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The Cultural Outlook of Old Greek Job:
A Reassessment of the Notion of Hellenization

1. Introduction

Greek Job is known as the most freely translated book in the corpus of the Septuagint (LXX). The differences between the Hebrew and the Old Greek texts of Job[1] have often been explained in terms of "Hellenization". The translator's freedom is said to consist of composing good Greek style and Hellenizing tendencies. Regarding the latter, it is said that the original Hebrew text has been deprived of its Hebrew-Oriental color in exchange for a Greek-Hellenistic character[2]. Scholars have spoken of the Hellenizing of the religious universe of the book[3], or of the translator's openness towards

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[1] The sources for the primary texts and their respective translations are the following. For the Hebrew, KARL ELLIGER & WILHELM RUDOLPH, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990 – however unpointed since the translators used an unpointed text, cf. JAMES BARR, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators", in: Benedikt Hartmann *et al.* (eds.), *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von W. Baumgartner* (VTSupp 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1–11. The translation is my own, following NRSV. For the Greek, JOSEPH ZIEGLER, *Iob* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum XI/4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982). The asterisked material is not part of the Old Greek text of Job and is therefore not taken into consideration, see PETER GENTRY, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBL SCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press), 1995 and CLAUDE E. COX, "Job", in: James K. Aitken (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (Bloomsbury Companions; London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 385–400, 393. The translation is my own, following the most recent version available of Cox's translation for NETS.

[2] See for example GILLIS GERLEMAN, *Studies in the Septuagint. I: Book of Job* (Lunds Universitets årsskrift, 43/2; Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 33–34.

[3] NATALIO FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, "The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job", in: W.A.M. Beuken (ed.), *The Book of Job* (BETL 114; Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 251–266, 265. Compare also COX, "Job", 394: Greek Job "is an attempt to put that document into a different space, time and culture. This new location has different ways of thinking theologically"; MARKUS WITTE, "The Greek Book of Job", in: Thomas Krüger et al. (eds.), *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen: Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.–19. August 2005* (ATANT 88; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007), 33–54, 38: Greek Job "should be interpreted against the backdrop of the cultural and spiritual words of Hellenism".

Greek culture[4]. The most frequently cited reference in this regard is the use of Ἀμαλθείας κέρας "the horn of Amalthea" in Job 42:14[5], as the name of one of Job's daughter, rendering קרן הפוך. Amalthea is the goat who nourished Zeus, and whose broken horn Zeus transformed into a *cornucopia*.

Theo van der Louw has pointed out that such deviating renderings are often regarded as "visible traces of the translator in which his (midrashic or actualizing) exegesis shows". Scholars have tried to reconstruct the historical background of the LXX and the translators' ideology on the basis of those deviations. Yet, "this concern can easily miss the fact that [these] renderings are first of all *linguistic material*"[6]. Evidently, every translation involves interpretation. The issue with the descriptions of the Greek translation of Job cited above is that scholars do not distinguish between language and culture. The underlying notion is the idea that Hebrew was part of an intellectual system that was different from the Mediterranean system[7]. Language, however, does not necessarily define culture; rather, it is an aspect of it[8]. A more nuanced approach to the relationship between language and cultural identity is desirable.

Hebrew Job and Greek Job are often approached as texts of two cultures in opposition, but did the text's transition of one language into another also mark a cultural transition? In this paper, I want to reassess the notion of Hellenization in the Greek text of Job. I will start with a brief survey on the current debate of Judaism and Hellenism. Next, I will discuss those renderings in Greek Job that are most often cited as proof in support of Hellenizing tendencies on the part of Job's translator, and conclude with some remarks on the cultural layout of Greek Job.

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[4] ÉDOUARD PAUL DHORME, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (Trans. H. Knight; London: Nelson, 1967), cxcvi; JOHN G. GAMMIE, "The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs", *CBQ* 49 (1987) 13–31, 28–29; WITTE, "The Greek Book of Job", 39.

[5] See for example ANNA ANGELINI, "Biblical Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication: A Focus on Animal Imagery", *Semitica et Classica* 8 (2015) 33–43, 36; DHORME, *Job*, cxcvi–cxcix; FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, "Septuagint Reading", 258–259; GERLEMAN, *Job*, 38.

[6] THEO VAN DER LOUW, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (CBET 47; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 9 (author's italics).

[7] Cf. most notably JAMES BARR, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 157–168. See also JOHN A.L. LEE, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico: Scholar's Press, 1983), 17–18.

[8] See, for example, ALEX MULLEN, "Introduction: Multiple Languages, Multiple Identities", in: Alex Mullen & Patrick James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: University Press, 2012), 1–35, 31.

2. Hellenism versus Judaism

Jews in the Hellenistic era lived in a multilingual and multicultural society in which Greek served as lingua franca. The Jews' use of Greek and the translation of their scriptures into Greek are often explained as Hellenization: Jews acculturated themselves to the Greeks. This process of Hellenization is conceptualized in terms of a dominant Greek culture and a subservient Jewish culture, with influences going into only one direction: the Jews underwent influence from the Greeks. However, to what extent did the Jews' adoption of a new language go hand in hand with a cultural assimilation? Many scholars think of the LXX as an attempt to put the Hebrew Bible into a different space, time, and culture, namely that of Hellenism. Since the LXX translations are a cultural fact of Hellenistic *Judaism*, we may question whether it is possible to uphold the view of a text travelling from a homogeneous Hebrew context to a homogeneous Greek context, when in fact both the Hebrew and Greek milieus are part of one – albeit hybrid – Jewish culture? Hence, contextualization becomes all the more important.

3. Old Greek Job and Mythology

Within the LXX corpus, it is particularly the Greek book of Job, the "freest" translation, that is seen as having made a cultural transition into Hellenism. Its linguistic character can be described as a higher register koine. Greek usage is important to the translator. The use of good Greek is often regarded in terms of translational freedom. Yet, following Van der Louw cited above, it is important to distinguish between 1) the translator's ease in focusing on Greek usage rather than on a formal representation of the Hebrew text and 2) a different cultural outlook, oriented towards Hellenism away from Judaism. Evidence of Hellenization in Greek Job is most often found in supposedly mythological references. In what follows I want to reassess the evidence.

3.1. Sea Monsters

Let us first look at the sea monsters. Leviathan, Behemoth, and Rahab get Greek equivalents. לויתן becomes τὸ μέγα κῆτος "the great sea monster" in Job 3:8 and δράκων "serpent" in Job 40:25. Outside of Job, לויתן appears in Is 27:1(*bis*); Ps 73(74):14; 103(104):26 and is each time rendered as δράκων. Throughout Greek Job both κῆτος and δράκων occur more often than as a rendering of Leviathan. In other LXX books, κῆτος does not refer to a mythological creature (cf. Gen 1:21; 3 Macc 6:8; Jonah 2:1; 2:2; 2:11;

Dan 3:79). Of particular interest is Gen 1:21, where τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα renders התנינם הגדלים to denote the great sea monsters that God created. Moreover, κῆτος occurs twice more in Job (9:13 and 26:12), apparently for the Hebrew רהב at 26:12 and for עזרי רהב "helpers of Rahab" in 9:13. Rahab is also known as a sea creature (cf. Is 51:9; Ps 88[89]:11)[9]. As a result, Rahab and Leviathan are both rendered as κῆτος. The helpers of Rahab are κήτη τὰ ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν (this is the only plural attestation of κῆτος in Job). Leviathan is τὸ μέγα κῆτος. Claude Cox argues in favor of there being a mythological undertone in the Greek text of 3:8, because of the use of the definite article. In an Egyptian context, according to Cox, the readers of Greek Job might identify the great sea monster with Apophis, a serpent deity[10]. However, at 26:12, the translator uses a definite article before κῆτος, too. I would suggest, especially in light of the translator's concern for coherence of the translation's narrative[11], as well as of his thorough familiarity with the Pentateuch and Isaiah[12], that by rendering לויתן and רהב as τὸ (μέγα) κῆτος, the creatures referred to are demythologized and explicitly diminished to one of God's creations. In 9:13 and 26:12, too, κῆτος is explicitly subject to God.

By rendering לויתן as δράκων in 40:25, any reader who is not familiar with the Hebrew text of Job or with oral traditions would not know that τὸ μέγα κῆτος and δράκων refer to the same creature. δράκων appears to be the standard rendering for לויתן outside Job (cf. Is 27:1; Ps 73[74]:14; 103[104]:26). Throughout Greek Job, δράκων is used an additional five

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[9] See, among others, DAVID J.A. CLINES, *Job* (3 vols.; WBC 17; 18a; 18b; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989–2011), I.233; MARVIN POPE, *Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 15; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 70; HAROLD H. ROWLEY, *Job* (Century Bible New Series; London, Nelson, 1970), 78 (who, in fact, identifies Rahab with Leviathan); CHOON LEONG SEOW, *Job 1–21* (Illuminations; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 561. In Is 51:9, the Greek does not offer an equivalent to רהב. In the Psalter, רהב is transliterated in 86(87):4, but rendered as ματαιότης in 39(40):5 and as ὑπερήφανος "proud" at Ps 88(89):11.

[10] See CLAUDE E. COX, *Iob* (SBL CS; forthcoming), s.v. 3:8 (references are based on a provisional copy which I was grateful to receive from the author in advance of publication).

[11] CLAUDE E. COX, "Tying It All Together: The Use of Particles in Old Greek Job", *BIOSCS* 38 (2005) 41–54, 53–54 (regarding the translator's use of particles to create coherence between textual units); KARL KUTZ, "Characterization in the Old Greek of Job", in: Kelvin Friebel *et al.* (eds.), *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor M.V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 345–355, 354 (regarding the translator's concern for the book's narrative as a coherent whole). This does not imply a concern for consistency of lexical choices.

[12] See particularly HOMER HEATER, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (CBQ MS 11; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), passim.

times. It appears twice for כפיר "young lion" in 4:10 and 38:39. In both cases it forms a word pair with λέων, a combination which is well known in classical Greek literature and which also occurs in Sir 25:16; Ps 90:13; Ezek 32:2[13]. In the other three instances, it renders תנין "serpent" in 7:12, פתן "adder" in 20:16, and נחש "serpent" in 26:13. It is important to keep in mind that our notion of dragon does not coincide to the ancient δράκων. Although the word can be used to refer to an extraordinary or mythological figure, it can also be used purely stylistically in a word pair with ὄφις, and, most importantly, indicate different types of different real-life snake species (LSJ; DGE).

בהמות, in turn, if indeed to be understood as the sea monster Behemoth[14], then, is unique to Job (40:15). It can also be understood as an intensive plural[15]. It is rendered as such in Greek Job, represented by θηρία "wild beasts". The noun בהמה occurs twice more in Job, in 18:3 (in singular) and 35:11 (plural) and is rendered as τετράποδα (plural) "four-footers" in both instances. The noun θηρίον occurs thrice more in Job, in 5:22; 37:8; 41:17, always in the plural, rendering חיה in 5:22 and 37:8. In 41:17 we read θηρίοις τετράποσιν "four-footed beasts", in the context of a verse which does not appear to clearly represent the Hebrew of 41:17. While the equivalence בהמות–θηρία is unique in Job, it is not unique in the LXX as a corpus, where θηρία renders בהמות in the context of "wild animals" in Deut 28:26; 32:24; Hab 2:17; Is 18:6(bis); Jer 7:33; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 41:20. As such, in my opinion, 40:15 does not contain an unambiguous reference to Greek mythology in the Greek translation either. Rather, by using θηρία the translator places חיה and בהמות within one semantic domain. Taken together, δράκων, θηρία, and κῆτος are all part of the semantic domain of monstrosity[16]. As such, the Greek text is clear and coherent in its own right.

3.2. Job's daughters

The most famous example pertains to the names of Job's new daughters, listed in 42:14. Each gets a Greek counterpart, which seems to reflect an

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[13] COX, Iob, s.v. 4:10.

[14] CLINES, Job, III.1183–1186 and ROWLEY, Job, 255, for example, argue that Behemoth as well as Leviathan should be seen as real creatures. SAMUEL TERRIEN, Job (Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament XIII, Genève: Labor et Fides, 1963), 261–262 argues that it is a mythological creature.

[15] See for example DHORME, Job, 619; POPE, Job, 268. ROBERT GORDIS, The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies (Moreshet 2; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 475–476 acknowledges the intensive plural but suggest that it may be an adaptation of the Egyptian word for "water-ox".

[16] ANGELINI, "Biblical Translations", 41. I, however, see no reason for assuming any mythological undertone.

etymologically inspired rendering of the Hebrew: ימימה "Jemimah" – Ἡμέρα "Day", קציעה "Keziah" – Κασία "Casia", and קרן הפוך "Keren-Happuch" – Ἀμαλθείας κέρας "Horn of Amaltheia". The rendering ימימה – Ἡμέρα seems based on the etymological connection of ימימה to ים "day"[17]. The middle one can be been as a transliteration, קציעה – Κασία[18] . Though here used as a proper name, קציעה is also a noun, referring to a spice like cinnamon made from the bark of a tree (HALOT and DCH)[19]. The Greek equivalent is of a similar nature. Although indicating a proper name, the noun κασία appears in Greek literature from Sappho and Herodotus onwards[20], to denote what we know as the cassia, a type of plant (LSJ). The use of Ἀμαλθείας κέρας especially has sparked debate regarding the translator's proneness to incorporating culturally Greek elements, as we have seen in the introductory chapter. Already in the fourth to fifth century CE, Theodore of Mopsuestia expressed his discontentment with Ἀμαλθείας κέρας as the name of Job's daughter in his *Expositio in Jobum*[21].

Ἀμαλθείας κέρας can, however, be explained on a linguistic rather than a cultural basis, too. It has been suggested that the translator read הפוך as the passive participle of הפך, "to transform", and as a result interpreted קרן הפוך as "horn of changing; transformed horn"[22], referring to the *cornucopia*. The *cornucopia* was a Jewish symbol which appeared in Jewish art from the second century BCE onwards[23]. The term Ἀμαλθείας κέρας is the standard Greek term to refer to the *cornucopia* (LSJ). There simply was no other option to express the same concept – unless the translator would have transliterated. However, the observation that transliteration is almost absent in Greek Job[24] is not surprising when we know that natural Greek us-

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[17] Commentators on the Hebrew often interpret ימימה as "dove", see for example CLINES, *Job*, III.1238; GORDIS, *Job*, 498; POPE, *Job*, 292; ROWLEY, *Job*, 268.

[18] The only other occurrence of קציעה in the LXX appears in Ps 45:9, which in the LXX is also rendered as κασία.

[19] See also commentators such as CLINES, *Job*, 1238; GORDIS, *Job*, 498; POPE, *Job*, 292; ROWLEY, *Job*, 268.

[20] See, for example, Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.110, where the plant's use by Arabians is described.

[21] See the edition by J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* LXVI, col. 697–698.

[22] GERLEMAN, *Job*, 38.

[23] See, for example, ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period: Pagan Symbols in Judaism. Volume 8: Pagan Symbols in Judaism (The Second of Two Volumes)* (Bollingen Series 37; New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 106–114; PAUL ROMANOFF, "Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins (Continued). Chapter IV: Cornucopia", *JQR* 34/2 (1943) 161–177.

[24] Transliteration appears mainly in the asterisked material of Job (Gentry, *Asterisked Material*, 305–313). In the OG it is very rare. Only the names of Job and his friends are transliterated and remain undeclinable for the most part: Ιωβ; Ελιφας; Βαλδαδ; Σωφαρ; (son of) Βαραχιηλ; (of the family) Ραμ. The names of Elihu as well as of Uz get a Greek

age is important to the translator. As with the term ᾅδης "Hades" for שׁאול, such a Greek rendering may bring about mythological associations[25], but the Greek language did not have another way of expressing the concept mentioned in the Hebrew text. All three names demonstrate that the translator provides a linguistically Greek equivalent that retains the semantic element of the source text (respectively the reference to the day, the plant, and the *cornucopia*) and are part of a strategy to give Job's daughters actual Greek names.

The translator, aiming at a high register of Greek, had a particular inclination towards showing off a varied and often literary vocabulary. This means that he made full use of the lexical possibilities of the Greek language. However, this needs to be distinguished from references to Greek culture. In my opinion, the evidence attests to a purely linguistic basis for the renderings mentioned above, so that there is no need to presuppose any cultural "Hellenizing" of the text.

4. Septuagintalisms

When talking about such a loaded term as Hellenization, it is important to distinguish between language and culture. Whereas the use of the Greek language is the result of a strong influence from the Greeks, we must be wary of arguing that a community's written output in that language therefore has a Greek cultural outlook. In light of the previous section, the following question regarding the translation of Job arises: How can we describe the cultural outlook of Greek Job?

The many intertextual allusions to other LXX books found throughout Job clearly locate the Greek translation in a culturally Jewish setting[26]. The translator of Job may use Greek literary or poetic vocabulary, but does not constitute a cultural link to Greek non-Jewish literature. The translation attests to a translator who is fully at ease with using the Greek language. Interestingly, however, the translator incorporates Septuagintalisms – that is, the use of expressions which occur in LXX Greek but do not appear to reflect (koine) Greek idiom.

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equivalent in declinable form: Ελιους (cf. Job 38:1, the use of the accusative) and Αυσίτις (cf. the dative at 1:1 and the genitive at 32:2). The gentilicia are rendered as declinable forms, e.g. Θαιμανίτης; Σαυχίτης; Μιναῖος; Βουζίτης.

[25] MYRTO THEOCHAROUS, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah* (LHBOTS 570; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 46 classes this rendering in the Pentateuch as a rendering which was readily available from the Hellenistic context.

[26] HEATER, *A Septuagint Translation Technique*, passim – and especially COX, "Job", 396.

Since no translated text is devoid of interference[27], Septuagintalisms are an expected phenomenon in any LXX translation. Strikingly, however, their use in Greek Job does not always result from interference of the Hebrew source text. I will discuss three examples.

4.1. ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν

This construction occurs a dozen times throughout Greek Job (see 1:7; 2:2; 5:10; 9:6; 18:4; 18:19; 28:24; 34:13; 38:18; 38:24; 41:3; 42:15). The expression ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν occurs in the Pentateuch, namely in Ex 17:14; Deut 25:19; 29:19[28]. In later books ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν was preferred; so, too, in Greek Job[29]. The occurrences of this expression outside of the Pentateuch are mostly in books that fall into the category of "literary" Greek[30]. The construction itself, however, is typically Septuagintal and does not reflect Greek idiom. It was used in LXX Pentateuch to represent מתחת השמים. In Greek Job ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν renders a Hebrew construction similar to מתחת השמים only twice, namely תחת כל השמים (Job 28:24; 41:3), but the translator uses it at ten other occasions. The translator had a precedent for the idea in the Hebrew of Job as well as in the Pentateuch[31]. The expression in Greek appears to have become what has been called a "stylish periphrasis" for the world or the earth[32]. In other words, any Jewish writer would have different ways to refer to the world in Greek, but ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν is one that occurs specifically in Jewish-Greek writings. The periphrastic meaning is very clear in Greek Job. In seven other cases, it renders ארץ (Job 2:2; 9:6; 18:4; 38:18; 38:24; 38:33; 42:15; compare also 1:7 where it is the equivalent of בה "on it", with the suffix referring to ארץ). In these cases, the translator could have opted for a more standard equivalent of ארץ, such as γῆ, but he chose a different translation. The construction ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν also renders תבל "world" once in Job (34:13). In two other cases there is no

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[27] This is the so-called "law of interference", see GIDEON TOURY, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Second Edition; Benjamins Translation Library; Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 310–315.

[28] JOHN A.L. LEE, "Accuracy and Idiom: The Renderings of Mittahat in the Septuagint Pentateuch", in: Kristin De Troyer *et al.* (eds.), *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus* (CBET 72; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 79–99, 85–91. Lee points out that ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν occurs less than a handful of times in Greek literature, and Xenocrates (fourth century BCE) uses τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν λήξεως (Frag. 15 Heinze), but that there are no parallels for the construction ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν or ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν. He suggests that the combination of a feminine article + prepositional phrase can, however, be seen as a normal Greek formation (pp. 88–90).

[29] LEE, "Idiom and Accuracy", 89.

[30] See Esther 13:10; Prov 8:26; 8:28; PsSol 2:32; Bar 5:3.

[31] HEATER, *A Septuagint Translation Technique*, 16–17.

[32] LEE, "Idiom and Accuracy", 90.

clear equivalent to ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν in the Hebrew (9:13; 18:19)[33]. This indicates that the construction became operational in Greek, as is also shown by its use in non-translated texts such as PsSol 2:23, 2Macc 2:18. The observation that ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν or ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν may be deemed "stylish", even though the construction is not an element of broader Hellenistic Greek style, implies that Jewish-Greek writings could have developed a notion of stylistics of their own.

4.2. θαυμάζω πρόσωπον

Under the lemma θαυμάζω, T. Muaroka includes the expression θαυμάζω πρόσωπον, meaning "by acceding to a request or demand", as typically Septuagintal[34]. Searching the available databases for Greek literature (TLG), papyri (papyri.org), and inscriptions (SEG) shows that the expression indeed does not occur in Greek outside of the LXX and can be considered an example of negative interference. It occurs four times in the book of Job. In two instances, it renders the Hebrew expression נשׂא פנים at 13:10 and 22:8, as it often does elsewhere in the LXX, such as in Lev 19:15; Deut 10:17; 28:50; 2Kings 5:1; Is 9:14; Prov 18:5.

The Hebrew נשׂא פנים an idiomatic Hebrew expression. It can literally be taken as "to lift someone's face", but often carries a figurative meaning, "to show partiality to someone". Its rendering in the LXX often reflects the individual elements of which the expression is made up (ἐπαίρω πρόσωπον; λαμβάνω πρόσωπον), rather than the meaning of the idiom. Marguerite Harl has argued that a rendering such as θαυμάζω πρόσωπον has "plus ou moins décalquée" the Hebrew expression "to lift someone's face" by rendering it as "to admire the face"[35]. The expression in Greek might no longer be seen as a "true" calque, but the construction as a whole has a meaning which is not equal to the sum of the individual constituents θαυμάζω and πρόσωπον and which is not idiomatic Greek. It does not occur in Greek literature or papyri outside of the LXX. It can perhaps best be described as "an independent Greek adaptation within the framework of a Hebraistic construction"[36].

The occurrence of θαυμάζω πρόσωπον in Job 32:22 and 34:19 requires more explanation. I would argue that in these cases, θαυμάζω πρόσωπον

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[33] LEE, "Idiom and Accuracy", 87.

[34] TAKAMITSU MURAOKA, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

[35] MARGUERITE HARL, *La langue de Japhet: Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 152.

[36] EVANS, *Verbal Syntax*, 189 uses these words to describe the rendering τίς δῴη for מי יתן.

possibly reflects the use of נשׂא פנה in the Hebrew text, too, but not in a clearcut one-to-one manner.

Job 34:19

ὃς οὐκ ἐπῃσχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου οὐδὲ οἶδεν τιμὴν θέσθαι ἁδροῖς θαυμασθῆναι πρόσωπα αὐτῶν.	אשר לא נשׂא פני שׂרים ולא נכר שׁוע לפני דל כי מעשׂה ידיו כלם
[He] who felt no reticence before a person of worth	[He] who shows no partiality to nobles,
nor knows how to accord honor to the prominent	nor regards the rich more than the poor,
so that their persons be respected.	for they are all the work of his hands?

A repetition of פנה may be found in the Hebrew text of Job, if one wants to analyse לפני as existing of the preposition ל and the noun פנה, rather than as a semi-preposition[37]. We encounter a repetition of πρόσωπον in the Greek text which could reflect the one in the Hebrew text, were it not for the fact that the repetition in the Hebrew is found in the first and second colon and in the Greek in the first and third colon.

OG 19a is a first translation of MT 19a. OG 19b paraphrases MT 19b. OG 19c, then, rather than rendering MT 19c, appears to be a second translation of MT 19a[38]. The sense of the expression נשׂא פנה seems to be translated in two different ways: in OG 19a, it is rendered as ἐπαισχύνομαι "to be ashamed" – which may be compared to the rendering of נשׂא פנה in Job 32:21 as αἰσχύνω "to be ashamed" – and at 19c it is rendered as θαυμάζω πρόσωπον. Interestingly, as opposed to in Job 32:21, in 34:19a, the expression נשׂא פני gave rise to the rendering ἐπαισχύνομαι, but by including πρόσωπον in the translation, it seems a reflection of פנה separately. In 32:21–22 αἰσχύνω also occurs in a word pair with θαυμάζω πρόσωπον.

Job 32:21–22

ἄνθρωπον γὰρ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ,	21	לא נא אשׂא פני איש
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ βροτὸν οὐ μὴ ἐντραπῶ·		ואל אדם לא אכנה
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι θαυμάσαι πρόσωπον·	22	כי לא ידעתי אכנה
εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἐμὲ σῆτες ἔδονται.		כמעט ישׂני עשׂני

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[37] See RAIJA SOLLAMO, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (Annales Academiae Scientiarium Fennicae Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 19; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 13–80.

[38] DHORME, *Job*, 517.

for I will not be in awe of a human being; to the contrary, I will have no regard for any mortal, for I do not know how to show respect; if that is not so, moths will also eat me!	I will not show partiality to any person or use flattery toward anyone. For I do not know how to flatter – or my Maker would soon put an end to me!

In the Hebrew text, one finds an epiphora of אכנה, which is not reflected in the Greek translation. The first אכנה is rendered with ἐντραπῶ. The rendering of the second occurrence of אכנה, namely in 22a, as θαυμάσαι πρόσωπον, can explained as an example of *variatio*, that is, the rendering of a repetition in the Hebrew text by the use of near-synonymous words in Greek (see also below). For his rendering, however, the translator appears to have been inspired by the Hebrew wording of 21a (נשׂא פנה)[39]. In 21a, however, this particular expression was rendered as αἰσχύνω. Its object is ἄνθρωπον, which reflects אישׁ, and does not include a reference to the literal meaning of פנה as in 34:19.

These latter two passages, Job 32:21–22 and 34:19, demonstrate that the translator knew the figurative meaning of the Hebrew expression נשׂא פנה and had the option of rendering it in idiomatic Greek (αἰσχύνω; ἐπαισχύνομαι). He chooses, however, to include the construction θαυμάζω πρόσωπον in his translation, even at times when the translation cannot be explained as the result of formal adherence to the Hebrew text. Moreover, θαυμάζω πρόσωπον occurs also in a possibly non-translated LXX books, namely in PsSol 2:18. It indicates that the expression had become operational. This implies that the expression would have been understandable – both for the translator as well as for his audience – in isolation from the Hebrew text, even though it seems that the expression had its origins precisely in a rendering of a Hebrew expression.

4.3. ἐναντίον

ἐναντίον occurs about twenty-one times in Job, rendering a variety of Hebrew (semi-)prepositions[40]. Aside from those instances in which it renders the expression עין + ב "in the eyes of" (such as in 11:4; 15:15; 18:3; 19:15; 25:5; 32:1), ἐναντίον appears only in reference to God. Compare also the

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[39] DHORME, *Job*, 485.

[40] On the use of ἐναντίον as a stereotypical rendering of לפני in the LXX, see RAIJA SOLLAMO, "Some 'Improper' Prepositions, such as ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ, ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ, ΕΝΑΝΤΙ, etc. in the Septuagint and Early Koine Greek", *VT* 25 (1975) 773–783; SOLLAMO, *Hebrew Semiprepositions*, passim. ἐναντίον does not occur as a rendering of לפני in Greek Job at all.

use of ἔναντι[41], occurring fourteen times, always in reference to God. The so-called "distancing use" of prepositions such as ἐναντίον and ἔναντι in reference to God is typical of LXX translations and finds no parallels in Greek writings that are not influenced by the LXX[42]. It occurs most frequently with verbs of "to sin" – one may sin *against* a human being, but *before* God – but also with verbs of "to say", for example. We see this throughout the Greek text of Job, too. Regarding "to sin", see Job 1:22 (לא חטא איוב "Job did not sin"– οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Ιωβ ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου "Job did not sin before the Lord", in which ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου is a "plus"); 2:1 (לא חטא איוב בשׂפתיו "Job did not sin with his lips" – οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Ιωβ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ "Iob did not sin at all with his lips before God", with ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ being a plus); 8:4 (לו אם בניך חטאו "if your children sinned against him [that is, God]" – εἰ οἱ υἱοί σου ἥμαρτον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ "if your sons sinned against him"). The same holds true when the opposite is being stated, namely regarding being pure or righteous before God, such as in 4:17 (האנושׁ מאלוה יצדק "can a mortal be righteous before God?" – μὴ καθαρὸς ἔσται βροτὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου "can a mortal be pure before the Lord?"). Compare also 11:4. With regard to the verb "to say", we find telling examples in Job 1:9 (ויען השׂטן את יהוה ויאמר "the accuser answered the Lord and said" – ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ διάβολος καὶ εἶπεν ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου "then the slanderer answered and said before the Lord") and 34:37 (וירב אמריו לאל "and he multiplies his words against God" – πολλὰ λαλούντων ῥήματα ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου "while speaking many words before the Lord"). This can be easily compared to instances in which the object of the verb "to say" is not God, such as in Job 1:7 (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ "and the Lord said to the slanderer"). Compare also 1:8; 1:12; 1:14; 9:12, among others. As such, the use of ἐναντίον in Job does not constitute idiomatic Greek, but pertains to typical Septuagintal usage.

5. Conclusion

The translation of Job shows a translator who masters the Greek language very well and who is more concerned with Greek usage than with formally adhering to the word order and word choices of the Hebrew. The evidence

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[41] On ἔναντι as a by-form of ἐναντίον, see JAMES K. AITKEN, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary* (CSHB 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 81–82.

[42] JAN JOOSTEN, "L'agir humain devant Dieu: Remarques sur une tournure remarquable de la Septante", *RB* 113 (2006) 5–17; JAN JOOSTEN, "The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History", *BIOSCS* 43 (2010) 53–72, 57–58.

regarding supposedly mythological references attests to this concern rather than to the hypothesis that the translator was culturally Hellenized in any way. Greek Job remains a fundamentally Jewish product. Furthermore, the language of Greek Job demonstrates that its translator was looking to lin- guistically mark a relation between his translation and other LXX transla- tions by using specific Septuagintalistic expressions, the same way he did by incorporating intertextual allusions to other LXX books. In the cases discussed above, their usage in Job did not result from interference of the Hebrew. In each case, the translator had an "idiomatic" Greek alternative, which he knew and with which he was familiar, but he chose the Septua- gintalistic expression. In other words, even in spite of the translator's con- cern for what would often be considered "good" Greek usage from the per- spective of the broader Hellenistic literary corpus, these Septuagintalistic expressions had a proper place within his working habits.

Septuagintalisms reflect the fact that the Jews did not only adopt the Greek language, but that they would also adapt it. Jews did not become less Jewish once they had started to use the Greek language[43]. The fact that Jews wrote in Greek within the Hellenistic world makes their literature part of Hellenistic literature. Jews developed their own literary traditions, such as in the use of Septuagintalisms. As such, they attest to the cultural diversity which characterizes Hellenism. As much as the shaping of their literature attests to the development of a Jewish tradition in Greek, it also attests to the different ways in which Hellenistic literature could be shaped to fit specific contexts. So rather than thinking of Hellenism as the domi- nant culture to which a subservient Judaism acculturated, it seems more accurate to conceptualize the relationship between Hellenism and Judaism in terms of mutual exchange to describe the complex socio-cultural inter- actions[44].

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[43] See for example SHAYE J.D. COHEN, "'Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not': How Do You Know a Jew in Antiquity When You See One?", in: Shaye J.D. Co- hen & Ernest S. Frerichs (eds.), *Diasporas in Antiquity* (Brown Judaic Studies 288; At- lanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1–46, 8–9. See also SYLVIE HONIGMAN, "'Jews as the Best of All Greeks': Cultural Competition in the Literary Works of Alexandrian Judaeans of the Hellenistic Period", in: Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images* (Mnemosyne Supplements 363; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 207–232; JOSEPH MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, "How to Be a Greek and Yet a Jew in Hellenistic Alexandria", in: Cohen & Frerichs (eds.), *Diasporas in Antiquity*, 65–92, 80.

[44] Cf. JAMES K. AITKEN, Review of M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Second Edition; 2 Vol- umes; Trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), in *JBL* 123 (2004) 331–341, 333–335; ERICH S. GRUEN, "Hellenism, Hellenization", in: John J. Collins & Daniel C. Harlow (eds.), *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 723–726.