

At the passage Mt 2:6 we count eight markers alongside eight lines of text, and at Mt 2:15 we count three diplai alongside three lines of text. In both instances all the lines that contain the respective Septuagint text are marked. Hence there can be little doubt that the diplai function as citation markers.

Such citation markers are present not only in Codex Sinaiticus, but in the other complete Bible codices from the fourth/fifth centuries, i.e. Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi rescriptus. Even more interesting, we can find those markers only in the New Testament parts of the said manuscripts. In other words, the diplê seems to be a one way ticket from the New Testament to the Septuagint source, but not back again.

In two cases on the second page of the New Testament in Codex Sinaiticus we find not only the markers, but also letters: the manuscript provides additional information identifying specific books of the Septuagint as sources for the citations (see screenshot 4). At 2:15 we read ἐν ἀριθμοῖς (in the book of Numbers) and at 2:6 ἠσαΐου (in the book of Isaiah).

The same system is to be found on the first page of the NT in Codex Sinaiticus (see screenshot 5). The ink has faded considerably, but the citation markers against Mt 1:23 and the additional indicator of the prophetic source are readable (ἠσαΐου).

The text of Mt 1:22 reads: "[...] that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled [...]", and Mt 2:5: "[...] for thus it is written through the prophet [...]" In both cases the "prophet" has not been given a name. But the text of 1:22 was developed, as stated by B.M. Metzger: "Before τοῦ προφήτου a variety of witnesses [...] insert ἠσαΐου. The name is clearly a scribal explanation, for if it had been present originally there is no adequate reason that would account for its absence from the mass of Greek witnesses."[27]

It is worthy of note that the prophet's name in Codex Sinaiticus occurs in the margin of 1:22. Could the copyists that inserted the name into the running text of Matthew's Gospel have been inspired by such a note in the margin of their exemplar?

The same applies even more pointedly to Mt 2:5. Here B.M. Metzger remarks: „Not content with merely the mention of τοῦ προφήτου several witnesses [...] add Μιχαίου, and ‚itᵃ' reads per Esaiam prophetam dicentem [...]"[28] Surprisingly, ℵ shows ἠσαΐου in the margin. The reference to Isaiah is evidently wrong, yet the same faulty attribution is found in an Old Latin manuscript of Matthew's Gospel. Although it is pure guesswork to speculate on the reason why the faulty attribution in the margin has not been corrected, it is nevertheless noteworthy that it has been left to stand. Since Sinaiticus contained all the relevant texts to check this attribution, we can at least conclude that in this case no signs of a real verification of its alleged source can be detected. This ties in well with the relative independence of LXX-"Vorlage" and NT-"quotation" in the correction process of the manuscript, as will become apparent in the next paragraph. At first sight Mt 2:15 again offers a problematic identification: the scriptorium provides a reference to Numbers whereas the quotation matches better Hosea 11:1. Origen, however, notes that some prefer to derive this quotation from Num 24:8.[29]

The examples presented reveal a trend to specify unspecified sources. Unnamed prophets receive names even if they are wrong. It would not be wise to suggest that the Latin manuscript has been copied from ℵ Mt 2:5s., but a good case can be made that the Isaiah attribution in the Latin manuscript is derived from a marginal attribution like the one here in Codex Sinaiticus. Generally, Codex Sinaiticus serves as a perfect illustration that marginal attributions of Septuagint quotations existed and therefore could have served as inspiration for including such attributions into the running text of the New

---

27   See screenshot 5.

28   See screenshot 5.

29   In Numeros Homilia XVII.6 (GCS 30, 165); see below chapter II. 2: "Diplés und Quellen-angaben im Codex Sinaiticus"

Testament. The citation markers in Codex Sinaiticus elucidate New Testament textual variation and developments.

5.3 Correctors: the example of Rom 3:12–18/LXX Ps 13:3

In this famous passage of Romans, Paul vividly declares that all humans fall short of being acceptable before God. He proves this by his extensive quotation of scripture. The first part of 3:10–18 is reasonably close to LXX Ps 13:3 (14:3 Hebrew Text). The Hebrew text, however, does not contain most of what is cited in Rom 3:13–18.

This lack is compensated by a notable sample of Septuagint mss, of which Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus are among the oldest witnesses. These witnesses show a long text analogous to that in Paul. A. Pietersma translates Ps 13:3 line 3–10 in ℵ (first hand): "Their throat is an opened grave; with their tongues they would deceive. Venom of vipers is under their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood; ruin and misery are in their ways, and a way of peace they did not know. There is no fear of God before their eyes."[30]

A century later, Codex Alexandrinus sides with the Hebrew version leaving out the additional lines in Ps 13:3 LXX. Rahlfs acknowledged that the longer version of Septuagint Ps 13:3 is present in the most ancient Septuagint witnesses, but nevertheless concluded this to be a Christian interpolation. This interpolation, according to Rahlfs, is derived from Romans 3:13–18 and has been inserted into Ps 13:3 by Christian copyists of the Septuagint.[31]

The matter is complex as is shown by the textual development in ℵ Rom 3:10–18 and Ps 13:3. The diplai in Rom 3 accord with the long text (see screenshot 6); they are distributed over two columns marking 26 lines of text. In addition, the scriptorium notes the scriptural source texts in the margin of v. 10: the 13th and 52nd Psalms.

Remarkably enough, the ancient readers knew of the parallels between Ps 13 (short text) and Ps 52 LXX (respectively Ps 14 and Ps 53 Hebrew text).

---

30 http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net/de/manuscript.aspx?book=26&chapter=13&lid=de&side=
    r&zoomSlider=0 (used 2010/01/01). In contrast, A. Pietersma´s translation in A New
    Translation of the Septuagint, (Ed.) by the International Organization for Septuagint and
    Cognate Studies, Oxford 2007, 552–553 prefers the short text. A detailed comparison of the
    Greek text in LXX and Paul is given in M. Karrer/U. Schmid/M. Sigismund:
    Textgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Zusätzen in den Septuaginta-Psalmen (the article
    will be published in: W. Kraus/M. Karrer/M. Meiser (Ed.), Die Septuaginta – Texte,
    Theologien und Einflüsse, WUNT, Tübingen 2010).

31 Cf. above, note 1.

These psalms are doublets with virtually identical texts except for the so called addition. The lines from τάφος ἀνεῳγμένος onwards are only found in Ps 13. Yet again no correction is detectable that seeks to differentiate the two Psalm sources with regard to their differing amounts of parallel text when compared with the passage in Romans 3.

Instead of that, we find a correction in LXX Ps 13:3. Corrector „ca", active some time between the 5th and 7th centuries, marks the difference to the short text (a total of ten lines) with bracket shaped signs at the beginning and end of every single line (see screenshot 7). These deletion marks identify the passage as not belonging to the text of Ps 13. Whatever the source for this identification was – most likely another Psalms manuscript with the shorter version[32] –, it effectively overruled the correspondence with the Pauline passage in Rom 3. In this regard it is also worth pointing out that corrector "ca" was active in both parts of Codex Sinaiticus (LXX and NT). He (or she) also heavily corrected Paul's letter to the Romans; there are even "ca"-corrections in Rom 3.[33] Hence "ca" knew the Pauline version of Ps 13:3 as well. Yet the corrections in the LXX and the NT are made independently: ca does not alter the marginal attributions at Rom 3:10.

The consequence is as follows: the corrector used further manuscripts of the LXX and the NT. His or her interest was agreement with the best available text of the biblical books (in his or her opinion). This purpose was best served by these additional high-quality manuscripts. In sharp contrast, the internal equivalence of LXX (quoted texts) and NT (quotations) was not an issue. The corrector simply ignored it.

As a result, the work of the corrector corresponds to our main observation: the transmission of the New Testament and the Septuagint is less interdependent than is often expected.

5.4 Correctors: the example of John 2:17/Ps 68:10

There is more evidence, not only in Codex Sinaiticus but also in Vaticanus, that correctors of the Septuagint books weakened a correspondence between the source and the respective New Testament citations. Significantly, they did so in spite of the fact that the two competing versions are found within one and the same physical entity. Thus in John 2:17 we find a citation from Ps 68:10

---

32 In the time of the corrector, the Lucianic text of the Psalms was dominant. That textual form is a witness to the short text of Ps 13:3. Therefore the corrector may have used an exemplar of the Lucianic text.

33 See the Sinaiticus e-facsimile of Rom 3:5,19,28,30,31 in http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/manuscript.aspx?book=37&chapter=3&lid=de&side=r&verse=13&zoomSlider=0.

(see screenshot 8). The Johannine version exhibits the reading καταφάγεται (future middle), whereas the reconstructed text of the LXX reads the aorist κατέφαγεν. Rahlfs noted in the critical apparatus of the Psalter that S (א) and B also read καταφάγεται. In both manuscripts, however, that reading is later corrected to conform to the standard reading κατέφαγεν.

The correction is made by corrector "C" of Codex Vaticanus, who was also responsible for retracing the fading text of the main hands some time between the 7th and 10th centuries. In Codex Sinaiticus, the corrections was again made by "ca". In both cases the correctors remove the textual correspondence between a New Testament citation and its LXX source in the same physical entity.

This underscores our observation that the Septuagint version remains a text in its own right until late antiquity (and the early middle ages). Even in clearly Christian settings it is transmitted and corrected with remarkable independence from the New Testament versions of the same text.

5.5 Concluding reflection

To be sure, all this – the diplai, the cross-reference in the NT margin and the work of the correctors – does not prove that the longer version of Ps 13:3 could not have been a Christian interpolation. But the burden of proof is shifting. We are lacking empirical data for the Christian insertion of the so-called addition whereas we have proof of the Christian removal of the "interpolation". One may object that this is indicative only of one specific place and time and may not apply to earlier periods. Nevertheless, long cherished prejudices are about to change. The "Christian" shaping of the textual tradition of the Septuagint can no longer be conceived of as a self-evident, let alone pervasive, phenomenon. The arguments must be reviewed in every single case.

A feasible explanation might be to assume an early development of the LXX text. The Hebrew version of the psalm (Ps 14) does not exhibit any additions. Therefore, the short version of LXX Ps 13 is likely to be nearer to the original translation, and should be considered as the Old Greek. Yet the expansion of the psalm may have happened before Paul. That would not least explain the retention of Ps 13 and Ps 52 in the Greek Psalter; these psalms do not look so much like doublets if Ps 13 had a longer text.

The discussion must go on.[34] For the moment it is feasible to conclude that the longer text of Ps 13 is a secondary expansion while at the same time doubting that this expansion must be credited to Christian copyists with a

---

34   See the literature listed in M. Karrer/U. Schmid/M. Sigismund: Textgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Zusätzen in den Septuaginta-Psalmen (see note 30).

knowledge of Paul. In any case, the scribal peculiarities in the great biblical codices have the specific characteristic of becoming windows into the multi-faceted history of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures.

6. Greek style and idiom as reflected in the quotations

The Wuppertal database shows many differences between Septuagint and New Testament manuscripts referring to stylistic developments in the Greek language. Some of these differences touch on questions of editorial policy. Others provide information about cultural history and lead indirectly to editorial questions.

6.1 Morphological variants and editorial policies

Ps 15:8 (Rahlfs)	LXX main manuscripts	Act 2:25 (Nestle-Aland[27])	NT main manuscripts
8 <u>προωρώμην</u> τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός [...]	<u>προορώμην</u> A B S U <u>προωρώμην</u> L´ Bᶜ	25 <u>προορώμην</u> τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός [...]	<u>προορώμην</u> ℵ A B* 04 05 08 18* 33 <u>προωρώμην</u> B² 18ᶜ 424 1739

Many differences between Septuagint and New Testament quotations concern matters of style. The temporal augments of composite verbs are thus sometimes lost in Koinê Greek, whereas revisions reintroduce the augments according to classical Greek.

    E.g., "I (David) saw the Lord before me" (Ps 15:8/Act 2:25) may be written in the classical form προωρώμην or in the Koinê form προορώμην.[35] Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus (first hand) all agree in the choice of the Koinê form in Ps 15:8 and Act 2:25. The stylistic preferences of the editors differ, however: The New Testament edition goes along with the main manuscripts and prints the Koinê form. Rahlfs, on the contrary, favours the classical form against the great uncials.

---

35 Cf. F. Blass/A. Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf, Göttingen ¹⁵1979, § 66 with note 4 and 67 note 3; R. Helbing, Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre, 1907 = Göttingen 1979, 73.

From the perspective of the New Testament, the classical form looks innovative; it is introduced into the tradition by a corrector of B and minuscules. Most of the Lucianic manuscripts of the Psalm are similarly recent. Most strikingly, a corrector of B[36], as in Acts 2:25, even alters the Psalm to conform to the classical form. The stylistic development appears to correlate to the history of the Greek language which influences manuscripts of both the New Testament and the Septuagint; by contrast, the influence of the New Testament on the Septuagint text seems a less compelling explanation.

The example is tiny, yet the underlying problem is of some relevance: our editions suggest that there is a difference between the Septuagint and the New Testament. But the real difference does not lie in the main manuscripts, which agree on the Koinê form. It lies in the stylistic choice of the editors. The Wuppertal database brings to light this modern problem – and inspires an editorial dream that, on matters of style, the critical editions of the Septuagint and New Testament should work together in the future in order to avoid deceptive differences.

6.2 Idioms, cultural history and the reconstruction of texts

Ps 15:10 (Rahlfs)	LXX main manuscripts	Act 2:27 (Nestle-Aland[27])	NT main manuscripts
10 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς <u>ᾅδην</u> [...]	<u>ᾅδην</u> B R Sᶜᵃ (τὸν <u>ᾅδην</u> S*) <u>ᾅδου</u> A Lucianic manuscripts are divided between <u>ᾅδην</u> and <u>ᾅδου</u> Ga et alii Latini "in inferno"	27 ὅτι οὐκ <u>ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην</u> [...]	<u>ᾅδην</u> ℵ A B 04 05 1739 <u>ᾅδου</u> 08 (6ᵗʰ cent.) 18 33 424 Vulgata "in inferno"

A second stylistic problem follows in Ps 15:10. An impressive array of manuscripts there supports εἰς <u>ᾅδην</u>, "into the underworld", as found in the modern text of both Septuagint and New Testament. Yet other important

---

36   The evidence (ω) is too small to identify the hand decisively, but it may be the same corrector as in Act. The correction of the Psalm is not noted in Rahlfs, Psalmi cum Odis, 98 ad loc.

manuscripts differ, e.g. A reads ᾅδου in LXX against ᾅδην NT (without correction in NT or LXX, again indicating the relative independence of LXX and NT transmission).

Indeed, the variant εἰς ᾅδου abbreviates the old Greek idiom "into the house of Hades".[37] Moreover, that idiom dominates the old Septuagint translations (the Pentateuch[38] etc.). It is also found in the Psalms, e.g., Ps 54:16 according to all main manuscripts (cf. Ps 30:18 and 113:25 according to the best manuscripts[39]). The accusative εἰς ᾅδην on the other hand is used only in later books of the Septuagint[40] and eliminates the evocation of the God Hades in favour of the association "underworld".[41]

Therefore εἰς ᾅδου could be preferred as the Old Greek of Ps 15:10. Conversely, in Acts 2:27 the reading εἰς ᾅδην is clearly supported by the best and most ancient witnesses. Only later in the course of the tradition does the reading εἰς ᾅδου appear. This fits with a revival of classical idiom in late antiquity (analogous to the morphological innovation).

The evidence suggests the following textual development for the expression εἰς ᾅδου/ᾅδην:

εἰς ᾅδου		
/	\	
Many manuscripts hand down the old reading (εἰς ᾅδου) in Ps 15:10	Other manuscripts of the Psalter alter the idiom into εἰς ᾅδην roughly between 100 BCE and 100 CE	
	/ \	
	εἰς ᾅδην is cited in Act 2:27	sometimes an article is added: e.g., in S (εἰς τὸν ᾅδην)

---

37 εἰς οἶκον ᾅδου = "into the house of Hades" is found in Homer. Even the abbreviated expression εἰς ᾅδου carries the reminiscence of the deity "Hades". In the 5/4th centuries BCE this expression was used by Pherekydes (FHG vol. 1, 70–99; vol. 4, Fr. 66 and 78) and Demosthenes (Or. 13). In the 3d century, it became available to the LXX translators. It was used by them without hesitation as a translation for שׁאול with preposition or he locale, often in combination with ירד (Gen 37:35; 42:38; 44,29; 44,31; Num 16:30.33; 1Sam 2:6; 1Kön 2:6.9.35; Tob 3:10; Ps 30:18; 54:16; 113:25; Ode 3:6; Amos 9:2; Jes 14:11.15.19; Bar 3:11.19; Ez 31:15.16.17; 32:27).

38 From Gen 37:35 up to Num 16:30.33.

39 Only U is listed with εἰς τὸν ᾅδην in Ps 30:18; only a few Lucianic manuscripts show ᾅδην in Ps 113:25.

40 Tob 13:2; Iob 7:9; 17:16; 3Makk 5:42.

41 Support for this analysis comes from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in the book of Isaiah. All three read εἰς ᾅδην instead of εἰς βάθος (LXX) at Is 7:11. Moreover, in Is 14:11 and 14:15 Symmachus is reported as reading εἰς ᾅδην instead of εἰς ᾅδου (= LXX).

| A classicistic revival in late antiquity (or conscious adaptation to what is perceived as the reading of the LXX) favours εἰς ᾅδου (08 Act 2:27 belongs into the 6th cent.). | |

This analysis takes linguistic progress in Hellenistic times into account. The NT quotation becomes relevant in that it allows a compelling correlation of LXX (older strand) and NT (younger text) with cultural and historical developments. There is a clear benefit for critical editions of the LXX to use the quotations in support of this differentiation; it is difficult to maintain εἰς ᾅδην (Rahlfs text). Even if one refrains from correcting the text of Ps 15:10, the early Christian quotation must be considered in the reconstruction of the Old Greek and the textual history of the Septuagint.

7. Quotations and the development of textual forms in the Greek transmission of the Jewish scriptures

The NT quotations open a window not only on the textual history of the Septuagint as far as the Old Greek is concerned, but also on alternative textual forms, revisions, and so called younger translations. The following examples show potential applications of this.

7.1 The Antiochean Text of the Septuagint and the New Testament: Romans 11:4; 2 Cor 6:16

One of the textual forms of the Septuagint, the Antiochean text, was for a long time considered to be a late revision (end of the 3rd century CE).[42] But the revision used an old base text, which has become increasingly visible in recent years.[43] In Wuppertal, Siegfried Kreuzer has paid special attention to this textual form. Connections between New Testament quotations and the Antiochean Text indeed exist and merit special attention concerning the early date of this textual form:

---

42 See e.g. Rahlfs, Psalmi cum Odis, 60.

43 The Antiochean text of the Septuagint has been well reconstructed for the historical books: see N. Fernández Marcos/J. R. Busto Sáiz, El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I–III, TECC 50/53/60, Madrid 1989/1992/1996.

Rom 11:4 and LXX 3 Kingdoms 19:18 Rahlfs and Antiochean text		
Rom 11:4 critical text according to $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ℵA B	LXX 3 Kingdoms 19:18 Rahlfs	LXX 3 Kingdoms 19:18 Antiochean text
ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός; κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες <u>οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ</u> variants: $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ 02 κατέλειπον (stylisitic alteration) 02 τονυ instead of γόνυ (slip of the pen)	καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραηλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ὤκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βααλ	καὶ καταλείψων ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα τὰ γόνατα ἃ <u>οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ</u>

Paul uses a *Vorlage* of the Antiochean type in Romans 11:4 by understanding Baal as feminine (evoking αἰσχύνη, shame). Rahlfs´ edition of the Septuagint adapts the Greek form to the Hebrew masculine (the ancient God Baal) against Paul. Yet, the masculine is found particularly in kaige-texts (as in the kaige-sections of the historical books in codex B).[44] Hence Rahlfs may rely on a comparatively young text.

A second observation underlines a tendency already noted: A and B both have the masculine in the Septuagint (in Sinaiticus, 3 Kingdoms is lost), yet the feminine in the New Testament. Neither a scribe nor a corrector adjusts the quotation or the quoted text.

This leads to two observations. Firstly, the Antiochean text of Kingdoms was available in New Testament times and used by Paul regardless of the emergence of the kaige text. The Antiochean text seems to be nearer to the Old Greek than the Rahlfs text.[45] Secondly, the major scriptoria in the 4th and 5th centuries were not interested in bringing LXX and NT textual versions into correspondence with one another; the great codices can therefore be used as solid witnesses in both areas, Septuagint and New Testament.

---

44   The recently discovered folios of Sinaiticus witness to the same kaige-phenomenon in Judges 10:6: see Martin Karrer, The New Leaves of Sinaiticus Judges, to be published in W. Kraus/M. Karrer/M. Meiser (Hrsg.), Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse, WUNT, Tübingen 2010.

45   See S. Kreuzer, Die Bedeutung des antiochenischen Textes der Septuaginta für das Neue Testament § 6.1, in the present volume.

2 Cor 6:16 and Ez 37:27 Ziegler; Rahlfs (main manuscripts A B; missing in S) M; p⁹⁶⁷ and Antiochean text[46]					
2 Cor 6:16 critical text according to 𝔓[46] ℵ B (text missing in A)	MT Ez 37:27	LXX Ez 37:27 Ziegler (cf. A)	LXX Ez 37:27 Rahlfs-Hanhart (cf. B)	p⁹⁶⁷	LXX 3 King-doms 19:18 Antio-chene text
καὶ ἔσομαι **αὐτῶν** θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί **μου** (D F G etc.**μοι**) λαός	וְהָיִ֤יתִי לָהֶם֙ לֵֽאלֹהִ֔ים וְהֵ֖מָּה יִֽהְיוּ־לִ֥י לְעָֽם	καὶ ἔσομαι **αὐτοῖς** (A B) θεός καὶ αὐτοί ἔσονται **μοι** (following A) λαός And I will be God to them, and they shall be people for me (correspon-ding to the grammar of MT)	καὶ ἔσομαι **αὐτοῖς** θεός καὶ αὐτοί **μου** ἔσονται (variant and word order following B) λαός	καὶ ἔσομαι **αὐτῶν** θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί **μοι** λαός	καὶ ἔσομαι **αὐτῶν** θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί **μου** λαός And I will be their God, and they shall be my people (free translati on)

Another example of the influence of the Antiochean text is found in 2 Cor 6:16. Here, Paul cites Ez 37:27 in 2 Cor 6:16 with the two variants αὐτῶν and μου against the critical text. Both variants agree exactly with the Antiochean text. Moreover, the manuscripts show a development of the text of the Septuagint in the centuries after Paul. Papyrus 967 (first half of the 3rd cent.) and Codex Vaticanus occupy a middle place between Antiochean and Ziegler-

---

46   p⁹⁶⁷ is collated in an appendix to Ziegler´s edition (for Ez 37:27 see J. Ziegler, Ezechiel. Mit einem Nachtrag von D. Fraenkel. Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 16.1, Göttingen ³2006, 344).

Alexandrinus-text; p^{967} supports αὐτῶν and B supports μου in the Antiochean text (the latter with a different word order). A century later, Codex Alexandrinus maintains both of the variants, αὐτοῖς and μοι, against the Antiochean tradition. Remarkably, the readings and word order of A concur with the Masoretic Text.

The array of witnesses therefore allows the following hypothesis:

- A proto-Antiochean form of the text was current in New Testament times and was used by Paul.
- At about the same time a reworking of the Septuagint text was begun by adapting the text more strictly to the protomasoretic text. Phases of the reworking can be identified in p^{967} and B.
- Finally, Codex Alexandrinus follows the reworked text completely.

If this line of reasoning is correct, by following A the critical edition of LXX Ez has paradoxically chosen a younger form of the text. The correction of the critical text (Ziegler) should be borne in mind. Even if we hesitate to amend Ziegler, another result is certain: the proto-Antiochean text of Ez (or at least part of it[47]) was current in the first century. The Antiochean text undoubtedly presents an old textual form, not only in the Historical books.

Most of the Ez quotations in the New Testament are not significant, as there is no difference in these verses between the Antiochean and main reconstructed text of the LXX. On the other hand, an initial check of the Jeremiah quotations in the New Testament shows that none of the New Testament Jeremiah variants corresponds significantly to the Antiochean text. Not even Hebrews 8:8–12, the longest quotation overall in the New Testament, shows evidence of Antiochean peculiarities. This means that we must examine every quotation and every book of the Septuagint on its own. Perhaps the Antiochean text was widespread only for some books of the Septuagint.[48]

---

47   A complete verification is impossible since we have few early quotations.

48   A comprehensive analysis is still awaited. The Psalm quotations in Hebrews could be of special interest for further research: Πυρός φλόγα in Hebr 1:7 is reminiscent of some Antiochean manuscripts of LXX Ps 103:4; ἑλίξεις in 1:12 matches the Antiochean text of LXX Ps 101:27 etc. Other manuscripts support these readings (see Bo Sa and cf. A^c in LXX Ps 103:4; A B and others in LXX Ps 101:27). The New Testament author seems to use a textual form of his times, which has affinities to the (later) Antiochean text. Nevertheless Rahlfs proposes New Testament influence in these cases (in A. Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum: Psalmi cum Odis, Göttingen 1931, 246.255 and 258 ad loc). But more recent research has put forward a good opposing case: cf. U. Rüsen-Weinhold, Der Septuagintapsalter im Neuen Testament, Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2004; and esp. S.E. Docherty, The Text Form of the OT Citations in Hebrews Chapter 1 and the Implications for the Study of the Septuagint, NTS 55, 2009, 355–365. Cf. some variants in Hebr 3:7–11/LXX Ps 94:7–11 too (discussion in G. J. Steyn, A Quest for the Assumed Septuagint Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews, Göttingen 2010 ad loc.).

7.2 A relict of "kaige": Act 2:18

The main overall characteristic of the above-mentioned kaige revision (or better kaige-tendency) was a closer approximation of the Greek tradition to the phonetic, graphic and syntactic appearance of the Hebrew (proto-Masoretic) text. One of the special features was the stereotypical rendering of the Hebrew וגם with καίγε. In the New Testament we encounter this feature in the long citation from the book of Joel in Acts 2. We read καίγε (Acts 2:18) instead of the standard Greek translation with simple καί as in Joel 2:29 LXX (MT Joel 3:2). This is presumably a glimpse of the „kaige"-tendency.[49]

Acts 2:18	Joel 3:2	LXX variants S,A,B
καί γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, [καὶ προφητεύσουσιν.]	καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου	καί] + γε A καί] καιγε S δούλους S*] + μου A,B δούλας S*,B] + μου A

7.3 LXX-Quotations in the New Testament and in Philo

Some of Philo's citations exhibit parallel readings with citations that are found in Hebrews, as for example Heb 4:4 and 13:5b. Especially important is the close agreement between Philo, conf. 166 and Heb 13:5b, the exact wording of which is notoriously difficult to pin down in the LXX (Dtn 31:6.8 etc.). The Wuppertal project is therefore involved in entering citations from Philo too into the database for comparative studies.

Parallel Greek versions in Philo and Hebrews		
LXX	Philo	Heb
Gen 2:2 καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ	post. 64 δηλώσει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς	Heb 4:4 εἴρηκεν γάρ που περὶ τῆς

---

49 Cf. G. J. Steyn, Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum, CET 12, Kampen 1995, 72–98; M. Karrer, Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta und das Problem ihrer maßgeblichen Textgestalt, in: ders./W. Kraus/M. Meiser (Edd.), Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten, WUNT I 219, Tübingen 2008, 40–62, esp. 44f.

ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐποίησεν, καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησεν.	κοσμοποιίας ἐπιλόγῳ φάσκων· "καὶ κατέπαυσεν <u>ὁ θεὸς</u> <u>ἐν</u> τῇ ἡμέρα τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε[...]"	ἑβδόμης οὕτως· καὶ κατέπαυσεν <u>ὁ θεὸς</u> <u>ἐν</u> τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ
Dtn 31:6.8 ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε, μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία μηδὲ πτοηθῇς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὁ προπορευόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ μή σε ἀνῇ οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ. 8 καὶ κύριος ὁ συμπορευόμενος μετὰ σοῦ οὐκ ἀνήσει σε οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃ σε· μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία. Gen 28:15 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ διαφυλάσσων σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάσῃ, οὗ ἐὰν πορευθῇς, καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὅτι οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με πάντα, ὅσα ἐλάλησά σοι. Jos 1:5 οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται ἄνθρωπος κατενώπιον ὑμῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἤμην μετὰ Μωυσῆ, οὕτως ἔσομαι καὶ μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαί σε.	conf. 166 διόπερ λόγιον τοῦ ἵλεω θεοῦ μεστὸν ἡμερότητος ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ὑπογράφον τοῖς παιδείας ἐρασταῖς ἀνήρηται τοιόνδε· "οὐ μή σε <u>ἀνῶ</u>, <u>οὐδ' οὐ μή</u> σε ἐγκαταλίπω".	Hebr 13:5b αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν· οὐ μή σε <u>ἀνῶ οὐδ'</u> <u>οὐ μή</u> σε ἐγκαταλίπω,

7.4 New Testament quotations and so called young translations

As noted, forerunners of the three young translations (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) came into existence in the first century of the Christian era. Hence it comes as no surprise to find some of that material already in the New Testament.

Dtn 32:35 MT	LXX Dtn 32:35/Od 2:35	Symmachus = Sy^h	Röm 12:19 = Hebr 10:30
לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם (fragliche Punktierung)	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω	(reconstruction by Latin:) mihi ultio et retribuam	ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω

The reception of the Song of Moses offers a good example. Paul (Rom 12:19) and Heb 10:30 cite Dtn 32:35 in a version that is otherwise known under the name of Symmachus ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω ("mihi ultio et retribuam"[50]).

7.5 Quotations and variants of different origin: Heb 8:8–12 as a test case

The longest quotation in the New Testament confronts us with a rather complex textual situation: The citation in Heb 8:8–12 appears basically to be close to the Old Greek of Jer 38:31–34 (LXX). There are, however, variants in the New Testament and LXX versions that merit a more detailed discussion than can be offered here. We therefore concentrate on a small sample of readings which provide an overview of the possible affiliations of these variants with versions of the Greek text of Jer current in the 1st century.

     One such reading can be paralleled with the more recent textual developments in Jer. In Heb 8:8 the quotation uses συντελέσω ἐπὶ [...] διαθήκην καινήν rather than the uncontested διαθήσομαι [...] διαθήκην καινήν of Jer 38:31 LXX. The lexical alternative stresses the anticipated perfection of the completed new covenant. Strikingly, the same verb is used in the Greek translation of Jer 38:31 associated with Symmachus (and Syh). Symmachus is indeed interested in stressing this particular notion with regard to a future covenant that God is committed to make with Israel. This may be gathered

---

50   Cf. W. Baars, New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts, Diss. Leiden 1968, 95.144.148.

from his version of Is 61:8, where he replaces another διαθήσομαι with his favourite συντελέσω. The author of Hebrews on the other hand employs the compound συντελέω only here, whereas he usually resorts to the simple τελειόω in order to express perfect accomplishment (see Heb 2:10, 9:9; 10:1). Hence the choice of words in the Hebrews citation at that point is most naturally associated with a revision of the passage already in existence in the late 1st cent. intending a particular notion of the expected future covenant between God and the people of Israel.

However, the text has not been revised as a consequence of this. Important parts of the Old Greek are preserved. E.g., a reading in Heb 8:11 parallels the most ancient version of the Septuagint of Jer 38:34: The Hebrew lexeme רע is only rarely rendered by πολίτης in the Septuagint, the most common translation being πλήσιον. According to Ziegler, there are only three such renderings in Proverbs and one uncontested in Jer 36:23.[51] Based on these observations, Ziegler reconstructs πολίτης as the original reading of the Septuagint in Jer 38:34 and judges πλήσιον to be a "späterer Ersatz für πολίτης"[52]. At Jer 38:34, however, the vast majority of Greek manuscripts, with the exception of Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus,[53] read πλήσιον and not πολίτης. Heb 8:11, which also reads πολίτην,[54] becomes an additional witness to the most ancient version of Jer 38:34 at this particular point.[55]

In contrast, it is worth noting that some later New Testament witnesses at this point seem to have come under the influence of the dominant Jer-reading πλήσιον; Cyril of Alexandria, P and some minuscules read πλήσιον. A stylistic development coincides with the usage of the LXX. New Testament transmission is not completely free from LXX influence.

Our final example touches on the rendering of נאם יהוה (which occurs three times in the Hebrew Jeremiah passage). Ziegler reconstructed φησὶ κύριος as equivalent in LXX Jer 38:31.32.33 and opposed the LXX text to the Hebrews citation, where we read λέγει κύριος three times (Heb 8:8.9.10). The readings are uncontested in the New Testament textual tradition, whereas the first φησὶ κύριος in LXX Jer is only attested by B-106' and C', thus encountering strong opposition from Codex Alexandrinus and the Lucianic

---

51   J. Ziegler, Ieremias – Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae, Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, 15, Göttingen 1957, 45.

52   Ibid.

53   Codex Alexandrinus reads ἀδελφόν.

54   This reading is virtually uncontested, because all the ancient manuscripts (p46 אA B etc.) and the Byzantine majority agree here.

55   Instances like these are usually overlooked by those who routinely suspect the influence of the New Testament version upon the textual tradition of the Septuagint.

recension. These witnesses read λέγει κύριος in 38:31. In the other occurrences, however, φησὶ κύριος is virtually uncontested.

At first sight this looks like a minor difference, since it has no bearing on the interpretation of the passages. The transition from φησὶ to λέγει κύριος could be viewed as a later stylistic change. The two renderings of נאם יהוה, however, constitute a major part of the evidence collected by Thackeray[56] and Tov[57] in order to support the view that there were two versions of the Greek book of Jeremiah, either translated independently (Thackeray) or following a revision (Tov).

In any case, there appears to be a discrepancy in the Greek vocabulary used to render the same Hebrew lexemes between the first part of the book of Jeremiah (1–28) and the second (29–52 and Bar 1:1–3:8). E. Tov called the two parts Jer a' and Jer b'. In his view Jer b' was a revision of Jer a' and both parts now coexist in the manuscript tradition of Jeremiah (LXX) as a combined version. In other words: Jer a' only extends until Jer 28. From then onwards Jer b' replaces the second part of Jer a', which is lost to us in its original form but only available through the revised version of Jer b' (Jer 29–52). A prominent example of the shift in vocabulary between the two parts is λέγει κύριος (predominently confined to Jer a') versus φησὶ κύριος (predominantly confined to Jer b').[58] If we adopt this model, an intriguing possibility arises with regard to the citation from Heb 8:8–10 which three times has λέγει κύριος, considered to be characteristic of Jer a'. Since the cited passage comes from the second part of Jeremiah, we could even venture to suggest that the Hebrews citation may ultimately hark back to a version that is in parts closer to the lost second part of Jer a' than any other witness known to us today. Hence this New Testament citation may provide an even older version of the old revised translation upon which our extant textual tradition is based.

We note, however, the disagreement in research concerning the textual history of Jer.[59] The primary interest of the Wuppertal project is to collect the relevant data. The interpretation must be subject to ongoing research. The above analysis is therefore open to revision.

---

56 H. St. J. Thackaray, The Greek Translators of Jeremiah, JThS 4, 1903, 245–266.
57 E. Tov, The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch. A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:18, HSM 8, Ann Arbor 1976.
58 Tov, Septuagint Translation, 69–70.161.
59 H.-J. Stipp, Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches, Freiburg 1994, 17–27.

8. Conclusions

The Wuppertal research project, the database tool for the quotations and the evaluation of different paradigms have led to valuable results. All the data confirms "cum grano salis" the break of research introduced by Kraft and Hanhart[60] in showing that:

- The New Testament authors integrate quoted texts into the context of their writings, occasionally adapting motifs and syntax (especially at the beginning and the end of the quotations). Yet they usually follow extant textual forms for the heart of the quotations.
- Early Christian transmission faithfully preserves the forms of the quoted texts (LXX) as well as the quotations (NT). A detailed examination reveals less interdependence of LXX and NT transmission than has often been assumed (see § 4.1).

New Testament quotations have therefore gained an importance for the textual criticism of the Old Testament. The database (see § 3) helps to reconstruct the textual history of the Greek Bible by collecting and presenting the various versions of the quotations and their respective source texts. The analysis of the full Bible codices deepens our knowledge of ancient scriptoria, their quotation markers and correctors. Corrections to the present critical edition of the Septuagint are suggested in more than one case. Stylistic decisions, the value and grouping of manuscripts, the assessment of the Antiochean text and other issues must be thoroughly reviewed and adjusted accordingly (see §§ 4.2–7.1).

Moreover, the citations (and corrections) in the manuscript tradition provide a rich picture of the different textual forms of the Greek OT in use at the time of the New Testament and in the course of the ongoing textual tradition. Particular characteristics of the text go back – sometimes surprisingly – to the earliest times of the Greek OT. Others indicate later textual developments (kaige, Symmachus etc.). Others even point to the cultural shaping and metamorphosis of Greek religious idioms. A quotation may even interweave old and new elements (see §§ 7.2–7.5).

These quotations thus open a window for fascinating views into the ancient world, the peculiarities of its textual transmission and at the same time its cultural and theological dynamics.

---

60   See § 1 with notes 6 and 7.

Literatur:

K. Aland/B. Aland, The Text of the New Testament, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids/Leiden 1989.

Ch.-B. Amphoux/G. Dorival, "Des oreilles, tu m´as creusées" ou "un corps, tu m´as ajusté"? À propos du Psaume 39 (40 TM), 7, in: M. Casevitz (Ed.), Philologia. Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz, Lyon 2006, 315–327.

W. Baars, New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts, Diss. Leiden 1968.

J. Baiter/H. Sauppe, Oratores Attici, Zürich 1850, repr. Hildesheim 1967, 251–257.

D. Barthélemy, Les devanciers d'Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des Fragments du Dodécaprophéton, 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, VT.S 10, Leiden 1963.

F. Blass/A. Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf, Göttingen [15]1979.

H.-J. Fabry, Die griechischen Handschriften vom Toten Meer, in ders./U. Offerhaus (Edd.), Im Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel, BWANT 153, Stuttgart u.a. 2001, 131–154.

N. Fernández Marcos, Einführung in den antiochenischen Text der griechischen Bibel in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern (1–4 Kön LXX), in: S. Kreuzer/J. P. Lesch (Edd.), Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel 2, BWANT 161, Stuttgart u.a. 2004, 177–213.

N. Fernández Marcos/J. R. Busto Sáiz, El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I – III, TECC 50/53 / 60, Madrid 1989/1992/1996.

P. J. Gentry, Old Greek and Later Revisors: Can we Always Distinguish Them?, in: A. Voitila/J. Jokuranta (Edd.), Scripture in Transition. Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls, FS R. Sollamo, JSJ.Suppl. 126, Leiden 2008, 301–327

R. Hanhart, Das Neue Testament und die griechische Überlieferung des Judentums, in: F. Paschke u.a. (Ed.), Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, TU 125, Berlin 1981, 293–303.

R. Hanhart, Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta in neutestamentlicher Zeit, ZThK 81, 1984, 395–416.

R. Helbing, Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre, 1907 = Göttingen 1979.

M. Karrer, Der Brief an die Hebräer Kapitel 5:11–13:25, ÖTK 20,2, Gütersloh 2008, 112–119.

M. Karrer, Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta und das Problem ihrer maßgeblichen Textgestalt, in: ders./W. Kraus/M. Meiser (Edd.), Die

Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten, WUNT I 219, Tübingen 2008, 40–62.

M. Karrer, LXX Ps 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7, in: D. J. Human/G. J. Steyn (Edd.), Reception of the Psalms, Edinburgh u.a. (in press).

M. Karrer/W. Kraus/M. Meiser: Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten, WUNT 219, Tübingen 2008 (a congress volume which will be followed by a second volume in WUNT 2010).

M. Karrer/U. Schmid/M. Sigismund: Das lukanische Doppelwerk als Zeuge für den LXX-Text des Jesaja-Buches, in: H. Ausloos u.a. (Ed.), Florilegium Lovaniense. FS Florentino García Martínez, BEThL 224, Leuven u.a. 2008, 253–274.

M. Karrer The New Leaves of Sinaiticus Judges, to be published in: W. Kraus/M. Karrer/M. Meiser (Edd.), Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse, WUNT, Tübingen 2010.

R. Kraft, Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures. A Methodological Probe, in: E. de Boccard, Paganisme, Judaisme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique, Ouvrage publie avec le concours de l'Universite des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Paris 1978, 207–226 = http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/other/ journals/kraftpub/Transmission%20of%20Gk-Jewish%20Scriptures (used 2009/08/1).

S. Kreuzer, Towards the Old Greek. New Criteria for the Evaluation of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension), in: M. K. H. Peters, XIII Congress of the International Organization for the Septuagint and Cognate Studies, SCS 55, Atlanta 2008, 239–253.

M. Labahn, Ausharren im Leben, um vom Baum des Lebens zu essen und ewig zu leben. Zur Textform und Auslegung der Paradiesgeschichte der Genesis in der Apokalypse des Johannes und deren Textgeschichte, in: H. Ausloos u.a. (Ed.), Florilegium Lovaniense. FS Florentino García Martínez, BEThL 224, Leuven u.a. 2008, 291–316.

M. Labahn, Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse, in: Jörg Frey/James A. Kelhoffer/Franz Tóth (Edd.), Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte und Konzepte/The Revelation of John: Contexts and Concepts, WUNT, Tübingen 2009 (in press).

M. Menken, Matthew's Bible, BEThL 173, Leuven 2004.

B. M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration, 3rd ed., New York/Oxford 1992.

K. Müller (Ed.), Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum, Bd. 1, Paris 1841; Bd. 4, Paris 1851.

A. Rahlfs/D. Fraenkel, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Suppl.: Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, Bd.

1,1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2004, 372–373.

A. Rahlfs (Ed.), Psalmi cum odis, Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, 10, Göttingen 1931 (^{3}1979).

A. Rahlfs, Septuagintastudien I–III. Heft 2: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters, nebst einem Anhang, Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W. E. Crum, Göttingen 1965.

J. Schäfer, Die 50 Bibelhandschriften des Eusebius für Kaiser Konstantin. Der Katholik 4 F., XI, 1913, 90–104.

F. Siegert, »Expliquer l'écriture par elle-mème«. Origine et vicissitude d'une maxime »Protestante«, Etudes Theologiques et Religieuses 71, 1996.

Th. C. Skeat The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine, Journal of Theological Studies ns 50, 1999, 583–625 = J. K. Elliott (Ed.), The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat, NT.S 113, Leiden/Boston 2004, 193–240.

H.–J. Stipp, Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches, Freiburg 1994

H. B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge 1902.

H. St. J. Thackeray, The Greek Translators of Jeremiah, Journal of Theological Studies os 4, 1903, 245–266.

The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Ed.), A New Translation of the Septuagint, Oxford 2007.

E. Tov, The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch. A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1–3:18, HSM 8, Ann Arbor 1976.

E. Ulrich, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature, Grand Rapids 1999.

C. Wendel, Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins, ZfB LVI, 1939, 165–175.

J. Ziegler (Ed.), Ezechiel. Mit einem Nachtrag von D. Fraenkel. Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 16.1, Göttingen ^{3}2006.

J. Ziegler (Ed.), Ieremias – Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae, Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, 15, Göttingen 1957.

Screenshots

Screenshot 1

Screenshot 2

Screenshot 3

Screenshot 4
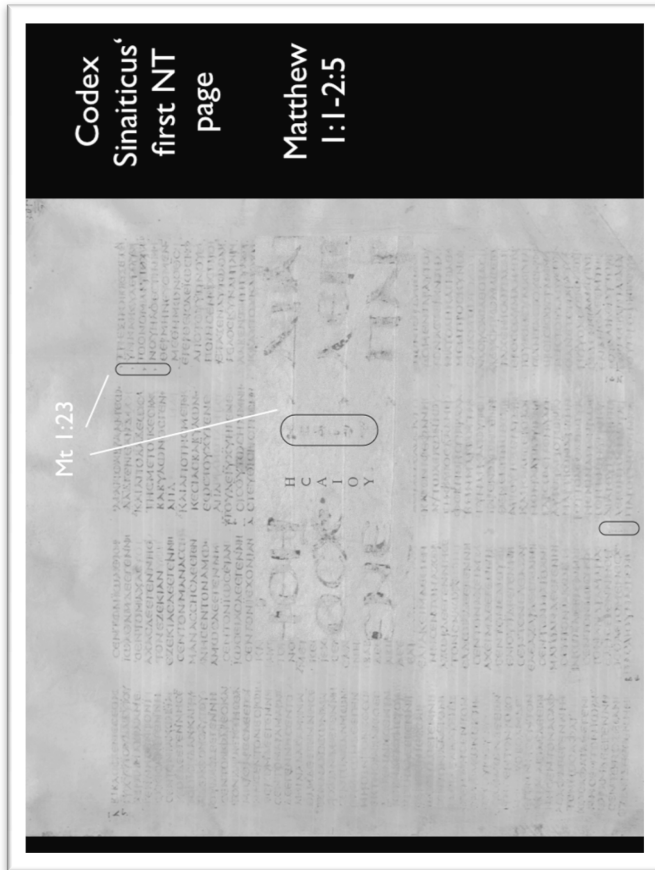
Screenshot 5

Mt 1:22 ...that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet...

Before του προφητου a variety of witnesses ... insert Ησαιου. The name is clearly a scribal explanation, for if it had been present originally there is no adequate reason that would account for its absence from the mass of Greek witnesses.
B.M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, 2nd edition, 1994, p. 7-8.

Mt 2:5 ...for thus it is written through the prophet...

Not content with merely the mention of του προφητου several witnesses ... add Μιχαιου, and ita¹ reads per Esaiam prophetam dicentem...
B.M. Metzger, loc. cit., p. 8.

Screenshot 6

Screenshot 7

Screenshot 8