

Septuagint and Septuagint Research in Germany.

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1. The 16th century: The Septuagint becomes known to Scholars and Bible translators.

It is an often read commonplace that Humanism and the Reformation in the 16th cent., be it the Lutheran or the Swiss reformation, more or less disposed of the Septuagint and especially the apocrypha. However, rather the contrary is the case. In order to understand the situation, one has to remember, that throughout the middle ages in the western Church only the Latin version of the Bible (in form of Jerome's Vulgate) was available and (officially) allowed. This can be seen by the fact that Erasmus from Rotterdam published his Greek New Testament as a bilingual edition in Greek and Latin, and – at least officially – with the purpose to improve the Latin text (because before the official Sixtine edition from 1590 and the Clementine edition from 1592, the Vulgate circulated in different versions). Also the somewhat strange explanation in the Complutensian Polyglot that the Latin text is placed between the Hebrew and the Greek text like Jesus on the cross with the two criminals on his sides shows the dilemma between the old dogmatic prescriptions and the new historic insights and the new, not only Humanistic interest to go *ad fontes*. – So it was Humanism and then also Reformation, that not eschewed the Septuagint but that for the first time in Western Europe and in the western Church gave it a place in scholarship and especially theology.

As is well known, the first prints of the Septuagint were the Complutensian Polyglot, printed 1514-1517 but distributed only from 1520 onwards, and the so called Aldina from 1518, prepared by Andrea Terrisano (or Asulano according to his home town) and his son Federicus Asulano and printed in the offices of Aldus Manutius in 1516 at Venice, Italy. The sequence of the books most probably followed the manuscripts used and more or less the usual sequence of the Vulgate, i.e. Esdras (A' and B'!), Esther, Tobit, Judith followed the historical books, Sap. Sal. and Sirach followed the poetic books, and Baruch, Threni, and Ep. Ier. were placed with the book of Jeremia, but 1-3 Macc. were placed behind the 12 Prophets at the end of the Old Testament. In the preface, the

printing of the Greek bible was justified as it reports about the origins of humanity (*de generis humanae origine*), the ancient godly laws and the Jewish rites that also are at the beginning of our religion. While the Complutensian Polyglot remained rather rare and unknown in central Europe, the Aldine was distributed and quite soon also reprinted in Germany,¹ i.e. in Strassburg in 1526 and in Frankfurt in 1545.

The reprint of 1526 at Argentorati = Strassburg was made in the printer shop of Cephaleus (Wolfgang Köpfel). As other Greek texts printed there, it was overseen by Johann Lonicerus, a scholar who for some time had also been in Wittenberg and was inclined to the Reformation. This may have had its effect in the placement of the apocrypha behind the other writings of the Old Testament where he probably followed Luther's suggestion made in the translation of the Pentateuch in 1523. However, in his preface, Lonicerus for this ordering – so to say in ecumenical intention (at that time, the parting of the ways was only in its beginning) – referred to Jerome: *Caeterum ne hoc te fugiat Lector, in partitione et serie voluminum sequuti sumus D. Hieronymum (Nam quem potius?). Unde et quos Apocryphos vocant libros, omnes ad finem in unum fascem collegimus, sunt enim tales, qui in Hebraeis Biblijs non sunt quique in ordinem redacti in omnibus fide digni nun sunt.* “By the way, it may not escape the Reader, that in the division and the sequence of the volumes we followed Jerome (Whom else more?). And that those books, that they call Apocrypha, we collected them in one fascicle, as they are not in the order of the Hebrew Bible-books and not in every regard dignified for the faith”. On the other hand, in this edition 4Macc was added.

This edition was used for the translation of the Old Testament in the so called Luther Bible besides the Hebrew Bible (Soncino edition). Certainly, Hebrew (and for some parts Aramaic) as the original language had the lead, but the team around Luther consulted also the Septuagint and rabbinic expositions. In regard of the extent of scripture Luther differed from of the “Aldine”. He practically followed the Vulgate, i.e. he accepted only 1 and 2 Macc, and he included the prayer of Manasse, as so to say the concluding voice of the Old Testament. According to contemporary notes, Philipp Melanchthon and Caspar Cruciger were the experts for the Septuagint in the translation team.

Against this background, it is not surprising that Melanchthon wrote a preface to the next edition of the Septuagint, the edition produced in the offices of

¹ With Germany I refer to the German speaking countries and towns of the particular epoch. Concerning people I refer to persons who originated there and/or achievements that where accomplished there.

Johannes Herwagen in Basel (Basle).² Interestingly, Melanchthon dated his preface according to the Jewish calendar to Chanukka 1544. In his preface, Melanchthon explains that the Hebrew Bible is the first authority, because it is written in the original language of God's revelation. However, the Septuagint is the oldest translation and most important as a help to understand the Hebrew Bible, it is the first reference for the New Testament, and, not the least, it also helps to understand the Jewish background, and [an interesting ecumenical perspective!] it is the Bible still in use in the Greek churches. In this edition Susanna and Bel et Draco are placed after Sirach und 1-4 Macc are placed after the New Testament[!]. There are also 6 pages with variant readings from different manuscripts and from observations (conjectures?) from scholars.

Already in 1550 there was another print of the Septuagint in Basle, this time at Brylinger's and overseen by Heinrich Guntius from Biberach. It was in smaller format and therefore cheaper, which should further its distribution. The Greek text was accompanied by a Latin translation that should make the Greek text more accessible.

The Basle edition from 1545 was also reissued, this time in Frankfurt in 1597. Probably this new edition of the Septuagint was a German / protestant reaction to the appearance of the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint in 1587. Interestingly, these editions had some influence also in Eastern Europe: The 1545 edition had (probably via the Antwerp Polyglot) become – together with the Hebrew text – the base text of the Kralitz-Bible from 1579-1593, i.e. the first printed Slavonic bible, and the 1597 edition from Frankfurt became the textual basis for the first translation into Romanian. Both translations also became most influential to their respective languages.³

The Aldine was included in the *Biblia Pentapla*, a polyglot bible issued in Wittenberg by Draconites in 1563-1564. It contained Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and German, however, this edition remained fragmentary.

There appeared not only an impressive number of editions of the Septuagint in Germany in that time, but also an important "Hilfsmittel" for Septuagint studies: *A Concordance of the Septuagint, produced by Konrad Kircher:*

² Basel or Basle, located at the Swiss, German and French border, was a free town that in 1501 had become member of the *confederatio helvetica*, but at least culturally, one may reckon it as one of the German towns. On this edition, see Frank Hieronymus, *En Basileia tes Germanias. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel 1992, 2003 and 2011); see: <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/higg0382.html>. Melanchthon not only wrote the foreword, but most probably also initiated the edition.

³ See: Ana-Maria Gînsac and Mădălina Ungureanu, "Les premières traductions roumaines de la Septante (XVIIe siècle). Le projet «Monumenta Linguae Dacoromanorum. Biblia 1688»", *JSCS* 48 (2015), 129-145.

“*Concordantiae V. T. graecae Ebraeis vocibus respondentes πολύκρηστοί*”, 2 vol., (Frankfurt 1607) It was based on the Frankfurt edition from 1597. As the title indicates, the concordance gives first the Hebrew words in Hebrew order and then all the Greek equivalents and all their occurrences. It is complemented by an index of the Greek words.

Taking these observations together, there was evidently much interest in the Septuagint in that time. Certainly, the Hebrew text had priority for Exegesis and Bible translation, but the Septuagint evidently was consulted as well. Also the Apocrypha was accepted and known in Lutheran theology and piety. The story of Tobit was appreciated as a story of God’s guidance and some sayings from Sirach became popular wisdom. Wisdom 3:1 and Sirach 50:25f. were taken up in hymns.

In the reformed tradition, the Apocrypha was also originally included (Zürich Bible from 1531; cf. also the King James Version from 1611) but they became more and more disputed, especially because some Roman Catholic theologoumena referred to the apocrypha. In 1826 the British and Foreign Bible Society decided to stop supporting Bibles with the apocrypha. Some German bible societies accepted this decision; others continued to produce their bibles with the apocrypha.

In the Roman Catholic tradition, the apocrypha or deuterocanonical writings were undebated; however they were mainly read in their Latin version and not from the Septuagint.

2. Septuagint Lexicography from the 17th century onwards

It may be of interest to mention the probably first lexicon on the Septuagint: Zacharias Rosenbach, *Lexicon breve in LXX interpretes, et libros apocryphos* (Herborn 1634). He used the index of Kircher’s concordance, but he checked the meaning of all the words anew. As he had done for his lexicon of the Greek New Testament he did not follow the alphabet but he arranged the words in 72[!] groups according to their meaning. This unique didactically motivated arrangement should help for easier learning of the words.⁴ Most interesting are also his recommendations to study the Septuagint. For this he adduces protestant and catholic voices about the importance of the Septuagint, not the

⁴ Knowingly or not knowingly, that same principle was used by Johannes Louw and Eugene Nida (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies), 1988, that used 93 semantic domains.

least for studying the New Testament, and he urges publishers to produce cheap editions of the Septuagint for the students.⁵

The largest lexicon to the Septuagint was that by Johann Friedrich Schleusner (1759-1831): *Thesaurus sive lexicon in Septuaginta et reliquos interpretes et scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti post Bielium et alios viros doctos Ioh. Frieder. Schleusner*; 5 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner 1820-1821), with corrections reprinted in three volumes already in Glasgow 1822 as “*Novus Thesaurus...*”.⁶ As the title indicates, he evidently knew Johann Christian Biel’s (1687-1745) lexicon in an earlier stage, although that one was published much later (1779-1780) by Esdras Heinrich Mutzenbecher. As Rosenbach, also Schleusner had before published a lexicon on the New Testament, and as Rosenbach he also concentrated on the meaning in the Hebrew reference text. As there was not yet an appropriate understanding of the textual history and also of the differences in the Hebrew reference texts, he gives also some irrelevant meanings. However, the lexicon is a mine of information and although it is in Latin, there was a good number of reprints, e.g. London 1829, and even in the 20th cent., i.e. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1994. The Thesaurus became an important source for later lexica like Liddell/Scott/Jones, as on the other hand, Schleusner had benefitted from the new material (and the many variant readings) that had become available through the new edition of the Septuagint by Robert Holmes and James Parsons (Oxford 1795ff.) and also from the lexicographical work in profane Greek.

For such lexical achievements in Germany, one may mention the works of Schneider (1750-1822), Passow (1786-1833) and Pape (1807-1854): Johann Gottlob Schneider, *Kritisches griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Züllichau and Leipzig 1797); vol. 2 (Jena and Leipzig 1798). Its third edition became the basis for Franz Passow, *Johann Gottlob Schneider’s Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Nach der dritten Ausgabe des großen griechisch-deutschen Wörterbuchs*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1819), vol. 2 (Leipzig 1823); from its fourth edition 1831 under the title *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. It was updated in 1841 and 1857 by Valentin Rost and Johann Friedrich Palm, and reprinted (but not updated) several times also in the 20th cent.⁷ This lexicon became the basis for Henry George Liddell/Robert Scott (/Henry

⁵ Heinrich Schlosser, „Die erste Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch und das erste Septuaginta-Wörterbuch“, in: *Neutestamentliche Studien Georg Heinrici zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 6 (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1914), 252 - 260.

⁶ On Schleusner’s Lexicon see also J. Lust, “J. F. Schleusner and the Lexicon of the Septuagint”, *ZAW* 102 (1990), 256—262.

⁷ E.g. as special edition in four volumes, Darmstadt 2008, 4532 pages.

Stuart Jones), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1845; with many revisions and updates). Another comprehensive Greek lexicon was Wilhelm Pape, *Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Braunschweig 1842). Its 2nd edition 1849/1850 included the Greek personal names. Its 3rd edition, revised and updated by Maximilian Sengebusch, 1880, also was reprinted several times and is now available in electronic form. This “hype” of Greek lexicography, although not specifically Septuagint lexicography, in the 19th cent. is important and until today benefits newer lexicographical endeavors. Not unimportant also for Septuagint studies are special lexica like Friedrich Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten* (Berlin 1925-1966).

But there were also lexica on parts of the Septuagint or on specific books and terms, e.g. Christian Abraham Wahl, *Clavis librorum Veteris Testamenti apocryphorum philologica* (Leipzig 1853, reprinted Graz 1972); or Hans Hübner, *Wörterbuch zur Sapientia Salomonis mit dem Text der Göttinger Septuaginta*, Göttingen 1985. For research on specific words one may mention August Dillmann, “Über Baal mit dem weiblichen Artikel” (suggesting that the female article – as kind of a Ketib-Qere in Greek – indicates that instead of Baal one should read *aischyne*),⁸ or Josef Scharbert, “Fleisch, Geist und Seele in der Pentateuch-Septuaginta”⁹, and especially also the many word studies in *Theologisches Wörterbuch* (see below).

Septuagint lexicography is taken up in Walter Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, as is explicitly explained in the preface.¹⁰ It was based on Erwin Preuschen, *Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (1910); on the other hand it became the basis for the so called Bauer–Danker–Arndt–Gingrich Lexicon (BDAG) or sometimes called the Bauer-Danker Lexicon.¹¹

Most relevant for the understanding of the Septuagint are the passages in theological dictionaries to the New Testament, both, in the older and smaller

⁸ Monatsberichte der Königlich-preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1881, 601-20.

⁹ In: Josef Schreiner (ed.), *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch*, FS Josef Ziegler, fzb 1 (Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 121-143.

¹⁰ Walter Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin 1925; 5th ed. Berlin 1958; 6th edition updated and revised by Barbara and Kurt Aland, Berlin 1988). Translations in several languages.

¹¹ Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000).

Biblich-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräzität by Hermann Cremer (Gotha 1867; with many expanded and revised editions until ¹¹1923, and reprints until today) and esp. in the large *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, 10 vols. (Stuttgart 1933-1979; with reprints and an English translation.¹² One may also mention the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*.¹³

3. Grammar of the Septuagint

The best known grammar – and also the only one that refers explicitly to the Septuagint – is Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, unfortunately only with part 1: *Laut- und Wortlehre* (Göttingen, 1907), which is supplemented by idem, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta. Ein Beitrag zur Hebraismenfrage und zur Syntax der Koine*, Göttingen 1928.¹⁴

However, there are some large Greek grammars that are also most relevant for the Septuagint: Raphael Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, rev. by Friedrich Blass, vol. I. *Elementar- und Formenlehre* (Hannover ³1890-92); vol. II. *Satzlehre* (Hannover/Leipzig ³1898/ 1904); Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, new ed., vol. I. *Laut- und Wortlehre* (Berlin, 1923; neue Ausgabe); II/1-3. *Satzlehre* (Berlin, 1926-34); The first volume was updated by Hans Schmoll in 1970 (Schmoll later on was one of the Fachberater for *Septuaginta Deutsch*). Another important Grammar was: Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 1. *Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*, 1934/1939, 6th ed. Munich 1990; vol. 2: *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*, 1950, 5th ed. Munich 1988; vol. 3: *Register*, Munich 1953, reprint of the 2nd ed. Munich 1980; vol. 4. *Stellenregister*, 1971, 3rd ed. Munich 2005. Especially close to Hellenism and to the Septuagint is: Friedrich Blass / Albert Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, updated by Friedrich Rehkopf, 18th ed. Göttingen 2001.

¹² Gerhard Friedrich and Gerhard Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1-10 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976).

¹³ Lothar Coenen and Klaus Haacker (eds.), *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*, 2 vols., 2nd exp. edition (Neukirchen / Göttingen: Neukirchener Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997; repr. Witten: SCM R. Brockhaus, 2014). Similar to Louw and Nida, this lexicon works with semantic domains.

¹⁴ Helbing also gave a report of research on the subject: Robert Helbing, “Die sprachliche Erforschung der Septuaginta LXX”, 49. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel* (Leipzig, 1908), 48-50; interestingly with a rather positive evaluation of its Greek: “Selbst zum Stil im allgemeinen lassen sich Parallelen im hellenistischen Griechisch finden. Jedenfalls waren die LXX dem hellenistischen Leser nicht unverständlich. Ja man kann sogar sagen, dass die hellenistische Sprache auch im Gewand der Übersetzer noch schön ist.” (50).

There were also reports and articles on the subject like Adolf Deissmann, “Die Anfänge der LXX-Grammatik”, *Internationale Wochenschrift*, Berlin 1908, 1217-26; idem, „Die sprachliche Erforschung der Griechischen Bibel, ihr gegenwärtiger Stand und ihre Aufgabe“, Gießener theologische Konferenz 1897 (jetzt in: Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist*, BZNW 171, Berlin 2010, 541-559), idem, *The Philology of the Greek Bible - Its Present and Future* (London 1908). In these articles Deissmann also presented important theoretical considerations on the subject.

4. Editions of the text of the Septuagint up to Lagarde

There was a good number of editions of the Septuagint and parts of it that appeared in Germany. The reprints of the Aldina have been mentioned already. There also appeared reprints of the Sixtina in Germany, the first one in Leipzig in 1697. The text was taken from Walton’s Polyglot (London 1653). It had 56 pages of prolegomena by Johannes Frick from Ulm; the prayer of Manasse and a prologue to Sirach were added.

About 30 years later, there appeared the next edition, also in Leipzig, This time edited by Christianus Reineccius: *Vetus Testamentum Graecum, ex versione LXX. interpretum, una cum libris Apocryphis secundum exemplar Vaticanum, Romae editum* (Leipzig 1730), with several reprints. As the title indicates, the Apocrypha were placed according to the Lutheran order and the prayer of Manasse concluded the Old Testament. In 1748, Reineccius also published a polyglot bible, *Biblia sacra quadrilingua V. T. hebraici*, with the Greek text according to Grabe’s edition of Codex Alexandrinus (see below).

In 1749 (²1766) the printer shop of the Waisenhaus (Orphans home) in Halle printed the Apocrypha and in 1759-1762 there appeared the whole Septuagint in four volumes, according to the Sixtina, again in Lutheran order and with the Prayer of Manasse as conclusion.

The Roman Catholic theologian Leander van Ess (1772-1847), besides an edition of the New Testament, based on the Vulgate but also on the Greek text, published an edition of the Sixtina: *Vetus testamentum graecum iuxta septuaginta interpretes ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. Editum*. Interestingly it was printed in Leipzig 1824, with a good number of reprints (until Leipzig 1922). Van Ess was also important as translator of the Bible into German.

Van Ess’ edition was continued by Konstantin von Tischendorf’s edition from 1850: *Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Testamenti parallelas notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini*,

Ephraemi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subiunxit, commentarium isogogicum prae-textuit C. T., 2 vols. Its copious title explains what it contains, and mentions the Codices that have been used for the apparatus (Codex Friderico-Augustani being the part of codex Sinaiticus that became deposited in Leipzig).¹⁵

The reprint of this edition from 1856 also appeared with 2,500 copies. After Tischendorf's death the 5th edition from 1875 appeared with a letter from Franz Delitzsch to Paul Anton de Lagarde. For the 6th edition 1880 Eberhard Nestle checked the introduction and added a collation of the text with the than recently published facsimile editions of codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (7th ed. 1887).

A new and different edition was Johannes Ernestus Grabe (1666-1711), *Tes palaias diathekes kata tous hebdomekonta Septuaginta Interpretum*, 4 vols. (Oxford 1707-1720). Grabe was born in Königsberg and was a Lutheran minister in Prussia before he moved to England and became Anglican. In 1705 he published a treatise on the superiority of the Codex Alexandrinus (that had been brought to London in 1627) for the book of Judges.¹⁶ Accordingly, his Septuagint was a diplomatic edition of codex Alexandrinus with some marginal notes. It appeared in four volumes (1707–1720), and was completed by Francis Lee and by George Wigan. This edition was reprinted by Breitinger in Zürich with additions from the Sixtina, but also in Germany as its text was

¹⁵ At this place, it is appropriate to mention that the accusation that Tischendorf would have stolen the larger part of the Codex, that came to the Petersburg library and later on was sold to London, is now clearly refuted, even if it is still told to tourists. The opening of the Russian archives in recent years allowed to clarify that from early on it was intended to donate the codex to the Russian Tsar. But for about ten years there was some turmoil about the legitimate abbot of the monastery. As this had been settled, the donation was performed and the documents were signed. That the monks later on regretted the donation is a different story. See: Christfried Böttrich: "One Story – Different Perspectives. The Case of the Codex Sinaiticus", in: Scot McKendrick / David Parker / Amy David Myhrall / Cillian O'Hogan (eds.), *Codex Sinaiticus - New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript. Congress volume of the Conference Juli 2009 at the British Library London* (London 2015); and also A.V. Zakharova, *The History of the Acquisition of the Sinai Bible by the Russian Government in the Context of Recent Findings in Russian Archives*, <http://www.nlr.ru/eng/exib/CodexSinaiticus/zah/index.html>.

All parts of the codex are now united and accessible under www.codexsinaiticus.org.

¹⁶ The treatise was written in form of a letter: *Epistola Ad Clarissimum Virum, Dn. Joannem Millium, ... Qua Ostenditur, Libri Judicum Genuinam LXX. Interpretum Versionem eam esse, quam Ms. Codex Alexandrinus exhibet*, Oxford 1705. This treatise was the reason that in the edition of Brooke – McLean in the book of Judges the full text of Codex Alexandrinus is printed and also that Rahlfs in his edition gave a text A and a text B. That codex Alexandrinus has the older readings of the Septuagint is declared e.g. in propositio XXI of the preface: "Codex Alexandrinus ea habet, quae olim in LXX. Editione fuerunt; sed a Textu Hebraeo abfuerunt."

given in the *Biblia sacra quadrilingua, Veteris Testamenti Hebraici cum versionibus e regione positis utpote versione graeca LXX interpretum ex codice Msto [Manuscripto] Alexandrino a J. E. Grabio primum evulgato*, edited by Christianus Reineccus (Leipzig 1750/1751).

The amazingly high number of prints over this long time not only demonstrates the achievement of scholars and printers, but also the evidently high interest in the Septuagint by students and a wider public.¹⁷

In the course of the 19th cent. the need for an eclectic edition that tries to come closer to the original text was increasingly felt and expressed by different authors. One of the first was Paul Anton de Lagarde in Göttingen. In his study on the book of Proverbs from 1863 he gives some rules for reconstructing the oldest text of the Septuagint. They are formulated in the context of the study of Proverbs, but by their intention they go beyond Proverbs and they are often quoted in Göttingen. Basically they come down to the rule that the oldest reading is that most distant to the masoretic text, while the readings closer to it reflect a later adaptation (see below). This position is different and independent from the sentence about the famous *trifaria varietas* in Jerome's prologue to Chronicles in his Vulgate.

At that time Lagarde's famous colleague Julius Wellhausen published his study on the text of the books of Samuel where he analyzed both, the Hebrew and the Greek text.¹⁸ It was the time when Antonio Ceriani had identified some manuscripts in the Holmes-Parsons edition as Lucianic.¹⁹ Wellhausen was surprised and evidently also pleased that the Lucianic text many times agreed with his text critical decisions and even confirmed some of his conjectures. In an appendix he referred to this observation and he suggested that this text form should be edited separately.

Also in those years, Frederic Field published his famous *Hexaplorum Fragmenta quae supersunt* with an introduction where he extensively describes the Lucianic text (prolegomena xxxiv-xliii) and insofar relies on Jerome's *trifaria*

¹⁷ For this one should keep in mind that in those times in most of the Gymnasiums Greek (and many times also Hebrew) were included in the curricula.

¹⁸ Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871).

¹⁹ There has been some debate, about the priority of this discovery. However, it is clear that Ceriani has the priority, even if Field and Wellhausen may have made some independent discoveries. See Jong-Hoon Kim, *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königebücher*, BZAW 394 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009, 7-11: „Die Identifizierung des lukianischen Textes“.

varietas.²⁰ Lagarde took over this emphasis and developed the new plan that the first step for the reconstruction of the oldest text would be to reconstruct the Origenic, the Lucianic, and the Hesychian text and to proceed from there to the Old Greek.²¹ In this sense, Lagarde began with editing the Lucianic text for which he succeeded with an edition of the historical books with his *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum pars prior graece* (Göttingen 1883). Although this edition was made somewhat hasty and it was without critical apparatus, it deserves to be mentioned as – to my knowledge – the last German edition of a larger part of the Septuagint before and besides Rahlfs' Handausgabe from 1935 and the start of the Göttingen edition with Rahlfs' Psalmen from 1931.

5. Studies on the Apocrypha and on Early Judaism

Not only because of the limits of this article it is impossible to mention all or even most of the books and articles that could be mentioned here, it is also hard to draw the border between Septuagint studies and studies where the Septuagint is also touched upon, even if so in an important measure.

An important Jewish scholar was Zacharias Frankel. He treated and in some sense reclaimed the Septuagint as part of Judaism in Antiquity and as important Jewish tradition. As the title of the first volume (“Erster Band, erste Abtheilung”) indicates, he originally planned a comprehensive work on the development of the ancient Jewish Halacha for which the Septuagint would be an important part: Zacharias Frankel, *Historisch-kritische Studien zu der Septuaginta, Erster Band, Erste Abtheilung: Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig, 1841). According to the preface of the second volume he reduced the scope and concentrated on the Pentateuch: „Die vorliegende Schrift verbleibt nur beim Pentateuch und bildet gleichsam den praktischen Theil der Vorstudien: diese enthalten die Theorie, hier wird die Anwendung gegeben, die nun wohl auch für die anderen Theile der Sept. nicht schwer zu finden sein wird.“ Zacharias Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig 1851, III. He treats many specific readings in the whole Pentateuch and also e.g. quotations by Philo and others, but he also

²⁰ Fridericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum : quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totus Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. 1,2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1867-1875).

²¹ For this development of Lagards's principles see Neuschäfer, “Alteri Saeculo”, 257-259, and Christian Schäfer, *Alfred Rahlfs (1865-1935) und die kritische Edition der Septuaginta*, BZAW 489 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 129-132.

discusses some general problems, e.g. that Onkelos and Aquila are not identical, or the relation of the Palestinians and Alexandrians to the temple of Onias.

In the 20th cent., Leo Prijs (1920-1998) took up the subject in his doctoral dissertation “Beiträge zur Frage der jüdischen Tradition in der Septuaginta“, Basel 1948; reprinted at Hildesheim 1987 (including his bibliography). Prijs was born in Breslau but grew up in Munich. In 1933 he fled with his family to Switzerland, later on he lived in New York, in Münster and in Israel. 1959 he returned to Munich where he was teaching at the university until 1985.

In this context, also Paul Kahle (1875-1961) should be mentioned. He was a protestant minister and Professor in Leipzig and Bonn, but he had to flee because his wife and he had helped Jewish neighbors in Nov. 1938. Kahle had initiated that the Codex Leningradensis for two years (1926-1928) was borrowed to Leipzig to be photographed and to become the basis for the third edition of *Biblia Hebraica*, the so called Biblia Hebraica Kittel, ed. by Rudolph Kittel, Stuttgart 1937. Kahle is known for his thesis that the Septuagint did not originate as a single translation but – in analogy to the Targums – from several translations, and only later on was unified. The letter of Aristeas would not describe the original translation but would defend one specific text form. In spite of the defense by his student Alexander Sperber,²² this idea has not been accepted, at least not widely.²³ However, that the letter of Aristeas defends a form of the Septuagint (but so to say the other way around, i.e. its early form against later Hebraizing revisions) is used also today. Kahle’s research is summarized in his *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959); extended German version: *Die Kairoer Genisa, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hebräischen Bibeltextes und seiner Übersetzungen* (Berlin 1962).

6. The Septuagint in Introductions and Commentaries

A specific area of Septuagint research is the introductions, text editions, and commentaries to the Apocrypha. Already Johann Gottfried Eichorn in his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Leipzig 1780), devoted an amazingly large part of his work (pp. 286-601) to the Septuagint and all its daughter translations, and he also published an *Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften des*

²² Alexander Sperber, *Septuagintaprobleme*, BWANT 3 (Stuttgart: Kolhammer 1929); idem, “The Problems of the Septuagint Recensions”, *JBL* 54 (1935), 73-92

²³ On the basis of the Qumran biblical texts and their plurality, Shemaryahu Talmon more or less returned to Kahle’s view; see his „Qumran and the History of the Bible Text“ (1975), and “Textual Criticism: The Ancient Versions” (2000), both now in Shemaryahu Talmon, *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010).

Alten Testament (Leipzig 1795). Language and interpretation were taken up by Joahn Friedrich von Gaab, *Handbuch zum philologischen Verstehen der apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1818-1819). This and others were surpassed by Otto F. Fritsche and Wilibald Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1851-1860). Also catholic authors wrote introductions, be it separate as Benedikt Welte, *Spezielle Einleitung in die deuterokanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg 1844), or within the whole Bible like Johann Martin Scholz, *Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Cologne 1845-1848).

In the 19th cent. and into the 20th cent. most introductions to the Old Testament included the Apocrypha, like the *Einleitungen* by Wilhelm M.L. de Wette, Friedrich Keil, Eduard König, and a good number of scholars defended the Apocrypha against their exclusion.²⁴ The last Protestant *Einleitung* that included the Apocrypha was Otto Eißfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament unter Einschluss der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen 1934, ²1956, and ³1964). Georg Fohrer 1965, Rudolf Smend 1972, and Otto Kaiser 1975 treated the masoretic canon only; however, Otto Kaiser in his *Grundriß der Einleitung in die kanonischen und deuterkanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh 1992-1994), again included the Apocrypha.

In the Catholic tradition the Apocrypha certainly were included, especially in the *Einleitung* initiated by Erich Zenger: Zenger et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen 1995, ⁸2012); there one finds some substantial contributions, based on former studies, esp. by Helmut Engel Tobit, Judit and 1and 2 Macc (and by Johannes Marböck from Austria on Jesus Sirach). Also in the Catholic commentary series the Apokrypha were included, e.g. in the *Neue Echter Bibel* (Würzburg 1984-2010), which, as also the *Einheitsübersetzung* that it used as translation, now, after Vaticanum II, was based on the original languages.

However, there were also comprehensive studies on the Septuagint and esp. the Apocrypha in other contexts. Emil Kautzsch (ed.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Band 1: Die Apokryphen* (Freiburg and Tübingen 1900), presents introduction, translation and informative footnotes to each of the books, written by Kautzsch and 16 protestant scholars. The general introduction includes also a good overview on older studies. Paul Riessler (1865-1935), Orientalist, Catholic priest and professor in Tübingen

²⁴ Emil Schürer, „Apokryphen“, *RE* 1, 628.640f.

not only translated the biblical books, but also the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in his *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg 1928; ⁶1988); here he included also some Septuagint books usually counted to the Septuagint but not included in the Vulgate like 3 and 4 Macc, Psalms of Solomon, and Prayer of Manasse.

The concept of Kautzsch was taken up in the series *Jüdische Schriften in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Gütersloh 1973ff.), in 6 vols, mostly finished. The series is edited by Hermann Lichtenberger in cooperation with Werner G. Kümmel, Christian Habicht, Otto Kaiser, Otto Plöger and Josef Schreiner. The volumes contain a German translation with explanatory footnotes of different extent. Additionally there appeared volumes on the historical and religious background of these texts in Early Judaism.

A useful and informative Introduction to the Septuagint was published by Folker Siegert under the somewhat surprising title *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien vols. 9 and 13, (Münster, 2001 and 2002). A shorter version is: Michael Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Darmstadt 2005).

There are omprehensive introductions to each book of the Septuagint in the commentary volumes of Septuaginta-Deutsch (Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, *Septuaginta-Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, LXX.E I + II (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011). (On the *Einleitung in die Septuaginta* in the *Handbuch zur Septuaginta* see below, ch. 10).

7. Studies on the historical, cultural, and philosophical context of and its influence on the Septuagint

There also are a good number of studies of the political and the religious history of the epoch called Early/Ancient Judaism, aiming at the New Testament times but also focusing on Early Judaism as its background that also brought important insights on the time and the writings of the Septuagint. An early and important study was Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, part I: Einleitung und politische Geschichte* (Leipzig 1890), part II: *Die inneren Zustände Palästina's und des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesus Christi* (Leipzig ²1896). An important and comprehensive study on the subject was Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.*, WUNT 10 (Tübingen 1969; ³1988). The book brought out how much Hellenism not only influenced Judaism in the Mediterranean Diaspora but also in the homeland. On the other hand, as important as this

study is, it concentrated on Judaism in Palestine, and not so much on Judaism in the diaspora. This emphasis is understandable for the scope of that book; however it is strange that even recent works on Early Judaism still many times limit themselves on Judaism in Palestine although the number of Jews living in the diaspora probably outnumbered those in Palestine.

An interesting area of research concerns the Alexandrian/Egyptian background of the Septuagint and related influences. In recent decades, especially two German scholars contributed to this subject, the Egyptologist Siegfried Morenz and Manfred Görg, Catholic Old Testament scholar but also Egyptologist: Siegfried Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in der Septuaginta", in: Alfred Stuber and Alfred Hermann (eds.), *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, JAC.Erg 1 (Münster 1964), 250-258; Manfred Görg, „Die Septuaginta im Kontext spät-ägyptischer Kultur. Beispiele lokaler Inspiration bei der Übersetzungsarbeit am Pentateuch“, in: Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Offerhaus (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, BWANT 153 (Stuttgart 2001), 115 - 130.

Besides studies by other authors, the Hellenistic period in Egypt was investigated by Hans-Joachim Gehrke, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (München 1990, 4²⁰⁰⁸); see also: idem, „Das sozial- und religionsgeschichtliche Umfeld der Septuaginta“, in: Siegfried Kreuzer / Jürgen Peter Lesch (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta II*, BWANT 161 (Stuttgart 2004), 44-60. Interesting information on the life and the situation of Jews in Egypt was brought forward through the papyri from Herakleopolis from around 140 B.C.E.; today preserved in Cologne, Heidelberg, Munich, and Vienna and published only recently.²⁵ Wolfgang Orth, also specialist in Hellenism, in his "Ptolemaios II und seine Septuaginta-Übersetzung" presented the historical background of this crucial time and compared historical details with the information in the Letter of Aristeas.²⁶ In this context, Siegfried Kreuzer presented a new solution for the origin of the Septuagint that neither takes the letter of Aristeas as a straightforward historical account nor discards the information it contains although being an anonymous writing from at least a century later.²⁷

²⁵ James M.S. Cowey / Klaus Maresch, *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3- 133/2 v. Chr. (P. Polit. Iud.)*, Papyrologica Colonensia 29 (Wiesbaden 2001).

²⁶ In: Heinz Josef Fabry / Ulrich Offerhaus (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta I*, BWANT 153, Stuttgart 2001, 97-114.

²⁷ Siegfried Kreuzer, "Entstehung und Publikation der Septuaginta im Horizont frühptolemäischer Bildungs- und Kulturpolitik", in: Kreuzer and Lesch, *Im Brennpunkt II*, 2004, now in: Siegfried Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek*, SBL.SCS 63 (Atlanta: SBL Press 2015), 47-63.

An important research tool on the historical, cultural and religious background of the Septuagint is the very useful and informative *Lexikon des Hellenismus*, edited by Hatto H. Schmitt and Ernst Vogt (Wiesbaden 2005). Also the relation of the Septuagint to (Greek) philosophy has been investigated under different perspectives, not surprisingly by a Catholic scholar: Paul Heinisch, *Griechische Philosophie und Altes Testament. I.: Die palästinensischen Bücher. II.: Septuaginta und Buch der Weisheit*, *Biblische Zeitfragen* 6/7 (Münster 1913-1914). The question was touched upon in Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*,²⁸ and also taken up by Nikolaus Walter, „Frühe Begegnungen zwischen jüdischem Glauben und hellenistischer Bildung in Alexandrien“ (1964), now in: Wolfgang Kraus / Florian Wilk (eds.), *Praeparatio Evangelica*, WUNT 98 (Tübingen 1997), 1–11. Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta*, BZAW 223 (Berlin 1994), took up the question especially in regard of the creation account.²⁹ Martin Karer, „Septuaginta und Philosophie“, in: Ulrich Dahmen / Johannes Schnocks (eds.), *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit. Herrschaft – Widerstand – Identität, Festschrift Heinz-Josef Fabry*, BBB 159 (Göttingen 2010), 191 – 212, took it up in a general way and expanded on it in: idem, „Septuaginta und antike Philosophie“, in: Siegfried Kreuzer / Martin Meiser / Marcus Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen*, WUNT 361 (Tübingen 2016), 3-35.

8. In search of the oldest text of the Septuagint

Already the editors of the first printed editions in the 16th cent., the Complutense, the Aldina, and the Sixtina, declared that they had searched for the best manuscripts, which may be understood as the oldest manuscripts in order to come close to the oldest text. They evidently also choose between the manuscripts and their readings, although there are no reports, but just the modern observations.³⁰ Interestingly, also Grabe in his edition of Codex Alexandrinus (see above) sometimes deviated from the codex (in such cases he gave the reading of the codex in the margin). However, most of the later editions, down to Holmes-Parsons and also still Brooke-McLean-Thackeray basically were

²⁸ See above, Tübingen 1988, e.g. 267–70, 275–318, 464–473.

²⁹ For this and other studies see Martin Rösel, *Tradition and Innovation. English and German Studies on the Septuagint*; in preparation.

³⁰ For an important study on the Complutense see: Franz Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenes* (Leipzig: Edelman, 1871); and also: idem, *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglotte* (Leipzig: Edelman 1886).

diplomatic editions with an ever growing collection of variant readings in the apparatus.

But there also was the quest for an eclectic edition that would, by specific rules of textual criticism, come as close to the original Text, the Urseptuaginta, or the Old Greek. In his edition of Proverbs, Paul Anton de Lagarde presented the rules that he followed and that still are regarded by most scholars as basic on the textual criticism of the Septuagint. They are as follows:

- „I. die manuscrite der griechischen übersetzung des alten testaments sind alle, entweder unmittelbar oder mittelbar das resultat eines eklektischen verfahrens: darum muss, wer den echten text wiederfinden will, ebenfalls eklektiker sein.
- II. wenn ein vers oder verstheil in einer freien und in einer sklavisch treuen übertragung vorliegt, gilt die erstere als die echte.
- III. wenn sich zwei lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den masoretischen text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.“³¹

Ad I.: “All manuscripts of the Septuagint are the result of some eclectic process, directly or indirectly, therefore, who wants to find the original text, must also be an eclectic.” – Indeed all the large codices are of mixed character, not only the later so called codices mixti. Even for codex Vaticanus it has become clear that in the different sections, in the different books, and sometimes even within a book, the character and the value of the text changes, e.g. in the kaige- and the non-kaige-sections or as the analyses in the different volumes of the Göttingen edition have shown. Such changes in the large codices may have come about through the use of different scrolls or “books” by the scribes or their predecessors. – Point II and III give the rules for this eclectic procedure, i.e. for the textual criticism.

Ad II.: “If a verse or part of a verse exists in a free and in a slavishly correct rendering, the first one is the true reading.” This rule implies that the original translation was faithful to the sense of the original text but, at least to measure, free in its Greek rendering, while later on it was adapted to the Hebrew text. Lagarde evidently has observed this in his text critical work, e.g. if there was no reason for the difference between two readings, except a “slavishly” isomorphic adaptation to the Hebrew text, and he could deduce it from the general development with the later Jewish translations, esp. Aquila and Theodotion, and also from what Origen did in his Hexapla. In recent times, this rule has been proven correct by the Qumran biblical texts and especially through the identification of the kaige-recension by Dominique Barthélemy.³²

³¹ Paul Anton de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1863), 3.

³² Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, VTS 10, Leiden 1963.

Ad III.: If there are two readings side by side, and one of them expresses the masoretic text and the one can only be explained by a different (Hebrew) Vorlage, the later one is to be considered as the original one. – This rule reckons with differences in the transmission of the Hebrew text, be it because of scribal errors (e.g. confusion of letters that are similar in Hebrew) or intentional changes/corrections. Such cases have been known in Lagarde's time from observations on the masoretic manuscripts and from text critical deliberations, and can now be observed abundantly in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran.

These ingenious rules were not abandoned by Lagarde, but they became overshadowed by his search for the *trifaria varietas* mentioned by Jerome and especially taken over from Frederic Field.³³ Field in the prolegomena to his *Hexaplorum fragmenta* (Oxford 1875) referred to Jerome's statement about the *trifaria varietas* of the Greek text in his time (to be found in the preface to chronicles) and the explanation Jerome gives in his earlier letter to Sunnia and Fretela, where he speaks about two forms of the Greek text, the common Greek, now called Lucianic ("nun loukianeios dicitur"), and the hexaplaric text ("codices"). Interestingly, Field sees no difference between the two statements. In the introduction he concentrates on Lucian, with the presupposition that these readings are late, and without any remark on Hesych (although in his apparatus he many times refers to Hesych).³⁴

Lagarde developed the idea that he would at first reconstruct the three text forms, i.e. the hexaplaric, the Lucianic and the Hesychian text and then go on from there to reconstruct the Old Greek (as far as possible). Evidently he considered the Lucianic text as the most important text form and started with it and the historical books (Göttingen 1883; see above, ch. 4).

Another approach was chosen by Friedrich Baethgen, „Der textkritische Werth der alten Uebersetzungen zu den Psalmen“, JPTH 8 (1882), 405-459, 593-667. Baethgen discerned two basic text forms, the received text (rezipierter Text), i.e. the text of Codex Vaticanus and the Sixtina which – through its many reprints and editions based on it – became the modern textus receptus, and another text form, that can be found in the many witnesses that Holmes-

³³ For this development see: Bernhard Neuschäfer, „Alteri saeculo. Paul Anton de Lagardes ‚Lebensarbeit‘“, in: *Die Göttinger Septuaginta. Ein editorisches Jahrhundertprojekt*, Reinhard G. Kratz and Bernhard Neuschäfer (eds.), MSU 30 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 235–264, 258f., fn. 91.

³⁴ For the heavy and long lasting impact of this problematic interpretation of Jerome's statements and for alternative interpretations see Siegfried Kreuzer, „... et a plerisque nunc loukianeios dicitur: Jerome's Statements on the Greek Biblical Texts and Modern Septuagint Scholarship“, *ZAW* 130 (2018).

Parsons list as variants to codex Vaticanus. The text form of Vaticanus and related manuscripts is called O and the other text form (consisting of the Lucianic text and many other manuscripts) is called O¹ (“O prime”). Contrary to the general assumption that gives priority to codex Vaticanus and related texts, Baethgen found that O¹ is the older text and that O represents a Hebraizing revision (of different intensity) and therefore is secondary.³⁵ This is different from the idea of the *trifaria varietas* (but close to Jerome’s statement about the two forms of the Greek text in his letter to Sunnia and Fretela).³⁶ This is also close to Lagarde’s basic rule that the text form different from the Hebrew/Masoretic text is the older one and that the text close to it represents the secondary adaptation (cf. above).

Alfred Rahlfs in his preparatory study on the Psalms accepted the division into two basic text forms (called by him the bipolar model), but he did not accept the chronological sequence, because he could not imagine “such an early revision”, i.e. a Hebraizing revision before codex Vaticanus (or before Origen).³⁷ Even for Rahlfs’ time this rationale is strange in view of the Hebraizing revisions of Aquila and Theodotion, however it confirmed and (re)established the idea that codex Vaticanus represents the oldest text form and that, at least normally, all other text forms, and esp. the so called Lucianic text, are younger and consequently secondary. This basic assumption determined Rahlfs’ investigation on the Lucianic text of Kings and also his edition of Psalms. There he developed four rules.³⁸ All of them lead explicitly or implicitly (the

³⁵ “Allein es ist mit ziemlicher Sicherheit zu beweisen, dass auch eine andere Klasse von Lesarten dieser Recension dem ursprünglichen Septuagintatext näher kommt als die Recepta. Es sind dies im Gegensatz zu den eben angeführten Stellen solche, an denen O¹ von MT abweicht, während O an diesen Stellen genau dem Hebräer entspricht. [...] Wo daher eine in dieser freieren Weise gehaltene Uebersetzung vorliegt, und eine andere buchstäbliche, da hat die erstere die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Ursprünglichkeit für sich [...]. In der That lässt sich [...] bei einer ganzen Reihe von Stellen nachweisen, dass die freiere Uebersetzung der Recension O¹ die ursprüngliche ist, und die unbedingte Bevorzugung des Vaticanus ist somit sehr ungerechtfertigt, vielmehr weist er deutliche Spuren einer Korrektur nach dem hebräischen Text auf.”, Baethgen, “Der textkritische Werth”, 409.

³⁶ At this place Otto Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta. Die Propheten* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1910) should be mentioned. In this dense and concise study on all the prophetic books Procksch also comes to basically two text forms: Groupe A Q II, as the older one and closest to the original Septuagint, and groupe B N I as the younger one.

³⁷ Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalter* (1907).

³⁸ Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis, Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1931), 71f.: „1) Wenn die drei alten Textformen, die unteräg[yptische], oberäg[yptische] und abendländ[ische] (§ 3-5), zusammengehn, ist ihre Lesart in der Regel aufgenommen. 2) Da die alten Zeugen sehr oft gegen die jüngeren mit

main representative of the so called Egyptian text is codex Vaticanus, and Vaticanus in most cases is close to MT) to the text closest to the MT.³⁹

Rahlfs also presented an edition of Genesis. In the introduction he declared that he abandoned Lagarde's theory of searching for the recensions of Origen, Lucian, and Hesych and going on from there, because: "... if we want to advance, we do not have to follow preconceived ideas but the material given to us".⁴⁰ However, also in this concept and in spite of all the differentiations there remained the assumption that codex Vaticanus (where extant in its old parts) generally is the best witness and that there was not only a text form that was called Lucianic, but an extensive Lucianic redaction. – These basic assumptions became most influential on Septuagint research in general and also for the eclectic editions, be it Rahlfs' Handausgabe or the Göttingen edition.

The most important and also most influential single achievement by Alfred Rahlfs certainly is his so called "Handausgabe", the first edition (of the whole

M zusammengehn, habe ich in Fällen, wo sie voneinander abweichen, in der Regel diejenige Lesart bevorzugt, die mit M übereinstimmt. 3) Wenn die alten Zeugen von M abweichen, aber die jüngeren (Origenes, Lukian, öfters auch die von der Hexapla beeinflusste Hs. S) mit M zusammengehn, folge ich den alten Zeugen, da Origenes und Lukian nach M korrigiert haben. 4) In zweifelhaften Fällen schließe ich mich an B' an. Wenn aber B' alleinstehen, stelle ich sie hinter den übrigen zurück.

³⁹ Schäfer, *Rahlfs*, 29f.251, presents Baethgen's study as more or less a precursor of Rahlfs' study and edition of the Psalms and that Rahlfs only split Baethgen's group O into subgroups. However, this is only correct for the bipolar model as such, but Rahlfs' evaluation of the text forms is just the opposite of Baethgen's evaluation. Only in fn. 531 Schäfer mentions that Rahlfs judged O and O¹ not as Baethgen did according to the rule that the freer translation is the older one, but according to the age of the manuscripts with the bulk of the "vulgar" text from ca. 700 onwards. Rahlfs therefore considered them as the result of Lucian's recensional activity. (This argumentation with the age of the manuscripts neglects the quotation of that text by the Antiochian fathers that are as old as codex Vaticanus).

⁴⁰ Rahlfs, *Genesis. Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis Auctoritate I.* (Stuttgart 1926), Vorrede: "Daß das, was ich hier biete, noch viel weniger als das im Buch Ruth Gebotene dem Lagardeschen Ideal eines Aufbaues nach den berühmten Rezensionen des Origenes, Lukian und Hesych entspricht, erkenne ich keineswegs. Aber wenn wir vorwärtskommen wollen, müssen wir uns nicht von vorgefaßten Theorien, sondern lediglich von dem gegebenen Material leiten lassen." ("It is clear to me that what I offer here follows even less than in the book of Ruth the ideal of Lagarde to order [the texts] according to the famous recensions of Origen, Lucian, and Hesych. But if we want to advance, we do not have to follow preconceived ideas but the material given to us.")

This new approach can already be observed in: Alfred Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, NGWG.PH (Berlin 1922), 47–164 (= MSU 3,2), and in: idem, *Das Buch Rut griechisch als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1922).

Septuagint) with an eclectic critical text from 1935.⁴¹ The initiative for it came from the Württembergische Bibelgesellschaft that wanted to add to its newly acquired *Biblia Hebraica* also an edition of the Septuagint, which (probably in analogy to its critical edition of the New Testament by Eberhard Nestle) should not be a diplomatic but an eclectic edition with a small apparatus. Rahlfs was glad for being invited to make this edition. A contract was made between the Bibelgesellschaft and the Göttingen Akademie and with Rahlfs.⁴² Rahlfs could rely on the Oxford and the Cambridge (diplomatic) editions and also on the Tischendorf-Nestle edition, and the wealth of material contained there, but still it is an amazing achievement. Rahlfs based his edition on the three oldest codices (codex Vaticanus, codex Sinaiticus, codex Alexandrinus). But he also referred to a good number of other manuscripts, different from book to book. i.e. other codices where available and also the Origenic and Lucianic text groups. At the beginning of each book he gave a list of the current witnesses (“ständige Zeugen”) so that the apparatus can basically be a negative one. By definition, the variants represent a selection only (sometimes one may miss an important reading like *baal* with feminine article in 3 Reigns 19:18). However, by going beyond B, S, and A, Rahlfs did more than what he was expected to do, which led to a strange controversy with the Göttingen Akademie.⁴³

Understandably Rahlfs followed the rules he had established before, i.e. he heavily preferred codex Vaticanus and he considered esp. the Lucianic text as late, although sometimes he accepted its reading as the oldest one.⁴⁴ An important assumption is the idea that readings that agree with the quotations in the New Testament (or similarly agreements with Josephus or the Old Latin) originated by later cross influence between the manuscripts. In most such cases there is a remark like “ex Matth [etc.]”, which means that the reading is discarded even if it is also testified by important witnesses.

⁴¹ Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935 with numerous reprints).

⁴² For details and the complicated prehistory see now Schäfer, *Rahlfs*, 267-283.

⁴³ Schäfer, *Rahlfs*, 283-298.

⁴⁴ An interesting exception is the presentation of Judges with two texts. For this Rahlfs evidently followed Brooke/McLean/Thackeray who followed their rule to present the text of Vaticanus, but in the apparatus they also printed the full text of codex Alexandrinus, evidently taking up Grabe's evaluation. Rahlfs went beyond that and presented as text A his reconstruction of the oldest text (close to codex Alexandrinus but not identical with it), while text B is indeed the text of codex Vaticanus. But in other books Rahlfs remained close to codex Vaticanus.

Rahlfs' edition became the most widespread and the most used edition in the 20th cent. and until present days. In some way one could even say that Rahlfs' edition "canonized" what is counted to the Septuagint (e.g. that 3 and 4 Macc are included): All modern translations or translation projects more or less closely follow Rahlfs' edition.⁴⁵ A special aspect of the far reaching acceptance was that in later editions even an introduction in Greek was added (for the Greek Orthodox churches).

The discussion about and the search for the oldest text of the Septuagint went on, also beyond Rahlfs' important and most influential achievement. On the one hand, the first volumes of the Göttingen *editio critica maior* appeared (see below). On the other hand, World War II brought heavy losses in scholarship and among scholars, e.g. Werner Kappler, the successor of Rahlfs as leader of the Göttinger Septuaginta Unternehmen and editor of 1 and 2 Macc died in 1944. After the war, Septuagint scholarship recovered only slowly. One important scholar in those decades was Joseph Ziegler, a Roman Catholic biblical scholar from Würzburg, who contributed a fair number of volumes to the Göttingen edition: Isaias (1939), Duodecim Prophetae (1943), Ezechiel (1952), Daniel (1954), Ieremias (1957), Sapientia Solmonis (1962), Sirach (1965), and Job (1982).

From about 1950 onwards, the discovery of the texts from Qumran and the Judean desert dominated biblical scholarship and overshadowed Septuagint studies. However, there were discoveries that became important to Septuagint studies. One was the preliminary edition of 4QSam^a.⁴⁶ This text shows many agreements with the Lucianic text of the books of Samuel which proved that many readings of that text (and some of its characteristics) were old and even were present in the Hebrew Vorlage already.

The other and most important discovery came about through the Dodeka-propheton-scroll from Naḥal Ḥever. In this scroll Dominique Barthélemy (from Fribourg in Switzerland) identified the so called kaige-recension, a heavily Hebraizing isomorphic revision of the Greek text towards the Hebrew text.⁴⁷ Barthélemy found this revision not only in this scroll, but also in books

⁴⁵ E.g. NETS (with the exception that from Odes it only has the Prayer of Manasse) or Septuaginta-Deutsch (with the exception that Psalms of Solomon don't follow Sirach but – according to their Gattung – Psalms and Odes).

⁴⁶ See esp. Frank Moore Cross, "A new Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint", *BASOR* 132 (1953), 15-26; unfortunately the official publication of this text only appeared decades later: Cross, F. M. u.a. (Hg.), *Qumran Cave 4, XII. 1-2 Samuel*, DJD XVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005).

⁴⁷ Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers*.

of the Septuagint, esp. in the (later on so called) kaige sections of 2Sam (and 2Kings) and other books. Barthélemy dated this revision to the 1st cent. CE, as the scroll is now paleographically dated to the 1st cent. BCE the revision must have begun in that century already. This discovery changed the picture of the development of the Septuagint and moved the main area of interest in Septuagint studies back into the 1st cent. BCE and CE. Barthélemy's discovery is accepted practically in all of Septuagint research. However, for Barthélemy there existed also another side of the coin: As the kaige recension is secondary, he asked if we still have the older base text. At least for the historical books he identified that older text in the so called Lucianic or (more neutral:) Antiochene text. This text was closely related to the kaige text and according to Rahlfs' investigation it could not be derived from kaige but it must be the older basis. This meant that the Antiochene text must be more or less the Old Greek, although with corruptions over the time of its transmission: "la vielle Septante, plus ou moins abâtardie et corrompue".⁴⁸ Unfortunately, this other side of the coin became not so well known and was less accepted.⁴⁹

As editor of the historical books for Septuaginta-Deutsch, Siegfried Kreuzer studied the kaige texts. He made the surprising discovery that some aspects of this Hebraizing revision were grammatically incorrect: The article in Greek was not rendered according to the rules of determination in the Hebrew Grammar, but according to the surface of the text. This means that in the Greek text there is an article only if there is a visible article (or another formal equivalent) in Hebrew. If there is a determined genitival construction in Hebrew without visible article, there is no article in Greek as well.

This observation in turn led to an interesting discovery also in regard of the Lucianic text. Already Rahlfs in his investigation on the Lucianic text of Kings from 1911 made the observation that the Lucianic revision was quite irregular. Lucian many times added an explaining word, but he also deleted such words, and Lucian many times added an article, but he also deleted articles. This contradictory procedure was strange for a recension and remained unexplained.

⁴⁸ Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers*, 127.

⁴⁹ For a history of research on this subject see Siegfried Kreuzer, 'Lukian redivivus' or Barthélemy and beyond?, in: Melvin Peters (Hg.), *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, SCS 59 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 243-261; see also idem, "Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta. Forschungsgeschichte und eine neue Perspektive", in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, Siegfried Kreuzer / Marcus Sigismund, (Hrsg.), DSI 4 (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 23-56.

Rahlfs solved the problem by declaring this irregularity even as the main trait of the Lucianic recension: “Der Hauptcharakter dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips.”⁵⁰ Joseph Ziegler in his study on Jeremiah came to the same observation that Lucian evidently worked irregularly: “Being consequent was not his strength”.⁵¹ Also Sebastian P. Brock and later on Bernard Taylor in their studies on the Lucianic text made the same observations.

However, if one allows the Lucianic to be the older one, there is an interesting solution: The original translation (“Old Greek”) basically followed the Hebrew rules of determination (as far as possible in Greek). The kaige recension adapted the Greek text to the surface of the Hebrew text: If there was no visible article in Hebrew, the article in Greek was deleted; if there was an article in Hebrew, the article in Greek remained (or was even added). At first sight, also this procedure seems contradictory, but it is not irregular, because the changes can be explained consistently as isomorphic adaptation to the Hebrew reference text. – This discovery nicely dovetails with and supports Barthélemy’s view of the kaige recension and esp. the identification of the Antiochene text as old and as more or less identical with the Old Greek.

In search of the Old Greek this means that there are texts that were later on labeled as Lucianic or as Hesychian, but they are not necessarily the result of late revisions.⁵² Rather, the classical rules for textual criticism should be applied, and, while each single case must be evaluated, it is also important to analyze coherent texts and not just isolated examples.⁵³

⁵⁰ Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, MSU III (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911; repr. Göttingen, 1965), 293.

⁵¹ Ziegler, Joseph, *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta*, MSU VI, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1958), 163: “Die Beispiele zeigen deutlich, daß Lukian gern den Artikel beifügt. Jedoch hat er dies nicht immer getan; Konsequenz ist nicht seine Stärke.”

⁵² Jerome in his letter to Sunnia and Fretela writes about the common Septuagint that is *now* (i.e. at the end of the 4th cent.) called Lucianic (“*nunc lukianeios dicitur*”).

⁵³ As examples for such analyses see e.g. Siegfried Kreuzer, “Towards the Old Greek. New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension)”, SBL.SCS 55 (Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2008), 239-253, now in Siegfried Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek. Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*, SBL.SCS 63 (Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2015), 113-128; idem, “Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, Kaige, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns”, *BIOSCS* 42 (2009), 34-51, now in Kreuzer, *Bible in Greek*, 154-174.

An exemplary study is Kim, Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königsbücher. See also Marcus Sigismund, “Zwischen Kreti und Plethi. Textkritische Erwägungen zu den griechischen Versionen von 2 Sam 20,23-26 und Rekonstruktion der ‘Old Greek’”, in *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament. Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen*, Martin Karrer and Siegfried Kreuzer (eds.), ANTF 43 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 51 – 74.

9. The Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen

The Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen has an extensive separate presentation in this issue of JSCS, however, a brief overview should not be absent at this place. After several initiatives and preparatory steps the “Septuagint enterprise” was founded and started in 1908 in Göttingen by the Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Its first leader was Alfred Rahlfs (1865-1935) who was student of Paul Anton de Lagarde and who already had worked in Göttingen. He had published some studies on the Septuagint and evidently also could rely on some preliminary work, especially for collecting, listing and collating the manuscripts. A first fruit was his *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen aufgestellt* from 1914.⁵⁴ This *Verzeichnis* is still relevant for the younger manuscripts, because its vastly augmented new edition from 2004, made by Detlev Fraenkel, in its first volume only treats the manuscripts until the 8th cent.⁵⁵ The first regular volume of the Göttingen Edition was Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen, 1931). After that, Rahlfs evidently devoted himself to his *Handausgabe* (see above), which probably became the most often printed book on the Septuagint. In 1934, about a year before his untimely death, Rahlfs stepped down from leadership of the Unternehmen and Werner Kappler became his successor. He had written his Dissertation in Göttingen on the second book of Maccabees: *De memoria alterius libri Maccabaeorum* (Diss. Phil. Göttingen 1930). In 1936 he submitted his edition of 1 Maccabees as his Habilitationsschrift. It was quite natural that he would also edit 2 Macc, but unfortunately he could not finish it, because he died in 1944 in Belgium in an accident.

Soon afterwards Joseph Ziegler (1902-1988) from the University Würzburg started his work on the Septuagint. His first volumes already appeared just before World War II (*Isaias* in 1939) and during the war (*Duodecim Prophetae* in 1943). After the war Ziegler continued with the Major Prophets: Ezechiel (1952); Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco (1954); Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae (1957); and wisdom books: Sapiaentia (1962); Sirach (1965); and Job (1982).

⁵⁴ Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse; Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens (MSU) 2 (Berlin 1914; de facto 1915). As some others of the older publications it can be downloaded from the server of the Göttingen Akademie: <http://hdl.handle.net/11858/00-001S-0000-0022-A312-7>.

⁵⁵ *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs, Band I, 1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, bearbeitet von Detlev Fraenkel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

The next longtime leader of the Septuaginta Unternehmen (from 1961 to 1993) and editor of several volumes was Robert Hanhart (*1925): His edition of Esther (1966) became his Habilitationsschrift. Besides being leader of the Septuaginta Unternehmen he was professor for Old Testament in Göttingen. He completed and published Kappler's 2 Macc (1959) and continued with 3 Macc (1960). He edited the following volumes: Esther (1966); Esdrae liber I. (1974); Iudith (1979); Tobit (1983); Esdrae liber II (1993); Paralipomenon liber II. (2014).

Hanhart also published a number of books and papers.⁵⁶ Hanhart also wrote a small contribution on the Septuagint in a study book on Old Testament research: Robert Hanhart, "Septuaginta", the only German "introduction" to the Septuagint from those decades.⁵⁷

A most important collaborator came from outside of Germany: John William Wevers (1990-2010) from Canada. As is well known he edited all five books of the Pentateuch: Genesis (1974); Deuteronomium (1977); Numeri (1982); Leviticus (1986); Exodus (1991). This prolific writer also published two accompanying series: The *Text History* and the *Notes on the Greek Text*: *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (1974), *Deuteronomy* (1977); *Numbers* 1982; *Leviticus* (1986); *Exodus* (1992). *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (1993), *Deuteronomy* (1995); *Numbers* (1998); *Leviticus* (1990); *Exodus* (1990).

From 1993 to 2000 Anneli Aejmelaeus from the Helsinki school became director of the Unternehmen. She was also professor of Old Testament at Göttingen University, and she is working on the edition of 1 Samuel.

In 1999 there appeared a partly revised edition ("teilrevidierte Auflage") of *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, which included the now available Papyrus 967 from around 200 CE. This revision was made by Olivier Munnich from Paris.

From 2000 onwards, Bernhard Neuschäfer, who had himself qualified with a dissertation in patristics, was the leader of the "Septuaginta Arbeitsstelle" as it now was called. In 2006 there appeared the edition of *Ruth* by Udo Quast. Some other books are close to completion: So to say in the footsteps of Wevers, Robert Hiebert from Canada is working on the edition of 4 Maccabees, Peter Gentry, USA, is working on Ecclesiastes, Eva Schulz-Flügel from Tübingen on Canticum.

With the impending close of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in 2015 the remaining books were distributed to, mainly younger, scholars from different

⁵⁶ Robert Hanhart, *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum*, FAT 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999).

⁵⁷ In: Werner H. Schmidt/Winfried Thiel/Robert Hanhart, *Altes Testament*, Grundkurs Theologie 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989), 176-196.

countries (Finland, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland). This emphasizes the internationality of the Unternehmen, while in Germany only Joseph Ziegler and Eva Schulz-Flügel were commissioned with the edition of a book.

This brief overview cannot be concluded without mentioning the many unnamed students and other coworkers who over the decades collated the manuscripts, prepared the Kollationshefte and rendered other services to the editors and many visitors of the institute, and especially not without mentioning the two long standing “pillars” of the Unternehmen, Detlef Fraenkel, who reedited and updated the *Verzeichnis* (see above) and Udo Quast who published the book of *Ruth* (2006). Other coworkers at Göttingen from recent times are Christian Schäfer who just published a voluminous biography of Alfred Rahlfs,⁵⁸ and Felix Albrecht who just finished *Psalmi Salomonis* (in press).

The future editions will be overseen by the new “Kommission zur Edition und Erforschung der Septuaginta”, represented by Prof. Dr. Reinhard Gregor Kratz and Dr. Felix Albrecht.

Last but not least it should be mentioned that Robert Hanhart in Göttingen, although not in the Göttingen series, in 2006 published the revised edition of Rahlfs’ “Handausgabe”.⁵⁹

10. Septuaginta Deutsch

Although in recent decades overshadowed by other subjects, not the least Qumran studies, there was also research on the Septuagint. To name some of the studies: Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung. Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta*, BZAW 223 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994); Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, FRLANT 179 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Christian Wagner, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach. Untersuchungen zu Wortwahl und Wortbildung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des textkritischen und übersetzungstechnischen Aspekts*, BZAW 282 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999, 2012); Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos. Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter*, AAWG 257 = MSU 27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Otto Wahl, *Die Sacra-Parallela-Zitate aus den Büchern Josua, Richter, 1/2 Samuel, 3/4 Könige sowie 1/2 Chronik*, AAWG 255 = MSU 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

⁵⁸ Albrecht, *Alfred Rahlfs (1865-1935) und die kritische Edition der Septuaginta*.

⁵⁹ Alfred Rahlfs / Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta. Editio altera* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

Septuagint studies were so to say also touched upon from the outside by other projects: An older one was *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973ff; see above ch. 6), in which also the so-called Apocrypha are included with introductions, translations and some notes. The *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* aims primarily at elucidating the Hellenistic background of the New Testament, but this is also the background of the Septuagint, and the Septuagint itself is part of the background of the New Testament. The project was founded already in 1914, but it gained new momentum in connection with the edition of the so called “Neuer Wettstein”. After some time in Göttingen, the project is now again housed at Halle University and led by Udo Schnelle and Manfred Lang.⁶⁰

However, to most Old Testament students and scholars, the Septuagint for many decades was known more or less only by the notes in the *Biblia Hebraica* and for textual criticism, to New Testament scholars especially in regard of the quotations in the New Testament, for scholars of Ancient Greek under the aspect of some late and partly strange Greek, and to historians more or less to specialist on Hellenism only.

For providing easier access to the Septuagint, in the mid 1990ies the two New Testament scholars Martin Karrer (Wuppertal) and Wolfgang Kraus (Koblenz, from 2004 on Saarbrücken) deliberated to produce a translation of the Septuagint into German.⁶¹ Looking for a publisher Wolfgang Kraus with the support of Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen) was able to convince the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft for sponsorship and publication.

Work started in 1999 with some smaller conferences at Kassel, Wuppertal, and Neuendettelsau. The basic concept was developed: Septuaginta-Deutsch should be a translation with explaining footnotes and it should have a companion volume with scholarly explanations and comments. The textual basis was the Göttingen edition where available, for the other books Rahlfs’/(Hanhart) Handausgabe. Where there are differences, also the Rahlfs text would be translated in a footnote, so that also Rahlfs/Hanhart) is translated completely.

An editorial board was formed, with editors for the different book groups: Martin Rösel: Pentateuch; Siegfried Kreuzer: Die Vorderen Geschichtsbücher;

⁶⁰ See: <http://www.theologie.uni-halle.de/nt/corpus-hellenisticum/>.

⁶¹ For the following see esp. Wolfgang Kraus, *Hebräische Wahrheit und Griechische Übersetzung. Überlegungen zum Übersetzungsprojekt Septuaginta-deutsch (LXX.D)*, *ThLZ* 129, 2004, 989-1007.; idem, *Septuaginta Deutsch: Übersetzung - Erläuterungen - Handbuch, Early Christianity 2* (2011) 141 – 149, and Martin Karrer, *Die Septuaginta und ihre Erforschung – ein Schwerpunkt der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel seit 1995/1999*, in *Theologie in Freiheit und Verbindlichkeit. Profile der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel*, Henning Wrogemann (ed.), (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2012), 135-170.

Nikolaus Walter und Wolfgang Orth: Erzählwerke und jüngere Geschichtsbücher; Eberhard Bons: Psalmen und Oden; Heinz-Joseph Fabry and Helmut Engel: Weisheitsbücher; Helmut Utzschneider: Dodekapropheten; Dieter Vieweger (followed by Florian Wilk Knut Usener, and Jürgen Kabiersch for the commentary volume): Jesaja, Jeremia-Schriften, Ezechiel; Helmut Engel: Daniel-Schriften. These persons also coordinated the translators and convened the meetings. Beyond that there were advisors (Fachberater) for different areas, like Kai Brodersen for the historical background of the Septuagint; Hans Schmoll and Jürgen Kabiersch for Philology, and others.

Soon there was enormous interest for participating in the project. As it was intended to have persons with linguistic and with exegetical competence working together, there soon were more than 70 people from German speaking countries and beyond. It was a challenge to coordinate these many people, yet it was also a joy to observe the growing interest in the Septuagint.

An important part of the work were the annual meetings with lectures given by well known Septuagint scholars and also by members of the translation teams. A good number of these papers have been published in the “Im Brennpunkt” series.⁶² But it was also the opportunity for group meetings and to discuss translation problems and insights. From 2006 on the meetings of Septuaginta-Deutsch were opened to a wider scholarly audience (see below).

The work was supported by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, and, very important, the Protestant Church of the Rhineland provided a secretary and coordinator, at first Ulrich Offerhaus, later on for many years Jürgen Peter Lesch, and in the final year Wolfgang Dorp. The University Koblenz-Landau and the Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal established a Septuaginta-Arbeitsstelle.

From the very beginning Kraus and Karrer laid an emphasis on the international relations, esp. also to the English and French translation projects (New English translation of the Septuagint and La Bible d’Alexandrie). These contacts were deepened in two bilateral conferences at Bangor (Maine, USA)

⁶² Heinz-Josef Fabry / Ulrich Offerhaus (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, BWANT 153 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001); Siegfried Kreuzer / Jürgen Peter Lesch (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel II*, BWANT 161 (Stuttgart Kohlhammer, 2004); and, although from a different conference also: Heinz-Josef Fabry and Dieter Böhlner (eds.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Theologie, Anthropologie, Ekklesiologie, Eschatologie und Liturgie der Griechischen Bibel*, BWANT 174, Stuttgart 2007).

and at Strasbourg (France) that also have been published.⁶³ Colleagues from other projects and Septuagint centers, from Helsinki, Fribourg, Leiden, Leuven, and Madrid, were invited and, on the other hand, editors and translators presented the project at Septuagint meetings such as at the Annual and at the International meetings of the SBL.⁶⁴

Work progressed quite well. The two main editors and also the area editors did a great job in keeping things together and moving. In 2007 final editorial work could begin, and in 2009 the translation volume appeared: Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (eds.), *Septuaginta deutsch. Das Griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009; 2010), XXVIII + 1605 pp. The very first “Old Testament” with a foreword by Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish representatives.

Two years later also the commentary volumes could appear: Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, *Septuaginta deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, vol. I and II (Stuttgart 2011), XXXIV + XXVI + 3,151 pp. Besides introductions and explanations to each single book of the Septuagint, the commentary volumes contain also general articles on the Septuagint. With their over 3,000 pages they represent the first commentary on the whole of the Septuagint.

The translation volume was presented in January 2009 at the “Haus der Kirche” in Berlin. The commentary volume was presented in November 2011 at the SBL-International Meeting in San Francisco.⁶⁵

Septuaginta-Deutsch certainly benefitted from contact with the other ongoing projects, however, it not only allows an easier access to the text and the world of the Septuagint, it also became a stimulus for the ongoing projects and a basis for other translation projects and exegetical studies.

As the translation progressed, the goal of the annual meetings could be changed and expanded. The meeting of July 2006 developed into an international conference for Septuagint research. The theme of the first such conference was: *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. There were about 50 invited

⁶³ Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (eds), *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, SBL.SCS 53 (Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2006); Wolfgang Kraus and Oliver Munnich, *La Septante en Allemagne et en France / Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d’Alexandrie. Textes de la Septante à traduction double ou à traduction très littérale / Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d’Alexandrie*, OBO 238 (Fribourg and Göttingen : Herder and Vandenhok & Ruprecht, 2009).

⁶⁴ See e.g. Siegfried Kreuzer, “A German Translation of the Septuagint”, *BIOSCS* 34 (2001), 40-45.

⁶⁵ See: Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Rösel, Siegfried Kreuzer, Eberhard Bons, “Presentation of Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament”, *JSCS* 44 (2011), 51-80.

speakers from all over the world, from Canada to South Korea and Australia, from Finland to South Africa. The honor of the opening speech was given to Robert Hanhart from Göttingen whose editio altera of Rahlfs' Handausgabe had just appeared. This first one and the following biannual conferences were supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Stiftung der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal, the University Wuppertal, the Universities of Koblenz and of Saarbrücken, the governmental department for culture and science of the Saarland, and the Sparkasse Wuppertal. The campus of the Kirchliche Hochschule proved to be a place of stimulating papers, scholarly exchange, and, last but not least, of warm welcome.

The conferences were published in extensive volumes at the Mohr-Siebeck publishing house in Tübingen: Martin Karrer / Wolfgang Kraus / Martin Meiser (eds.), *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, Internationale Fachtagung Wuppertal 2006, WUNT 219, Tübingen: Mohr, 2008. Wolfgang Kraus / Martin Karrer / Martin Meiser (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse*, Internationale Fachtagung Wuppertal 2008, WUNT 252, Tübingen: Mohr, 2010. S. Kreuzer / M. Meiser / M. Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*, Internationale Fachtagung Wuppertal 2010, WUNT 286, Tübingen: Mohr, 2012. Wolfgang Kraus / Siegfried Kreuzer / Martin Meiser / Marcus Sigismund (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, Internationale Fachtagung Wuppertal 2012, WUNT 325, Tübingen: Mohr, 2014. Siegfried Kreuzer / Martin Meiser / Marcus Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen*, Wuppertal 2014, WUNT 361, Tübingen 2016. Martin Meiser / Michaela Geiger / Siegfried Kreuzer / Marcus Sigismund (Hg.), *Die Septuaginta: Geschichte – Wirkung – Relevanz*, Internationale Fachtagung Wuppertal 2016, WUNT, Tübingen: Mohr (forthcoming). The next conference is in preparation for July 2018 under the title: *Die Septuaginta – Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*.

These conferences have become an important place of scholarly meeting and exchange. The (up to now) six conference volumes with between 750 and 950 pages are impressive documents of the present state of international Septuagint research and perspectives.

There also started some research projects, mainly sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Siegfried Kreuzer led projects on the Antiochene

text and on early textual history, esp. of 2 Samuel and on Psalms.⁶⁶ Martin Karrer with Johannes de Vries led a project on the text forms within the codices that showed that the text form of the Septuagint and the quotations in the New Testament – contrary to usual assumptions – were not levelled.⁶⁷ Marcus Sigismund prepared a data base with the different Septuagint readings of the quotations in the New Testament.⁶⁸

Another offshoot of Septuaginta-Deutsch is the Handbook on the Septuagint with Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Siegfried Kreuzer as main editors and Walter Ameling, Hans Ausloos, Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, Martin Meiser, and Florian Wilk as volume editors to appear at Gütersloher Verlagshaus. Meanwhile appeared and were presented at the 2016 conference: Siegfried Kreuzer (ed.), *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*, LXX.H1 (Gütersloh 2016; with 42 authors from 14 countries; to appear in English translation in 2019), and Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten (eds.), *Die Sprache der Septuaginta / The Language of the Septuagint*, LXX.H3 (Gütersloh 2016; with 37 authors from 12 countries). Other volumes will be on Historical Contexts (ed. Walter Ameling), Textual History (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer), Theology (ed. Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn), and Reception History (ed. Martin Meiser and Florian Wilk).

A recent project that is closely related to Septuaginta-Deutsch is the edition of a synopsis of the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions (with translations) of Jesus Sirach, the book with the probably most complex textual history of all Septuagint books (www.sirach-synopse.de). The initiators are Wolfgang Kraus, Heinz-Josef Fabry, and Burkhard Zapff, in collaboration with Bonifatia Gesche, Ingeborg Hartung, Gerhard Karner, Christoph Kugelmeier, Christian Lustig, Gabriel Rabo, Frank Ueberschaer, and Jürgen Wehnert. The project started officially in 2014 with a first conference on the book of Ben Sira at the Catholic University in Eichstätt and is sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The papers from 2014 are published in: Gerhard Karner,

⁶⁶ See: Siegfried Kreuzer and Marcus Sigismund (eds.), *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, DSI 4, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013; Jonathan Hong, *Der ursprüngliche Septuagintapsalter und seine hebraisierenden Rezensionen. Eine Untersuchung an Hand der LXX Psalmen 2, 8, 33, 49 und 103* (forthcoming). Kim, *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königsbücher*, 2009.

⁶⁷ See: M.Karrer and Johannes de Vries (eds.), *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity. Textgeschichte und Schriftrezeption im frühen Christentum*, SBL.SCS 60 (Atlanta, GA, SBL-Press, 2013).

⁶⁸ The data base can be accessed at: <http://www.isbtf.de/datenbank-septuagintazitate-im-nt/>.

Frank Ueberschaer, and Burkhard M. Zapff (eds.), *Texts and Contexts of the Book of Sirach / Texte und Kontexte des Sirachbuches*, SBL.SCS 66 (Atlanta, GA 2017).⁶⁹ The second international conference on “Theologie und Anthropologie im Buch Jesus Sirach – Theology and Anthropology in the Book of Sirach” took place in October 2017, again in Eichstätt.

Regarding international relations and services, it may be mentioned that in 2011 Siegfried Kreuzer took over the duties of the editor of the *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, and that Wolfgang Kraus for a good number of years now was the editor of the *Septuagint and Cognate Studies*.

11. Cognate Studies

At least two areas of cognate studies should be mentioned at this point: One is the project of editing and studying the Coptic text, especially of Psalms. This project originated from Karlheinz Schüssler’s project of collecting all the Coptic biblical manuscripts, called *Biblia Coptica*. On his travels, Schüssler had collected an enormous number of photographs of Coptic biblical manuscripts and he had become the leader of the project *Biblia Coptica* at Salzburg University. He had collected data and photographs of about 1,200 Coptic biblical manuscripts. The first step was to publish an inventory of all these manuscripts.⁷⁰ After his death in an accident in 2013, part of his collection and of the project was moved to Vienna, Austria, and another part to Göttingen, Germany. The project in Göttingen is led by Prof. Heike Behlmer and Dr. Frank Feder. It aims at the whole Old Testament, but it is concentrated on an edition of the Psalms that should also become a reference tool for a new edition of the Greek Psalms in the Göttingen edition.⁷¹

The other “cognate” project is the *Vetus Latina Institute* in Beuron. The project started with Pfarrer Josef Denk, who in his lifetime collected the enormous number of about 400,000 quotations of the Old Latin from writings of the church fathers and other texts. His work was continued in 1945 and established

⁶⁹ Frank Ueberschaer’s dissertation was *Weisheit aus der Begegnung, Bildung nach dem Buch Ben Sira* (Diss. Wuppertal 2007), BZAW 379 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007). Burkhard Zapff, Eichstätt, besides a number of articles on Sirach, wrote the second part of the commentary on Sirach in the *Neue Echter Bibel*.

⁷⁰ The series is called *Biblia Coptica*. It started with Karlheinz Schüssler, *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament, Biblia Coptica Vol. 1, part 1, sa 1-20* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

⁷¹ See: <http://adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/koptisches-altes-testament/>.

as the Vetus-Latina-Institute at the Benedictine abbey in Beuron by Dr. Bonifatius Fischer. Fischer also established the basic rules for the edition of the texts that take care of the specific situation of the textual witnesses of the Old Latin. In 1973 he was followed by Professor Dr. Hermann Josef Frede († 1998) as the leader of the Institute. He was followed by Professor Dr. Roger Gryson, who lived in Belgium. He led the Institute from 1998 to 2014. He is followed by Professor Dr. Dr. Thomas Johann Bauer in Erfurt. The collection of sources has meanwhile grown to a file with over a million cards. Roger Gryson made the material available on CDs; it is now (only) available as an internet data base from Brepols Publishers at Turnhout, Belgium. The edition itself is published by Herder at Freiburg, Germany. There will be altogether 27 volumes. Thus far, about half of the work is completed, eight volumes are presently in preparation (for more information see www.vetus-latina.de).⁷²

Besides its importance for late Antique and Early Medieval culture, the Vetus Latina is especially important for the textual history of the Septuagint because of its early origin and its exact and almost word-by-word translation.

This overview – which could only be an outline – shows that Germany was and is an important place for Septuagint research. As scholarship always is an exchange, Septuagint scholars in Germany certainly benefitted much from scholars in other countries, however, they also had, and have, and hopefully will have something to give.

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⁷² Scholars from the Beuron Institute were also involved in the so to say ‘Handausgabe’ of the Vulgate: *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, adiuvantibus B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H.F.D. Sparks, W. Thiele recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit Robert Weber [1969]. Editionem quintam emendatam retractatam praeparavit Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).