The Role of LXX Isaiah in the Translation of the Peshiṭta of Isaiah

By

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ABSTRACT

This project combines the recent theory and methodology of Indirect Translation (ITr) from Translation Studies with traditional Semitic philology to explore the relations between ancient Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac Bible translations. Specifically, ITr theory and methodology are applied to the Syriac Peshiṭta of Isaiah (S-Isa) to identify and explain its alleged relation to the Old Greek of Isaiah (G-Isa). After providing a comprehensive literature review on the study of S-Isa in Chapter 1, the theory and methodology of ITr are laid out in Chapter 2, revealing the limitations of past scholarship on the relation between S- and G-Isa, drawing out ITr's relevancy to Biblical Studies, and raising theoretical and methodological issues specific to S- and G-Isa that are addressed in later chapters. Chapter 3 applies the first two stages of ITr's methodology (peritextual/textual analysis and epitextual analysis) to S-Isa, providing refined criteria by which to identify and explain readings unique to S-G and summarizing the cultural, scribal, and socioreligious milieu of the Syriac translator. Chapter 4 comprises a full inventory of S-Isa's non-literal translation shifts from Isaiah 1. The underlying premise of this chapter is that S-G agreements cannot be properly evaluated unless there is a firm grasp on what constitutes the Syriac translator's *Übersetzungsweise*. Chapter 5 examines all the agreements exclusive to S-G that occur in Isaiah 1-5. S-G agreements that have their explanation in common translation technique are simply tagged to the inventory in Chapter 4. All the other agreements are evaluated in commentary-fashion in light of the refined criteria for tracking influence from G-Isa. Chapter 5 also assesses all the significant S-G agreements from Isaiah 6-39 that are noted in the scholarly literature. Chapter 6 concludes by offering an explanatory hypothesis that accounts for the data in

Chapters 4 and 5, specifying the kind of indirect relation that obtains between S- and G-Isa.

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of translating a translation (hereafter "indirect translation" or "ITr") is an ancient one. However, ITr has been studied intensively as a discipline only in recent years as a subdiscipline of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). ITr's relevancy to ancient Bible translations—many of which were indirect translations—would seem to be axiomatic, but the theory and methodology of ITr has yet to be teased out in this context, or with any ancient materials for that matter. Thus, this project is the first attempt to wed developments in ITr theory and methodology with Biblical Studies (BS) with the hope of illuminating the answer to a difficult question: How do we interpret unique parallels among the most ancient Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac Bible translations when we know they were all translated from a Hebrew source text (ST)?

To address this problem and to work it out within the confines of ITr, I have chosen the Syriac Book of Isaiah (S-Isa) as my sample. For years scholars have claimed that the translator of S-Isa sporadically relied on the Old Greek of Isaiah (G-Isa) at difficult places in his Hebrew ST. But how do we know that these S-G parallels are not attestations of a Hebrew variant, or evidence of both translators' common tactics in rendering a problematic ST, or indications of secondary revision toward G-Isa, or some other phenomenon? Without a clear methodology in place by which to identify and explicate these S-G parallels, there seems to be no shortage of assumptions that can be made about the translator's *realia* or model of translation to account for them. And these assumptions have major implications.

A modern translator tasked with producing a translation of the earliest inferable

archetype of the Hebrew text or a textual critic commissioned to publish a critical edition of the Hebrew text will find it difficult to do so if it is not clear where the ancient translations attest a Hebrew variant. Knowing where the Syriac translator relied on an earlier Greek translation is also important to the scholar of reception history. *How* did the Syriac translator consult the Greek text (G)? Did he have access to a Greek manuscript? Did he have portions of G memorized? Was he influenced indirectly by some other form of mediation (e.g., scribal training; liturgy; educational curricula; common lore)? *Why* would he deviate from his Hebrew ST to render G instead? *What* does it say about the identity of the Syriac translator if he did in fact rely on G? While these questions (and many more) are of primary interest to those working in BS, they are also the very questions the methodology of ITr equips one to investigate rigorously. And the theory of ITr provides the conceptual and terminological clarity with which to speak about such translation phenomena.

The results of this study also benefit scholars working in TS. Not only can the data from ancient Bible translations inform the trends that TS scholars identify in modern examples of the same phenomenon, they also can learn more about the different reasons for and types of ITr that existed in the ancient world. As I will argue (in Chapters 2 and 3), the methodology of ITr must be tweaked if it is to be implemented successfully on ancient Bible translations. More often than not, the translators of ancient Bible translations did not indicate for us where they deviated from their STs to access or consult mediating translations/languages (MT/Ls) directly or indirectly, intentionally or

unintentionally.[1] There is nothing within or without the text to clue us in on the exact forms of these MT/Ls. We discover influence from MT/Ls on a specific translation by comparing the different translations at the micro-level, but only after we have compared each to its primary or ultimate ST to grasp each translator's translation technique.

To situate the difficulties involved in studying S-Isa, I provide a comprehensive literature review in Chapter 1 ("History of Scholarship on S-Isa").[2] After reviewing the limitations of past scholarship on the relation between S- and G-Isa, I lay out the theory and methodology of ITr (Chapter 2 – "The Theory and Methodology of Indirect Translation"), drawing out ITr's relevancy to BS where appropriate and raising theoretical and methodological issues specific to S- and G-Isa that will need to be addressed in the remaining chapters. In Chapter 3 ("Framing S-Isa's Relation to G-Isa through the Prism of ITr") I apply the first two stages of ITr's methodology (peritextual/textual analysis and epitextual analysis) to S-Isa, providing refined criteria by which to identify and explain unique S-G agreements and summarizing the cultural, scribal, and socioreligious milieu of the Syriac translator. Chapter 4 comprises a full inventory of S-Isa's non-literal translation shifts from Isaiah 1. The underlying premise of

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[1] The acronym MT to designate a "mediating text" is likely to confuse biblical scholars who are acquainted with associating MT with the Masoretic Text. Since I am writing this for both biblical and translation scholars, I am bound to confuse some no matter which abbreviation I chose. For this reason, I will consistently use M throughout this volume to indicate the "Masoretic Text" and MT to designate the term "mediating text."

[2] A modified version of Chapter 1 will be published this year; see Atwood, "The Peshiṭta of Isaiah in Past and Present Scholarship," *Currents in Biblical Research* (2019): forthcoming (used with permission).

this chapter is that S-G agreements cannot be properly evaluated unless one has a grasp on what constitutes the Syriac translator's translation technique. Chapter 5 examines all the S-G agreements (≠ M) that occur in Isaiah 1-5. S-G agreements that have their explanation in common translation technique are simply tagged to the inventory in Chapter 4. Those unique agreements exclusive to S-G that are not easily explained by common translation technique are then evaluated in commentary-fashion in light of the criteria adumbrated in Chapter 3. I also assess all the major S-G agreements from Isaiah 6-39 that are noted by scholars. I conclude by offering an explanatory hypothesis that accounts for the data in Chapters 4 and 5, specifying the kind of indirect relation that obtains between S- and G-Isa and using the concepts and terminology of ITr.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON S-ISA

Introduction

Since the mid-to-late nineteenth century, when rigorous textual work on the Peshiṭta (S) began, S-Isa has attracted the attention of scholars, generating nearly as much appeal as the S-Pentateuch and S-Psalms. It was (and still is) assumed by many of these scholars that the text of S-Isa would, if studied closely, betray its translator's religious leanings. However, though S-Isa has been studied consistently for over a century-and-a-half in pursuit of this goal and others (e.g., to identify Hebrew variants; to determine the relation between S- and G-Isa, and S- and the Targum of Isaiah [T-Isa]), no comprehensive summary of the research specific to S-Isa exists to date, with the standard (yet dated) surveys on the Peshiṭta only making terse comments on S-Isa.[3] In this chapter, I provide a review of the scholarship related to S-Isa, clarifying how those studies have impacted the question of S-Isa's relation to the versions. I describe the faults of the initial collation of S-Isa manuscripts and S. Brock's subsequent formation of a true *editio minor* (i.e., the Leiden Peshiṭta of S-Isa), elucidating the complexity involved in uncovering S-Isa's text history and locating variants in patristic citations and allusions. I address the question of S-Isa's relationship to M and to the chief versions, G- and T-Isa, explaining how various scholars have interpreted agreements exclusive to S-G or S-T. I also summarize the studies on S-Isa's

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[3] See L. Haefeli, *Die Peschitta des Alten Testamentes, mit Rücksicht auf ihre textkritische Bearbeitung und ihre Herausgabe*, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, XI.1 (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927), 49-50; P. B. Dirksen, *La Peshitta dell' Antico Testamento*, trans. P. G. Borbone, SB 103 (Brescia: Paideia, 1993), 24-28; 43, 45, 54, 94, 97-98; and the Isaianic citations in the index of M. P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 336-37.

translation technique and demonstrate how they have aided in determining the degree to which S-Isa stands as an autonomous translation, though perhaps revealing sporadic influence by G- and T-Isa. I then provide an abbreviated discussion on the debate concerning S-Isa's origins, addressing topics such as S-Isa's theology and relation to the New Testament, and mentioning some scholarly assumptions that require further substantiation. I conclude by reiterating my caveats and proposals punctuated throughout the review and offer a few general reflections that impact the theory and methodology employed in this project.

Textual Criticism of S-Isa: From Collation to Critical Edition

The problems with early collation of Peshiṭta manuscripts were not unique to S-Isa but implicated the whole Peshiṭta Old Testament.[4] G. Sionita's *editio princeps* comprised one translation in G. M. Le Jay's *Biblia polyglotta Parisiensa*[5] and served as the textual basis for two subsequent projects: the Peshiṭta text in B. Walton's *Biblia sacra polyglotta Londinensia*[6] and S.

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[4] The problems attending the early collation of Peshiṭta manuscripts have been pointed out by many; see A. M. Ceriani, *Le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versioni siriache del Vecchio Testamento*, Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, Classe di Lettere e scienze morali e politiche 11 (Milan, 1869); W. E. Barnes, "The Printed Editions of the Peshitta of the Old Testament," *Expository Times* 9 (1897-98): 560-62; J. Bloch, "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 37 (1921): 136-44; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem: Orient Publishing House, 1960), 163-204; and Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 8-12.

[5] G. M. Le Jay and G. Sionita, eds., *Biblia hebraïca, samaritana, chaldaïca, graeca, syriaca, latina, arabica, quibus textus originales totius Scripturae sacrae, quorum pars in editione Complutensi, deinde in Antuerpiensi regiis sumptibus extat*, vol. 11 (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1629-45).

[6] B. Walton, ed., *Biblia sacra polyglotta Londinensia*, 6 vols (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1957).

Lee's *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*.[7] However, all three editions have been deemed uncritical, as Sionita's primary authority for his text was Bibliothèque Nationale's Codex Syriaque 6, which is arguably the worst extant Peshiṭta manuscript due to its young age (17th century), frequent editorial corrections and additions, and disagreements with the oldest manuscripts.[8] Walton, despite knowledge of older manuscripts, reprinted Sionita's edition, offering no improvements and even allowing additional misprints in its publication. More disappointingly, Lee, with access to more and older manuscripts (e.g., the 5th and 6th century manuscripts at the British Museum, London) and no lack of erudition, reproduced the Peshiṭta text of the London Polyglot, but supplemented it with several emendations from the Syrian Father, Bar Hebraeus, whose unique readings find no attestation in Codex Ambrosianus and all the oldest manuscripts.

A slight improvement was J. Perkins's Urmia edition, *Vetus Testamentum Syriace et Neosyriace*,[9] which relied heavily on Nestorian manuscripts. However, as W. E. Barnes pointed out, Perkins's edition was not independent of Lee's edition.[10] As the Nestorians rarely read the Book of Chronicles, Perkins reprinted Lee's Peshiṭta Chronicles in Estrangela with Nestorian vowels. Still, the majority of Perkins's edition comes from Western manuscripts, and though the

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[7] S. Lee, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Syriace: Eos tantum libros sistens qui in canone Hebraico habentur, ordine vero, quoad fieri potuit, apud Syros usitato dispositos. In usum Ecclesiae Syrorum Malabarensium jussu Societatis Biblicae* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1923).

[8] Barnes, "The Printed Editions of the Peshitta of the Old Testament," 560; Bloch, "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament," 142.

[9] J. Perkins, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Syriace et Neosyriace* (Urmia, 1852).

[10] Barnes, "The Printed Editions of the Peshitta of the Old Testament," 560.

latter tend to be younger than East-Syrian codices, they betray less revision from LXX and Hebrew sources. As to the text of S-Isa specifically, Bloch notes that, while superior to the text in Lee's edition, the Urmia edition contains many readings lacking manuscript authority.[11]

The final Peshiṭta edition of the nineteenth century was *Biblia sacra iuxta versionem simplicem, que dicitur Peschitta,* produced by the Dominicans at Mosul.[12] Though an elegant product of craftsmanship with its clear print, beautiful script, and durable paper, this edition provides no information regarding the manuscripts used in its preparation and was early criticized for including interpolations from extra-Peshiṭta traditions. Consequently, some scholars claimed that the Mosul edition holds little to no value for the text-critic of the Peshiṭta.[13] However, other pilot studies have demonstrated that almost every unique reading in the Mosul edition finds support in early manuscripts, thus its *Vorlage(n)* must have been excellent.[14]

Shortly after Ceriani called attention to the sixth century Peshiṭta text in Milan (= 7a1) and the old manuscripts in the British Museum, many scholars accessed these manuscripts in preparation for critical apparatuses of individual books.[15] G. Diettrich was the first to take on S-Isa specifically, beginning with detailed descriptions of the British Museum's younger

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[11] Bloch, "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament," 140.

[12] G. E. - J. Khayyath and C. J. David, eds., *Biblia sacra juxta versionem simplicem quae dicitur Peschitta*, vols. 1-3 (Mosul: Typis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1887-91).

[13] Barnes, "The Printed Editions of the Peshitta of the Old Testament"; Bloch, "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament."

[14] Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*, excursus.

[15] Ceriani, *Le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versioni siriache del Vecchio Testamento*, 12-14, 267-68, 291-93.

"Massorah" manuscripts of S-Isa (9th-12th centuries).[16] Subsequently, using Lee's edition, he published an extensive critical apparatus of S-Isa whose aim was to provide "die wichtigste Vorarbeit für eine textkritische Ausgabe der Pešhitto zum Propheten Jesaia und zugleich einen zuverlässigen Überblick über die Textgeshichte der syrischen Kirchenbibel für die Zeit von 6.-20. Jahrhundert."[17] He collated readings from the earlier polyglots and editions of Lee, Urmia, and Mosul, eleven Nestorian manuscripts (9th-19th centuries), seventeen West-Syrian manuscripts (6th-17th centuries), three Syrian Fathers (Ephraem; Aphrahat; Bar Hebraeus), M (Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Jesaiae*), T (De Lagarde's *Prophetae Chaldaice*), G (Swete's *The Old Testament in Greek*), and two text-critical *Vorarbeiten*: H. Weisz's *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia und ihr Verhältniss zu MT., LXX. u. Trg.*,[18] and L. Warszawski's *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39), ihr Verhältnis zum massoretischen Texte, zur Septuaginta und zum Targum*,[19] both of which will be discussed below.

Given the state of knowledge in the early twentieth century, Diettrich could not have known how fruitless his labor in collating the printed editions of S-Isa would prove. His most significant achievement was to confirm Barnes's observation that the early polyglots all had their

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[16] G. Diettrich, *Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaia* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1899).

[17] Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus Criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1905), vii.

[18] H. Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia und ihr Verhältniss zu MT., LXX. u. Trg.* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1893).

[19] L. Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39), ihr Verhältnis zum massoretischen Texte, zur Septuaginta und zum Targum* (Berlin: Druck von H. Itzkowski, 1897).

basis in Sionita's Paris edition, which was based on an inferior Peshiṭta manuscript. Moreover, as Goshen-Gottstein pointed out, Diettrich's assumption that manuscript 7a1 (= Ms. B.21 Inferiore of the Ambrosian Library) essentially was *the* Peshiṭta text led him to focus only on later manuscripts, even though the British Museum in London also had in its possession the Nitrian manuscripts, which dated much earlier.[20] Though Diettrich's collation approximates only ten percent of the available manuscript evidence, even that store of data makes it extremely difficult for the text-critic to adjudicate between variants.[21]

Modeled after the text-critical studies of F. Baethgen,[22] C. H. Cornill,[23] M. Sebök,[24] and B. Oppenheim[25] in other Peshiṭta Old Testament books, the inaugural (and ambitious)

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[20] Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*, 6.

[21] Goshen-Gottstein's following statements (*ibid.*) are revealing: "Diettrich's study of Isaiah—which is far from utilizing all the available manuscripts—serves to warn us where this wealth of material leads. The really important variants are drowned in the sea of textual corruptions and orthographic alternations, and a fair number of 'real' variants were overlooked by him" (p. 169 fn. 29); "In spite of repeated efforts, I have not succeeded in finding my way through the wealth of useless material assembled by Diettrich" (pp. 173-74); and "The overawing 3000 'variants' from Isaiah collected by Diettrich yield no more than 13 cases in which the use of A would not suffice, only half of these being of any possible importance" (p. 195).

[22] F. Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschitta* (Kiel: Schwers, 1878).

[23] C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1886).

[24] M. Sebök, *Die syrische Übersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten und ihr Verhältniss zu dem massoretischen Text und zu den älteren Übersetzungen namentlich den LXX. und dem Targum* (Brelau: Verlag von Preuss und Jünger, 1887).

[25] B. Oppenheim, *Die Syrische Uebersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen und ihr Verhältnis zu dem LXX. Targ.* (Leipzig: Druck von W. Drunlin, 1891).

dissertations of Weisz (1893) and Warszawski (1897) listed in Diettrich's apparatus were the first attempts at answering the following four questions for S-Isa: 1) What is the manner and method of translation in S-Isa?; 2) Was the theology of the translator of S-Isa rooted in Judaism or Christianity?; 3) What was S-Isa's source text, and what is its relationship to M, G, and T?; and 4) What is the text-critical and exegetical worth of S-Isa for the Old Testament?[26] Both scholars employed Lee's edition as the basis of their comparison with M and the other versions. Both summarize the results of their study in their introduction, but Weisz's introduction is considerably more organized and comprehensive. The body of each volume offers running text-critical commentary on the respective corpora under investigation, noting agreements and disagreements with M, G, and T, and occasionally offering explanations for the translator's misreadings of his Hebrew ST. Both conclude that the Peshiṭta is important for the text-criticism of the Old Testament; their reasons will be elaborated in the relevant sections below.

A true "critical" edition of S-Isa—including critical apparatuses with a comprehensive collation of Peshiṭta manuscripts through the twelfth century and an eclectic text—was produced only under the auspices of the Peshiṭta Institute in Leiden (founded *ca.* 1959), on behalf of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament. Having attained their initial goal of publishing a worldwide list of Peshiṭta manuscripts,[27] the Peshiṭta Institute selected editors for the individual books comprising a complete *Vetus Testamentum Syriace,* whose primary aim was

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[26] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*; Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39).*

[27] Peshiṭta Institute, *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts (preliminary issue)* (Leiden: Brill, 1961).

to collate all Peshiṭta manuscripts in accordance with a list of seventeen rules published in the "General Preface" to the project.[28] The base text for all Leiden editions is manuscript 7a1, selected not under the antiquated view that 7a1 is *the* Peshiṭta text but because of its "age, completeness, clear hand and accessibility, and the existence of [Ceriani's] facsimile edition."[29] Due to lack of scholarly consensus on the priority of certain manuscripts, the question of how to handle rival readings was not treated consistently by editors throughout the individual volumes. Pre-1977 publications emended 7a1 only when the latter included obvious scribal errors, whereas post-1977 editions—under the influence of the studies of textual transmission by J. A. Emerton,[30] Dirksen,[31] and M. D. Koster,[32] and, without doubt, practical reasons related to the editions' efficient use and printing[33]—adopted majority readings attested by pre-1300 CE manuscripts. Some scholars, however, contending that critical editions should select the best readings or offer scholars' conjectures in the face of no satisfactory reading, criticized the Peshiṭta Institute's modified, more "objective" approach as incomplete.[34] Others have

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[28] Peshiṭta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version: General Preface* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

[29] P. A. H. de Boer, "Toward an Edition of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament," *VT* 31 (1981): 356.

[30] J. A. Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

[31] Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts by the Book of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

[32] M. D. Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977).

[33] De Boer, "Toward an Edition of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament," 356.

[34] See Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*, 199-200; and "The

emphasized that the Leiden text must be consulted *along with* its apparatuses (much like one reads the notes foundational to a scientific work) and that, given the diversity of scholarly opinion, it exhibits a degree of realism.[35] Regardless of who is right on the question of what a critical edition must entail, the procedures mandated by the Peshiṭta Institute made it possible for the Leiden project to be completed within a reasonable amount of time.

Brock's Leiden edition of S-Isa is an eclectic *editio minor* with two apparatuses, the first listing the rejected readings of 7a1, and the second containing variants (excluding mechanical errors and orthographical variants) of all pre-thirteenth century manuscripts.[36] He provides lengthy descriptions of each manuscript and divides them into five categories: 1) the earliest complete (or nearly complete) manuscripts: 6h3.5, 7a1, 8a1; 2) early fragmentary manuscripts: 5ph1, 6pk4, 7k11, 7pk1, 8jl, 9k3, 10j2; 3) 9a1*fam* (i.e., witnesses attesting many ancient variants); 4) 12a1 (i.e., basically the standard medieval text form); and 5) 9d1.2, 10d1, 11d1.2, 12d1.2 (i.e., the manuscripts which provide the standard medieval form upon which the early printed editions were based). Brock's five categories reflect the results of a prior study he conducted on the text history of S-Isa in preparation for his critical edition.[37] In this study he

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Peshitta and Its Manuscripts: A Review," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 37 (1980): 13-16.

[35] For these views, see de Boer, "Preface" in T. Jansma and M. D. Koster, eds., *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version: Genesis—Exodus*, Part I, Fasc. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), viii; and Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 9-10, 288, 307-308.

[36] S. Brock, ed., *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version: Isaiah*, Part III, Fasc. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

[37] Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah," in *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History: Papers Read at the Peshitta Symposium, Leiden, Aug 1985*, ed. P. B.

evaluates the pre-13th century S-Isa manuscript evidence and categorizes it in light of Koster's earlier work in S-Exod in which he argues for a three-stage development of the Peshiṭta text (from literal translation to a more idiomatic and fluent Syriac translation).[38] Using Koster's specific schema, Brock provides the following recoverable stages for the textual history of S-Isa, noting that the earliest stage of S-Isa cannot be fully reconstructed due to a lack of sufficient witnesses:

> 1) the earliest attainable stage, represented by 5ph1 and, to a certain degree, 9a1;
>
> 2) the Basic Textus Receptus (BTR ≈ Leiden edition), represented by 6h3.5, 7a1, and 8a1;
>
> 3) the Textus Receptus (TR), represented by 8j1, 8a1^{c}, 9d1.2, 10d1, 11d1.2, 12d1.2, and some readings from 9a1 and 12a1.

With proximity to the Hebrew as the criterion for determining the original text of S-Isa, Brock identifies six patterns of attestation in the manuscripts (5ph1 + Mss from BTR & TR = H[ebrew]; 5ph1, 9a1 = H; 5ph1 = H; individual Mss from BTR = H; 9a1 = H; TR = H). However, he accentuates the need to consider each variant reading on its own merits in light of both external considerations (e.g., wide attestation in the early manuscripts; citations in early commentary traditions; influence from other versions) and internal considerations (e.g., the character of the reading; proximity to the Hebrew; possibility of secondary correction on the basis of the Hebrew; secondary correction on the basis of G).[39]

Dirksen and M. J. Mulder, MPIL 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 49-80.

[38] Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus*.

[39] Brock, "Text History," 50-54.

Over a decade after Brock's edition, A. van der Kooij demonstrated in a minor study that the criterion of proximity to the Hebrew for establishing the original text of S-Isa is not always straightforward.[40] While manuscripts 5ph1 and 9a1 are the two oldest witnesses to the original text of S-Isa and thus preserve some original readings, both are idiosyncratic and contain secondary developments, requiring the text-critic to evaluate each reading thoroughly on its own terms. Agreement with M could be coincidental, a case of proximity in translation technique, or the result of influence from G either at the time of translation or transmission. Van der Kooij identifies a couple of readings in 9a1 that Brock considers "Hebrew readings" and presents other explanations for why these correspond to M but do not necessarily reflect the original text of S-Isa. He also offers a few examples of where 9a1 seems to present the original reading, contra 7a1, the BTR text of the Leiden Peshiṭta. Because the character of the readings in 9a1, among other old manuscripts, has not been investigated as a whole, van der Kooij claims that scholars have yet to reach the goal of a critically assessed text of S-Isa.[41] On the other hand, J. A. Lund's recent study, in which he restores several S-Isa readings that were clearly lost due to inner-Syriac corruption and not preserved in any extant manuscript collated in the Leiden Peshiṭta, has shown convincingly that the Hebrew text is often an effective text-critical tool by which to restore Peshiṭta readings, especially when the errors reflect common scribal mistakes.[42]

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[40] A. van der Kooij, "MS 9A1 of the Peshitta of Isaiah: Some Comments," in *Text, Translation, and Tradition: Studies on the Peshitta and Its Use in the Syriac Tradition Presented to Konrad D. Jenner on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. R. B. ter Haar Romeny and W. Th. van Peursen, MPIL 14 (Leiden: Brill), 71-76.

[41] Ibid., 76.

[42] J. A. Lund, "The Hebrew as a Text Critical Tool in Restoring Genuine Peshitta Readings in Isaiah," in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic,*

As the "General Preface" to the Leiden Peshiṭta explains,[43] and numerous studies have confirmed,[44] post-13th century manuscripts have little worth in elucidating the textual history of the Peshiṭta. Thus, there remains no need for future text-critics of the Peshiṭta to collate these manuscripts in order to produce an *editio major* of S-Isa. However, there is much room to research the character of certain manuscript families, the cultural milieu in which they were produced, and their own transmission history, much like Brock has done in a study of the 17a1.2.4, 17a4, and 17a2 manuscripts.[45] Brock has also provided detailed lists of the text divisions in the various manuscripts of S-Isa, arguing that the divisions most likely reflect their Hebrew *Vorlagen*.[46] Numerous studies on these divisions and their differences could be conducted to illuminate the exegetical history of S-Isa, reading traditions, and literary criticism of the Book of Isaiah. Additionally, as van der Kooij pointed out, much more legwork must be completed in evaluating the distinct character of readings in certain manuscripts (e.g., 9a1*fam*) in order to critically reconstruct the original text of the Peshiṭta. While many Peshiṭta scholars

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Syriac, Greek): Valency, Lexicography, Grammar, and Manuscripts, ed. T. M. Lewis, A. G. Salvesen, and B. Turner (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2016), 239-49.

[43] De Boer, "Preface," vi.

[44] See Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon*; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts by the Book of Judges*; Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*; and "The Peshitta and Its Manuscripts: A Review."

[45] Brock, "An Unknown Syriac Version of Isaiah 1:1-2:21," in *Text, Translation, and Tradition,* 11-23.

[46] Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah," 49-80; "Text Divisions in the Syriac Translations of Isaiah," in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman,* ed. A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 200-21.

might find such a reconstruction something of a scholarly chimera, surely the task of critically examining manuscripts and their families would, *inter alia*, prove helpful in the process of adjudicating between variants. And last, while R. Troxel's copious notes in his most recent text-critical commentary on S- and G-Isa (chs. 1-20) is an invaluable tool for textual criticism of G- and S-Isa, there remains the need for similar work for Isaiah 21-66.[47]

The Text-Critical Worth of Patristic Citations for S-Isa

Noticeably absent from the apparatuses of the Leiden Peshiṭta is the evidence from the eastern and western Syrian church fathers. This omission reflects both a deficient understanding of the evidence at the time that the institute's editorial procedures were established and the (flawed) assumption that patristics is a field in and of itself. Nevertheless, the value of the Syrian Fathers was recognized as early as Diettrich, who included readings attributed to Aphrahat and Ephrem.[48] Likewise, L. Running collated the readings from the same fathers;[49] however, as noted by van der Kooij[50] and R. B. ter Haar Romeny,[51] she fashioned the evidence to accommodate the

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[47] R. Troxel, *A Commentary on the Old Greek and Peshiṭta of Isaiah 1-20*, Text-Critical Series (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019). Troxel's commentary was written in preparation for his much larger project, the *HBCE* edition of Isaiah 1-39.

[48] Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus Criticus*.

[49] L. Running, "An Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 3, no. 2 (1965): 138-57; "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4, no. 2 (1966): 135-48; and "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4, no. 1 (1966): 37-64.

[50] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht), 259-70.

[51] R. B. ter Haar Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah: Evidence from the Syriac Fathers,"

so-called Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis, which conjectures that S has its roots in old Palestinian Aramaic Targums.[52] This hypothesis, which earlier influenced numerous studies in S-Pentateuch,[53] eventually informed studies in S-Isa,[54] leading Running to attempt excavating S-Isa's *targumic* substratum (= *Vetus Syra*) by identifying readings in Ephrem that agree with T.

Romeny has culled the few extant Isaianic readings from ὁ Σύρος, the name of an elusive biblical text which many Greek fathers quote.[55] The two readings cited by Theodoret of Cyrrhus appear inconsequential (Isa 23:13; 30:33),[56] but a third reading in John Chrysostom from Isa 7:18 (ܗܘ ܕܡܨܪ ܒ) agrees with manuscript 5ph1, which Romeny believes retains the original

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in *Text, Translation, and Tradition*, 152-59.

[52] See J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903); A. Baumstark, "Wege zum Judenthum des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters," *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 4 (1927): 24-34; P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. II (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930); and *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959).

[53] As an example, see A. Vööbus, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs: neues Licht zur Frage der Herkunft der Peschitta aus dem altpalästinischen Targum*, PETSE 9 (Stockholm: PETSE, 1958).

[54] See especially L. Delekat, "Die syrolukanische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaja und das Postulat einer alttestamentlichen Vetus Syra," *ZAW* 69, nos. 1-4 (1957): 21-54; "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," *Biblica* 38, no. 3 (1957): 185-99, 321-35; "Ein Septuagintatargum," *VT* 8 (1958): 225-52; and "Die syropalästinische Jesaja-Übersetzung," *ZAW* 71, no. 1-4 (1959): 165-201.

[55] Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997); and "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 149-64.

[56] For the citations in Theodoret, see J. -N. Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr: Commentaire sur Isaïe 2*, SC 295 (Paris: Erreur Perimes Cerf, 1982), 176, 286.

reading.[57] The evidence from Aphrahat and Ephrem is far more extensive, however, as the works of Diettrich and Running make clear. In summarizing the evidence from Aphrahat, van der Kooij notes that while some of Aphrahat's citations agree with the oldest manuscripts, others seem to be influenced by the New Testament's citations of Isaiah, and many stand on their own.[58] However, studies of Aphrahat's use of S elsewhere, such as in Genesis and Exodus, demonstrate that Aphrahat often paraphrased.[59] Thus, much critical reflection is necessary when considering to what degree Aphrahat might preserve an original reading in S.[60]

In contrast to the citations in Aphrahat, Ephrem's commentary would seem to prove a more reliable witness to the original Peshiṭta, as Diettrich notes several places where Ephrem agrees with M. However, a closer look at the textual basis for Diettrich's and Running's studies (viz., Peter Mubarrak's Roman edition from 1737) problematizes the assumption that this edition reliably contains commentary directly attributable to Ephrem. As D. Kruisheer has discovered, Mubarrak used Vat. Syr. 103—a selective, mid-ninth century commentary of the monk Severus on difficult words in the Old Testament—as his text for Isaiah.[61] Severus himself notes that he based his own commentary only partially on Ephrem. Other long insertions characterize Vat.

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[57] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 153.

[58] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches,* 270-73.

[59] See R. J. Owens, Jr., *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, MPIL 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

[60] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 153.

[61] D. Kruisheer, "Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and the Monk Severus: An Analysis of Ms. Vat. Syr. 103, ff. 1-72," in *Symposium Syriacum VII,* OCA 256 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 1998), 599-605.

Syr. 103, such as the complete *Commentary on the Octateuch* of Jacob of Edessa, thus presenting a compilation with many attributions. Romeny summarizes Kruisheer's analysis by depicting the following scenario: "Though the heading of the manuscripts as a whole still referred to Ephrem and Jacob, the headings of the following individual sections mentioned only Jacob. The logical conclusion was to attribute the remaining sections—the work of Severus—to Ephrem."[62] Compounding this complicated history even more is the appending of Cyril's *Commentary on Isaiah* after Severus's commentary on Isaiah (which was attributed to Ephrem). Punctuating Cyril's commentary are shorter *catena*-like comments written by the copyist, Simeon of Ḥisn Manṣur. Thus, Diettrich's and Running's analyses of "Ephrem" rest on an exegetical collection, namely, "The *Collection of Simeon*—consisting of what we should term the *Commentary of the Monk Severus*, some longer additions, and the shorter comments, the latter mostly indeed written in the margins."[63]

Furthermore, Vat. Syr. 103 seems to be missing several pages (from Isa 43:8 to 65:20), at which point Mubarrak supplied the text from T. J. Lamy's edition, which was based on the London manuscript BL Add. 12144, a copy of Vat. Syr. 103.[64] However, Romeny has since demonstrated that the four sheets of two quires exist, having been accidentally exchanged

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[62] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 154-55.

[63] Ibid., 155.

[64] T. J. Lamy, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et sermons* 2 (Mechelen: H. Dessain, Summi Pontificis, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide et Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis Typographus, 1886).

sometime after a copyist produced BL Add. 12144.[65] And finally, a comparison of Lamy's edition with Mubarrak's edition and Vat. Syr. 103 with BL Add. 12144 from Isa 65:20 to the end of the book reveals that both Lamy and Mubarrak were oftentimes quite careless in their work, even making intentional changes to the text.[66] Thus, the collations in Diettrich's apparatus and Running's work actually witness to the ninth century *Commentary of the Monk Severus,* not the fourth century West Syrian Father, Ephrem.

However, Severus's commentary quotes approximately thirty-five percent of the text of Isaiah in literal, lemmatic fashion.[67] While some scholars have attempted to excavate authentic Ephrem material in Severus's commentary,[68] others remain doubtful, since elements of Ephrem's commentary could have been transmitted through other authors.[69] Still, some of Severus's variants agree with manuscripts 9a1, 6h3, 6h5, the West Syrian lectionaries 9l2, 9l6, and the Melkite 9l5. That Severus agrees with eight of 9a1's twenty-two variants and does not agree with the TR (Koster's third stage) in any of the latter's unique readings demonstrates that ninth century variation in the West was possible and that the TR had not influenced the whole

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[65] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 155-56.

[66] Ibid., 156.

[67] As noted by van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches,* 269; and Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 156-57.

[68] See D. D. Bundy, "The Peshitta of Isaiah 53:9 and the Syrian Commentators," *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983): 32-45; and "Ephrem's Exegesis of Isaiah," in *Studia Patristica,* ed. E. A. Livingstone, vol. 9 (Kalamazoo-Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 234-23.

[69] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 157.

tradition.[70]

Even more reliable are the available editions of the East Syrian Fathers: Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*;[71] Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on Isaiah*;[72] and Ishoʿ bar Nun's *Questions and Answers*.[73] While the citations in Ishoʿdad agree with the TR, and Ishoʿ bar Nun's five literal Isaianic quotations concur with most manuscripts (against two variants of 9a1 and one of 6h3), Theodore bar Koni's commentary provides 105 truncated yet literal readings from Isaiah that always agree with the TR whenever 9a1 or the earliest manuscripts provide a variant.[74] The evidence from Theodore bar Koni (in addition to Aphrahat, Ephrem's Genesis and Exodus text, and the Σύρος readings mentioned above) has been interpreted by some to support the hypothesis that the TR (and all three of Koster's stages for that matter) was available by the end of the eighth century CE, and possibly as early as the fifth century CE.[75]

Romeny draws attention to the work that still needs to be executed with respect to the

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[70] Ibid., 159.

[71] A. Scher, ed., *Theodorus bar Kōnī: Liber scholiorum*, vols. 1-2, CSCO 55, 69, Scriptores Syri 19, 26 (Paris: E. Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910-12); R. Hespel and R. Draguet, eds., *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des scolies (recension de Séert)*, CSCO 431-32, Scriptores Syri 187-88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1981-82).

[72] C. van den Eynde, ed., *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament 4. Isaïe et les Douze*, CSCO 303-304, Scriptores Syri 128-129 (Leuven: Peeters, 1969).

[73] Bundy, "The 'Questions and Answers' on Isaiah by Išoʿ bar Nūn," *OLP* 16: 167-78.

[74] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 159-61.

[75] See K. D. Jenner, "La Peshitta: fille du texte massorétique?" in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque: Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, ed. A. Schenker and Ph. Huge, Le Monde de la Bible 52 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 238-63; and Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah."

role of patristic citations in establishing the text of S-Isa. He notes that the Western witnesses Dionysius bar Salibi and Barhebraeus still need to be studied closely, especially with attention given to how the TR is reflected in these texts and whether they contain variants agreeing with post-13th century manuscripts (i.e., those not listed in the Leiden edition) but may have influenced the earlier printed editions. Moreover, many poetic, exegetical texts and early translations from Greek exegetical texts, though posing even greater difficulty for identifying early S-Isa readings, have yet to be investigated closely.[76]

The Relation of S-Isa to G- and T-Isa

The results of many studies on the transmission history of S have led most text-critics of the Hebrew Bible to postulate that the *Vorlage* of S had a consonantal base quite similar to M.[77] In this respect, S-Isa is unexceptional among witnesses to the text of Isaiah. However, the question of S's autonomy in light of its occasional similarities in phrasing with the other versions, G and T, has been answered in different ways and constitutes the primary focus of this project. For this reason, the review below will remain brief, as the subsequent chapters will flesh out this subject in much more detail.

Many early studies served as the basis for the so-called Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle

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[76] Romeny, "The Peshitta of Isaiah," 163.

[77] See Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon*; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts by the Book of Judges*; Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*; "The Peshitta and Its Manuscripts: A Review"; and Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah."

hypothesis,[78] which conjectures that S has its roots in old Palestinian Aramaic Targums.[79] As mentioned before, this hypothesis influenced numerous studies in S-Pentateuch, but it eventually informed studies in S-Isa, leading scholars to attempt excavating S-Isa's *targumic* substratum (= *Vetus Syra*) by identifying S-T agreements not attested in M and G[80] and readings exclusive to S and the Syro-Hexapla and Syro-Lucian translations, which these scholars—following P. de Lagarde[81] and Vööbus[82]—believed either to preserve traces of a "targumisches Profil" or, in the case of the Syro-Lucian version, to be "die Rezension einer Vetus Syra des AT nach G."[83]

Many scholars, however, were not willing to take the Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis to such limits, but they nevertheless were influenced by it. Warszawski, for example, held that while T was widespread among the Jews at the time of S-Isa's translation, S-Isa did not

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[78] See J. Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana* (Breslau: Friedrich, 1859); J. M. Schönfelder, *Onkelos et Peschittho: Studien über das alter des Onkelos'schen Targums* (Muechen: J. J. Lentner, 1865); and I. Prager, *De Veteris Testamenti Versione Syriace quam Peschittho vocant* (Questiones Criticae: Gottingae, 1871).

[79] Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*; Baumstark, "Wege zum Judenthum des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters"; Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*; and idem, *The Cairo Geniza*.

[80] See Delekat, "Die syropalästinische Jesaja-Übersetzung"; and Running, "An Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah" (1965, 1966a, 1966b).

[81] P. de Lagarde, *Veteris testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque* (Göttingen: typis excripsit officina academica W. F. Kaestneri, 1880).

[82] A. Vööbus, "Der Einfluss des altpalästinischen Targums in der Textgeschichte der Peschitta des Alten Testament," *Mus* 68 (1955): 215-18; and idem, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs*.

[83] See Delekat, "Die syrolukanische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaja und das Postulat einer alttestamentlichen Vetus Syra"; and idem, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," 321-35.

have T-Isa in front of him. Rather, the "concept of the text" (*Textauffassung*) lived on in the Jewish community, having penetrated beyond the borders of Palestine. Warszawski listed eighteen cases of S-T agreement in Isaiah 1-39.[84] Likewise, W. Gesenius—whose views antedated those of Perles, Schönfelder, and Prager—claimed that S-Isa, while a faithful reproduction of a Hebrew ST, often made eclectic use of T: "der Syrer den Chaldäer [= T] vor Augen hatte."[85] He listed several examples of influence from T.[86] Likewise, Weisz pointed to seven instances of what he believed to reflect "clear" influence from T-Isa on S-Isa.[87] Still, others such as H. Hegermann[88] and E. R. Rowlands,[89] while under some apparent influence of Kahle's hypothesis, remained hesitant to claim a *direct* relationship. Rowlands argued that the sporadic connections that can be divined between S- and T-Isa reflect similar processes of rendering their Hebrew ST and interpreting it in accordance with common Jewish traditions. Hegermann claimed that the relation between S and T had its roots in common oral traditions, emphasizing that dependence on T-Isa cannot be assumed; it must be proven. And finally, in a

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[84] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9-10.

[85] W. Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, I.1 (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1821), 83.

[86] Ibid., 82-84.

[87] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, 12.

[88] H. Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peshitta*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2 Reihe: Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Monographien 56 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954).

[89] E. R. Rowlands, "Targum and the Peshitta Version of the Book of Isaiah," *VT* 9, no. 2 (1959): 178-91.

study of Isa 6:9-10 in all the witnesses to the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, rabbis, and church fathers, C. A. Evans—citing studies reliant on Baumstark and Kahle (M. Black;[90] M. P. Miller[91])—claimed that S-Isa reveals sporadic influence from both T and G.[92]

The Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis met with firm resistance,[93] and Running's application of the hypothesis to S-Isa received thorough critique by van der Kooij, who concluded: "Unter den von Running aus den älteren Handschriften ausgewählten Varianten gibt es m.E. keine einzige, die auf überzeugende Weise die Existenz einer Vetus Syra belegt."[94] Most of the S-T agreements in S-Isa can be explained more readily by common translation technique, a shared reading tradition, and similarity of cultural milieus. Additionally, several text-critical studies of S's oldest manuscripts demonstrate that S's original translation was a literal rendering of a Hebrew ST close to M.[95] As for the readings in the Syro-Hexapla and Syro-Lucian

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[90] M. Black, "The Problem of O.T. Quotations in the Gospels," *JMUEOS* 23 (1942): 4.

[91] M. P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *JSJ* 2 (1971): 29-82.

[92] C. A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6.9-10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation*, JSOTSup 64 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 77-80.

[93] For criticisms of the Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis, see T. Nöldeke, "Das Targum zu den Sprüchen von der Peschita abhängig," in *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, ed. A. Merx, vol. 2 (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1871), 246-50; F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Theodor Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: Brill, 1939); and Goshen-Gottstein, Review of *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs: Neues Licht zur Frage der Herkunft der Peschitta aus dem altpalästinischen Targum*, PETSE 9 (Stockholm: PETSE, 1958), by A. Vööbus, *JSS* 6 (1961): 266-70.

[94] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 267.

[95] Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon*; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts by the Book of Judges*; Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*; "The Peshitta and Its Manuscripts: A Review"; and Brock, "Text History and

translations that allegedly attest a *Vetus Syra*, Weitzman posited that many are more easily explained as the Syriac translators' attempts to interpret and translate the problematic Greek text. Moreover, scholars must consider the *Übersetzungsweisen* of the Syriac translators to adjudicate between shared *Vorlagen* and common translation techniques.[96] It should be added here that Delekat's studies were based on the collations of Deittrich's apparatus and thus remain unreliable for the reasons noted above.[97]

While most Peshiṭta scholars today are skeptical of the claim that S bears a direct relationship with T, many have continued to entertain or argue for the hypothesis that S betrays influence from G, especially in Psalms and Proverbs.[98] However, proponents of the Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis generally dismissed readings exclusive to S- and G-Isa as

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Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah." See also Koster's three-stage schema in *The Peshitta of Exodus*; and "A New Introduction to the Peshitta of the Old Testament," *Aramaic Studies* 1 no. 2 (2003): 211-46.

[96] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 142-43.

[97] Delekat, "Die syrolukanische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaja und das Postulat einer alttestamentlichen Vetus Syra"; "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta"; "Ein Septuagintatargum"; and idem, "Die syropalästinische Jesaja-Übersetzung."

[98] For older treatments of the question, see J. F. Berg, *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the P^{e}ŝiṭṭâ Psalter* (New York: W. Drugulin, 1895); Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," *JThS* 2 (1901): 186-96; Bloch, "The Authorship of the Peshitta," *AJSL* 35 (1919): 215-22; and idem, "The Influence of the Greek Bible on the Peshitta," *AJSL* 36 (1919-20): 161-66. For more recent assessments, see A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 160-90; Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 68-86; G. Greenberg, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah*, MPIL 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 143-68; and M. Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," *JNSL* 39 (2013): 37-56.

coincidental, trivial, or, less likely, secondary revisions.[99] Furthermore, Delekat,[100] who leaned heavily on the studies of A. de Rossi,[101] Z. Frankel,[102] S. Kohn,[103] A. Mez,[104] P. Glaue and A. Rahlfs,[105] P. Vannutelli,[106] and A. Kaminka,[107] believed that the earliest Greek translations flowed directly from Aramaic targumic precursors, and S-Isa specifically "nur eine Superversion eines ägyptische-aramäischen Targums ist, die möglicherweise ohne Zuziehung des hebräischen Textes angefertigt wurde."[108] With such a predisposition, Delekat could not view both G- and S-Isa as fully independent translations. Thus, he considered all "points of contact" (*Berührungen*) between S- and G-Isa to be so minor as to render the question of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa moot[109] or, in the case of "formal agreements" (*Formale Übereinstimmungen*), to reflect

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[99] Delekat, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," *Biblica* 38 no. 3 (1957): 321-35.

[100] Delekat, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," *Biblica* 38 no. 3 (1957): 185-99; and idem, "Ein Septuagintatargum," *VT* 8 (1958): 225-52.

[101] A. de Rossi, *Me'or 'Enayim* (Berlin: Bi-defus Ḥevrat Ḥanokh Ne'arim, 1794).

[102] Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1841).

[103] S. Kohn, "Samareitikon und Septuaginta," *MGWJ* 38 (1894): 1-7, 49-67.

[104] A. Mez, *Die Bible des Josephus* (Basel: In Kommission bei Jaeger & Kober, 1895).

[105] P. Glaue and A. Rahlfs, "Fragmente einer griechischen Übersetzung des samaritanischen Pentateuchs," *MSU* 1 (1911): 31-68.

[106] P. Vannutelli, "Les Evangiles Synoptiques," *RB* 35 (1925): 32-53, 321-46, 505-23; and idem, "Les Evangeles Synoptiques," *RB* 36 (1926): 27-39.

[107] A. Kaminka, "Septuaginta and Targum to Proverbia," *HUCA* 8/9 (1933): 169-91.

[108] Delekat, "Ein Septuagintatargum," 244.

[109] Delekat, "Die syrolukanische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaja und das Postulat einer

common readings in their Aramaic (or Syriac = *Vetus Syra*) *Vorlagen*, shared access to an Aramaic glossary, or reflexes of Aramaic translational traditions.[110]

The first attempt to view the question of S-Isa's relationship to G-Isa—but not through the specific lens of Marquart-Baumstark-Kahle hypothesis—was Gesenius, who addressed the topic of versional influence on S-Isa in his commentary on the Book of Isaiah, arguing that while S-Isa infrequently translated G-Isa, sometimes "freely and arbitrarily," he far more often departed from G-Isa, rendering his Hebrew ST in a faithful, conscientious, and simple manner.[111] Gesenius provided (in list fashion) nine cases where S-Isa depended on G-Isa. However, his analysis is subject to several criticisms: its myopic concentration on the similarities among the versions rather than their differences; its lack of attention to the criterion of translation technique for explaining agreements among the versions against M; its ignorance of the Dead Sea Scroll manuscript evidence, particularly the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^{a}); and its reliance on problematic manuscripts.

The question was not picked up again until much later in the inaugural dissertations of Weisz and Warszawski, who, using Lee's defective *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* as their base text, set out ambitiously to determine S-Isa's *Übersetzungsweise*, theology and religion (Jewish or Christian?), *Vorlage*, relationship to M, G, and T, and text-critical and exegetical worth for the Hebrew Bible. Both scholars provide a summary of their results in their introductions, including

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alttestamentlichen Vetus Syra."

[110] Delekat, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," 185-99.

[111] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 81-82.

citations of specific cases of influence from G-Isa, though the bulk of their monographs offers brief commentary on verses where S agrees with M, G, and T, and explains S's misreading of the Hebrew.[112] While Weisz acknowledges many differences between S- and G-Isa (e.g., lexis; word-order; text-divisions) and suggests that some S-G agreements reflect common *Vorlagen* dissimilar to M, he claims S-Isa made "extensive use" (*ausgiebigen Gebrauch*) of G-Isa, especially in difficult and opaque places.[113] Warszawski stresses S-Isa's independence, though he concedes that chapters 1-39 reveal frequent dependence on G-Isa and demonstrate a similar conception, expression, and manner of translation. He denies that the S-G agreements are secondary, since consistent correction from G would have eliminated what deviations in S-Isa remain. And he also rebuts the idea of both S- and G-Isa relying on common oral traditions, since T-Isa often does not share the readings.[114] The usefulness of Weisz's and Warszawski's dissertations for establishing the relationship between S- , G- , and T-Isa is, unfortunately, severely limited by the same problems attending Gesenius's work.

Shortly after Warszawski's dissertation was published, Barnes published a small yet not insignificant piece on the relationship between S and G, using the Lee and Urmia editions as his base texts.[115] As regards S-Isa, he claimed that G-Isa's influence on S-Isa is a topic concerning

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[112] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*; Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*.

[113] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, 12.

[114] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 8-9.

[115] Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta."

which "we can speak with some confidence."[116] He points to eight "distinct" S-G agreements, two of which are Greek interpolations (9:5; 50:15), and six are cases of lexical influence from Greek readings attested in major uncials (e.g., S A B) or Theodotion (1:22; 3:17; 13:22; 16:1; 18:2; 19:6). Barnes summarizes by stating that while S-Isa is generally an independent translation, its independence is "limited by incursion."[117] Barnes' work on S-Isa, though incomprehensive, reflects analysis independent of Warszawski's, but it is still subject to the same criticisms. He not only relies on younger and unreliable witnesses to the Peshiṭta text, he also fails to consider other explanations that could better explain what he felt to be clear cases of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa. Despite their shortcomings, Barnes's and Warszawski's works influenced the content in Haefeli's textbook, which speaks of S-Isa's dependence on G-Isa in a number of passages.[118]

S-Isa's relation to G-Isa was not addressed again until much later by van der Kooij, who, having been convinced by Weisz's evidence regarding S-Isa's authorship and G-Isa's influence on S-Isa, merely lists sixteen verses where S reveals influence from G either at the first stage of translation or during the transmission process.[119] Just recently, A. Bodor produced a short piece that applies a few methodological criteria of H. Szpek[120] by which one should evaluate

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[116] Ibid., 194.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Haefeli, *Die Peschitta des Alten Testamentes*, 50.

[119] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 287-89.

[120] H. Szpek, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta," *CBQ* 60.2 (1998): 251-66. Szpek's criteria will be evaluated thoroughly below in Chapter 3.

agreements exclusive to both S- and G-Isa.[121] Noting that G-Isa's influence on the Syriac translator could have occurred at the level of literary dependence, interpretation, and theology, Bodor analyzes a few passages for each category of potential influence and draws some conclusions. As regards a case of literary dependence, Bodor argues that the S-G parallel: 1) must be significant; 2) cannot be explained by a common translation technique; 3) cannot occur in any other version (e.g., T-Isa); and 4) cannot be attributed to an alternative reading of the Hebrew text or a different interpretation of the Hebrew consonants. He applies these criteria to several passages that scholars have argued betray G-Isa influence on the Syriac translator (10:13; 21:13; 40:12; 42:8) and rightly concludes that literary dependence in each case is improbable.

Bodor then examines Isa 2:6 (ובילדי נכרים ישפיקו) and argues that the "multitude" mentioned in S-Isa's ܘܝܠܕ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ("and they raised a *multitude* of foreign sons") is explicable only in light of G-Isa's interpretation of the same passage: καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς ("and *many* foreign sons were born to them").[122] There is a problem, however, with Bodor's analysis of this passage. He does not consider the possibility that both translators clearly missed the Hebrew idiom in Isa 2:6 "to strike a deal" (lit. "to clasp [one's hands, as in a deal]") and instead rendered the form under the influence of the Aramaic √ספק ("to be enough, sufficient"). As will be discussed in Chapters 4-5, the tendency to Aramaize is characteristic of both translators and thus constitutes a common translation technique. Since one translator often provides an Aramaic rendering when the other does not, there is no reason here

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[121] A. Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," *VT* 69 (2019): 19-32.

[122] Ibid., 29-30.

to suppose that the translator of S-Isa was influenced by G-Isa. In other words, the example of Isa 2:6 does not fulfill Bodor's own criteria.

Last, Bodor suggests that both S- and G-Isa's renderings for צמח in Isa 4:2 and in 58:8 (|| ܢܬܫܪ, "[your righteousness] will rise"; ἀνατελεῖ, "[your healings] will rise") offer compelling evidence that G-Isa's theology influenced S-Isa. These two congruences address a theological problem, constitute a pattern, and "point to the figure of the Messiah."[123] In defense of this argument, Bodor claims that G-Isa's choice of ἀνατέλλω ("to rise") for Hebrew צמח (cf. 42:9; 43:19; 44:4; 45:8; 61:11) is indicative of the translator's "standard translation" and "an important tradition within the LXX in Isaiah." Because of S-Isa's lexical relatedness to this tradition in 4:2 and 58:5, Bodor concludes that "it is also clear that this tradition filtered into [S] from LXX and not from elsewhere."[124] However, immediately after this observation Bodor notes that S-Isa's Messianic interpretation of צמח is suggested by T-Isa's משיחא דיוי ("the Messiah of the LORD"), two S-G agreements in Zech 3:8 and 6:12 where S-Zechariah has ܢܬܫ and G-Zechariah has ἀνατέλλω, and the similar ways the translators of S- and G-Numbers rendered דרך כוכב מיעקב in Num 24:17 (|| ܢܬܫ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܡܢ ܝܥܩܘܒ, "a star will rise from Jacob"; ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ιακωβ, "a star will rise from Jacob"). According to Bodor, the evidence from Isa 2:6, 4:2, and 58:8 suggests the following scenario: 1) G-Isa was known to the translator of S-Isa; 2) the Syriac translator made use of G-Isa in different ways, but he normally followed his Hebrew ST and borrowed from G-Isa only sporadically; and 3) S-Isa represents an early witness to the text, interpretation,

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[123] Ibid., 30-31.

[124] Ibid., 31.

and theology of G-Isa, showing how the latter enriched the first Syriac rendering of the Book of Isaiah.[125] Since these claims have far-reaching implications, they receive a thorough evaluation in Chapter 5. In short, Bodor's analysis conflates the semantics of the Greek words under discussion, overlooks the various lexemes the Syriac translator used to render the verb צמח, does not give adequate attention to the hypothesis that both translators were influenced in 4:2 by the meaning of צמח in Aramaic, and seems to misapply his own criterion: "If a parallel between LXX and P is attested by other textual witnesses of the Bible such as a different Hebrew manuscript, the Qumran scrolls, or the Targum (Tg), one cannot suppose that the only reason for the P variant is its literary dependence upon LXX."[126] Therefore, Bodor's sweeping claim that G-Isa was known and used sporadically by the translator of S-Isa cannot be supported by the alleged parallels he offers.

While a handful of pilot studies can be found that tangentially address S-Isa's relation to G-Isa, there has been no comprehensive study of the S-G agreements in S-Isa not attested elsewhere, no fresh analysis of its relationship to the other versions, and meager application of translation theory to the question.[127] Troxel's text-critical commentary on the text of S- and G-Isa constitutes the most comprehensive analysis of both versions and their *Vorlagen* since van

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[125] Ibid., 32.

[126] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 25.

[127] See Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah," 63-64; Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 566-67.

der Kooij's work.[128] Troxel offers extensive comments on both S- and G-Isa and the agreements exclusive to them, accompanied by fresh analysis of each version's translation technique. The present study also examines agreements exclusive to S-G while employing developments in translation theory (e.g., ITr; DTS; Systems Theory). With such a theoretical and methodological basis, I supply refined criteria by which to evaluate S-G readings and evaluate both versions primarily *qua* translations.

The Translator of S-Isa and His *Übersetzungsweise*

Very little has been written on the translation technique of S-Isa, and what statements exist are laconic. This stands out in light of the many recent treatments (often [published] dissertations) on the translation technique and character of certain Peshiṭta Old Testament books: Twelve Prophets;[129] Job;[130] Leviticus;[131] Daniel;[132] Proverbs;[133] 1-2 Samuel;[134] Jeremiah;[135]

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[128] Troxel, *A Commentary on the Old Greek and Peshiṭta of Isaiah*.

[129] Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets*.

[130] H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job: A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job*, SBLDS 137 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

[131] D. J. Lane, *The Peshitta of Leviticus* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[132] R. A. Taylor, *The Peshiṭta of Daniel*, MPIL 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[133] C. Hyun, "A Study of the Translation Technique of Peshitta Proverbs" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2000).

[134] C. E. Morrison, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel*, MPIL 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

[135] Greenberg, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah*.

Psalms;[136] Judges;[137] 1-2 Kings;[138] Hosea;[139] Zechariah;[140] and Ezekiel.[141] Weisz and Warszawski were the first scholars to summarize S-Isa's *Übersetzungsweise*, the former arguing that S-Isa, *in toto*, is a "sklavisch wörtliche" translation of a Hebrew source text close to M, more literal than G- and T-Isa. However, the translation of S-Isa suggests a *Vorlage* with many consonantal, word-order, text-division, and punctuation differences from M. Most often S-Isa had the same consonantal text preserved in M, but sometimes he interpreted it *via* different vocalizations.[142]

Though S-Isa primarily defaulted to literal translation, Weisz argues that the translator of S-Isa (chs. 40-66) executed many shifts to circumvent violating the religious sentiments of his audience (e.g., avoiding anthropomorphisms), for whom S-Isa would serve as a popular Bible

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[136] I. Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90-150 in the Peshitta*, MPIL 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[137] C. G. Flinn, "The Character of the Peshitta of the Book of Judges and Its Relation to Other Ancient Translations" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 2010).

[138] J. W. Dyk and P.S.F. van Keulen, *Language System, Translation Technique, and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings*, MPIL 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[139] E. Tully, *The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*, MPIL 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[140] J. Micheli, "The Translation Technique Evident in Peshitta Zechariah" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2015).

[141] G. Mushayabasa, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24: A Frame Semantics Approach*, SSN 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[142] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, 10-11.

translation for public reading.[143] As for his translation strategies, the Syriac translator attempted to clarify difficult and obscure passages with paraphrase and additions by heeding the context, sense, and parallelism of his *Vorlage*, but sometimes he misunderstood ambiguous Hebrew roots (41:23; 42:14; 44:7; 47:11; 49:6; 57:5, 6, 9), provided erroneous translations (through transpositions of graphemes or "phonetische Täuschung"; 41:8; 44:21; 51:9), and omitted words (by means of *homoeoteleuton*; e.g., 60:20). S-Isa frequently allowed certain alterations for the sake of intelligibility (e.g., person and number changes; finite verbal forms for Hebrew infinitives; utilizing particles and *waw*-conjunctive to clarify meaning or conform to target language norms), and he often could not reproduce synonymous expressions from his Hebrew ST (e.g., 40:2, חטאתיה ... עונה || ...).

Contrasting S-Isa with T's periphrastic character, Warszawski avers that, as a rule, the translator of S-Isa (chs. 1-39) attempted to reproduce his ST as faithfully as possible.[145] However, S-Isa regularly chose Syriac linguistic devices rather than woodenly replicate those in the Hebrew. For example, recitative ܐ frequently represents ויאמר/לאמר; bare ܐܡܪ or no translation render the oath formulae with אם; ܐܠܐ serves as the translation for לא אם; concrete nouns render abstract nouns; passive voice often shifts to the active voice; stative verbs sometimes replace transitive verbs; minor adaptions are often made to words and clauses,

[143] Ibid., 4-5.

[144] Ibid., 4-7.

[145] This sentiment is echoed in Haefeli's textbook (*Die Peschitta des Alten Testamentes*, 49).

including paraphrases and euphemistic translations; repetitions in the Hebrew get translated once in Syriac; and names sometimes are converted to appellatives. He also notes that S-Isa deviates sporadically from M in both verse divisions and vocalizations of the consonantal text, even following *Qere* readings on a few occasions. And while S-Isa demonstrates a fair understanding of Hebrew, the translation reveals strategies that often betray the translator's linguistic limitations and the obscure nature of his *Vorlage*. For example, S-Isa often: 1) confused Hebrew ד and ר as well as נ and י; 2) interpreted a Hebrew word with a Syriac meaning; 3) made erroneous etymologies; 4) misidentified the Hebrew root; 5) assumed Hebrew characters within a word; 6) omitted words (that are present in M); and 7) transposed graphemes.[146]

Since Weisz and Warszawski, van der Kooij has written the most extensively on S-Isa's *Übersetzungsmethode*, though he centers his attention primarily around the "interpretation techniques" (*Deutungstechniken*) in S-Isa that illuminate the translator's background and much less on the how the translator regularly rendered his ST in light of his target-oriented goals.[147] Van der Kooij nonetheless provides a list of other translation techniques (with examples) that S-Isa employed: 1) *Vokalisationsmöglichkeiten* (1:12; 13:3; 24:6; 26:14; 27:4; 34:8; 40:10; 60:12); 2) *Formassoziationen zu gewissen Konsonanten* (9:1; 16:1; 18:2; 27:2; 28:10; 28:26; 34:12) and *Lautassoziationen zu gewissen Konsonanten* (31:8); 3) *Wurzelassoziationen* (8:11; 13:15; 14:17; 14:20; with nominal forms: 30:10; 42:19); 4) *Konsonantenumstellungen* (22:17; 25:7; 29:15); 5) *Deutungen unter Zuhilfenahme des Syrischen* (4:2; 6:13; 60:5); 6) *Ein einziges Mal hat man das*

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[146] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 7-8.

[147] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 273-84.

Hebräisch nicht übersetzt (1:9; 10:21); 7) *Andere Wortfolge* (22:8; 49:1); 8) *Andere Wortkombinationen* (6:1; 8:16f; 8:23-9:1; 13:4f; 16:1; 26:3f; 33:18f; 51:13f; 61:3); 9) *Beeinflussungen durch andere Stellen des Jesajabuches* (5:5; 14:13; 30:33; 41:4; 48:13; 49:4; 49:8) and *Beeinflussungen durch Stellen ausserhalb des Jesajabuches* [cp. Mic 4:3]); 10) *Auslassungen von Wiederholungen* (8:9; 17:13; 21:11; 26:6; 48:11; 55:1); 11) *Auffallend ist das Wiederholen des "ich" Gottes* (27:3; 28:16; 41:4, 10, 13, 14; 43:4, 15; 44:6; 61:8); 12) *Deutungen bildlich aufgefasster Ausdrücke* (14:9; 45:5); 13) *Doppelübersetzung* (11:2; 25:8; 26:15); and 14) *Beeinflussungen durch andere Übersetzungen* (see section "The Relationship of S-Isa to the Septuagint and Targum" above). However, van der Kooij's list of "Techniken" assumes a high level of Hebrew knowledge and intent on the part of the translator such that certain "root associations" (*Wurzelassoziationen*), for example, would constitute a "technique" rather than reveal either a limitation on the translator's ability to interpret his *Vorlage* or a real ambiguity in his Hebrew ST. For this reason, van der Kooij's lists of *Techniken* and *Deutungstechniken* must be analyzed closely to rule out his cases of interpretation and exegesis that have simpler, lower-level explanations in either S-Isa's translation technique or in strategies that translators commonly apply when rendering a difficult or obscure ST.[148]

Other studies, albeit limited in scope, address the question of S-Isa's manner of translation and style. As mentioned before, Gesenius asserts that S-Isa made eclectic use of both T- and G-Isa, but S-Isa is mainly an independent translation. Sometimes S-Isa followed

[148] Ibid., 284-89.

exegetical conjectures that lacked authority in both T- and G-Isa.[149] Regarding S-Isa's style, Gesenius notes only how the translator often omitted difficult words and resorted to paraphrase.[150] Having conducted an extensive study on the versions of Isaiah 53, Hegermann similarly describes S-Isa as a faithful, independent translation of a Hebrew text.[151] However, according to Hegermann, S-Isa infrequently includes some free renderings that reveal the theological leanings of the Jewish translator and his concern to pass on certain exegetical and liturgical traditions.[152] Likewise, L. Laberge's dissertation on the versions of Isaiah 28-33 echoes the sentiments of those before him, characterizing S-Isa as a "servile" translation, as the translator was anxious to provide a "parfaitement logique" translation.[153] However, S-Isa occasionally struggled to understand his ST (e.g., parallelism; difficult lexemes), at which point he often resorted to Syriacizing (i.e., translating the Hebrew on the basis of Syriac etymology), and, more frequently, he—on his own authority—added particles and changed verbal forms to give the text a better frame.[154] In 1991, Goshen-Gottstein published "Exercises in Targum and Peshitta I," in which he analyzes M, T, and S readings from Isaiah 45 and 51, providing

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[149] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 84.

[150] Ibid., 84-85.

[151] Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peshitta*, 27.

[152] Ibid., 126-28.

[153] L. Laberge, *Isaie 28-33. Étude de tradition textuelle d'après la Pešiṭto, le texte de Qumran, la Septante et le texte massorétique* (Ph.D. diss., La Commission Biblique Pontificale [Rome], Ottawa, 1968).

[154] Ibid., 59-62.

commentary that explains S-Isa's readings in view of the other versions. The general impression that one deduces from Goshen-Gottstein's notes is that while S-Isa normally translates literally, he often reformulates his ST according to the sense of the passage under consideration (e.g., addition of pronouns, subordination with ܕ, nominal clauses; omission of possessives; syntactical reorganization; number changes), often at the expense of disrupting Hebrew parallelism.[155] And for the sake of comprehensiveness, I should mention the *Antioch Bible* translation of S-Isa by G. A. Kiraz et al.[156] They include several addenda in which they explain cases of mistranslation, inner-Syriac corruption, and meanings in the ST that the translator found obscure.[157]

With the exception of Kiraz et al. (2012), the aforementioned studies on S-Isa's translation technique betray a terseness characteristic of analyses of translations of the biblical text before the work of translation theorists penetrated the fields of G and S.[158] The effects of these older approaches aided in forming a minimalist view of the Syriac translators behind S. For example, a traditional (or minimalist) view of S as a completely independent translation (as expressed initially by A. Merx) tends to interpret S-G agreements as reflecting actual Hebrew variants, with common translation technique serving as a secondary criterion by which to rule

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[155] Goshen-Gottstein, "Exercises in Targum and Peshitta I," *Textus* 16 (1991): 117-25.

[156] G. A. Kiraz et al., *Isaiah*, The Syriac Peshiṭta Bible with English Translation (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012).

[157] Ibid., xx-xxvi.

[158] See, for example, the application of G. Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995) in C. Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) and J. R. Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

out cases of coincidence.[159] Lund represents this view:

> What appear to be shared variants between S and G must be considered to be so if the science of textual criticism is to have any meaning. When S and G share the same plus, minus, transposition, or difference in words, one must assume that that is what they both read, and not that S depended on G, while having H [Hebrew text] = MT before it.[160]

Why Lund appeals to "the science of textual criticism" here is bewildering, as the process of *adjudicating* between Hebrew variants is not in view, which would be the occupation of textual criticism. But more importantly, it is methodologically hazardous to espouse a minimalist view of the translator from the outset of investigation, since it is impossible to distinguish between variants and non-variants without consideration of grammar, translation technique, the possibility of secondary revisions, and pseudo-variants.[161]

In contrast to Lund, a maximalist view of the translator begins with the assumption that S's discrepancies with M find their origins in translation technique. While this polar terminology (minimalism vs. maximalism) may serve a heuristic purpose in understanding how translators interact with their *Vorlagen*, the reality is that some divergent readings will likely attest Hebrew variants, whereas others will be effects of the translator's translation choices for the sake of target language acceptability.[162] Lacking access to S's *Vorlage* and original translation, there will

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[159] A. Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (Jena: Mauke, 1871), lxxiii.

[160] Lund, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta: A Re-Evaluation of Criteria in Light of Comparative Study of the Versions in Genesis and Psalms" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1988).

[161] This methodological point is emphasized by E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 169, 178-87.

[162] And, as Koster has argued at great length, some deviations find their explanation in the "transmission from the original translation into the first extant recension of the text" (see "A

always be uncertainty in scholarly analysis. However, with the number of studies demonstrating S's adherence to a ST close to M, but also S's willingness to reformulate his source to produce an acceptable translation, the emphasis on translation technique has strong *a priori* probability.[163] Therefore, agreements exclusive to S-G should not immediately be interpreted as pointing to common *Vorlagen*. As Dirksen correctly argues, "We should check whether the type of deviation in which [S] and the LXX agree also occurs in [S] without a corresponding translation in the LXX. If this is indeed the case, then there is no reason to assume a Hebrew variant."[164]

A comprehensive analysis of S-Isa's translation technique in light of recent developments in translation theory (e.g., DTS) is a desideratum which this project seeks to fulfill. Additionally, Troxel's commentary on S- and G-Isa mentioned above is useful in elucidating the profile and strategies of the translator who rendered the Book of Isaiah into Syriac.

The Religious Affiliation and Theology of S-Isa

The question of S-Isa's authorship and theology is tethered to the larger question of S's origins, a matter of no insignificant interest among Peshiṭta scholars and thus far too unwieldy to elaborate in this literature review. However, many scholars have believed S-Isa in particular sheds light on the origins debate, since, historically, the Hebrew Book of Isaiah played a prominent role in the various ways the early church interpreted its prophecies as referring to

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New Introduction to the Peshitta," 242-46).

[163] This is the position of both Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," Peshitta Institute Communication 22, *VT* 42 (1992): 381, and Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 15-17.

[164] Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," 381.

Jesus Christ. The underlying assumption here is that the Jewish or Christian identity of S-Isa (and, by extension, S) could be discovered by close investigation into how the Syriac translator rendered his source at these *cruces interpretum* and other passages where Christian views were likely to obtain. Additionally, as Gelston has expressed, since the Book of Isaiah is highly quoted in the New Testament, we might expect reflexes of assimilation to some New Testament citations, if in fact the translator of S-Isa was a Christian.[165]

Among the first to express a view on S-Isa's authorship was Gesenius, who contended that the Peshiṭta Old Testament was produced by Christians, since the version belonged to the church from the very beginning and Syriac was the language of Christians, not Jews. Were S-Isa the product of a Jewish translator, then we would expect its translation style to be similar to that of Aquila and the Venetian translator, but the disparate styles of translation between the latter and S-Isa suggest two different traditions of translation.[166] As to the influence from T-Isa on S-Isa, Gesenius claims that it does not contradict a Christian hypothesis since the influence does not exist in dogmatic passages. Gesenius refers vaguely to four passages in S-Isa where he thinks Christian exegesis involving the Messiah (7:14; 9:6) and the kingdom of God (52:15; 53:8) is evident.[167]

Skeptical of the ambiguous external evidence concerning S's origins, Weisz mines S-Isa

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[165] Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" 568.

[166] Gesenius's reference to the Venetian translator (*Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 86) is not entirely clear, but he most likely meant the translator of the 8th century *Codex Venetus* (= G^{V}) which was preserved in Venice, Italy.

[167] Ibid.

(chs. 40-66) to discover—on *internal* grounds—whether the translation betrays influence from Christian doctrine. He discloses at the outset of his investigation that, in view of T and G, Jews neither had reason for a Syriac translation of the Bible nor had ambitions to preserve the prestige of the church.[168] Because S-Isa seems to preserve Jewish traditions is no indication of the translator's Jewish identity; rather, the traditions point only to the translator's familiarity with them. While emphasizing that the translator of S-Isa—unlike T- and G-Isa—does not apply his religious views by means of "counterfeiting" his ST, Weisz argues that the translator's views are nonetheless palpable in chapters 52-53, wherein his concept of the Messiah and the kingdom of God receive expression. He provides a list of eight examples (52:15; 53:2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10).[169]

Warszawski, however, displays more caution than Weisz, arguing that while chapters 1-39 include three passages that could be understood as revealing the translator's Christian identity (1:8; 7:14; 9:5), all of them also can be interpreted as being faithful reproductions of his ST. Warszawski also adds that, while unlikely, S-Isa could have been reshaped secondarily by Christian scribes in a few places.[170]

In an early and insightful essay on the authorship of the Peshiṭta, Bloch reviews the literature of those who support either the Christian, Jewish-Christian, or Jewish authorship of the Peshiṭta in general.[171] When discussing the "most decisive" evidence for the Christian

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[168] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, 8.

[169] Ibid., 9.

[170] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 10.

[171] Bloch, "The Authorship of the Peshitta."

hypothesis, he mentions the debate over S-Isa 7:12, where the Syriac translator renders עלמה ("young woman") with ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ("virgin"), an equivalent that many believe demonstrates the translator's belief in Christ's virgin birth from Matt 1:23. However, Bloch argues that ܒܬܘܠܬܐ has a broader semantic range than is commonly assumed. He cites A. Mingana's argument that the Hebrew word עלמה is cognate with lexemes in Arabic and Aramaic which denote young men or women who are either married or unmarried.[172] Bloch also cites three other passages in S-Isa (9:5; 52:15; 53:8) that, *if original*, "would furnish quite reliable proof of Christian authorship," but he seems to doubt their originality. Since the original text of S cannot be ascertained, "one cannot possibly assert with any air of definiteness that the Peshiṭta of the Old Testament is a work of Christian authorship."[173] Following Perles,[174] Schönfelder,[175] A. Berliner,[176] Cornill,[177] and Sebök,[178] Bloch believed that the evidence for Jewish authorship is much stronger, since: 1) There was a need of vernacular, Aramaic versions of the Bible felt by Jews during the early pre-Christian period to supplement the Hebrew text; 2) The *Vorlage* of S was Hebrew, which Jews (not Christians) knew well enough to translate; and 3) Many Jewish traditions can be traced in S

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[172] A. Mingana, "Syriac Versions of the Old Testament," *JQR* 6 (1916): 389.

[173] Bloch, "The Authorship of the Peshitta," 218-19.

[174] Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*.

[175] Schönfelder, *Onkelos et Peschittho*.

[176] A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos: Herausgegeben und Erläutert* (Berlin: Gorzelanczyk & Co., 1884).

[177] Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*.

[178] Sebök, *Die syrische Übersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten*.

in relation to T.[179]

Similar to Bloch but influenced directly by the views of J. Pinkerton,[180] F. C. Burkitt,[181] and Kahle,[182] Hegermann argues for the Jewish authorship of the Peshiṭta.[183] Concerning S-Isa 53, Hegermann identifies several free translations, arguing that they evince unified exegetical traditions that view the servant as the future messiah who suffers innocently and vicariously on behalf of others' guilt to cleanse them before final judgment.[184] Though such a messianic interpretation is largely consistent with Christian dogma pertaining to the person and work of Jesus Christ (a point which Delekat considered inconclusive, though he sympathized with the idea of Jewish authorship because of his assumptions concerning S's roots in an old Aramaic Targum[185]), Hegermann doubts the Christian authorship of S-Isa, since: 1) Christians had no reason to project the suffering statements in Isaiah 53 into the future; 2) certain elements in S-Isa 53 contradict the Passion narrative (e.g., 53:9); 3) no signs of New Testament interpretation can be found in S-Isa 53; 4) S-Isa 53 displays no parallels with the Christian Σύρος readings in Isaiah

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[179] Bloch, "The Authorship of the Peshitta," 218-20.

[180] J. Pinkerton, "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch," 14-41.

[181] F. C. Burkitt, "The Bible in Syriac," in *Early Eastern Christianity: St. Margaret's Lectures 1904 on the Syriac-Speaking Church* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1904), 39-78.

[182] Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*.

[183] Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peshitta*, 22-27.

[184] Ibid., 94-107, 126-28.

[185] Delekat, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," 186.

53; and 5) the Peshiṭta New Testament's quotations (2nd century CE) from the Peshiṭta Old Testament point to a first century date of translation for the latter and suggest that the Peshiṭta Old Testament had been naturalized before the translation of the Peshiṭta New Testament, a feat more likely attainable by Jews than Christians.[186] Rather, S-Isa 53 betrays reliance on several Jewish traditions, both exegetical and liturgical, shared by the communities behind S, T, and G. S-Isa 53 is an autonomous translation whose translator purposed to draw out the "grossen Gedanken" of the Holy Spirit for confessional and parenetic reasons.[187]

Likewise, Laberge leans toward the view that the influence from T-Isa on S-Isa and their common exegetical renderings suggest an environment of Jewish circles within the vicinity of Syro-Palestine. Bolstering this case is the fact that S-Isa agrees with Theodotion in eight places throughout chapters 28-33 (28:6, 7, 10; 13:16, 22; 29:10; 33:6. 7). Consultation of Theodotion was not likely since S-Isa still contains mistakes that would not likely have remained had S-Isa been revised systematically toward Theodotion. Moreover, the type of agreement between the two translations exists on the interpretative level, not the textual level. However, Laberge is reticent to endorse the Jewish hypothesis too confidently, since it remains possible that contact with extrabiblical Jewish traditions could have led to revision under the influence of G, T, or Theodotion.[188]

Van der Kooij devotes several pages to the question of S-Isa's interpretive translation and

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[186] Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peshitta*, 127-28.

[187] Ibid., 128, 131.

[188] Laberge, *Isaie 28-33*, 61, 66-68.

background.[189] Based on S-Isa's translation of Isa 25:6-8 and acquaintance with Jewish exegetical rules, van der Kooij reasons that the translator was a Jewish-Christian who: 1) transformed 25:6 into a prediction of the marriage supper of the Lamb from Rev 19:9; 2) interpreted הלוט ("ruler") and המסכה ("covering") in 25:7 as referring to the Roman Emperor (ܫܠܝܛܐ, "ruler") and Jesus, the one slaughtered (ܕܐܬܕܒܚ, "slaughter") for all peoples; and 3) expanded the sense of לנצח ("forever") in 25:8, ܠܥܠܡ ܠܢܨܚ, "by victory forever," to draw out how Jesus's victory conquered death forever. Relying on scholars who view the Syrian church at Edessa to have had a non-tannaitic Jewish Christian background,[190] the citations of Aphrahat, and evidence of a few Hebrew and Greek inscriptions from Edessa, van der Kooij dates S-Isa to the second century CE.[191]

In a study on Israel's obduracy in Isa 6:9-10, Evans evaluates S-Isa in comparison to G- and T-Isa, claiming that S-Isa is dependent on both in various places.[192] While generally in agreement with the meaning of the Hebrew, S-Isa betrays influence from G primarily in 6:10a, where, according to Evans, S-Isa rendered the Hebrew sentence השמן לב העם הזה ("make the heart of this people dull") with ܐܬܛܡܝ ܠܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܕܐ ("for the heart of this people has become

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[189] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 273-77, 291-96.

[190] G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, SNT 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1967); H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa* (Assen: Van Gorcum, Prakke & Prakke, 1966); idem, "Edessa und das jüdische Christentum," *VigChr* 24 (1970): 4-33; J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia. Part III: From Shapur I to Shapur II*, SPB 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1968); and idem, *Aphrahat and Judaism. The Christian-Jewish Argument in Fourth-century Iran*, SPB 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

[191] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 291.

[192] Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 77-79.

dull"), a locution that seems to agree with G's ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ("for the heart of this people has been rendered callous") and serves as an explanation of Israel's obduracy rather than the command to produce it (= M). Evans claims that S-Isa here "softens" the degree of Israel's obduracy, a thematic tendency more palpable in G-Isa which was almost certainly employed to mitigate the meaning in the Hebrew, where Isaiah's message actually produces and endorses Israel's obduracy for the sake of her own judgment (cf. Isa 29:9-10; 42:18-20; 44:18).[193] While S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa at 6:10a has been suggested also by Gelston,[194] the Syriac expression ܗܘ ܗܟܝܐ ܗܕ ܠܥܡܐ ܗܠ ܬܩܝܦ is more accurately translated, "Truly, harden the heart of this people!" This analysis rests on viewing ܬܩܝܦ as a Dt imperative with active meaning, followed by a proleptic/objective -ܠ, not a datival -ܠ (as if in a passive construction). Moreover, the function of ܥܢܐ in 6:10a does not follow the conjunctive sense in G-Isa's γὰρ, since ܥܢܐ frequently in Classical Syriac (and occasionally in S) functions adverbially with the meaning "truly, yes, I know."[195] Thus, Evans's comment that "the conjunction *gyr* unquestionably reveals direct dependence upon the LXX's γάρ" is grossly overstated.[196] Significantly, both Lund's tagged Peshiṭta of the Old Testament in the Accordance database and the translation of Isaiah in the *Antioch Bible* by Kiraz et al. analyze ܬܩܝܦ as an imperative (=

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[193] Ibid.

[194] Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" 570.

[195] See M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), s.v. ܥܢܐ.

[196] Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 78.

M). As such, S-Isa's reading (ܗܘ ܕܡܝ ܠܝ ܕܐܬ ܒܝ ܕܡܐܪ) is strikingly different than that of G-Isa (contra Evans).

While other minor studies have addressed the authorship and theology of S-Isa,[197] no scholars have addressed the topic as thoroughly as Gelston[198] and Greenberg.[199] Beginning with the question of whether S-Isa was influenced by any of the New Testament's citations of the Book of Isaiah, Gelston analyzes all its Isaianic citations that are distinct from both M and G (Matt 12:18-21; 13:14-15; Mark 4:13; Luke 3:4-6; Acts 28:26-27; 1 Cor 14:21; 1 Pet 1:24-25) and fails to find a single case that affords decisive proof for the Christian origins of S-Isa. He then looks at three "specimen passages" both to illustrate the problems inherent to such an investigation and to engage others who have claimed that some of these passages prove the Christian authorship of S-Isa (Isa 25:6-8; 51:15; 52:13-53:12). Regarding S-Isa's ܕܡܝ ܝܡܐ ܕܟܗ ,ܫܠܝܠ ܕܥܒܪ ("who rebuked the sea and its waves were still") at Isa 51:15 and its apparent

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[197] See Bundy, "The Peshitta of Isaiah 53:9 and the Syrian Commentators"; Weitzman, "The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshiṭta MS 9a1," in *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History*, 236; review of *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Versions, Part III, fasc. 1: Isaiah*, by S. P. Brock, *JTS* 41 (1990): 222-26; idem, "From Judaism to Christianity: The Syriac Version of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (London: Routledge & Kegal Paul), 161, 169-71; and R. P. Gordon, "The Syriac Old Testament: Provenance, Perspective and Translation Technique," in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. J. Krašovec (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), 357-59.

[198] Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?"

[199] Greenberg, "Indications of the Faith of the Translator in the Peshitta to the 'Servant Songs' of Deutero-Isaiah," *Aramaic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2004): 175-92; idem, "The Faith of the Translator of the Peshitta: Some Indicators in P-Isaiah," in *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005), 117-34; and idem, "Translating and Transmitting an Inspired Text?" in *Text, Translation, and Tradition*, 57-64.

relation to the narrative of Jesus calming the sea in the Synoptic Gospels, Gelston argues that because the Hebrew was uncertain to the translator of S-Isa, he most likely guessed according to context and arrived at a translation similar to the Synoptic tradition. Or, S-Isa could have relied on a Jewish exegetical tradition known also to the Evangelists.[200] Concerning Isa 52:13-53:12, Gelston concurs with Hegermann that S-Isa seemed to make a connection between the Servant and the messiah (i.e., a view sympathetic to Christianity), but such a view is merely "pre-Christian"; it does not offer positive proof for Christian authorship. In fact, this pericope includes a shift that might suggest the opposite. In Isa 53:9ab S-Isa reads, "a wicked man provided his grave and a rich man in his death" (ܘܣܒܪ ܪܫܝܥܐ ܩܒܪܗ ܘܥܬܝܪܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ), a reading which seems to contradict the way the Gospels record Jesus's death and burial.

Gelston's analysis of his final specimen, Isa 25:6-8, constitutes a lengthy rebuttal to van der Kooij's appropriation of the passage in his attempt to demonstrate S-Isa's Christian authorship. After noting Weitzman's growing pessimism toward van der Kooij's views, Gelston convincingly argues that S-Isa consistently attempted to provide a translation that corresponded to his Hebrew *Vorlage* word-for-word.[201] In the few cases where S-Isa seems to have departed from his ST, he was most likely confronted with obscure words, yet "doing his best to produce a satisfactory rendering word for word."[202] In the final analysis, Gelston leans toward the Jewish

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[200] Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" 573-76.

[201] Weitzman's growing suspicion can be seen in the following studies: Weitzman, "The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshiṭta MS 9a1," 236; idem, Review of *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Versions,* 222-226; and idem, "From Judaism to Christianity," 161, 169-71.

[202] "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" 581.

authorship of S-Isa (and the whole Peshiṭta Old Testament), since: 1) the Old Testament Peshiṭta was translated from a Hebrew text rather than from G; 2) S-Isa's rendering of Isa 53:9ab seems to contradict the Passion narrative; and 3) there is evidence of growing assimilation to the Greek New Testament of Old Testament citations in the later Syriac version of the New Testament.[203]

During her study on the translation technique of S-Isa,[204] Greenberg studied the "Servant Songs" of Deutero-Isaiah with an eye to the authorship of the Syriac translation, reasoning that Christian exegesis would, if anywhere, obtain here, since the early church interpreted the depicted Servant as Jesus Christ, the messiah.[205] However, since the Hebrew text itself is susceptible to messianic interpretation, the translator of S-Isa might not have felt the need to introduce Christian elements. Greenberg begins her investigation by locating and categorizing readings in S-Isa that differ from M. While she admits that none of the evidence renders the hypothesis of Christian authorship certain, Greenberg assembles eleven verses under the following categories: 1) Nine verses in which a Christian or messianic nuance appears in S but not in M (49:1, 4, 6 [2x], 7; 50:10; 53:3, 5, 8); 2) An anti-Israelite sense present in the *Kethiv* is eliminated by rendering the *Qere* (49:5); and 3) Closeness to the Hebrew despite an obvious possibility of introducing a Christian theme (Isa 53:9). In light of this evidence, Greenberg stresses the random nature of S-Isa's tactics and accounts for such inconsistency by positing an honest and fair Christian translator who inadvertently allowed his subconscious religious

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[203] Ibid., 581-82.

[204] Kiraz et al., *The Syriac Peshiṭta Bible with English Translation: Isaiah*.

[205] Greenberg, "Indications of the Faith of the Translator"; and idem, "The Faith of the Translator of the Peshitta."

sensibilities to find their way into the translation. Only in a few places S-Isa "simply could not resist the temptation to emend the text."[206] S-Isa's overall reluctance, however, to introduce Christian interpretation betrays the respect he had for the pluralistic society in which he found himself.

In 2005 Greenberg conducted a lexical study on S-Isa and S-Jeremiah in order to calculate how both translators rendered certain Hebrew roots with wide or precise meaning.[207] For Isaiah, she notes that נשא—used fifty-nine times—was translated with thirteen different Syriac roots. Moreover, לקח—attested twenty-two times—was translated with eleven different Syriac roots. From this evidence (and more from S-Jeremiah), Greenberg concludes that the Syriac translators "felt free to deviate occasionally from a word-for-word rendering of their *Vorlagen*."[208] They also varied their choice of equivalent intentionally, even when there was no prompt in the Hebrew. Greenberg finds this conclusion somewhat surprising and speculates that the translation approach seems to "suggest a view a considerable distance from the concept of inspired scripture," though she notes other possible reasons for the variation: 1) literary taste; 2) a desire to prompt an exegetical reading; and 3) influence from G.[209]

In a subsequent study, Greenberg further specifies S-Isa's literary aims by noting how the translator intentionally, inconsistently, and interchangeably rendered lexemes denoting

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[206] Greenberg, "Indications of the Faith of the Translator," 133.

[207] Greenberg, "Translating and Transmitting an Inspired Text?' in *Text, Translation, and Tradition*, 57-64.

[208] Ibid., 62.

[209] Ibid., 63-64.

"wrongdoing" (עון; פשע; רשע) when his Hebrew source provided no warrant for lexical variation.[210] This translational pattern contrasts with S-Isa's consistent rendering for חטא. According to Greenberg, S-Isa's departure from his source at these points of lexis (עון; פשע; רשע) indicates an intention of the translator dissimilar to the author of his *Vorlage* and even nullifies the latter's aims. She argues against the hypothesis that the Syriac language was too lexically impoverished to account for many nuances inherent to the Hebrew. Rather, S-Isa most likely understood the specific denotations of עון, פשע, and רשע yet still translated them inconsistently. S-Isa's aim, then, was to propagate his own message—perhaps under the influence or translational practices of G-Isa—by means of lexical variation and an occasional rhetorical flourish, though Greenberg does not specify what that message entailed. She deduces from this internal evidence that S-Isa, while affirming the importance his *Vorlage*, did not believe his ST was a sacred text "either at the point of writing/construction or reception."[211]

The question of who translated S-Isa is beset with numerous problems, and we are not likely to solve this dilemma any time soon. However, it is appropriate to raise a couple concerns to problematize some assumptions brought into the discussion and provide some direction for future research. First, many of the proposals discussed above assume a rigid dichotomy between Jew and Christian, whereas the evidence demonstrates that the religious and cultural boundaries for both Judaism and early Syriac Christianity were hardly watertight around the second century

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[210] Greenberg, "Sin, Iniquity, Wickedness, and Rebellion in the Peshitta to Isaiah and Jeremiah," *Aramaic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2008): 195-206.

[211] Ibid., 205.

CE.[212] Such assumptions have muddied the waters and pragmatically reduced to irrelevancy the debate on Jewish Christianity,[213] which should be considered a viable background for the Peshiṭta's origins.[214] Recent models of early Jewish-Christian relations could provide insight into what constitutes "Jewish translation" and "Jewish tradition," how and why S-Isa appropriated the latter, what the term "pre-Christian" should denote, and how the Peshiṭta rose to such prominence in a fairly brief period. Theories of bilingualism could shed light on the relation between language, script, and identity. For example, what does it mean to render Syriac the language of "pagans"?[215] Is it true that second century Jews had no need for a Syriac translation of their Scriptures? Is it accurate to contend that Christians *in toto* did not know Hebrew during the second century CE? There are also the assumptions concerning material culture about which we know very little. Ideas of a Peshiṭta school, the number of Jews and Christians present in Edessa during the second century, and S-Isa's access to other translations (G and T) often have been projected onto the discussion rather than investigated in detail.

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[212] See Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?*, ed. H. van de Sandt (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005), 13-33.

[213] For a succinct and insightful essay on the debate regarding models of Jewish-Christian relations, see J. C. Paget, "Jewish Christianity," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Early Roman Period*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 731-75.

[214] Weitzman, "From Judaism to Christianity"; *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 206-62; and Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E."

[215] The characterization of Syriac as a "pagan" language comes from Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," *JJS* 36 (1985): 88-102; and idem, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (London: Routledge), 124-46.

Second, several scholars began their investigation into S-Isa's authorship by pinpointing those places in the translation that "depart from M." But this criterion is reductionist, especially when scholars employ adjectives like "fair" and "honest" to describe S-Isa's basic disposition toward his translation project. A much stricter typology is needed to conceptualize and track S-Isa's default, emerging, and *ad hoc* translational shifts if traction is to be gained on a particular deviation from M. Theoretically speaking, every shift could be considered a deviation from M, and it could be that in the same way S-Isa executes a shift (deviating from M) in one place, he does so in several other places. Thus, as mentioned before, translation technique serves as an *a priori* criterion by which to determine whether "deviations" from M (or "agreements" with any version) constitute a case revealing the translator's ideology. It could be that, irrespective of intent, the translator has defaulted to translation strategies that only give the appearance of exegesis or agreement with another version (G and/or T).

Conclusion

Much in the world of Syriac literature remains uncharted, and S-Isa is no exception. There are discoveries still to be made on virtually every aspect of the translation, as I have noted explicitly at the end of each section above. Each discovery promises deeper insight for the one who understands how to attach each puzzle piece to the larger picture, making more tenable connections through exacting philological practice. Forcing pieces together by imposing unwarranted assumptions is exposed when the resultant picture still has gaps and the leftover pieces simply have no home. Therefore, the well-focused picture of S-Isa (and the Peshiṭta as a whole) can only emerge through the winnowing and sifting of earlier assumptions and the pursuit of methods that can help resolve trenchant questions. Collaborative projects may seem a way

forward insofar as they too do not bring in (unwarranted) collaborative assumptions and remain subject to critical evaluation and the refinement of interdisciplinary research methods. While this project is not collaborative, it is interdisciplinary. The following chapter summarizes recent ITr research with hopes of refining the ways biblical scholars evaluate relations among the ancient witnesses to the Hebrew Bible.

CHAPTER 2: THE THEORY AND METHOD OF INDIRECT TRANSLATION

Introduction

My summarization of scholarly work and debates (section 4 of Chapter 1, "The Relationship of S-Isa to G- and T-Isa") about the identification and explanation of S-Isa's alleged reliance on other translations revealed many problems attending the panoply of assumptions historically brought to the research questions under consideration and the different methods of reading and weighing the textual evidence. In this chapter, I examine these assumptions in more detail and clarify their theoretical and methodological limitations for exploring the question of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa. I propose that the theory of ITr within TS offers the best way forward to conceptualize the alleged relation. I devote most of this chapter to an explication of ITr's theory and methodology, making modifications where I feel necessary and highlighting the most relevant aspects of ITr for this project. My next chapter will frame the relation of S-Isa to G-Isa through the prism of ITr and apply its first two steps of analysis (peritextual/textual analysis and epitextual analysis).

The Limitations of Past Scholarship on the Relation between S- and G-Isa

Noticeably absent from most of the studies that deal with the relation between S- and G-Isa is any substantial theoretical or methodological reflection on how scholars proceeded and what implications that had for their hypotheses about the authorship, ideology, and background of the Syriac translator. In the following, I elaborate on the limitations of earlier studies on S-Isa and how their source- and translator-oriented nature influenced the way scholars interpreted the text-linguistic data in S-Isa.

The Source- and Translator-Oriented Nature of Earlier Studies

The earliest and piecemeal studies of S-Isa listed merely what, in the scholars' estimations, appeared to be textual *Übereinstimmungen* exclusive to S- and G-Isa, offering brief words of commentary to explicate the relation yet offering no methodological criteria to substantiate the means by which such agreements were chosen.[1] Occasionally, the earliest scholars (and a few succeeding them)[2] provided no justification at all for the dependence they supposed obtained in the (mostly lexical) relations between S- and G-Isa.[3] Such bare assertions, regrettably, amount to arguments *ad ignorantiam* and reveal the lack of theory characteristic of that time.[4]

The reason for this lack of theoretical reflection among scholars of S-Isa stems from the fact that the question of S-Isa's relation to other translations (esp. G and T) has always been pursued in conjunction with scholars' larger goals. For example, Diettrich's

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[1] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaja*; and Warszawski, *Die Peschitta Jesaja (Kap. 1-39).*

[2] Note van der Kooij's list of *Übereinstimmungen* in *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches,* 287-88, relying on Weisz and Warszawski.

[3] For example, as regards a S-G "agreement" in 51:20, Weisz avers, "Für כתוא מכמר hat P. ܘܚܒܫܐ ܕܫܠܩܐ ܚܫܝܫ. P. folgt hierin ganz sklavisch der unsinnigen Uebersetzung der LXX: *ὡς σευτλίον ἡμίεφθον* = wie eine halbgekochte Rübe."

[4] This criticism is not to deny these scholars' philological expertise and sound common sense, which, after all, is very often biblical scholars' main guide in interpreting textual evidence. On this latter point, see J. Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Bib* 49 (1968): 377-87; and E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 270. Rather, I am pointing out merely that the theoretical moorings they espoused were hardly teased out explicitly.

apparatus was to serve as a text-critical aid for reconstructing the original Syriac text;[5] Weisz's dissertation lists S-Isa's similarities and differences from M, G, and T as a way of describing the character of S-Isa's *Vorlage*;[6] Warszawski's thesis discusses S-G agreements in the context of S-Isa's translation technique;[7] Delekat's and Running's studies of S-T agreements demonstrate the concern to uncover S-Isa's targumic origins;[8] and van der Kooij's monograph gathers the S-G agreements listed in the studies of Weisz and Warszawski and asserts G-Isa's influence on S-Isa in an effort to explain the background and dating of S-Isa and establish the translation's text-critical worth.[9] While every one of these research pursuits serve a crucial role in the academy, I want to highlight their source- and translator-oriented nature. The source-oriented nature of these earlier studies finds adequate explanation in the scholars' desires to determine the original text of S-Isa and the translation's contribution to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. With a critical edition of S-Isa in hand, then, scholars can peruse its textual data as they weigh the versional evidence in critical editions of the Hebrew Bible,

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[5] Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus Criticus zur Pešitto*.

[6] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia,* 10-12.

[7] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39),* 8-10.

[8] Delekat, "Die syrolukanische Übersetzung des Buches Jesaja"; idem, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta"; idem, "Die syropalästinische Jesaja-Übersetzung"; Running, "An Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah"; idem, "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," 37-64; and idem, "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," 135-48.

[9] Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 287-98.

or produce new editions of the Hebrew Bible. Since these critical editions serve as reference materials for a wide variety of scholarly projects (e.g., critical commentaries; studies in reception history; analyses of translation technique; modern Bible translations), the importance for such text-critical work cannot be underestimated. Moreover, these scholars assumed that the quest to extract historical information from S-Isa about the translator's background, ideology, and religious affiliation, could illumine as much for the other Peshiṭta translators, adding clarity to the translation's obscure origins. It must be asked, however, whether source- and translator-oriented approaches—combined with an *ad hoc* application of traditional philology—are the best methodological tools with which to discover historical information about the translator and his world.

On the Problem of Translator as Verfasser

Historical questions pertaining to the *Verfasser* of an ancient Bible translation have often served as the impetus behind examining the text of S-Isa. This approach presumes a maximalist understanding of the translator (translation = author) and regards his work as tantamount to compositional literature and thus as a contribution to the history of ideas.[10] While this predisposition (and its attendant methodology) has many problems, I will summarize and critique only its most significant problems here.

First, a maximalist understanding of a translator fails to understand the text *qua* translation and tends to exploit the translator's deviations (from his ST) by interpreting them as glimpses into the translator's ideology. Understanding the nature and function of

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[10] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 23-25.

translation, however, alerts the researcher to other explanations that may have nothing to do with the translator's attempt to make himself visible by incorporating (or omitting) linguistic context that reveals his own theological bias or agenda. This point was acutely drawn by A. Aejmelaeus, who effectively crystalized the insights of her predecessors by giving sharp definitions to the (often inchoate) concepts of "translation technique" customarily employed in the field of Septuagint.[11] By drawing attention to an ancient translator's "mode of operation" (*Übersetzungsweise*)—how the translator met and customarily resolved problems in his source—and exemplifying this phenomenon in a few landmark studies of certain books in G,[12] Aejmelaeus's work became a major source of theoretical and methodological reflection among textual scholars.[13] According to Aejmelaeus, the goal of such a "translation-technical method" is "to follow the trail of the Septuagint translators" and, after having comprehended how the various translators operated and remedied problems in their respective STs, describe the translational processes involved and use the results to inform other fields in Biblical Studies (e.g.,

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[11] See her collection of essays in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), esp. 1-6.

[12] See esp. Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?" *ZAW* 99 (1987): 58-89, and the other essays in *On the Trail*.

[13] For one example of the impact of Aejmelaeus's work, note the implications of her analysis for the process of retroverting the *Vorlage* of G in Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 62, 75. Since Aejmelaeus's initial studies, numerous studies of G could be cited that address various aspects of its respective translators' *Übersetzungsweisen* (see §39 in C. Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint, Bibliographie de la Septante 1970-1993*, VTSup 60 [Leiden: Brill, 1995]; and the note in Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 75-78).

textual criticism).[14]

Yet for all the theoretical clarity Aejmelaeus brought to the field, her studies still reflect a primary concern to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of G. She is interested in demonstrating how the data obtained through translation technique analysis aid scholars in making text-critical judgments. She also develops criteria to determine whether deviations in a translation point to a Hebrew *Vorlage* in contrast to M, reflect non-obligatory shifts of the translator that reveal his ideology, suggest the translator's mistranslation (or guess) of a difficult or obscure ST, or betray the translator's typical linguistic solutions to common translational problems.[15] Summarizing the methodological implications of her approach, Aejmelaeus states, "With the aid of an overall picture of the methods used by the translators in the areas studied, it will then be possible to distinguish the cases which deviate from the general rule and must be dealt with text-critically."[16] Following Aejmelaeus, others such as E. Tov have accentuated similar claims: "The text-critical use of data in the LXX can proceed profitably only if *the analysis of the translation technique of each individual translation unit is taken into*

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[14] Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail,* XIV-XV.

[15] Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know?" 88.

[16] Ibid., 80. Elsewhere Aejmelaeus states, "If the textual critic is able to form for himself a picture of the translation technique applied in the book he is studying, this will help him to judge what kind of Hebrew text may underlie the Greek text of the translation, whether it is one like the MT or one most probably different from it," 84. A. Pietersma has expressed similar views in numerous publications; see especially, "Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues," *VT* 45 (1985): 296-311; and idem, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 6-8.

account."[17] This methodological dictum spawned numerous studies on the translation techniques of the different translators behind the production of G.[18]

Although Aejmelaeus's approach is far more inductive and bottom-up than earlier scholars' approaches dealing with translational phenomena attending ancient Bible versions, it still falls within the realm of traditional philology, with a strong text-critical bent to restore the original text of G (and, subsequently, the Hebrew Bible). This is an honorable aim, and the methodology is not a problem in-and-of-itself, insofar as it is clear how source-oriented it is and unlikely to reveal other kinds of (historical) information. At the very least, Aejmelaeus proved definitively that many alleged deviations in the earliest translations of the Hebrew Bible are obligatory by virtue of the grammatical, syntactical, and lexical differences in the languages involved (e.g., Hebrew and Greek; Hebrew and Syriac). Other deviations have simple explanations in translators' *Übersetzungsweisen*. Views pertaining to a translator's maximalist or minimalist approach to his ST, therefore,

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[17] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 18 (emphasis original). See similar methodological comments on pp. 43-44, 66, and 79.

[18] The bibliography is too extensive to list here, but for the earlier studies on G's translation technique, see Tov, "The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. C. E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1987), 337-59. For more recent studies, see the essays in R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä, eds., *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint. Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999* (Helsinki: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); the bibliography in S. Olofsson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, ConBOTS 30 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990); and T. van der Louw's first chapter, "State of the Question and Purpose of This Study," in *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 8-25. The works specific to G-Isa will be discussed below.

must follow inductive analysis; they should not be espoused *a priori*.

The pertinence of Aejmelaeus's methodological point can be exemplified by noting an inconsistency in van der Kooij's work on S-Isa. On the one hand, van der Kooij rightly criticizes Running's attempts to excavate a targumic substratum (*Vetus Syra*) in S-Isa,[19] arguing that all the unique S-T agreements in S-Isa can be explained by common translation technique.[20] On the other hand, van der Kooij argues that Jewish exegetical rules explain S-Isa's translation in Isa 25:6-8 in which the translator: 1) transformed 25:6 into a prediction of the marriage supper of the Lamb from Rev 19:9; 2) interpreted הלוט ("ruler") and המסכה ("covering") in 25:7 as referring to the Roman Emperor (ܫܠܝܛܐ, "ruler") and Jesus, the one slaughtered (ܕܡܫܚܐ, slaughter) for all peoples; and 3) expanded a double-reading of לנצח ("forever") in 25:8, ܠܥܠܡ ܠܚܠܡܝ, "by victory forever."[21] From these cases of exegesis, van der Kooij suggests that the translator was a Jewish Christian living in the second century CE.[22] However, as Gelston demonstrates, all the transformations in S-Isa 25:6-8 are renderings of obscure Hebrew phrases; the translator's solutions to these problems are explicable on the basis of his translation technique. Thus, van der Kooij's hypothesis of Jewish-Christian authorship draws

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[19] Running, "An Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah"; idem, "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," 37-64; and idem, "Investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah," 135-48.

[20] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 267.

[21] Ibid., 273-77, 291-96.

[22] Ibid., 291.

unfounded exegetical inferences from deviations in S-Isa that are more easily explained by how the translator customarily deals with problems in his source.[23]

On the Process- and Product-Oriented Aspects of Translation

What has not been investigated thoroughly by Peshiṭta scholars with these driving source- and translator-oriented research goals, however, are questions pertaining to the *process* involved in translating a work such as S-Isa and how the latter served as a fact, or *product*, of the culture that created it.[24] The idea of a text's function in the target culture, or a translation's teleological aim, plays a central role in T. van der Louw's monograph, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, in which he seeks to answer the methodological question: How can we distinguish interpretative and linguistic factors in a translation?[25] Agreeing with Aejmelaeus and in answer to his own question, van der Louw claims that "[i]f one wants to determine whether a 'deviation' stems from a different *Vorlage*, it should first be excluded that the 'deviation' has its roots in translational factors. In order

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[23] Gelston, "Was the Peshitta of Isaiah of Christian Origin?" 581.

[24] Tully's recent monograph (*The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*), which incorporates developments from DTS and employs Chesterman's causal model of translation in his analysis of S-Hosea, is an exception to this characterization and deserves careful consideration by other scholars working in Peshiṭta Studies. Toury's idea of translation as a fact of the target culture (see *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 17-34) will be elaborated on below.

[25] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 8. Pietersma, too, proffered a similar sentiment in "LXX and DTS": "DTS provides a framework within which translation technique ("process") and textual linguistic make-up ("product"), together with the prospective slot ("function") of the text within its recipient culture can be described with reference to the translational paradigm that informs the text" (p. 11).

to do so we must know which techniques were used, how and why."[26] Van der Louw then integrates methodological insights from TS, "since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which 'free renderings' result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator's exegesis."[27] After evaluating several approaches within TS (e.g., process-oriented; early/linguistic; ideological; functionalist; descriptive; communication-oriented; corpus-based; historical), he argues that DTS (as articulated by Toury) is the "ideal tool for the descriptive study of the Septuagint." Thus, descriptive analysis of the translations comprising G should include examination of each book's acceptability in view of the target culture for which it was produced. To determine a translation's acceptability within its target culture, one must have a robust understanding of that same target culture's acceptable standards for translated texts and compositional literature.[28]

Since relatively little can be known about the target culture for which G was created, van der Louw views Toury's second methodological step (i.e., analysis of a translation's adequacy) as more applicable to intensive study of G. This second step involves detecting all the non-obligatory shifts (or "transformations") in the translation and relating them to one another in order to "construct a hierarchy of translational norms."[29] Categorizing shifts requires decipherment of their rationale—the reason why

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[26] Ibid., 13. Elsewhere van der Louw states, "When you are in search of the translator's interpretation, you may easily be tempted to 'detect' translator-specific shifts, where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed" (p. 23).

[27] Ibid., 14.

[28] Ibid., 17-23.

[29] Ibid., 22-23. Speaking to the reason why translators apply transformations,

the translator did not translate in a way transparent to his ST. Very often the translational problem surfaces during such an investigation.[30] If a linguistic reason fails to explain the transformation, then the problem should be analyzed from the perspective of "style, logic, communicative purpose, culture and worldview / ideology."[31] After getting a feel for the translator's tactics, the translational norms that governed his process of translation should begin to emerge, allowing the researcher to build a hierarchy of the norms that existed in the translator's mind. Such a hierarchy, or classification or typology, should be derived from a list of translation universals that characterize translations from antiquity until

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van der Louw argues, "[B]ecause a literal translation does not work! Literal translation is always the easiest and fastest method. Even the 'free translation' proceeds literally most of the time, at least in prose and transformations are used to solve translational problems that would arise from a literal rendering. This has an important methodological implication. *Behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected*" (p. 49, emphasis original).

[30] Ibid., 59-50. The reasons for a transformation, however, can be myriad: "The same sort of transformation can be used to arrive at a grammatically correct sentence or a natural sounding target text, to dispose of a nasty logical problem, to change the meaning of the source text or to excel it. What unites classical and modern translation practice is that translation serves communication. In other words, translators are concerned with bringing across (their interpretation of) semantic content and if possible, in an attractive way. Many translators are first concerned with content, only in the second instance with form."

[31] Ibid., 49. Pietersma also delineates a similar list of ascending scopes which one should examine before claiming that a certain shift is nonobligatory and thus indicating exegesis on the part of the translator ("Hermeneutics and a Translated Text" [paper presented at Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 9 December , 2005, on the occasion of the farewell to Professor Dr. Johan Lust], 5-7 [available from http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm/]). See also Pietersma, "Text-Production and Text-Reception: Psalm 8 in Greek," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontext, Lebenswelten,* ed. M. Kasser, W. Kraus, and M. von Martin Meiser, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 495-510; and Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 431-58.

today.[32]

Van der Louw helpfully summarizes his method of analysis with the following seven steps, which I quote in full:

1) Study of the translation as an independent Greek text, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.[33]
2) Study of the text of MT as it stands, grammatically, semantically and stylistically.[34]
3) Comparison of LXX and MT. This consists of making an inventory of text-critical and translation 'deviations'.
4) Identification and categorization of transformations. The question is then: what are the difficulties or problems the transformations are designed to solve and how do they cohere?
5) Study of the passage and its transformations in the context of the translated book as a whole.
6) Evaluation of text-critical findings.
7) Study of exegetical and ideological elements in the translation.[35]

Since full adumbration of all these levels for a specific translation is not possible within a

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[32] Van der Louw uses the typology of A. Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat. Aspecten van het vertalen* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988).

[33] This step is comparable to the methodology of Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 72-76. Van der Louw contrasts his starting point with van der Kooij, who begins with M ("Accident or Method? On 'Analogical' Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsa[a]," *BO*, 43 [1986]: 368-70; and idem, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*, VTSup 71 [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 15-19).

[34] Contra van der Kooij who believes text-critical analysis should precede linguistic analysis of M and G ("Accident or Method?" 368-70), van der Louw argues that "if a 'deviation' has a grammatical or stylistic reason, there is no need to ascribe it to theological or text-critical factors. Transformations are labels for procedures designed to solve a problem the translator feels. We must investigate on what levels the translator identified his translation problems. The relationship between the motives behind the transformations will reveal something about the (unconscious) hierarchy of norms in the mind of the translator" (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 78).

[35] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 78-79.

single monograph, van der Louw focuses on the semantic, grammatical, and stylistic characteristics in Genesis 2, Isaiah 1, and Proverbs 6 "which are debated or which struck [him] as a reader." He also does not distinguish each phase. Since we lack the ST of G, but the reconstruction thereof requires knowledge of its translation techniques, we find ourselves "caught in circular reasoning" (i.e., a hermeneutical circle). As to whether this fact compromises his project, van der Louw argues,

> [I]f we are unwilling to give up, we should begin at one of the ends. Then as Olofsson remarks, "[p]erhaps it is more to the point to call it a hermeneutical spiral, because if progress can be made in either of these two areas one is better off with the other area." The point of departure of this thesis is that knowledge of transformations is necessary in order to reach conclusions about the source text of the Greek translators.[36]

We can quibble over the level of subjectivity that some of van der Louw's stages and starting points suggest, but, *en masse*, they bespeak a fair amount of methodological deliberation. And by leaning on insights from TS to determine what constitutes a "shift" and reconstruct the translator's rationale for such shifts, he shows that many transformations in G (and, presumably, S) were not driven by ideology; rather, they were dictated by the translation norms of the translator's target culture.

Translation as a Fact of Culture: A Target-Oriented Approach

Another major contribution to BS that integrates developments from DTS and attempts to apply Toury's first step (i.e., determine a translation's acceptability within its own target culture) to the study of G is C. Boyd-Taylor's recent monograph, *Reading between the Lines*, in which he develops the concept of a translation's "constitutive

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[36] Ibid., 79. The quotation from S. Olofsson is in *The LXX Version*, 66.

character,"[37] as articulated in earlier LXX studies by A. Pietersma.[38] Since the idea of a text's constitutive character serves as an apt corrective to earlier source- and translator-oriented approaches, and since Boyd-Taylor discusses it in the context of ancient Bible translations (i.e., G), I will provide a schematic overview of it.

Beginning with Toury's notion of translation as a fact of the target culture, Boyd-Taylor forms the idea of a text's "constitutive character," which refers to the sociocultural dynamic of a text and its correlation to that text's verbal make-up.[39] He argues that by evaluating the internal evidence of a text, one can often uncover the original historical and cultural circumstances that brought it about (i.e., its *Sitz im Leben*) and determine the text's function (e.g., institutional, exegetical, etc.). When carefully applied, such methodology frequently elicits the cognitive processes under which a translator operated.[40]

As to the methodological process of determining a text's constitutive character, Boyd-Taylor argues that two variables ought to be considered in tandem: 1) specifying a

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[37] C. Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 33-54.

[38] Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Oslo, 1998*, ed. B. A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 224-25, 227; idem, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 129 (2004): 1008-1015; and idem, "Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition & Reception*, ed. P. W. Flint and P. D. Miller, SVT 99 (Brill: Leiden, 2005), 33-45.

[39] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 33-54; Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 17-34.

[40] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 35-40.

translation's departure from the compositional norms and practices of the source language (acceptability); and 2) noting when and how a translator adheres closely to his source text at the expense of following the compositional norms of the target language (adequacy). Any deviation from these norms is called "interference." Taking note of the kind of negative interference (i.e., "deviations from the normal codified practices of the target system motivated by the make-up of the source text") and positive interference (i.e., "changes in the distribution of specific features of the target language … due to the make-up of the source text") a text exhibits allows one to determine how that text registers along the line of an adequacy-acceptability continuum.[41] This kind of analysis requires one to examine a text's "textual linguistic make-up" and discover "the [linguistic; psychological; and sociolinguistic behavioral] strategies adopted by the translator to achieve the sort of text he was required to produce and hence in relation to norms."[42] Boyd-Taylor adopts Toury's typology to identify various degrees of interference in a translation (e.g., linguistic, textual, and literary well-formedness) and the different norms that governed the translator's decisions before and during the process of translation (e.g., preliminary; operational).[43] Writing up a description of these variables

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[41] Ibid., 58-59.

[42] Ibid., 85 fn77.

[43] Ibid., 59-74. According to Toury (*Descriptive Translation Studies*, 82), preliminary norms have to do with two interconnected considerations: translation policy (i.e., "those factors that govern the choice of text-types, even of individual texts, to be imported into a particular culture / language via translation at a particular point in time"); and directness of translation (i.e., "the threshold for tolerance for translating from languages other than the ultimate SLs"). Operational norms, on the other hand, guide the decisions made during the actual event of translation, affecting the text's matrix and text

constitutes the profile of the text's constitutive character, and the insight gained during such a process of inquiry enables one to determine the function of the translation within its target culture.[44] What Boyd-Taylor stresses is that translational texts, such as G (and, by extension, S), must be understood to be facts of the target cultures which produced them.

Boyd-Taylor contends that study of translation technique, while a profitable and necessary area of research, is insufficient to educe both pre- and post-reception historical data pertaining to the translation's target culture; production-oriented analysis is required to uncover the norms that governed the process of translation and the function of the translation in the target and literary system for which it originally was produced.[45] While I accept the usefulness of Boyd-Taylor's notion of a text's constitutive character and find insightful his claim that the function, process, and product are interdependent within a cultural system, I remain hesitant about other aspects of his methodology. It seems to me that Boyd-Taylor's methodology is serviceable only in the event that certain variables are known. First, Toury's theory was designed to discover and describe the function of *modern* translations. In such a scenario, we have access to the original STs and TTs, sources about the authors and their historical and sociocultural contexts, and the literary systems into which these translations were created. But, in the case of G and S we lack

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and verbal make-up.

[44] Ibid., 74-75.

[45] Ibid., 16-20, 25-31.

their original STs and TTs, any personal information about the translators, and much important knowledge about the translators' sociocultural context and the circumstances which brought forth the translation.[46]

Second, Boyd-Taylor's theory gives little place for the translator. Process-oriented translation research makes clear that many accidents of translation are due to idiosyncrasies of the translator; his abilities (or lack thereof), intent, and agenda necessarily play a role in the *process* of translation, affecting the translation's text-linguistic make-up. Additionally, translators tend to solve problems, even unwittingly, by following the path of least resistance.[47] Thus, to utilize a theory that disregards the personality of the translator and conceives of him only as a constituent in a target and literary system is essentially to eliminate him.[48] And third, in light of many unplanned

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[46] Each lacking variable would seem to add greater obfuscation to the already problematic "hermeneutical circle" mentioned by van der Louw (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 79) and cited above.

[47] See A. Chesterman, *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory*, BTL 22 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), 86-116; P. Zabalbeascoa, "From Techniques to Types in Solutions," in *Investigating Translation*, ed. A. Beerby et al., BTL 32 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 117-27; and J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies. Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge, 2001).

[48] This criticism is from van der Louw, who states, "[C]reating a model where the figure of the translator as an individual no longer exists is throwing out the baby with the bathwater" (Review of *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, *JSCS* 44 [2011]: 148). To be completely fair, Boyd-Taylor endorses Chesterman's schema in which he distinguishes between linguistic, psychological, and sociolinguistic translational strategies (see "Description, Explanation, Prediction: A Response to Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans," *Current Issues in Language and Society* 5 [1998]: 95), but he admits that his own descriptive schema does not address the latter two strategies: "Since my aim is to assess the claims of the interlinear paradigm, which pertain almost exclusively to the verbal make-up of the Septuagint, it is Chesterman's first type, linguistic strategies, that will constitute the focus of my descriptive analysis"

circumstances that befall translators and their unexpected solutions to translation problems, it is unrealistic to suppose that their products successfully meet their intended functions. As van der Louw asks, doubtingly, "[I]s there always a *linea recta* from function to text-linguistic make-up?"[49] This criticism proves to be even more germane when evaluating translators who, in the case of G, were commissioned to produce an unprecedented translation. While the model of translation employed by the LXX translators may have had a precedent, the specific product (i.e., a Greek translation of the Hebrew Torah and, subsequently, the remaining Hebrew Scriptures) did not. This task would have required, at the very least, numerous *ad hoc* translation solutions when the individual translators encountered a ST that proved to be problematic in some way. With all these criticisms in mind, it seems that to intuit a translation's prospective function without knowing important variables (e.g., the original ST and TT) and without giving account, theoretically, for a translator's behavior is to engage in a fair amount of speculation.[50] Nevertheless, Boyd-Taylor's point that function, process, and product are interdependent within a larger cultural framework serves as an appropriate corrective to

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(*Reading between the Lines*, 72).

[49] Van der Louw, Review of *Reading between the Lines*, 148.

[50] With this criticism I do not intend to disparage attempts at discovering the prospective function of various books in G or S. Rather, I feel that the subjective nature of the inquiry ought to lead to modest conclusions. For example, Tully's monograph ends with a discussion on S-Hosea's function in the target culture, but note his conclusions: S-Hosea "intended to serve as a replacement for the Hebrew" because facility with Hebrew was waning; it "was to serve independently as authoritative Scripture rather than as a targumic guide or commentary on the original" (*The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*, 335).

older models.

On the Assumption of Directness in G-Isa's Influence on S-Isa

My critique thus far has involved elaborating on theoretical and methodological developments in BS and TS that problematize the source- and translator-oriented nature of older studies on S-Isa's relation to G-Isa. I will now address another assumption that can be found not only in earlier studies, but modern ones as well, namely, the assumption that if the translator of S-Isa relied on G-Isa, he did so *directly*. Problematizing this assumption will facilitate the theoretical and methodological discussion on ITr that follows.

G-Isa as S-Isa's "Critical Commentary," "Constant Companion," or "Consulted Aid"

It seems intuitive that any hypothesis regarding the Syriac translator's reliance on or influence from an older Greek translation must theoretically account for the nature, means, and extent of the relation and then provide the necessary methodological criteria by which to track such influence in the text-linguistic record. Yet those who claim that G-Isa directly influenced S-Isa rarely expound in any such detail. Gesenius claimed that S-Isa translates G-Isa "freely and arbitrarily";[51] Weisz argued that S-Isa made "*ausgiebigen Gebrauch"* of G-Isa;[52] Barnes stated that we can speak of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa

[51] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 81-82.

[52] Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, 12.

"with some confidence";[53] and van der Kooij agrees with Weisz's (and Warszawski's) assessment.[54] These comments give the impression that the translator of S-Isa had a copy of Greek Isaiah that he could easily and directly access *ad voluntatem*. I suppose that if S-Isa actually indicated "frequent" reliance on G-Isa, then such a model might suggest itself, but even a scenario involving frequent reliance does not necessitate *direct* means of access. There are several ways that the translator of S-Isa could have accessed readings in G-Isa *indirectly* (e.g., liturgy; memoriter exercises required for scribal-training; educational curricula; common lore; another scribe or informant), which I will develop in Chapter 3. In addition to these models assuming *direct* reliance, I suspect that past scholars' overriding historical concerns to determine S-Isa's authorship often influenced the way they interpreted S-G agreements.

It is precisely the question of how frequently S-Isa attests reliance on G-Isa that this project seeks to answer. As I will soon demonstrate, the virtual lack of methodological criteria by which to identify unique S-G agreements in S- and G-Isa (S = G ≠ M) and interpret them besets every study of the question thus far. Many recent studies on methodology from TS and their application to BS, however, have added significant clarity to the way we should interpret agreements exclusive to S and G.

In addition to answering the questions of *where* S-Isa betrays influence from G-

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[53] Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," 194.

[54] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 287-89. Warszawski emphasizes S-Isa's independence while conceding that chapters 1-39 betray the translator's frequent reliance on G-Isa (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 8-9).

Isa and *how* we can track such influence, this project attempts to identify and describe the preliminary and operational norms that guided the Syriac translator, that is, *how* and *why* the translator employed a reading from G-Isa and under what conditions. This project also is an exploration into the relation itself: If there is a relation between the two translations, *what* does it mean for G-Isa's cultural and literary system to penetrate another *via* translation? *What* is the significance of such cultural interference and multilingual transfer? And *what* does this suggest about the role of G-Isa in S-Isa's target culture(s)? Questions of this sort constitute some of the primary research goals of the field of ITr. ITr's theory and methodology are particularly apt to address the question of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa because if S-Isa translated a reading in G-Isa (as opposed to his ST), then that act, wherever it is manifested in the text-linguistic data, would involve some type of indirect translation, as the concept is defined most simply. And since ITr falls within the branch of DTS, it is helpful for descriptive-explanatory research, with focus on actual translational behavior and its results. But before I frame the issue of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa through the prism of ITr, it is necessary to summarize ITr by reflecting on the work of its practitioners.

The Theory and Methodology of Indirect Translation (ITr)

At the base of the theory and methodology of ITr is the concept of *indirectness*. In contradistinction to autonomous translation, indirect translation acknowledges the role of mediation or intervention during the process of translation.[55] The resources a translator

[55] M. Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation: Methodological

accesses as aids are called "mediations," which can be accessed indirectly or directly, cognitively and/or physically, and wittingly or unwittingly.[56] At one end of the continuum, mediations include the influence of a translator's training, translation experience, and other sociocultural factors (e.g., the role of liturgy in religious translation), all of which intervene with his ignorance by impacting the way he isolates translation units, infers meaning from context, handles problems in his ST (e.g., obscure lexis), or employs an interpretive tradition, and all of which he accesses *via* his memory. The fixing of these mediations in the translator's cognition through experience renders them intuitive and automatic, leading to habitual translational behavior and problem-solving tactics. These mediations constitute the tools of every translator—what every translator relies on to render the ST into a target language (TL). Their *indirectness*, then, is of relatively small degree; only insofar as they influence the translator to depart from autonomous behavior can they be considered indirect, otherwise they constitute the basic cognitive strategies with which the translator *directly* renders his ST.[57] Although most TS

Possibilities," *Translation Studies* 10 (2017): 134.

[56] I prefer the term "mediation" at the outset for inclusive reasons. Mediating translations (MTs) highlight the textual dimension, and mediating languages (MLs) accentuate the language or linguistic aspect, but there are other categories of mediation (e.g., cognitive) that must be considered when discussing intervening influences on translators during the process of translation.

[57] Modern cognitive approaches to process-oriented translation (POT) research regularly execute verbal protocols to identify trends among novice and advanced translators, in hopes of determining what makes a translator "autonomous." These protocols reveal that novice translators have a heightened susceptibility to interferences of various kinds; struggle to use their memory; function as "architexts," or context-builders, rather than derive meaning from the context native to the ST; lack an encyclopedic knowledge; and rely on a limited lexical inventory. Reliance on resources

scholars do not refer to such translational resources as “mediations,” I will elaborate

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extrinsic to the translator during the process of translation tends to be a characteristic of experienced translators who, with the luxury of resources and time, are more self-aware and autonomous yet are attuned to the ST’s subtleties of genre and context (see H. Lee-Jahnke, “New Cognitive Approaches in Process-Oriented Translation Training,” *Meta* 50 [2005]: 359-77, who uses this knowledge to modify pedagogical methods in translation training; and F. Alves, C. Magalhães, and A. Pagano, “Autonomy in Translation: Approaching Translators’ Education through Awareness of Discourse Processing,” *Cadernos de Tradução* 2 [2006]: 167-92, who employ the knowledge gained from the results of verbal protocols to enhance the educational process by which translators become more self-aware of their own cognitive path and discourse processing, with the goal of reaching autonomous translational behavior). Autonomous translation is generally viewed in POT research as the ideal policy for a translator. This belief has led to modifications in training protocols and educational curricula to develop methods that fine-tune translators’ abilities to track their own cognitive path during the process of translation. For example, performance-based verbal protocols (e.g., Think-Aloud Protocols [TAPs]) teach novice translators about their own cognition processes, belief systems, and the decisions and strategies they apply to the translation task. The results from these protocols reveal that target unit (TU) segmentation is intricately tied to discourse analysis and is mutable in the process of translation. While some subjects range in their goals, others aim for a more coherence-based translation or a more literal translation. Cultural pragmatics also play a large role. This POT approach is rooted in the view of “cognition as embodied action” in H. Maturana and F. Varela, *The Tree of Knowledge* (Boston: Shamballa, 1988). The premise that an increase in awareness is part and parcel of what autonomous translation involves is based on several contentions: 1) Knowledge of the different cognitive stages of the translation process leads to higher levels of awareness in the management of translation task; 2) The higher the level of awareness of the translator, the greater the chances of a successful use of translation techniques and strategies; 3) The higher the conscious monitoring of the translation process, the greater the translator’s certainty to arrive at translation decisions; and 4) The more conscious the translator, the more potentially successful the target text. These contentions are expressed (in English) in Alves, Magalhães, and Pagano, “Autonomy in Translation,” 185, but they were first listed in Alves, Magalhães, and Pagano, *Traduzir com autonomia: estratégias para o tradutor em formação* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2000), 128. While these contentions stem from the empirical data amassed in verbal protocol studies and are used for modern pedagogical practice, the results of the same data disclose trends in translation strategies that would seem to characterize translators in general, irrespective of time. To the extent that POT research evinces trends that apply universally to translation, it could aid in providing another angle to describe the profile of a particular ancient Bible translation.

below the advantages in conceiving of such influence as part of a continuum of mediations.[58]

At the other end of the continuum, then, are mediations extrinsic to the translator. These could include a combination of textual resources such as multiple source-text editions, reprints, retranslations, composite versions, unpublished drafts, dictionaries, lexicons, and earlier translations (in the TL or a mediating translation [MT] in another mediating language [ML]). Translators can depend on these mediations to different degrees (sporadically, routinely, or fully) and in different ways (borrowing readings or employing similar translation strategies, or both) and access them by diverse means (directly or indirectly; physically or cognitively).[59] Extrinsic mediations also would include human agents (e.g., another translator).[60] While intrinsic mediations are accessed intuitively and routinely by way of a translator's cognition, extrinsic mediations tend to have a life of their own outside of the translator's mind and his ST. What all mediations have in common, however, is their bearing on the text-linguistic profile of the TT.

The concept of indirectness within the field of TS is broadly concerned with my latter category of extrinsic mediating influences, especially the textual variety. That

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[58] One can find the language of "mediations" in some of the older literature on ITr. See, for example, G. Radó, "Indirect Translation," *Babel* 21 (1975): 51.

[59] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 134-35.

[60] The aspect of human mediation has received significant attention by those who focus on the sociology of translation. See J. Milton and P. Bandia, *Agents of Translation* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009); and A. W. Khalifa, *Translators Have Their Say? Translation and the Power of Agency* (Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2014).

textual mediations historically have remained hidden has led some translation scholars to speak of indirectness as a "productive concept" because it stresses these "hidden dynamics."[61] For example, M. Marin-Lacarta claims that these hidden dynamics "[reflect] power relations in a complex way, paying attention to agents, giving visibility to hierarchies between literatures and highlighting complexities of the process of literary translation."[62] This statement certainly makes sense in our modern world of increasing globalization and would apply to certain epochs, locales, and literature in the ancient world, but it does not adequately square with the prominent role of orality in ancient cultures where textuality and orality were not always clearly distinguished.[63] For example, ancient Near Eastern scribal culture was predominantly bilingual, and sometimes trilingual, and memoriter exercises were translators' stock-and-trade, including the memorization of whole texts (e.g., an earlier translation in the TL or in another ML). In such a complex situation, what we may interpret as evidence of an extrinsic, textual mediation in a translator's TT may well reflect a mediation intrinsic to the ancient translator's mind. Explanations for how and when an extrinsic mediation becomes accessible within the limits of the translator's cognition are diverse. For the

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[61] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 134.

[62] Ibid.

[63] M. Ringmar, in his article on ITr and globalization, notes how ITr "is often concealed or denied … in a post-romantic paradigm of original text primacy" ("Figuring out the Local within the Global: (Sub)systems and Indirect Translation," in *Special Issue of IberoSlavica*, 153-70 [Lisbon: CompaRes/CLEPUL, 2015], 155). The idea that textuality and orality were not always clearly distinguished in ancient cultures will be discussed in sufficient detail in the next chapter.

ancient translator, the mediation could come from liturgy, educational curricula, scribal training, and even common lore. All these influences, too, are subject to long histories of oral and textual interpretive traditions, especially in the case of sacred "texts." Thus, if the translator of a certain MT and the translator of the TT both inherit the same tradition, and both diverge from their respective STs at the same place and in the same way, then the TT's appearance of dependence on the MT may be completely illusory; both could have relied on a common tradition. Much more about these complex realities will be explicated below. The point is that by conceptualizing mediations, or indirectness, along a continuum (or, more accurately, continua) we can account for the *realia* involved in real-time translation, during which translators cognitively engage intrinsic mediations that also find textual attestation outside of the translator's memory.[64]

What I hope to have problematized by mentioning the example of the ancient translator is Marin-Lacarta's idea that hiddenness in various forms of *mediation* is what makes the concept of indirectness productive; such a view is restrictive, accentuates only one aspect of indirectness, and assumes a high degree of intolerance toward indirectness

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[64] While he primarily has what I call extrinsic, textual mediations in mind, J. Spirk also conceptualizes the degree of indirectness in terms of a continuum. He states, "In the broad sense, which reflects reality more appropriately, an indirect translation may be the result of various combinations of texts other than the original. To determine whether an indirect translation – although primarily using a source text which is not the original – becomes less indirect if the translator subsequently checks with the original poses a theoretical dilemma. Obviously, (in)directness is not a binary opposition, but rather a *continuum*, raising questions of the degree of (in)directness" (*Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-Translation: The [Fateful] Adventures of Czech Literature in 20th-Century Portugal* [Portugal: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014], 137-38 [emphasis added]).

on a universal level.[65] Stressing the covert nature of indirect translation also raises the question: Mediation is indirect with respect to what? Again, ancient translators' reliance on an extrinsic mediation may have had nothing to do with "complex power relations" (although many certainly did!); instead, hiddenness—the observed phenomenon that translators or their translations tend not to draw attention to or cite the textual mediations on which they rely—very often reflects customary scribal practice according to which plagiarism was of no concern. The "hiddenness" of indirectness in such a scenario is purely accidental, not intentional.

Marin-Lacarta's insistence that hiddenness always implies a power struggle has recently been challenged by K. Washbourne, who stresses that such intolerance toward indirectness—as subjective as that concept would seem to apply to various readers and languages—remains unsubstantiated:

> Marín-Lacarta (2008) argues that T2's [= second language] very covertness suggests an intolerance. Yet the question of whether tolerance varies between specialized and lay readerships, lesson [*sic*] common languages and dominant languages, and professional codes and actual practice, remains to be elucidated, as does the matter itself of wherein the scandal lies for those that have objected to it.[66]

Thus, I think it is more useful to conceive of indirectness more inclusively and always in relation to the ST.[67] Hiddenness, in this sense, refers to how mediations *hide* the ST, not

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[65] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 134.

[66] K. Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives: Paths of Indirect and Relay Translation," *Meta* 58 (2013): 610.

[67] Much more about my preference for an inclusive view of indirectness will be discussed below (see "Toward an Inclusive Definition of ITr").

how translators (or their translations) tend to hide the mediation. In this view, intention is out of the question because, except in the case of human agency, extrinsic mediations are inanimate. Perhaps we should resist using the word "hide" or "hiddenness" except in cases of indirect translation where the translator's intentions or the translational context are clear. As will be discussed below, one can easily conceive of many reasons why a translator might avoid direct translation, intentionally or unintentionally, that have nothing to do with complex power relations.

In summary, I view the concept of indirectness as referring to the *nature* and *number* of non-ST elements (i.e., extrinsic mediations and their respective languages) that translators access during the process of translation, the *extent* to which they rely on each mediation (sporadically or completely?), the *means* by which they access each mediation (directly or indirectly?), and their level of *intent* in doing so. Each aspect—nature, number, extent, means, and intent—can be conceptualized as a continuum. Although this way of summarizing indirectness is schematic, it elucidates its contours sufficiently for a discussion of the phenomenon of ITr.

The Phenomenon of ITr (and Its Various Meanings)

Recent, extensive summaries on ITr research render it unnecessary to expound on the research at any great length here. However, since most readers will not be familiar with these developments in TS, I will summarize the theory and its application to BS while referencing relevant primary source material in the footnotes. A few aspects of the following outline will not seem immediately applicable to the question of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa; I provide the content to inform biblical scholars of ITr's relevance to a number

of issues in BS and to satisfy readers in TS who are interested in knowing which research questions do not apply when investigating ancient Bible translations. I will largely follow the excellent outline provided by A. Assis Rosa, H. Pięta, and R. Bueno Maia, emphasizing what I feel applies to my research question and suggesting refinements where necessary.[68]

Contra "direct translation" that involves only two languages (e.g., Hebrew → Greek), ITr is "a translation of a translation" (e.g., Hebrew → Greek → Syriac) in either oral or written form.[69] Many scholars working in ITr use the following designations to indicate ITr's metatextual chain of communication (both the *process* and *end text* of ITr): the ultimate ST/SL → mediating text/language (MT/L) → ultimate TT/TL.[70] The metatextual nature of this terminology indicates the textual transfer and (linguistic and literary) change involved in first-hand (L1 → L2) and second-hand (L2 → L3) translation. However, not all TS scholars employ ITr to refer to the *product* (i.e., the ultimate TT) of a translator who translates a MT/L rather than the ultimate ST/L.[71] When

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[68] A. Assis Rosa, H. Pięta, and R. Bueno Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues Regarding Indirect Translation: An Overview," *Translation Studies* 10 (2017): 113-32.

[69] Most TS scholars doing ITr research rely on the definition articulated by Y. Gambier, in "La retraduction, retour et detour," *Meta* 39 (1994): 413; and "Working with Relay: An Old Story and a New Challenge," in *Speaking in Tongues: Languages across Contexts and Users*, ed. L. P. González (València: Universitat de València, 2003), 57.

[70] More about this concept will be discussed in the section "The Nomenclature of ITr Studies" below, but I will adopt this terminology throughout this project.

[71] See H. Kittel and A. P. Frank, "Introduction," in *Interculturality and the Historical Study of Literary Translations,* ed. H. Kittel and A. P. Frank (Berlin: Erich

one can discover regular patterns of this practice, then the ITr refers to "evidence of the forces which have shaped the culture in question, including its concept of translation."[72] TS scholars also use the term ITr to refer to the *process* of a translator translating from a MT/L other than the ultimate ST/L.[73] To highlight the processual aspect of translation, some use the term "relay translation," a model borrowed from the modern practice of (non-literary) relay interpretation.[74] Since some of those who favor the term "relay" restrict its meaning to a translator's production of a MT rather than a later translator's

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Schmidt Verlag, 1991), 3.

[72] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 161.

[73] Ibid., 82.

[74] See esp. C. Dollerup, "Relay in Translation," in *Cross-linguistic Interaction: Translation, Contrastive and Cognitive Studies*, ed. D. Yankova (Sofia: St. Kliminent Ohridski University Press, 2014), 21-32; and idem, "'Relay' and 'Support Translations'," in *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress*, ed. A. Chesterman, N. Gallardo, and Y. Gambier (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 17-26. Others use the term "relay," but it is virtually synonymous with ITr: Gambier, "Working with Relay," 47-66; J. St. André, "Relay," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. M. Baker and G. Saldanha, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2009), 230-32; and Ringmar, "Relay Translation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 141-44.

working from it,[75] I do not adopt it here.[76] Related also to this processual dynamic is the idea that ITr functions as a tool that translators (or their commissioners) use to effect "multicultural transfer."[77] And finally, the term ITr can represent the field of research on both the product- and process-oriented aspects of the same term.[78] Within the larger field of TS, ITr research has only recently[79] attracted the formal attention (see

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[75] Dollerup's definition of ITr ("Relay in Translation," 3-4) insists that "the intermediate translation does not cater for a genuine audience," since "L2 [i.e., the mediating text] exists only as a means of transferring the message from one language (L1) to another (L3)." For this phenomenon, Dollerup has liaison or court interpreting in mind. The term "relay," however, focuses on the mediation as "having an audience, that is consumers, of its own" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 19). Dollerup's work is a timely corrective to those who use the term ITr but focus only on the terminus (TT/L) of interlingual transfer in relation to its starting point (ST/L). It is this relation, specifically, that *indirectness* seems to denote, in his view. However, this is not how most scholars in TS define ITr, and the concept does not necessarily imply that a MT/L has no original audience, especially in the case of literary translation. As A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia argue ("Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 115), the term ITr is adequate to encompass the relation between the MT/L and TT/L and how the translator of the TT/L translated from the MT. One could argue that Dollerup emphasizes the mediation, the "relay," at the expense of valuing the product of the TT and its audience. In contrast, earlier studies on relay interpreting focused on the final users (see M. Shuttleworth and M. Cowie, *Dictionary of Translation Studies* [Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997]; and M. Snell-Hornby et al., eds., *Handbuch Translation* [Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1998]).

[76] For additional reasons for my terminological choice of "indirect translation," see the section below, "Problems with ITr Terminology."

[77] R. S. C. Lie, "Indirect Translation," in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, ed. O. Classe, vol. I (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 708.

[78] Other gnosiological aspects of the term ITr exist in the field of TS, but they are not the concern of this project. On these uses of ITr, see A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 118.

[79] The freshness of ITr research can be demonstrated by noting the recent volume of *Translation Studies* (vol. 10 no. 2 [2017]) that was devoted entirely to the question of ITr. See also Pięta's recent articles ("Theoretical, Methodological, and

IndirectTrans.com)[80] of (mostly European) scholars and is considered to be fragmented, marginal, and undertheorized.[81] The reasons for these evaluations are many, but they can be summarized with the following: 1) The modern practice of ITr is so diffuse and evolving that the research regarding the phenomenon has not been able to keep pace;[82] 2) Opinions about translation from "a (post-Romantic) Western view" place a high premium on translating close to the ST, so ITr—a practice that causes more distance from the

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Terminological Issues in Researching Indirect Translations: A Critical Annotated Bibliography," *Translation Studies* 10 [2017]: 198-216; and idem, "What Do [We Think] We Know about Indirectness in Literary Translation? A Tentative Review of the State-of-the-Art and Possible Research Avenues," in *Traducció indirecta en la literature catalana*, ed., I. G. Sala, D. S. Roig, and B. Zaboklicka [Barcelona: Punctum, 2014], 15-34), wherein she lists recent scholarly publications and scientific meetings on ITr and provides a survey of the literature on ITr.

[80] The IndirecTrans Network is "dedicated to bringing together research on indirect translation, understood as a translation of a translation," according to their website (accessed 7 June 2018 from http://www.indirectrans.com/).

[81] See A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 113; Pięta, "Theoretical, Methodological and Terminological Issues in Researching Indirect Translation," 198; idem, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 16-19; and Ringmar, "Some Remarks on Indirect Translations," in *Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2006*, ed. F. Mus (Leuven: CETRA, 2007), 1-2, who cites many TS handbooks in which ITr is either not listed or mentioned *en passant*. Ringmar, pp. 3-5, also provides a highly schematic overview of the research on ITr.

[82] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 113. See also the IndirecTrans homepage (http://www.indirectrans.com).

ultimate ST/SL—is viewed negatively,[83] or simply overlooked;[84] 3) ITr is a "necessary evil"; it is so common and essential in a world of globalization but nonetheless far from the ideal of direct translation;[85] 4) ITr is so unpredictable and unstable that it is "not

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[83] For a summary of the negative attitudes toward ITr reflecting "a (post-Romantic) Western view," see Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 142; idem, "'Roundabout Routes'," 1-2; Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 16-19; and Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 608-11. For the negative views themselves, see C. E. Landers, *Literary Translation: A Practical Guide* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), 131; P. Qvale, *From St. Jerome to Hypertext: Translation in Theory and Practice*, trans. N. R. Spencer (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2003); W. Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. L. Venuti, trans. H. Zohn, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 75-85; and J. St. André, "Lessons from Chinese History: Translation as a Collaborative and Multi-Stage Process," *TTR* 23 (2010): 71-94 (esp. p. 79). Note also Article 5.c ("Training and Working Conditions of Translators") of the 1976 UNESCO recommendation ("Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to Improve the Status of Translators"), which states, "as a general rule, a translation should be made from the original work, recourse being had to retranslation *only where absolutely necessary*" (emphasis added; accessed 13 June 2018 from http://portal.unesco. org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13089&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC &URL_SECTION=201.html). For some positive aspects of ITr, see G. Radó, "Indirect Translation," *Babel* 21 (1975): 51; and Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 24-25, who argues that ITr is sometimes "the most efficient, and sometimes the only, means of inclusion for cultural products from peripheral cultures … ITr can be perceived as a token of widespread respect or admiration for the ultimate source culture … ITr can be profitable for publishers … ITr can be used as a risk-management strategy."

[84] Dollerup ("Relay in Translation," 1) provides an additional reason why ITr (or, "relay," according to his terminology) is overlooked: STs and TTs are necessarily central to teaching and training translation, not ITrs. See also D. A. Gorlée, Review of *Surprised in Translation*, by M. A. Caw, *Symplokē* 15 (2007): 341-52.

[85] This is the impression I get from X. Jianzhong ("Retranslation: Necessary or Unnecessary," *Babel* 49 [2003]: 193-202). After asserting that ITr is "weak in accuracy" (in comparison to direct translation), divergent "to some extent from the original," and deficient in "style and spirit," he argues that we should "renounce indirect translation." Yet immediately after he expresses this sentiment, he claims that "people in the world badly need cultural exchanges in the age of globalization. If there is no direct translation or there is no one who tries to do the direct translation, how can we wait for the learners not interested in translation to do the direct translation?" (pp. 196, 199). See also Radó, who says, "Theoretically, direct translation is the better method; but in practice this is not

worthwhile" to make it the object of formal study;[86] and 5) TS is more concerned with the exchange between (hyper)central languages (i.e., languages [such as English, French, and German] in the world-system of translation that have "a larger share in the total number of translated books worldwide" or are a "substantial export and a favourable trade balance"), whereas ITr research tends to focus on (semi)peripheral languages (i.e., all languages [such as Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic] "with a share of less than one percent of the world market").[87] Despite these (mostly belittling) estimations and the question of their truth, many interesting questions prod ITr researchers to continue working in this largely neglected area.[88]

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always so … [N]one of the methods of indirect translation is as valuable as the direct method used by a good poet translation" ("Indirect Translation," 51, 58); and St. André, "Relay," 230. For more on the reasons for this attitude, see the next section.

[86] This last reason serves as the conclusion in Dollerup's article ("Relay in Translation," 10). He notes (somewhat ironically) that "it is unlikely that studies of 'relay' are relevant except in the broadest terms (like this article) to Translation Studies in general."

[87] Pięta lists this as a reason for ITr's marginalization ("What Do [We Think] We Know?" 17). The first definition comes from J. Heilbron, "Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World-System," *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (1999): 433-34, and the second from Ringmar, "Figuring out the Local within the Global," 158. See also Heilbron and G. Sapiro, "Translation: Economic and Sociological Perspectives," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*, ed. V. Ginsburgh and S. Weber, Palgrave Handbooks (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 380-81.

[88] Pięta, for example, posits that "very few of the common assumptions about ITr are supported by research" ("What Do [We Think] We Know?", 25).

Attitudes, Assumptions, and Assertions in ITr Research

The disparagement of ITr reflects dogma rather than careful study, obscuring both pragmatic and theoretical observations.[89] Nearly all the general claims proposed by scholars regarding key phenomenological observations of ITr are applicable to study of ancient Bible translations. TS scholars have identified the following historical trends in ITr:[90] 1) ITr increases when one literary system is more (geographically/linguistically) distant from another;[91] 2) Direct translation usually follows ITr in cases of retranslation (i.e., a new translation into the TL of an original ST that has already been rendered previously into the same TL);[92] 3) ITr decreases when adequacy (= source-oriented

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[89] Speaking to attitudes toward translation and ITr, St. André avers, "the disdain and mistrust of translation has been replicated in a disdain and mistrust of relay translation" ("Relay," 230).

[90] The following tendencies should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. Pięta, for example, summarizes my nos. 1, 4, and 5: "ITr occurs between (geographically/linguistically) distant languages of weak diffusion – also known as dominated (Casanova 2002), less-translated (Branchadell & West 2005), minor (Chronin 2009) or (semi)peripheral (Heilbron 1999) languages" ("What Do [We Think] We Know?" 20). Pięta here is citing the following: P. Casanova, "Consécration et accumulation de capital littéraire. La traduction comme échange inégal," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144 (Paris: Seuil, 2002), 7-20; A. Branchadell and L. M. West, eds., *Less Translated Languages* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005); M. Chronin, "Minority," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. M. Baker and G. Saldanha, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2009); and Heilbron, "Towards a Sociology of Translation."

[91] For a summary of this phenomenon, see Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 5; and Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 20, 24. Counterexamples from modern ITr can be cited, however; see B. Edström, who cites attestations of ultimate TTs that are closer to the ultimate ST than to the MT ("The Transmitter Language Problem in Translations from Japanese into Swedish," *Babel* 37 [1991]: 10-11).

[92] Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 6. Ringmar connects this idea with Gambier's "retranslation hypothesis," which claims that later TTs tend to be more

translation) increases;[93] 4) ITr increases when globalization increases;[94] 5) ITr generally involves one peripheral language into another *via* languages employed by the world system or a regional system (e.g., English → French → German in the 18th century);[95] and 6) ITr corresponds with a "low book-per-translator ratio."[96] Not all these alleged

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adequate than the initial TT (cf. "La Retraduction, retour et detour"). However, Ringmar notes exceptions to this trend in ITr (cf. P. Kujamäki, *Deutsche Stimmen der "Sieben Brüder"* [Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang, 1998]; and K. Naukkarinen, "La traduction indirecte de la littérature. Étud quantitative et comparative sur quatre traductions finnoises du "Horla" de Guy de Maupassant" (Unpub. *pro gradu* thesis: University of Helsinki, Helsinki, 2005). The specific definition of "retranslation" here comes from Dollerup, "Relay in Translation," 2, but see also Jianzhong, "Retranslation," 193-94, who does not say explicitly that retranslation involves translation of the ultimate ST in the *same* original TL, but he seems to imply it; and Gambier, "Working with Relay," 49, whose definition agrees with Dollerup's.

[93] Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 5. This trend exists for a plethora of reasons. For just one reason, J. Spirk notes that "[a]cceptability 'safeguards' a dictatorial regime against subversive forces from the outside better than adequacy. Indeed, one could reverse the argument and hypothesise that *adequacy* is a characteristic virtue of democratic political systems" (*Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-translation*, 139 [italics original]).

[94] Although Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 143, notes that globalization also can put peripheral languages—that were once connected by ITr—in direct contact (e.g., Japanese and Finnish).

[95] On the relation between ITr and a hierarchic translational world system, see Heilbron and Sapiro, "Translation: Economic and Sociological Perspectives"; P. Casanova, "Consécration et accumulation," 7-20; Heilbron, "Towards a Sociology of Translation," 429-44; Ringmar, "Von indirekten zu direkten Beziehungen im finnisch-isländischen Literaturaustausch," *trans-kom. Zeitschrift für Translationswissenschaft und Fachkommunikation* 1 (2008): 164-79; idem, "'Roundabout Routes'," 5-6; idem, "Relay Translation," 143; and idem, "Figuring out the Local within the Global," 153-78. Related to the trend of ITr involving "peripheral languages," Dollerup notes that "relay is most apparent in language transfers involving minor languages, and is most visible to public audiences in simultaneous conference interpreting" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translation," 20).

[96] Ringmar ("'Roundabout Routes'," 6) bases this ITr trend on the assumption

trends in ITr have adequate support, and, in fact, some are subject to enough counterevidence so as to problematize their status as a "trend" of ITr. However, even exceptions to a trend have relevance and must be taken seriously in a field so early in its theoretical development. Additionally, if ITr does have verifiable trends, then the data supporting them would seem to contribute to the search for general laws of translational behavior, which are currently debated in TS.[97] At the very least, these observations provide good food for thought in the evaluation of the relation between two ancient Bible translations such as S and G.[98]

The Reasons for ITr

The chief motivation for a translator to translate a MT as opposed to the ultimate ST is pragmatic, due either to the lack of access to the ultimate ST/SL or, in the event that the ultimate ST/SL is accessible, want of linguistic competence to render the ST/SL into the ultimate TT/TL.[99] The variables of geography and chronology both play integral roles

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that "if a 'special author-translator relationship' is to be established – i.e. when someone translates the quasi totality of one particular author (and does it well) – this presupposes direct translation."

[97] On translation universals, see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 295-316; and S. Halverson, "The Cognitive Basis of Translational Universals," *Target* 15 (2003): 197-241.

[98] Obviously, these trends have relevance for a wide array of ancient Bible translations, many of which are full-fledged ITrs (e.g., Syrohexapla). More on this will be discussed in the next chapter.

[99] Lie, "Indirect Translation," 708; Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 141; idem, "'Roundabout Routes'," 6; Gambier, "Working with Relay," 57; and Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 22.

in creating (spatial, linguistic, and cultural) distance between the translator and the ultimate ST/SL. Censorial restrictions on certain texts (and/or their languages) and copyright issues also can make the ultimate ST unavailable.[100] Other reasons can be practical/economic (e.g., when translating the ST/SL is more expensive to publish or would cause a delay in delivery or is simply "less risky")[101] or linguistically preferable (e.g., when the MT/L better conforms to the linguistic, literary, or multilingual tastes of the target community).[102] Political concerns can drive the (sometimes obligatory) decision to translate a specific MT/L (e.g., when translating a specific MT/L enforces and/or establishes power relations between languages, cultures, and agents within the world system of translation),[103] as well as moral or religious anxieties, cultural needs

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[100] Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?", 23; Spirk, *Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-translations*, 140; and Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 612.

[101] For example, Pięta, during her dissertation research on Portuguese translations of Polish literature, encountered several cases of ITr, the reasons for which were not due to any lack of competence of the ultimate SL but rather for cost-effective purposes (see "Entre periferias: contributo para a história externa da tradução da literatura polaca em Portugal" [Unpub. Ph.D. diss., Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 2013], as summarized in idem, "What Do [We Think] We Know?" 22). See also St. André, "Relay," 231; and Ringmar, "Figuring out the Local within the Global," 170-71.

[102] Gambier, "Working with Relay," 59; A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 114; and Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 142.

[103] As an example, Pięta ("What Do [We Think] We Know?", 23) cites a translation policy in the USSR: "the Soviets introduced a tacit rule that a book written in a language other than Russian had to be translated into Russian before it could be translated into other languages, since a direct contact of minority cultures with the West could lead to independent cultural initiatives." For the original quotation, see P. Kuhiwczak, "How Postcolonial Is Post-Communist Translation?" (accessed 17 July 2018 from http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/121/1/WRAP_Kuhiwczak_9070972-140808-

(e.g., when globalization requires widespread use of the *lingua franca*),[104] or a combination of all these factors.[105] Finally, the prestige of the MT(s), or the ML(s), can influence its(/their) selection as the ST of a translator or community.[106] The effects of ITr

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Postcommunist_tr_final.pdf). See also Gambier, "Working with Relay," 59.

[104] Gambier describes several categories of ITr that are taking place as a result of globalization: screen translation; literary translations; and conference interpreting ("Working with Relay," 54-61).

[105] As Ringmar ("Relay Translation," 141; "'Roundabout Routes'," 7) points out, the fine line between political, moral, and religious control and convenience can be difficult to draw. See also Gambier, "Working with Relay," 59; A. P. Frank, "Translation Research from a Literary and Cultural Perspective: Objectives, Concepts and Scopes," in *Übersetzung. Translation. Traduction. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungforschung. An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies. Encyclopédie internationale de la recherche sur la traduction*, ed. H. Kittel et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 806; P. Zaborov, "Die Zwischenübersetzung in der Geschichte der russischen Literatur," in *Übersetzung. Translation. Traduction* (HKS 26:3), ed. H. Kittel et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2066-2073; Marin-Lacarta, "A Brief History of Translations of Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature in Spain (1949-2009)," *1611: A Journal of Translation History* 6 (2012), available from http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/1611/art/marin2.htm (accessed 25 March 2019); Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 22-23; and Spirk, *Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-Translation*, 138.

[106] Toury argues, for example, that the selection of German, Russian, and English as MLs for translations into Hebrew in the last 250 years "was not an automatic function of the lack of mastery of the source language, and vice versa." Rather, it was the prestige and status of the languages that led to their selection (*Descriptive Translation Studies*, 161-78). See also W. Graeber and G. Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung. Eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Tübingen: Niemayer, 1988), 55; Gambier, "Working with Relay," 58-59; P. Boulogne, "The Early Dutch Construction of F. M. Dostoevskij: From Translation Data to Polysystemic Working Hypotheses," in *Translation and Its Others: Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2007*, ed. P. Boulogne (accessed 17 July 2018 from https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/files/boulogne.pdf), 14; Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 142-43; idem, "'Roundabout Routes'," 4, 6; Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 23; A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 114; and Ringmar, "Figuring

for cultural contact, diffusion, and mediation are often discussed in relation to the reasons for ITr.[107] Although these stem from studies of modern ITr, they have relevance for research into ancient Bible translations in that they problematize simplistic understandings of relations between MTs and ultimate TTs. While it may be true that some Syriac translators of the Old Testament Peshiṭta, for example, relied on earlier Greek translations (e.g., as lexical aids), this does not mean their only reason for doing so was because their ultimate ST was unintelligible. Modern ITr demonstrates that several other factors ought to be considered when exploring such relations in ancient Bible translations.

The Nomenclature of ITr Studies

Up until this point I have intentionally oversimplified the term ITr and the fluidity of metalanguage used in TS to describe it.[108] Some have characterized the terminological diversity regarding ITr as "messy," a symptom of undertheorization.[109] However, as A.

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out the Local within the Global," 165-66.

[107] For a synopsis of ITr's effects, see St. André, "Relay," 231-32.

[108] For a specific example of such "fluidity," see B. Schultze's article ("Historical and Systematical Aspects of Indirect Translation in the de Gruyter Handbuch *Übersetzung* – HKS. 26.1-3: Insight and Impulse to further Research," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 59 [2014]: 507-18) in which he lists and explicates ten different terms in the handbook that denote some aspect of ITr. Many nuances of the term, however, belong to "language-bound traditions," implying a "certain amount of historical information" (p. 517).

[109] A. Pym's term "messy" to describe the metalanguage of ITr ("Translation Research Terms: A Tentative Glossary for Moments of Perplexity and Dispute," in *Translation Research Projects* 3, ed. A. Pym [Tarragona: Intercultural Studies Group, 2011], 80) is cited in numerous ITr and TS publications. See also Pięta ("What Do [We

Assis Rosa, H. Pięta, and R. Bueno Maia argue, variety in the metalanguage used to describe ITr does not necessarily entail metalinguistic confusion. To demonstrate this claim, they provide a systematization of the pertinent terminological and semantic differences employed in TS scholarship, detect patterns in the terms, propose some underlying reasons for what appears to be metalinguistic instability, and make recommendations as regards the concept of ITr.[110] Their rationale is that

> ITr research—and TS in general—should strive for a discourse that (a) is unambiguous and harmonized (but not completely uniform); (b) optimizes (rather than unnecessarily multiplies) the already rich repertoire of terms and their meaning; and (c) cultivates "an awareness of differences in usage and where terms are clearly defined within the language and the school of thought for which they apply."[111]

After perusing a vast amount of research on ITr, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia discover no less than eighteen terms which TS scholars have utilized to denote either the *process* of ITr or its *end text* (i.e., the product).[112] Discrepancies also characterize the language of

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Think] We Know?" 17-18), who argues that there is neither a consensus on the metalanguage of ITr (in English) nor agreement on the conceptual level.

[110] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 114. Theirs, however, is not the only metalinguistic survey; see also Ringmar, "'Roundabouts Routes'," 2, which appeared a decade before theirs; Pięta, "Patterns in (In)directness: An Exploratory Case Study in the External History of Portuguese Translations of Polish Literature (1855-2020)," *Target* 24 (2012): 310-37; and B. Schultze, "Historical and Systematical Aspects of Indirect Translation," 507-18.

[111] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 114. The quotation is from M. Snell-Hornby, "'What's in a Name? On Metalinguistic Confusion in Translation Studies," *Target* 19 (2007): 313-25.

[112] See the helpful Tables (1-4) and bibliography in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 115-17. The eighteen terms and their denotations are: compilative translation (process and end text); double translation (process and end text); eclectic translation (process and end text); end target

the ultimate TT[113] and other intervening texts[114] and their respective languages.[115] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia indicate through several Tables how disparate terms in the scholarly literature denote similar realities and how similar terms designate different meanings. Their preferred terminology (which I described above and adopt in this project) to indicate the metatextual chain of communication (both the *process* and *end text* of ITr) is as follows: the ultimate ST/SL → MT/ML → ultimate TT/TL.[116] They provide three benefits that follow from their choice of terminology. First, as opposed to terms that stress the translator's activity of producing the MT (e.g., "pivot" or "relay"

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text (end text); final translation (end text); indirect translation (process and end text); intermediate translation (process and end text); mediated translation (process and end text); pivot translation (process); receptor text (end text); relay translation (process); relayed translation (end text); retranslation or re-translation (process); second-hand translation (process); secondary, tertiary, etc. translation (end text); T2 (end text); target text (end text); and ultimate target text (end text).

[113] Ibid., Table 2. These are as follows: language C; target language; third language; and ultimate target language.

[114] Ibid. Table 3. These are as follows: first-hand translation; indirect translation; intermediate translation (text/version); intermediary translation (text/version); mediating text; original (text); original source text; pivot (translation); primary source (text/translation/version); relay translation; source text; target text; ultimate original; ultimate source text.

[115] Ibid. Table 4. These are as follows: clearing house (language); gateway language; intermediary language; language A, B; mediating language; mediator language; middle language; original source language; pivot language; relay translation; second, third language, etc.; source language; target language; transmitter language; and ultimate source language.

[116] Ibid., 115. Note also the forthrightness of A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia in acknowledging how the impact of DTS and G. Toury's preferred terminology (e.g., "indirect translation"; "ultimate SL") in *Descriptive Translation Studies* have motivated their own choice (p. 116).

translation), ITr highlights "the much more significant action" of the translator working from the MT. Second, terms like "relay" or "retranslation" lack a clear antonym, whereas ITr has "direct translation" for its antonym. And third, ITr functions as a "convenient umbrella term" to incorporate other hyponyms (e.g., "compilative" translation [i.e., a translation compiled from more than one MT, including MTs with different MLs] and "second-hand translation" [i.e., a translation of a translation of the ultimate ST]).[117]

The patterns A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia deduce from the terminological confusion in the literature vary according to scholars' native languages (e.g., native Iberian language speakers versus native English speakers), the specific foci of the studies examined (e.g., process versus end text), the models upon which studies are based (e.g., "relay translation" is based on modern "relay interpreting"), and the mode of translation (audiovisual; machine; literary; etc.). This variation, they claim, is due to the "complex and constantly evolving" nature of ITr and the terminological preferences of certain national/linguistic traditions and school/branch affiliations.[118] It is for reasons like these that they opt for an inclusive definition of ITr, which I will develop below.

The point in going into TS's metalinguistic debate regarding ITr terminology is to demonstrate that TS scholars have been laboring to understand a complex phenomenon and produce results that, in my opinion, have immediate application to BS whose claims of versional influence of one translation on another lack a strong theoretical framework.

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., 117-18.

Interaction between both fields promises to be mutually informative, as many ancient Bible translations classify as ITrs, albeit of differing degrees and kinds.

Toward an Inclusive Definition of ITr

The complexity of ITr is often shrouded by simplistic definitions provided by TS scholars. For example, the definition of H. Kittel and A. P. Frank seems to allow for only one ST/L, one MT/L, and one TT/L, involving three different cultures (source, mediating, and target): "[ITr is] based on a source (or sources) which is itself a translation into a language other than the language of the original, or the target language."[119] However, Toury's process-oriented definition leaves open the number of MTs and allows, theoretically, for cases of ITr that involve only two languages: "[ITr is] translating from languages other than the ultimate SLs" (e.g., L1>L2>L1).[120] Others insist that ITr involves no less than three languages, ruling out situations involving back-translation (L1>L2>L1), interlingual translation of intralingual modernization (L1>L1>L2), and retranslation (L1>L2>L2). M. Ringmar notes the practice of "eclectic translation," the

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[119] H. Kittel and A. P. Frank, "Introduction," 3. See also A. Pym's recent formulation: "[ITr is] the historical process of translation from an intermediary version. For example, Poe was translated into French by Baudelaire, then from French into Spanish by a number of poets. The Spanish versions would then be called 'indirect translations', and the first translation, into French, could then logically be called a 'direct translation'" ("Translation Research Terms," 80), as cited in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 119.

[120] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 82. See also Gambier's simple definition of ITr as "a translation of a translation" ("La retraduction, retour et detour," 413; and "Working with Relay," 57), which seems not to impose any number of languages.

phenomenon observed when "several source texts are used, one of which may (or may not) be the original ST."[121] And Dollerup highlights that while the end-product of ITr is static, this static translation "may be used for other dynamic translation or interpreting processes," in which case there is "no finality to this process: translations of the same text can continue indefinitely, not only within the same binary language pair, but also between languages and cultures."[122] In light of the complexity involved in conceptualizing the different communicative chains possible in ITr, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia rightly stress the multifaceted nature of most situations involving ITr: "Reality tends to involve one or more texts in the ultimate SL, one or more texts in a mediating language, one or more texts in several mediating languages, and sometimes mediating texts in the ultimate TL, too."[123] This fact leads them to posit a "flexible inclusive approach" to defining ITr, which corresponds well with the basic concept of *indirectness*

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[121] Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 3. See also J. Levý's term "*kompilierte Übersetzung*" in *Die literarische Übersetzung,* trans. W. Schamschula (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1969), 162.

[122] Dollerup, "'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 23. This idea serves as another reason why he prefers the term "relay" as opposed to "indirect translation." In his view, ITr "implies not only that intermediary realisations are ephemeral, but also that the translation in hand is the only end product imaginable," but I find this argument exaggerated.

[123] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 119. See also Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 19-20. See also the similar comment by Marin-Lacarta ("Indirectness in Literary Translation," 135), "ITr demonstrates the complexity of translation and literary reception, as translation is rarely a simple operation in which a single ST is translated into a target text (TT) by only one person."

I formulated above.[124]

To exemplify ITr's complexity and the need to define ITr more transparently than is usually articulated, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia delineate four subtypes of ITr and five types of indirectness. Regarding the former, they provide the following designations:

1) direct vs. indirect translation (using the ultimate ST[s] vs. using mediating STs);
2) compilative ITr (using more than one mediating text);
3) mixed ITr (using both the ultimate ST and mediating text[s]); and
4) hidden or open ITr (camouflaged or explicitly presented as an ITr?).[125]

And concerning the types of indirectness, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia suggest that they depend on:

1) the number and type of mediating texts involved in the process (one or more?);
2) the number of intervening languages (one or more?) and their choice—involving the use of only one mediating language vs. the use of more than one mediating language and/or the ultimate SL, one or more mediating language(s), and the ultimate TL;
3) the degree of indirectness (second-hand, third-hand …);
4) the presentation of indirectness (hidden or open? pseudotranslation?);[126] and
5) the status of indirectness.[127]

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[124] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 119-21.

[125] Ibid.

[126] One could include cases of *droit moral* in this category.

[127] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 119-21. These "types" of ITr adequately encompass the concept of "support translation" that Dollerup develops. He defines support translation as "the strategy in which, translating a given source text, translators check translations into languages other than their own target language in order to see whether colleagues have found satisfactory solutions to certain problems – usually only to find that it is the same passages which prove problematic to translators in related languages" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 23-24).

According to this schema, the former subtypes of ITr describe the *extent* of mediation in a specific translational product and whether the translator (intentionally or unintentionally) draws attention to that mediation, whereas the latter types of indirectness define the different variables that can characterize each mediation. For example, a case of mixed ITr may involve the translator's use of the ultimate ST and several MTs, not all of which are in the same language (e.g., a Syriac translator using a Hebrew text as his ultimate ST but also relying on older Greek and Aramaic translations as aids). Just how "mixed" a specific ITr is depends on the type of indirectness it exhibits. Any thorough study of an ITr would need to include an evaluation of its indirectness before determining its subtype. For reasons provided at the beginning of this chapter, S-Isa's relation to G-Isa has not been examined with all these variables in mind. If one is to offer a robust explanation of such a relation, then only a full delineation of the possibilities will suffice, hence the reason for listing them here.

Types of indirectness can be further distinguished, adding clarity to the nature and practice of ITr. For example, one can analyze the language of an intervening text (ultimate ST vs. MT vs. ultimate TT), its role in the translation process (primary vs. secondary), the extent to which it is used during the translation process (permanent vs. occasional use),[128] and what its status is/was within a world or regional translation

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[128] Clarifying relay and support translation, Dollerup too notes that each differs in their degree of dependence: "in pure *relay,* the translator uses the totality of another translator's text, whereas in regular cases of *support translation* we meet isolated fragments within these wholes" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 24 [emphasis original]). See also Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 135.

system, distinguishing between the ultimate SL, ML, and TL, and examining these in light of categories from Systems Theory (e.g., "dominated/[semi-]peripheral language[s]" vs. "dominant/[hyper]central language[s]").[129] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia note how important these identifications could be to provide descriptive, descriptive-explanatory and, better yet, predictive studies of ITr. Concerning S-Isa's relation to G-Isa, all these types of indirectness provide different angles at which to view the role that G-Isa *and* the Greek language may have played in the formation of S-Isa.

A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia also demonstrate how one can elucidate the nature of indirectness of a translation by examining the intended receiver of an intervening text (public [= a target culture] vs. private [= only the translator]).[130] Definitions of this aspect of ITr have varied widely, with some imposing no restrictions on who receives the translation[131] and others requiring that MTs are intended *only* for the translators working from them[132] or for the wider public.[133] Definitions also differ theoretically in

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[129] On this latter point about world systems, see the studies by P. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. Debevoise (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004); Heilbron, "Towards a Sociology of Translation"; and idem, "Structure and Dynamics of the World System of Translation," UNESCO, International Symposium, "Translation and Cultural Mediation," February 23-23, 2010. Accessed 11 June 2018 from http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/40619/12684038723Heilbron.pdf/Heilbron.pdf.

[130] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 119-20.

[131] Gambier, "La retraduction, retour et detour," 413.

[132] Dollerup, "'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 19.

[133] See A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 120, who prefer an inclusive approach which does not "impose

conceptualizing the relation between the ML, ultimate SL, and ultimate TL. A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia explicate this complicated state of affairs with the following statement:

> Some definitions impose no restrictions as to this relationship (Gambier 1994, 413); others stress that the *mediating language differs from both the ultimate SL and the ultimate TL,* thus making it impossible to consider retranslation or interlingual translation of intralingual modernization as ITr, but possible to consider back-translation as ITr (Kittel and Frank 1991, 3); still others point out that *the mediating language differs from the ultimate SL*, thus making it impossible to consider interlingual translation of intralingual modernization as ITr, but possible to consider back-translation and retranslation as ITr (Toury 2012, 82); whereas other definitions stress that *the mediating language differs from the ultimate TL*, thus making it impossible to consider retranslation as ITr, but possible to consider back-translation and interlingual translation of intralingual modernization as ITr (Toury 1988, 139).[134]

In light of all these variables concerning the ways scholars have conceived of ITr, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia posit a trifold classification system for understanding the phenomenon. Their classification system is based on three variables (the number of intervening texts; the number of intervening languages; and the choice of intervening languages), the criteria for which allows for the identification of ten categories (see Fig. 1 below):

Table 5 in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia (2017: 122) (Fig. 1)

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restrictions" on any of these variables.

[134] Ibid. Their citation of Toury (1988) is from "Translating English Literature via German and Vice Versa: A Symptomatic Reversal in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature," in *Die literarische Übersetzung. Stand und Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung,* ed. H. Kittel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt), 139-57.

Tentative Classification of ITr			
Texts	Languages	Language and Texts	Classification of process and utlimate TT
1 ultimate ST	1 language	1 ultimate SL text 1 mediating language text 1 ultimate TL text	1. Direct translation 2. ITr (mediating language-mediated) 3. ITr (ultimate TL-mediated)? Or retranslation?
n intervening texts = **compilative**	1 language / n texts	n ultimate SL texts n mediating language texts n ultimate TL texts	4. Compilative direct translation 5. Compilative ITr (mediating language-mediated) 6. Compilative ITr (ultimate TL-mediated)
	n languages / n texts = **mixed**	ultimate SL + mediating language texts ultimate SL + ultimate TL texts mediating language + ultimate TL texts ultimate SL + mediating language + ultimate TL texts	7. Compilative mixed direct and ITr (mediating language-mediated) 8. Compilative mixed direct and indirect (ultimate TL-mediated) 9. Compilative mixed indirect (mediating language + ultimate TL-mediated) 10. Compilative mixed direct and indirect (mediating language + ultimate TL-mediated)

The various combinations in this chart can be subcategorized, drawing out other relevant variables that can characterize indirectness. Since A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's list of these subcategorizations of indirectness is essentially the same as the "types of indirectness" mentioned above, I will not expound on it here.[135]

[135] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's nine variables for subcategorizing indirectness are: 1) the presentation of indirectness (exposed vs. hidden ITrs); 2) the degree of indirectness of the translation process (second-hand; third-hand translation; etc.); 3) the degree of indirectness of the proofreading process and editing process; 4) the mediating language(s) (the number of languages/cultures involved and their statuses); 5) the text-type (literary vs. non-literary; genre; mode; medium; etc.); 6) the participants (author; translator; publisher; editor; proofreader; intended reader; and their profiles); 7) the setting (time and place of publication); 8) the intercultural relations (the existence of non-existence of diplomatic relations between countries; ideological and political affinities between regimes); and 9) the degree of tolerance towards indirectness (greater vs. lower tolerance) ("Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 121-22). A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's first subcategory actually reads "the subcategory of indirectness," which is senseless and tautologous; they must have meant "the presentation of indirectness," given the following parenthetic comment (exposed vs. hidden ITrs).

While not all the variables A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia provide are equally applicable to the question of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa (and, possibly, other mediations), I find their trifold classification system and subcategorizations of indirectness to be of significant aid in providing the conceptual clarity and terminological precision by which to illuminate and explain the complex relation between S- and G-Isa and, for that matter, many extant examples of ITr in ancient Bible translation. Reflecting on all these categories, though, I wonder if some important aspects of indirectness have not been considered in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's introduction, namely, the *means* and *intent* of indirectness, which I highlighted at the beginning of this chapter in my basic definition. When discussing ITr, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia seem to assume that ITr is always performed directly (i.e., by direct engagement with an external mediation) and intentionally. But clearly there must be a category for *indirect* ITr, which can occur with or *without* consciousness. What I have in mind are situations where a translator accesses an extrinsic mediation through indirect means (i.e., his own memory). The specific example I gave above about the ancient translator who had large swaths of earlier translations memorized necessarily requires that we have categories for agency and intent. Should we fail to conceptualize such realities, our methodology will necessarily present a distorted picture, for we would identify cases of indirect ITr as ITr.

Some Implications for Biblical Studies

The importance of this indirect ITr :: ITr distinction likely will be felt more so by biblical scholars than translation scholars, as the former are often required to reconstruct

the earliest inferable archetype of Scripture for commentaries and critical editions.[136] A confusion between the translator's ST, deviations stemming from his own intrinsic *Übersetzungsweise*, incorporations of one or more extrinsic MTs *via* his own memory (executed intentionally or unintentionally), and dependence on an extrinsic MT by his direct, physical engagement with it has obvious text-critical implications. Textual critics of the Hebrew Bible should neither attribute a reading to the ultimate ST that arose in the transmission process nor offer "variants" that find their explanation in the translator's method, rather than in his *Vorlage*. However, many textual scholars reveal predispositions to interpret certain readings as having their explanation in the translator's "consultation" of a specific extrinsic MT, assuming a model of ITr in which only direct engagement with the MT/L is possible, such as a Peshiṭta translator's use of a Greek manuscript during the actual translation event.[137] All other agreements between the ultimate TT and MT (against the ultimate ST) that have met some (oftentimes laconic) criteria are then evaluated within the same framework involving the translator's direct access to the MT.[138] But is such a model of direct access and means realistic? Should we

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[136] On this note, see the section, "Textual Criticism of S-Isa: From Collation to Critical Edition," in Chapter 1 and the bibliography cited there.

[137] While many examples could be cited, see Gelston who argues that the Syriac translator of the Dodekapropheton occasionally "consulted" G (*The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, 160-77). Weitzman, too, uses similar terminology (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 68-86).

[138] The criteria Tully enumerates for determining G's influence on S-Hosea (i.e., S misunderstands and translates G; S amalgamates both M and G; and S is explicable only on the basis of G), for example, are clearly and carefully articulated, but his list of S-G agreements that, according to him, betray influence from G all assume a model of direct access: "The translator of P must have had a Greek text in front of him

believe that in all cases of ITr translators rely on external mediations both intentionally and directly, especially in ancient Bible translation?

Those who use a model of direct access to understand S's relation to G make several assumptions about the individual translators' sociocultural context that are not easily defensible. Questions such as whether the Peshiṭta translators had access to copies of Greek manuscripts and, even if they did, whether all the translators could easily consult them during the process of translation must be investigated rather than assumed. Even the criteria some scholars offer to determine G's influence on a Peshiṭta translator do not necessitate a model of *direct* dependence; S can appear to mistranslate G, include amalgamations of both M and G, and be explicable only on the basis of G, and all these readings may in fact have their explanations in G, but none of these possibilities require direct, physical consultation with a Greek manuscript in the real world.[139] Such a

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and checked it frequently as he progressed" (*The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea,* 297). For similar criteria that pre-date Tully's work, see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament,* 86.

[139] Of course, a criterion that takes the extent of mediation into consideration and is based on clear evidence could very well preclude a model of indirect means. For example, scholars who have worked on S-Proverbs have suggested—based on numerous *patterned* S-G agreements—that the translator relied heavily on G, including the translation of G's additions. This kind of influence, though unique in the Peshiṭta, suggests a more direct model of extrinsic mediation, since it is difficult to fathom a translator working purely from memory. See H. Pinkuss, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien, textkritisch und in ihrem Verhältniss zu dem masoretischen Text, den LXX und dem Targum untersucht," *ZAW* 14 (1894): 65-141, 161-222; J. Joosten, "Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij, MPIL 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 63-72; and C. Hyun, "A Study of the Translation Technique of Peshitta Proverbs," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2000), 120-23; and Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the

hypothesis significantly weakens if S-G agreements in a specific book are inconsistent or sporadic. Thus, a model of ITr that takes into account the nature, number, extent, and means of mediation on different yet related continua more clearly allows us to conceptualize the full range of options that realistically obtain in ancient Bible translation.

A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, do address an aspect of means when they discuss their methodology. They argue that the translation scholar should conduct epitextual analysis on a specific translation, by which they mean investigating material outside of the translation to uncover the translator's sociocultural context and the texts and languages to which he may have had access (see the section "Epitextual Analysis – Stage 2" below). While it is important to determine the various types and number of sources and languages (both STs/SLs and MTs/MLs) that a given translator could have consulted *directly*, it is a completely different matter to discuss instrumentality, that is, how each source was accessed and engaged. Whether it remains possible to identify the means of access is not the point; that translators frequently do employ extrinsic mediations *indirectly* requires that we account for the phenomenon theoretically.

Methods for Exploring ITr

There is a distinction between exploring ITr as a large-scale phenomenon in and of itself and studying specific ITrs that comprise TTs. The latter discipline involves the reconstruction of the translation process and the discovery and exposition of the pre-

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Septuagint."

history, *Sitz im Leben*, and reception history of a specific ITr (= TT), embodying the goal of Translation History and sharing its critical methodology. Central to this task, however, is the ability to identify the specific texts and languages that constitute an ITr's chain of communication (ultimate ST/L → MT/L → TT/L), thus requiring an additional set of research tools by which to identify the MT in the ultimate TT and the historical record (*via* paratextual and textual analysis) and describe the MT's relation to both the ultimate ST and TT. Since this kind of investigation involves "considerable work with texts" and focuses on a text's "internal history," A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia insightfully point out how it is "more closely linked with the traditional practices of close reading as literary criticism or the Spanish *filología* or the renewed area of genetic criticism."[140] Other questions, however, about *who* was the translator of a specific ultimate TT, *why* that translator rendered a MT/L into his TT/L (as opposed to the ultimate ST/L), and *where* and *when* that translator executed his task are, while central to the aims of Translation History and certainly not unrelated to a close reading of texts, not as amenable to literary critical evaluation since their focus is on a text's "external history," requiring research into a text's context.[141]

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[140] Ibid., 125. By "genetic criticism," I take A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia to mean the kind of analysis that seeks to understand the process of how a text came to be.

[141] C. Koster ("The Translator in between Texts: On the Textual Presence of the Translator as an Issue in the Methodology of Comparative Translation Description," in *Translation Studies: Perspectives on an Emerging Discipline*, ed. A. Riccardi [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 24-37) differentiates between external history (i.e., "the kind of history to be construed from context") and internal history (i.e., "the kind of history to be construed from text"), as cited in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 124. See the comparable distinction in Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing,

In contrast to a literary critical evaluation, ITr as a phenomenon evaluates the nature of the linguistic, translational, and sociocultural phenomena inherent to ITr, describes the conditions that, when met, generally give rise to ITrs, detects and classifies the norms that most often govern the process, and lists the kind of text-linguistic transformations that characterize ITrs.[142] This aspect of ITr research is concerned with answering the question "How?" and, as noted by A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, tends to be secondary, consolidating the insights and trends gleaned from case studies in Translation History on the direct or indirect nature of specific literary works and proposing hypotheses to explain the data.[143]

The logic behind A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's order of inquiry seems correct, though it seems to me that certain aspects of each discipline must be studied simultaneously, especially in the evaluation and description of translational norms. Nevertheless, one goal of this project is to contribute another "case study" to the larger body of research on ITr. Since most of the ITr research currently executed by TS scholars concerns ultimate STs, MTs, and ultimate TTs of relatively modern date, analysis of similar phenomena in ancient translations (prior to the fall of Rome in 476 CE) is a real *desideratum*.[144] However, this project would be incomplete without exploring the

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1998), 5.

[142] For more on this distinction, see A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 122.

[143] Pięta, "What Do (We Think) We Know?" 17. See also ibid., 125.

[144] Note the call for international collaboration at the conclusion of the essay by A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia ("Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues,"

phenomenon of ITr, since a philological or literary critical analysis of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa should go beyond how to determine such a relation, methodologically; it should explain what the relation signifies, what translational norms and text-linguistic decisions characterize that relation, and how we are to account for the relation, when and if it exists.

The Four-Stage Methodological Process of A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia

While they do not list their method of analysis in a systematic fashion, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia seem to proffer a four-stage methodological process by which to detect ultimate STs, compare and identify intervening texts (and languages) in the production of ultimate TTs, and form hypotheses to explain the observed phenomena in a specific case study: 1) peritextual/textual analysis; 2) epitextual analysis; 3) macro-structural/micro-textual comparison; and 4) formulation of hypotheses.[145] Moving from sociocultural backdrop to case study, context to text, and macro- to micro-level textual analysis, their translation historical approach assumes that large historical hypotheses should not be

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127): "An urgent task appears to be to collect the multiple relevant conclusions and hypotheses spread across multiple case studies published in various countries or presented in different universities. This would require the creation of an international research team willing to list and (critically) read works in translation history, the corpora of which deal with ITrs. The data to be thus gathered will hopefully allow for drawing a chronology of the analysed historical episodes and mapping such episodes may enable us to identify explored and unexplored eras and contexts. ITr is collaborative in nature. So is the research on ITr. Work hard. Work together. This is its most valuable methodological recommendation."

[145] Ibid., 122-26. Each of these will be described in the next section. The term "epitextual" is not their label for this stage, but one I have adopted from G. Gennette (see fn. 150 below).

erected on the results from study of only a few translations. They espouse the opinion of A. Pym, who claims that "little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations. Worse, quite superficial history can result from hypotheses that are pumped up after summary testing on just one or two cases."[146] Thus, an answer to the question of Why ITr occurs? *should* be built upon numerous studies of both direct and indirect translation in different contexts.[147] However, the "fragmentary" and "dispersed" nature of our present knowledge regarding ITr requires that we tackle the same question "by means of hypotheses based on such case studies." A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia reject the inference that, because "different episodes of the history of ITr" yield "multiple conclusions," this should deter scholars from pursuing ITr research. Rather, they believe that ITr has much to contribute to "timely questions" and "real-life concerns."[148] Such a hermeneutical circle does not preclude proper interpretation; it merely stresses that all analysis and

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[146] Pym, *Method in Translation History*, 39, as cited in A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 125. On the point about macro- to micro-level textual research, see also A. Rosa, "The Short Story in English Meets the Portuguese Reader: On the 'External History' of Portuguese Anthologies of Short Stories Translated from English," in *Translation in Anthologies and Collections (19th and 20th Centuries)*, ed. T. Seruya et al. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2013), 35-56.

[147] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 125.

[148] Ibid., 125-26. For examples of "real-life concerns," they list the following: 1) the demand for migrant communities to adopt *lingua franca* because of pressures stemming from an increasingly globalized world; 2) micro-cosmopolitan gestures to engage with culturally distant Others (see also M. Cronin, *Translation and Identity* [Oxford: Routledge, 2006]); and 3) the need to denounce "malign consequences, of the colonizing power of global languages, as the homogenizing role of English translations" (see also L. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* [London: Routledge, 1995]).

synthesis begins somewhere and must be pursued from multiple angles to acquire valid results (cultural; historical; literary; etc.). As regards S-Isa's relation to G-Isa, this means evaluating the sociocultural context of S-Isa, comparing S-Isa with G-Isa, explaining the results, and forming hypotheses to account for the data based on prior studies in ITr and other target-oriented analyses.

Peritextual & Textual Analysis – Stage 1

Generally speaking, paratextual analysis involves examining "all the verbal or non-verbal material which frames and extends a given text."[149] G. Gennette's distinction between peritext (all paratextual material "within the same volume")[150] and epitext ("any paratextual element not materially appended to the text within the same volume, but circulating … in a virtually limitless physical and social space") provides a clear typology by which to categorize the different kinds of paratextual material one may encounter.[151] Because peritextual information for ancient Bible translations is limited to the occasional marginal or supralinear note or colophon (in later translations), this stage

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[149] This broad definition of paratextual material comes from S. Deane-Cox, *Retranslation: Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation*, Bloomsbury Advances in Translation Studies (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 26.

[150] G. Gennette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4-5. Also cited in Deane-Cox, *Retranslation*, 27. I find Gennette's structuralist definition of "paratext" less helpful for the methodological aim of identifying ITrs: "[A paratext] constitutes a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, and influence … that is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it" (p. 2).

[151] Ibid., 344. Also cited in Deane-Cox, *Retranslation*, 27.

is mostly irrelevant to the study of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa. But even if more information were extant, it would not constitute *prima facie* evidence; it, too, would have to be interpreted critically.[152] Marin-Lacarta states that peritextual analysis is helpful for at least five reasons:

1) to identify or rectify the type of translation, ML, and MT;
2) to examine the attitudes toward ITrs;
3) to provide information about the reasons for ITr;
4) to help study the image and reception of a foreign literature and, more importantly, the role played by mediation in creating that image; and
5) to provide information about translators' views on translations, which are useful for examining the effects of ITr on the TT, and on attitudes towards ITr, MLs, and MTs.[153]

More relevant is the suggestion of A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia that textual analysis of the translation itself may provide "discursive slots" that reveal information about the ultimate ST, MT, and ultimate TT authors.[154] This would involve identifying cases of negative interference from the MT/L, including macro-level shifts[155] (e.g., mediation of a

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[152] On the untrustworthy nature of much paratextual material accompanying ITrs, see Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 7; idem, "Relay Translation," 143; and A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 125.

[153] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 138.

[154] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 123. Without specifying, they seem to imply that peritextual and textual analysis should be practiced in tandem. The language of "discursive slots" comes from Pym, *Method in Translation History,* 62. For additional sources on the role paratextual material plays in identifying ITrs, see J. Lambert and H. van Gorp, "On Describing Translation," in *The Manipulation of Literature,* ed. T. Hermans (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1985), 42-53.

[155] For an example of a macro-level shift, A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia ("Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 123) recount how foreign novels were adapted according to French taste in eighteenth-century France. These translations (*les belles infidèles*) involved cutting and adding material so that the result

third language's code[156] or poetics[157]) as well as micro-level shifts (e.g., linguistic interference; errors; syntactical structure; loan words; proper names; and other perpetuated tendencies [explicitation; omissions; additions]).[158] The goal of this stage of research is to identify a certain TT as an ITr; identification of eligible MTs (and their

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comported with "all expected topoi" in French culture (i.e., "adventurous episodes with customs and daggers and a happy married ending"). Until the mid-twentieth-century, these translations regularly served as the MTs of other European TTs, "due to French's hegemonic status in the World Republic of Letters." Ringmar ("'Roundabout Routes'," 11-12) and Spirk (*Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-translations*, 140) also mention this same example. For the bibliography on *les belles infidèles*, see van Gorp, "Translation and Literary Genre: The European Picaresque Novel in the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *The Manipulation of Literature*, 136-49; P. Boulogne, "The French Influence in the Early Dutch Reception of F. M. Dostoevsky's Brat'ja Karamazovy: A Case Study," *Babel* 55 (2009): 264-84; and Maia, "De como o Lázaro de Tormes e o Diabo Coxo entraram em Portugal e de como aí se apresentaram," in *Perfiles de la traducción hispano-portuguesa III*, ed. X. M. Dasilva (Vigo: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2010), 99-114.

[156] On this point, see I. Even-Zohar, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," in *Polysystem Studies. Special Issue of Poetics Today: International Journal for Theory and Analysis of Literature and Communication* 11 (1990): 45-51.

[157] A. Lefevere, "Why Waste Our Time in Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm," in *The Manipulation of Literature*, 42-53.

[158] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 123. See also Ringmar, "Relay Translation," 142. Interestingly, Dollerup's research in relay interpreting demonstrates that errors are not always the product of relay, "but are due to the first interpreter's misunderstanding of the original sender," or they are "caused by the original speakers." He also finds that deviations from the original increase more in written public translations than in professional simultaneous conference interpreting, partly because of disparities in the audiences' cultural differences, and partly because of the absence of the sender who through body language and other means can offer corrective elements ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 20-21).

languages) and ultimate STs involves subsequent processes of investigation. Although, in many cases, peritextual/textual analysis will also lay bare the ultimate ST/L underlying the specific MT/L that served as the ST of the ultimate TT.

Obviously, if a scholar is looking for a list of possible ITrs to investigate, then, at least within the field of Translation History, there is a previous methodological step to add: consulting bibliographic databases and catalogues. This seems to be the first methodological step in Marin-Lacarta's essay.[159] However, she argues that the data are frequently unreliable. For example, the *Index Translationum* includes hidden ITrs as if they were DTrs; some marked ITrs are included as if they were DTrs; and marked ITrs are sometimes excluded from the list of results.[160]

Epitextual Analysis – Stage 2

Research on epitextual material constitutes the second stage of research. By identifying the nature and number of MTs and MLs that were accessible to the translator, as well as learning as much as possible about the translator himself (e.g., his background, stance [*position traductive*], working languages, professional activity, authored works and translations), the scholar is better equipped in subsequent stages of analysis to

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[159] "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 136-37.

[160] Marin-Lacarta's analysis of the *Index Translationum* is also found in her dissertation, "Mediación, recepción y marginalidad: las traducciones de literatura china moderna y contemporánea en España (Ph.D. diss., Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012), as cited in "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 136-37. Ringmar also characterizes the index as "notoriously unreliable" ("Figuring out the Local with the Global," 156-57).

calculate the ultimate TT's level of indirectness from the ultimate ST and the MT's (or MTs') effects on the ultimate TT.[161] This task is a historical one, including the examination of translators' biographies (Which languages did they know and use? Which books were in their personal libraries? Where did they live? Did they know the author of the ultimate ST or any other translators of the ultimate ST?), the sociocultural context (What was the book market like at the time of translation? Which translations were most widely used? Which publishers were exporting to the city where the TT was produced? Which booksellers were providing foreign-language literature and from which languages?), and the *lingua franca* of the time and space of the TT (Were there bridge-languages? [e.g., regions near national borders, or literary and cultural associations devoted to particular foreign situations])?[162] The goal of this stage is to reconstruct the *l'horizon du traducteur*, giving attention to the translator's literary, cultural, and historical setting.[163] Researchers can collect this kind of information from bibliographic databases, archival research (e.g., translators' correspondence), paratextual information, book reviews, interviews, translators' biographies, and every primary and secondary source pertinent to the MTs and TTs under investigation.

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[161] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 124; and Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 139-41.

[162] This list of epitextual sources and research questions comes from A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 124.

[163] A. Berman, *Pour une critique des traductions: John Donne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 79-83; and Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 141.

While epitextual analysis remains simple in concept, several scholars working in ITr describe how complicated such an enterprise can be, especially in the assessment of data that is (relatively) modern:

> Firstly, such a project depends on the researcher's knowledge of the language(s) of the ultimate ST, potential mediating texts, and ultimate TT, namely Russian, French, German, and Dutch; and considerable time and financial means to explore potential mediating texts, namely the pre-existing French and German translations.[164]

> Unfortunately, there is an inherent difficulty here, in terms of corpus construction: the more significant the role of intermediate translation, the more severe the problems involved in establishing the body of texts that should be taken into account when the history of translation and its role in culture as a whole are subjected to research.[165]

> Perhaps one of the reasons why indirect translations are not a favourite academic topic consists precisely in the difficulty of establishing the appropriate body of texts.[166]

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[164] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 124. This sentiment is expressed numerous times in their essay: "[ITr] is a very time-consuming and costly area of research" (p. 123); "Identifying ITrs is a very complex process" (p. 123); "Identifying ITr, mediating texts and mediating languages is very demanding in terms of textual analysis and, thus, time-consuming" (p. 125).

[165] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 166.

[166] Spirk, *Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-translations*, 141. Spirk goes on to say, however, that identifying MTs is not necessary to study ITR: "It is a matter of delimiting one's research territory, of *operationalisation*, of posing and attempting to answer researchable questions. Including the *mediating texts* (MTs) would be likely to produce more *(micro-) textual* results. But that is expressly *not* our primary aim. Rather, we want to know what impression the 20th-century Portuguese reader – with no knowledge of other languages – could gain of Czech literature" (italics and emphasis original). While this aim for ITr research seems valid, I list it here in a footnote because it is not the aim of my project. A minority of TS scholars require MT identification as a prerequisite to the study of ITr (see C. Frei, "A obra literária entre a tradução indirecta ou a importância da arqueologia crítico-textual," in *Lengua, traducción, recepción: En honor de Julio César Santoyo*, ed. J. J. L. Fernández and J. L. Chamosa [León:

While difficult in practice, epitextual analysis constitutes an essential step in reconstructing the world of the translator and discovering as much as possible about the translator himself. Admittedly, we can know nothing specific about the translator of S-Isa aside from his translation. However, the more we know about his religious, sociocultural, historical, literary, and scribal context, the better we can understand the resources to which he may have had access or by which he may have been influenced. Additionally, epitextual research into the role of Greek in ancient Edessa, its bilingual context, its translational practices in the second and third centuries CE, and the role of education in eastern Syria may shed light on the translator's background.

Macro-Structural/Micro-Textual Comparison – Stage 3

Once the list of eligible ultimate STs and MT/Ls has been determined for the specific ultimate TT in view, one is able to compare each possible MT with the ultimate TT and provide descriptive results.[167] The level of comparison should occur on both the macro-structural and micro-textual levels. One can elaborate specifically on the effects that ITr had on a specific TT, such as how the ITr increased distance from or proximity to the ST (in comparison to the MT) by obscuring or reinstating grammatical distinctions, reproducing mistakes in the MT, omitting cultural specificities or deviating from norms irrelevant to the target audience, and taking more liberties than the translator of the

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Universidad León, 2012], 195-222).

[167] However, not every ST edition is possible to access and, even if it is, the researcher may lack the linguistic competence to read it. On this point, see Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 142.

MT.[168] The methodology of DTS is particularly compatible to this kind of micro-level, retrospective analysis on an ultimate TT, since it offers descriptive power for explaining and mapping the types of translational shifts (and their regularities) evidenced in the translation. On the heuristic principle that "beyond the boundaries of a target-text segment, no leftovers of the source-text segment will have remained (and *vice versa*)," DTS employs the concept of "coupled pairs" (i.e., the process whereby the source and TT are evaluated in tandem and translational problems and their solutions are discovered simultaneously) to identify translation shifts.[169] Depending on the ITr, only close analysis of both the ultimate TT and (possible) MT will reveal whether a relation exists between the two.

One can also evaluate the *extent* to which the translator of the ultimate TT relied on an extrinsic MT once the latter has been established as a source. According to Marin-Lacarta, comparative analysis (of at least modern ITrs) generally falls into two approaches: 1) an approach that "focuses more on meaning, lexical choice, sentence structure or a particular difficulty such as the translation of cultural references"; and 2) an approach that centers on the role of cultural mediation (i.e., how the translator "manipulated the plot, structures, characters, descriptions or even lexical choices and sentence structure" and what his cultural, social, and historical reasons were for doing

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[168] See the section "Effect of ITr on the TT" in Ringmar, "'Roundabout Routes'," 9-11.

[169] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 117. For application of Toury's concept of coupled pairs to G, see Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines,* 69.

so).[170]

Any approach to comparative analysis, however, needs to have categories for identifying and interpreting data that are not purely linguistic. M. J. Hagerty, for example, has coined the term "Rosetta Complex" to refer to the cognitive process(es) whereby translators inadvertently sympathize with the vehicle of transmission (i.e., L2 translation [TT/L] and the literary conventions of the target culture) *and* the cultural circumstances behind the original text (L1), a translational phenomenon that he says produces "feedback" in the translator's mind. The strongly dichotomized "two-language approach" of scholars (what Hagerty criticizes as "linguistic Manichaenism") fails to account for "the myriad of language knowledge accumulated by the literary translator who takes his work seriously."[171] Speaking specifically to the practice of ITr, Hagerty clarifies the concept by considering the Rosetta Stone itself, "for who is to say of the three languages it encompasses, which is indeed the translation and which the translation of the translation?"[172] Thus, the Rosetta Complex is

> the direct or indirect influence of all languages of which a translator has knowledge

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[170] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 143. Marin-Lacarta's distinctions here are not entirely clear to me. What I take her to mean is that the first approach involves examining the shifts that the translator made during the process of translating the MT (especially at points of difficulty) and evaluating their meaning and significance in light of the norms of the target culture. This aspect would involve questions like *how* the translator rendered the MT(s) and *what* his TT means to his audience. The second approach is more about *why* the translator performed in such a way.

[171] M. J. Hagerty, "The Rosetta Complex: Translating Translations and Theory Feedback," *Sendebar: Revista de la Facultad de Traducción e Interpretación* 2 (1991): 88.

[172] Ibid.

> upon his version of a specific language text translated into another specific language. When we consider language we are considering, at the same time, an entire cultural unit which, by definition, goes beyond merely linguistic considerations.[173]

While Hagerty's characterization of two-language approaches seems like a straw man, his claim that the cognitive processes[174] operative during the translation event involve much

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[173] Ibid., 89.

[174] These "cognitive process" are the subject of different subfields in TS and, while interesting, cannot be detailed here. For a selection of informative studies in process-oriented translation (POT) research, see (in alphabetical order): S. K. Berman, "Cognition and Context in Translation Analysis: Contextual Frames of Reference in Bible Translation," *Scriptura* 113 (2014): 1-12; Chesterman, "Models of What Processes?" in *Describing Cognitive Processes in Translation: Acts and Event*s, ed. M. Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2015), 7-20; J. Dancette, "Process-Oriented Research in Translation," *Journal of English and Foreign Languages* 15-16 (1995): 144-63; G. Hansen, "The Translation Process as Object of Research," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. C. Millán and F. Bartrina (London: Routledge, 2013), 88-101; idem, ed., *Probing the Process in Translation: Methods and Results*, Copenhagen Studies in Language 24 (Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur, 1999); P. Kussmaul and S. Tirkkonen-Condit, "Think-Aloud Protocol Analysis in Translation Studies," *TTR* 8 (1995): 177-99; W. Lörscher, *Translation Performance, Translation Process and Translation Strategies: A Psycholinguistic Investigation* (Tübingen: Narr, 1991); B. Mossop, "The Workplace Procedures of Professional Translators," in *Translation in Context*, ed. A. Chesterman, N. G. S. Salvador, and Y. Gambier (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 39-48; S. Tikkonen-Condit and R. Jääskeläinen, eds., *Tapping and Mapping the Processes of Translation and Interpreting: Outlooks on Empirical Research* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000); and J. Tommola, "Translation as a Language Process: An Empirical Approach," in *TRANS*, ed. Y. M. Gambier (Turku: School of Translation Studies, University of Turku, 1986), 118-40. For cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches to translation analysis, see A. Ferreira and J. W. Schwieter, eds., *Psycholinguistic and Cognitive Inquiries into Translation and Interpreting*, BTL 115 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2015); S. L. Halverson and G. M. Shreve, eds., *Cognitive Translation Studies: Developments in Theory and Method* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010); J. F. Kroll and G. Sunderman, "Cognitive Processes in Second Language Learners and Bilinguals: The Development of Lexical and Conceptual Representations," in *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*, ed. C. J. Doughty and M. H. Long (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 104-29; R. Munõz, "Cognitive and Psycholinguistic Approaches," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. C. Millán and F. Bartrina (London: Routledge, 2013), 241-56; A. Rojo, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation Advances in*

more than mere linguistic analysis and transfer is *apropos* and accords with the research of other scholars working in ITr.[175]

Hagerty's argument will prove to be germane when considering G-Isa's possible influence on S-Isa. I would add that, in the case of ancient Bible translation, many influences would comprise what Hagerty calls the "entire cultural unit." Additional constituents informing ancient translators beyond mere linguistic transfer would include scribal training, educational curricula, liturgical tradition, and common lore. But whether the ancient translator accessed these informants intentionally or not, a variety of norms guided his translation decisions.

Translation as Norm-Governed Activity

Before discussing the last stage of analysis ("Formulation of Explanatory

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Some Theoretical Models and Applications, ACL 23 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013); and Shreve and E. Angelone, eds., *Translation and Cognition*, American Translators Association Scholarly Monograph Series 15 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010).

[175] See, for example, the work of M. M. Cardozo, who problematizes the simplistic juxtaposition between direct and indirect translation. In reality, both phenomena involve use of pre-existing texts and are the result of complicated intertextual relationships which they maintain and transform ("Mãos de segunda mão? Tradução (in)direta e a relação em questão," *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada* 50 [2011]: 429-41). I thank H. Pięta for drawing my attention to this research and summarizing it in her 2017 article, "Theoretical, Methodological and Terminological Issues in Researching Indirect Translation: A Critical Annotated Bibliography," 202. See also J. Lambert's idea that reducing translation to bilateral relationships is an "oversimplification" ("Literatures, Translation, and [De]colonization," in *Functional Approaches to Culture and Translation*, ed. D. Delabastita, L. D'Hulst, and R. Meylaerts [Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006], 91 fn. 4). K. Washbourne also sympathizes with this view when she claims that "[s]econdary and tertiary translations … can raise our awareness of translated literary works as *palimpsestic narratives*" ("Nonlinear Narratives," 608 [emphasis original]).

Hypotheses"), it is necessary to elaborate on the fundamental concept of translation as a norm-governed activity, an idea that A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia mention only *en passant*. Brief mention was made above about norms when discussing translation as a *product* of the culture for which it was produced.[176] Since reconstructing the preliminary and operational norms of S-Isa serves as a crucial component of this project, it is necessary to expand on the concept of norms as it is understood in TS. An explanation of norms will also provide a natural segue into the fourth and final methodological stage.

The teleological nature of translation always assumes a perceived problem.[177] The means by which a translator attempts to overcome these problems is called a "translational strategy."[178] There are three kinds of translational strategies: 1) Linguistic strategies that occur at the level of the text-linguistic profile of the translation (such as transposition, paraphrase, etc.); 2) Psychological strategies that happen at the cognitive, decision-making level; and 3) Sociolinguistic behavioral strategies that are operative at the translation event (e.g., consult another expert on the text; refer to the use of the passage in preaching; compare with another translation).[179] The regulative conventions

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[176] See the section "On the Process- and Product-Oriented Aspects of Translation" above.

[177] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 89-91; and Toury, *Descriptive Translations Studies*, 35-46.

[178] On the concept of a "translation strategy," see Tommola, "Translation as a Language Process," 118-140; Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 89-90; and idem, "Description, Explanation, Prediction," 96.

[179] Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction," 96.

that guide translators in their selection of these strategies to resolve problems in acceptable ways are called "norms."[180] These conventions exist on multiple levels, influencing the selection of an appropriate ST (preliminary norms), the notion of an acceptable translation in the TL (initial norms), and the actual execution of the translation (operational norms) in terms of its layout (matricial norms) and selection of linguistic material (text-linguistic norms). Norms are not invariably prescriptive; they are a kind of informal consensus. They exist to promote values that permit a certain kind of social behavior (e.g., trust), and adherence to or departure from them has effects on the translation's standing with the target culture (e.g., from sanctions to rewards). And while norms are regulative, they do not obviate the translator's autonomy. Translators still make choices; they are not robots. However, norm-breaking often results in sanctions, requiring translators to consider the consequences.[181] Identifying the norms that gave shape to a particular translation can provide explanatory hypotheses that explain the translation's characteristics.

In BS, the primary focus has been on constructing profiles of ancient translators' specific text-linguistic choices in rendering their ST.[182] Part-and-parcel of this process is

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[180] For a detailed discussion of "norms," see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 61-78; idem, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 13-25; and Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction."

[181] Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction," 92-96.

[182] See van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*; Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*; Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*; and the section "On the Process- and Product-Oriented Aspects of Translation" above.

discovering and explicating the translators' "linguistic strategies," such as transposition and paraphrase, in order to track a translator's tolerance for preserving linguistic elements in the source that do not cohere to the literary conventions of the target culture. These linguistic strategies produce shifts, or departures from formal linguistic correspondences, in the TT. When an inventory of shifts is large enough to describe a translation's profile (or "constitutive character"), scholars offer hypotheses about how the translation's sociocultural context, process, and product relate to one another and how they illuminate the translation's prospective or anticipated function. Investigation into a translation's strategies to overcome linguistic differences between the SL and TL implies knowledge of its translational strategies, and the same applies *vice versa*, since the translator's strategies for understanding an oblique text are manifested linguistically in the TT. In such a case, the apparent linguistic interference from the SL requires adequate understanding of the source. But both translational and linguistic strategies are the products of higher-level strategies at the psychological, cognitive decision-making level (e.g., strategies concluding with something like "find and accept solution").[183] And, as A. Chesterman notes, even these cognitive processes are partially caused by sociolinguistic behavioral strategies (e.g., "phone an expert; check an Internet source; compare with a parallel text").[184] What all these strategies have in common is their basis in norms.

When discussing translational norms, Toury distinguishes between the translation

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[183] For more on psychological strategies, see W. Lörscher, *Translation Performance, Translation Process and Translation Strategies*.

[184] Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction," 96.

act and the translation event. The former is a cognitive category that accounts for a translator's mental routine or decision-making process. The latter refers to the sociocultural context: the communicative situation, social background, client, etc., all of which encroach on the translation act.[185] Building on this distinction of Toury's, Chesterman refers to the totality of a translation's linguistic elements as a "translation profile," allowing us to conceptualize a chain of causation: Translation event → Translation act → Translation profile.[186] With this causal model, Chesterman elaborates on how analysis of the profile can inform us about the event:

> If we ask why a translation profile has a given feature, we can first posit an initial cause—an explanation—in terms of the translation act: we find this feature, because of this decision, this translation strategy. If we then ask: why this decision, this strategy?, we can appeal first to the translator's state of belief and knowledge, part of which is his/her knowledge of the relevant translation norms and his/her attitude to these norms. If we continue to ask why (why this belief, this attitude?), we have to go back further and look for causes in the sociocultural situation in which the translation was requested and carried out, including the norms themselves as social facts, plus such factors as the training and personal history of the translator, etc. With this kind of conceptual picture, we can look for, propose and test no end of interesting hypotheses, some pertaining to the initial cognitive cause (e.g., in protocol studies) and others pertaining to the sociocultural causes lying behind these.[187]

Such a causal model is useful when examining, detecting, and describing norms in first-hand translations (or translations of ultimate STs), but does the same process apply when investigating ITrs? I think it does, with some modifications, but a delineation thereof is

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[185] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 81-85.

[186] Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction," 94.

[187] Ibid.

better suited for my outline of the next methodological stage.

After one performs a comparison of the MT(s) and ultimate TT under consideration (whether by pure linguistic analysis or otherwise) and writes up descriptive profiles of each, including the translational strategies that characterize the translation and the norms that governed the process of translation, one is ready to formulate explanatory hypotheses for the phenomena observed.[188]

Formulation of Explanatory Hypotheses – Stage 4

I have inferred this final methodological stage from A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's suggestions that punctuate their introduction on ITr and their closing comments; however, they do not explicate what this task involves.[189] I understand them to imply something approximating Toury's emphasis on discovering and describing the norms of a translation in order to reconstruct the translation's function in the target culture for which it was translated.[190] While Toury's monograph deals mostly with first-hand translations, he includes a chapter on ITr, in which he calls it a "culturally relevant phenomenon" and a "*legitimate* object for research," and lays out the researcher's goal in studying it:[191]

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[188] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 124.

[189] Ibid. For one statement: "… comprehensive and relevant questions as to 'why ITr occurs' can be tackled only by means of hypotheses based on such case studies" (p. 125).

[190] See Toury's "Part II: A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies," in *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 15-142.

[191] See the warrant provided by J. von Stackelberg over thirty years ago that legitimates ITr as an object of research (*Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand.*

> [ITr] presents a convenient means of moving from observable facts to their underlying motivations, precisely because its manifestations are often easy to discern and its contours relatively simple to draw. In fact, the claim should be even stronger. I would go so far as to argue that no *historically* oriented study of a culture where indirect translation was practiced with any amount of regularity can purport to ignore this fact and waive the need to examine what it stands for. This is in fact how mediated translations as texts, and the practices which give rise to them, should be approached, along with whatever changes may have occurred in them: not as an issue to be tackled in isolation, but as a **juncture** where systemic relationships and historically determined norms intersect and correlate.[192]

According to Toury, then, at least one aim of ITr research is to infer the ultimate TT's function in the literary system of the target audience and determine the degree to which the literary system tolerated its use of ITr.[193] It is at this stage of analysis where the researcher asks whether any of the "trends" of ITr (see the section "Attitudes, Assumptions, and Assertions in ITr" above) obtain in the specific ITr under investigation: Does ITr exist in this case because the ultimate TT is part of a weaker polysystem? If so, how does the ITr indicate that the weaker polysystem is geographically, linguistically, and literarily distant from the stronger system? Does the weaker system of the ultimate TT seem to borrow any literary models and precedents from the stronger system?[194] Does

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Rezeptionsvorgänge in der europäischen Literatur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984).

[192] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 161-62 (bold font and emphasis original).

[193] Ibid. See also Shuttleworth and Cowie, *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, 76; and Spirk, *Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-Translation*, 138.

[194] Spirk, for example, refers to ITr as "a form of self-imposed 'colonisation': the receiving (weaker) culture models itself, to a certain extent at least, on the dominant culture – not only on the cultural plane, but more often than not on other planes as well (political, economic, etc.)" (*Censorship, Indirect Translations and Non-Translation*,

the ITr involve one peripheral language (SL) into another (TL) *via* a (hyper)central language (ML)? Does the ITr tend toward adequacy (= source-oriented translation) or acceptability (= target-oriented translation)? Was this ITr produced in an atmosphere of increasing globalization? The researcher also attempts to answer the question of *why* (see the section "The Reasons for ITr" above): Was the ultimate ST, SL, or a bilingual dictionary inaccessible to the translator? Were there any censorial restrictions that applied to the ultimate ST/L at the time of translation? Did the translator choose the mode of ITr for any practical or economic reasons or preferences? Were there any politics involved? Was the MT or ML (or both) prestigious? If so, could this have served as the impetus for its selection as the ST for the ultimate TT? The overarching goal of this stage of analysis is to explore and spell out the juncture where the literary and cultural systems and norms of at least two translations and languages (a MT/L and an ultimate TT/L) compare and contrast with each other.

Chesterman's causal model easily applies to study of ITrs; the investigation simply needs to account for (at least) two translations (the MT and ultimate TT) and two languages (the ML and ultimate TL), instead of one translation and its language. One can compare and contrast the translations at each level of causality (event, act, profile) by working backwards (Translation profile → Translation act → Translation event). Although, as a matter of procedure, paratextual analysis (stage 1 above) may provide data that informs all three levels of causality, allowing the researcher to triangulate various

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missing components in each level. A comparison of translations would include descriptions of the similarities and differences observed in the linguistic, psychological, and sociolinguistic behavioral strategies each translator employs to overcome translational problems and the different norms that steered the translators toward selecting such strategies. For the ultimate TT/L, however, one will need to give special attention to the norms (preliminary and operational) that explain the translator's use of extrinsic mediations and how frequently he did so. Once the comparative analysis has been executed and described, then numerous hypotheses can be formed to explain any aspect of the data. Obviously, it is up to the researcher to determine which aspect(s) should receive attention, but to repeat the words of Toury, "[N]o historically oriented study of a culture where indirect translation was practiced with any amount of regularity can purport to ignore this fact and waive the need to examine what it stands for."[195] Thus, perhaps the more interesting studies in ITr go beyond mere comparative analysis by proposing the meaning of the relation, which is what this project aims to do with respect to S- and G-Isa.

Conclusion

I hope to have demonstrated by now that ITr (and its related disciplines, DTS and Systems Theory) is not only relevant but well-suited to explicate the relation between S-Isa and G-Isa, although it will be clear to those acquainted with the evidence and scholarship on ancient Bible translations that not every aspect of ITr's theory and

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[195] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 161-62 (emphasis original).

methodology will apply to my specific research question. I fully accept this and will state exactly what these limitations are in my next chapter. ITr is also not a replacement of traditional philology, but a supplement to it. In fact, the kind of "micro-textual analysis" TS scholars have in mind when evaluating an ultimate TT looks very much like philology as I see it practiced within BS. The advantages of ITr are: 1) its methodology requires study of both the internal and external evidence and takes seriously the agency of the translator in producing the ultimate TT; 2) it provides theoretical clarity and terminological precision for the complex translational phenomena under investigation; and 3) it is compatible with other disciplines in TS (DTS; Systems Theory) that relate to the subject of this project. And, as I mentioned briefly above, one goal of this project is to contribute an additional case study to the body of research on ITr since most of the ITr research on record evaluates ultimate STs, MTs, and ultimate TTs of relatively modern date. I hope that the modifications I have suggested in this chapter (and the data presented in subsequent chapters) prove to add greater nuance to the concept of *indirectness* as it is commonly understood among scholars working on ITr.

In the next chapter I frame S-Isa's relation to G-Isa through the prism of ITr. While I explain in the next chapter what the four-stage methodological process should entail, I work out only stages 1 and 2. Since stages 3 and 4 require tedious analysis and ample space, I allot them to subsequent chapters (Stage 3 = Chapters 4-5; and Stage 4 = Chapter 6 [Conclusion]).

CHAPTER 3: FRAMING S-ISA'S RELATION TO G-ISA THROUGH THE PRISM OF INDIRECT TRANSLATION

Introduction

In his book, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? Translation and the Meaning of Everything*, D. Bellos plots the character of different translations along a vertical axis to indicate their function. "Translation up" involves translating "toward prestige," and "translation down" involves translating "toward the vernacular."[1] The former pole usually involves translations that are highly adaptive, "erasing most of the traces of the text's foreign origin," whereas the latter tends to use different techniques in order to stay lexically and syntactically close to the ST, "because in those circumstances foreignness itself carries prestige."[2] To elucidate this model, Bellow uses the example of Bible retranslations, some of which are often produced from English (or Spanish), rather than Hebrew and Greek (i.e., the "languages of truth"), thus showing the prestige of English (over that of Hebrew and Greek) and rendering it difficult to "separate Bible translation from the political, economic, and cultural status" of English (or Spanish) speakers.[3] While Bellos's model of a vertical axis may come across to some readers as a simplistic

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[1] This idea is very similar to the adequacy-acceptability continuum mentioned in Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 58-59.

[2] D. Bellos, "Bibles and Bananas: The Vertical Axis of Translation Relations," in *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? Translation and the Meaning of Everything*, 167-181 (New York: Faber and Faber, 2011), 169. Bellos quips about Hebrew and Greek being the "languages of truth," though clearly some communities historically have believed in this idea.

[3] Ibid., 172. See also Gambier, "Working with Relay," 58.

way to conceptualize the function and effects of a translation's text-linguistic profile in a certain target culture, he helpfully draws attention to the zone of complex cultural exchange and interference that exists between the MT/L and ultimate TT/L in cases of ITr. So often are political, economic, and cultural forces operative in first-hand Bible translation that extending the metatextual chain of communication by translating a TT from a *sacred* translation (= MT/L) generally constitutes a unique case of ITr, according to some TS scholars. As will be discussed further below, translation of sacred texts presents a problem because several special circumstances and norms regularly attend the translation of sacred texts.

One can certainly appreciate Bellos's (quasi-structuralist) tendency to explore the systemic relations of an ITr whose status is considered to be sacred by some communities and whose ST/L is deemed prestigious by that same community, but such hypothesizing should be the very last stage in a long process of inquiry, reminding us of where we hope to arrive as regards S-Isa's relation to G-Isa. A project that seeks *only* to determine whether a relation exists between a (possible) MT/L and an ultimate TT/L is, aside from being tedious and boring, telling only one half the story. The questions of who, what, where, why, how, and when all have their place in Translation History and contribute to the General Humanities.[4] This chapter attempts to answer some of these questions by framing S-Isa's relation to G-Isa through the prism of ITr. After delimiting ITr's

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[4] L. D'Hulst addresses the importance of all these questions by using the Latin categories: *quis*; *quid*; *ubi*; *quibus auxiliis*; *cur*; *quomodo*; *quando*; and *cui bono* ("Translation History," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer [Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010], 397-405).

application to this question, I will work through the first two methodological stages (Peritextual and Textual Analysis; Epitextual Analysis) and describe what stages three and four entail, providing an excursus on the criteria by which to identify influence from G-Isa on S-Isa. I provide full explication of stage three (Macro-Structural and Micro-Textual Comparison) in Chapters 4 and 5 and stage four (Formulation of Explanatory Hypotheses) in my concluding chapter.

Limits (and Advantages) of Using ITr Theory and Methodology for This Project

Bible translation is held up by many modern TS scholars as an enterprise that often involves ITr, both in ancient and modern times.[5] TS scholars' unfamiliarity with the complexities involved in ancient Bible translation, however, is often quite perceptible.[6] Yet the familiarity some modern TS scholars feel toward ancient Bible translations is apparently substantial enough for them to consider sacred ITr as deserving "special comment," as if the unique factors involved render "sacred ITr" as its own class.[7] Such may be the case, but a category of "sacred ITr" should not be assumed to exist if there is

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[5] Radó, "Indirect Translation," 51; Lie, "Indirect Translation," 709; Bellos, "Bibles and Bananas Gambier"; "Working on Relay," 58; Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 133; and Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 618.

[6] For example, Bellos claims that "[t]he Armenian, Coptic, Old Latin, *Syriac*, Ge'ez, Persian, and Arabic translations of the Old Testament were done from the Greek" ("Bibles and Bananas," 171-72 [emphasis added]). Washbourne seems to quote Bellos approvingly ("Nonlinear Narratives," 618). Obviously, TS scholars who work regularly in ancient Bible translations are quite familiar with the complexities involved.

[7] See, for example, Washbourne's section, "Sacred texts," in her article, "Nonlinear Narratives," in which she states that sacred texts "deserve special comment" (pp. 618-19). In this section, she only discusses biblical texts.

no evidentiary basis for it.[8] That this remains a question in TS actually serves as significant warrant for this project. Only through painstaking analysis of actual Bible (and other sacred) translations, both ancient and modern, would we be able to form an accurate idea about how the texts form a class with its own unique circumstances and norms. However, if first-hand, sacred translations can be demonstrated to constitute a special case of translation, can we reasonably infer that the same set of special circumstances and norms apply to sacred ITr? This question is worth exploring since it may be objected that sacred ITr is categorically different from both first-hand sacred translation and *normal* ITr, however one defines such concepts. And if sacred ITr cannot be classified as normal ITr, then the application of ITr theory and methodology to S-Isa could be unwarranted.

Sacred Translation as "Special" Translation?

The question of whether translation of sacred texts constitutes a special case of translation historically has been a matter of some debate, but recent scholarship in TS posits that special circumstances and norms regularly attend the translation of sacred texts, such as:[9]

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[8] Upon sending a request to H. Pięta, the coordinator of IndirecTrans (accessible from http://www.indirectrans.com/), to inquire whether the ITr database at the University of Lisbon has any record of research on ITrs involving ancient biblical translations, Pięta responded by saying the database did not include a single citation (personal communication).

[9] For an insightful introduction on the topic of whether translation of sacred texts constitutes a special case of translation, see L. Long, "The Translation of Sacred Texts," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. C. Millán and F. Bartrina (London: Routledge, 2013), 464-74; and idem, ed., *Translation and Religion: Holy*

1) Sacred translation often involves a concern to preserve the original;
2) Sacred translation often tends toward adequacy because religious audiences often prefer their Scripture to exhibit some foreignness;
3) Sacred translation is often not welcomed because it implies change, including change in interpretation. Thus, Scripture is *untranslatable*;
4) Sacred translation is often viewed as an "impossible necessity," since adherents desire their sacred texts to be relevant and intelligible;
5) Sacred translations historically have affected culture, law, music, architecture, language, and literature, facilitating the production of cultural capital;[10]
6) Sacred translation usually involves a tension between the ST and interpretation;
7) Sacred translation tends to accumulate models of exegesis that require commentary;
8) Sacred translations often require approved personnel to perform the task; and
9) Sacred translations are often closely controlled by religious authorities, requiring translators to justify translation decisions, keep the translation consistent with the liturgy, and maintain the exegetical balance of tradition. They also need to meet the specific needs of diverse or uniform audiences, the former most often requiring higher degrees of contextualization, and the latter demanding more adequacy.[11]

These circumstances are not mutually exclusive, and not every translation will exhibit all of them. Translations of non-sacred texts might even involve some these circumstances or require the same norms (e.g., certain literary canons in educational settings). While we easily can conceive of situations involving the translation of sacred texts that problematize these observations (e.g., translating a "sacred" text for a secular or scholarly audience), they draw attention to key circumstantial and normative patterns that

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Untranslatable?, Topics in Translation 28 (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2005).

[10] As A. Lefevere says, "If a text is considered to embody the core values of a culture, if it functions as that cultural central text, translations of it will be scrutinized with the greatest care, since 'unacceptable' translations may well be seen to subvert the very basis of the culture itself" (*Translation History Culture* [London: Routledge, 1992], 70).

[11] This list is an amalgamation of points made in Long, "The Translation of Sacred Texts," 464-68.

habitually arise when sacred texts are translated for religious audiences.

The question, then, of whether these circumstances and norms characterize sacred ITr still must be determined. One preliminary objection to this inquiry might suggest that since ITr does not involve translation from the *original* sacred text (= ultimate ST), it cannot be evaluated on the same basis as first-hand, sacred translation. But this objection can be dismissed by noting how many MTs receive or assume the status of *original* when the ultimate ST or SL, or both, fall out of reach or favor (e.g., the status of Greek translations among early Christian communities which lacked familiarity with the Hebrew language).[12] Time, more than anything else, is usually what is required, since both language decline and the acquisition of prestige are complex and gradual processes.[13] Insofar as the MT has the status of *original* for a specific target culture, all the special circumstances and norms mentioned above for sacred translation could also typify sacred ITr. The more complicated situations involve dynamics where both the ultimate ST and MT(s) are accessible to a translator, and perhaps both have the status of *original* in the same (or different) religious communities. There is also the possibility that some translators, especially ancient ones, had a very nebulous concept of *originality*, in which case their translations could have been based on an array of influences, including

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[12] On the concept of translations becoming *originals*, see Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 618; and Gambier, "Working with Relay," who avers, "Scripture without translation is unthinkable, some translations having acquired the status of originals, like the Greek-language Septuagint" (p. 58).

[13] Chronological distance, for example, is a major reason for ITr (see "Reasons for ITr" in Chapter 2). And just as it takes time for the influence of and preference for the ultimate ST/L to wane, so does it take time for literature to cross cultural barriers (see Dollerup, "'Relay' and 'Support Translations'," 21-22).

but not limited to the ultimate ST and both extrinsic (MTs) and intrinsic (liturgical, translational, exegetical traditions) mediations. But even in these complex scenarios in which the idea of a translator's authoritative "source" is opaque, I cannot find any reason why the circumstances attending first-hand, sacred translation could not apply to cases of sacred ITr. The common denominator between the two is that they both involve translation of sacred texts. The incorporation of other (sacred) mediating sources, too, would seem to be subject to similar criteria, since whatever the translator includes in the ultimate TT/L will need to be rendered so as to be acceptable to the target audience, especially for uniform target audiences expecting an adequate translation.

Missing Variables for Evaluating S-Isa

While it may seem axiomatic that, given similar conditions, sacred ITr can be considered sacred translation, one must be careful not to assume the function of a translation when translators do not explicitate their translation policy or divulge the set of circumstances that gave rise to their translation project. This is especially the case with ancient Bible translations, including S-Isa. Descriptive- and process-oriented translation research has demonstrated clearly that translations can have similar text-linguistic profiles but for completely different reasons. For example, translations that tend toward adequacy can be guided by text-linguistic and literary norms that require serial fidelity and qualitative representation. The reasons for these norms are diverse, but at least one reason could be that literal translation is normative (or a default operation) in the target culture. Likewise, concerns to "preserve a (sacred) ST" or "follow a model of

interlinearity,"[14] arising from preliminary and initial norms, could influence the translator to produce a text that betrays a similar text-linguistic profile.[15] Thus, the prospective function of a literal, sacred translation cannot merely be assumed without knowledge of what acceptability entails in the target culture for which the translation is produced. Additionally, in the case of ancient Bible translation, one cannot assume that the "literal versus free" dichotomy was as palpable to the translator as it is for modern biblical and translation scholars. Approaches that evaluate translation technique by studying a translator's literalness (e.g., word-order; consistency; quantitative representation) must also include "a detailed and accurate linguistic and grammatical investigation of the literal and free renderings of the different linguistic phenomena" in the TL.[16] And even when the researcher can deduce the degree to which a certain translator maintained a

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[14] On the interlinear paradigm, see Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 89-114, 315-92.

[15] Hansen, "The Translation Process as Object of Research," 88-101. Admittedly, one might be able to envision a scenario where some of these inclinations or translation styles are roughly compatible.

[16] While I will elaborate more on this in my section, "Macro-Structural/Micro-Textual Comparison" below, suffice it to say that I am articulating a point of contention among those who study the translation technique of ancient Bible translations. There are two schools of thought: Tov, Marquis, and Wright, for example, track translation technique by studying the literalness of the translators, taking account of all its aspects (e.g., word-order; consistency; quantitative representation). The Finnish approach (Aejmelaeus; Soisalon-Soininen; Sollamo), however, while not entirely rejecting the former approach, studies the linguistic phenomena of the translation (i.e., the target language and what grammatical renderings were made due to the nature of Greek). For an excellent piece that seeks to explicate and integrate both views, see B. Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint. Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*, ed. R. Sollamo and S. Sipila (Helsinki: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 43-63.

literal or free (or both!) translation style, this does not automatically shed light on the translation's prospective function, especially when other important variables are missing.

In addition to not providing an explicit translation policy, ancient translators of the Bible, such as the translator of S-Isa, provided no paratextual information—nothing to frame or extend the text aside from the translation itself. We have no extant original covers, titles, copyright pages, prefaces, and notes because, to the best of our knowledge, the original translations never included such materials. Many of these paratextual elements were not even conventions in the different translations' respective target cultures. We have nothing paratextual to indicate which ST the translator used and whether, where, and why he might have used previous translations. We have no "discursive slots" to mine for pertinent information.[17] Thus, we are left knowing little to nothing at the outset of investigation about a translator's attitude toward translation in general, ITr, or the specific mediations he might have employed. Also, the reasons why ancient translators practiced ITr (whether in full or in part) are not clear.

To compound the situation, we do not have original copies of the ultimate (Hebrew) ST and the ultimate (Syriac) TT of S-Isa, thus distorting the metatextual chain of communication even more.[18] While rigorous investigation on the text of the Peshiṭta has demonstrated that its books' *Vorlagen* had a consonantal base similar to M, we can

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[17] Pym, *Method in Translation History*, 62.

[18] Literary translation already implies a broken chain in communication because the original authors are not available to clarify points of obscurity. Thus, because the originals are not extant for comparison in the case of S-Isa, the line of communication is broken even more. For more on chains of communication in relay and ITr, see Dollerup "'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 23.

infer S-Isa's ST only by means of retroversion while giving consideration to several crucial factors (e.g., early inner-Syriac modernizations; the role of translation technique; etc.).[19] The text of S-Isa, specifically, exists in multiple manuscripts spanning a millennium, and even its earliest inferable archetype (= Koster's second stage of textual transmission [BTR]) is based on manuscript evidence that postdates the original translation by hundreds of years.[20] And, as Koster's work on S-Exodus has demonstrated, since "a considerable part of the disagreements of our Peshitta text with its Hebrew *Vorlage* must be attributed to the transmission of the text in its earliest stages and not to the original translator," it cannot be taken for granted that S's correspondences with G (as presented in the Leiden edition's BTR text) reflect decisions made during the translation process.[21] They could have been produced through subsequent emendation toward G or

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[19] That the *Vorlagen* of several Peshiṭta books approximated M is demonstrated in several studies; see Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon*; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts by the Book of Judges*; Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran*; idem, "The Peshitta and Its Manuscripts: A Review"; and Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah."

[20] See the section "Textual Criticism of S-Isa: From Collation to Critical Edition" in Chapter 1 above.

[21] See Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus*; idem, "Peshiṭta Revisited: A Reassessment of Its Value as a Version," *JSS* 38 (1993): 235-68; idem, "The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta," in *Targum Studies 2, Targum and Peshitta*, ed. P. V. M. Flesher, SFSHJ 165 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 15-45; idem, "A New Introduction to the Peshitta"; and idem, "Translation or Transmission? That Is the Question: The Use of the Leiden Old Testament Peshitta Edition?" in *Basel und Bibel: Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the IOSOT, Basel 2001*, ed. M. Augustin and H. M. Niemann, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 51 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 297-312. Much more about this problem will be discussed in Chapter 4 (section "Translation or Transmission? The Limitations of the Leiden Edition for This Project").

through an extrabiblical source that agrees with G. Moreover, the text of G-Isa, the translation on which some allege that S-Isa frequently relied, lacks an extant original. Thus, a study on the specific character of an ancient Bible translation necessarily requires one to stand trustingly on the shoulders of those who have produced the critical editions. This does not exempt the researcher from critical appropriation of such editions or the duty of applying his own text-critical and philological sense, but it is to say that conclusions reached by studies such as this one should exemplify a modicum of tentativeness. Yet these hindrances have never stopped biblical scholars from attempting to determine S's relation to the different versions of the Hebrew Bible, using the best philological common sense they possess.[22] In light of developments in TS (DTS; ITr; Systems Theory), the availability of critical editions for M, G, and S, and access to a larger corpus of textual evidence (e.g., the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls), we are now in a better position to address the question of S's relation to G (and T, for that matter), even though we lack access to the *original* sources (ultimate ST; MT; and ultimate TT).

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[22] Many early studies on S, for example, were chiefly interested in uncovering S's relation to the other versions. In addition to the published dissertations of Weisz (*Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*) and Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*), see S. Maybaum, "Über die Sprache des Targum zu den Sprüchen und dessen Verhältniss zum Syrer," in *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, ed. A. Merx, vol. 2 (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1871), 66-93; E. Schwartz, *Die syrische Übersetzung des ersten Buches Samuelis und ihr Verhältniss zu MT., LXX und Trg.* (Berlin: Druck v. K. Itzkowski, 1896); J. Berlinger, *Die Peschitta zum I (3) Buch der Könige und ihr Verhältniss zu MT., LXX und Trg*. (Berlin: Druck von H. Itzkowski, 1897); Pinkuss, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien," 65-141, 161-222; A. Mandl, *Die Peschittha zu Hiob, nebst einem Angang über ihr Verhältniss zu LXX und Targum* (Budapest: L. Propper, 1892); M. Sebök, *Die syrische Übersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten*; and J. M. Salkind, *Die Peschitta zu Schir-Haschirim textkritisch und in ihrem Verhältnisse zu MT. und LXX untersucht* (Leiden: Brill, 1905).

Despite these advantages, it is important to stress the reconstructive nature of this project.

The need to reconstruct different aspects of this project does not problematize the application of ITr to the question of S-Isa's relation to G-Isa because ITr's theory and methodology are aimed specifically to discover *covert* elements in a translation. Also, applying ITr to this question also does not commit me to the view that S-Isa is an ITr in some form. It was argued earlier that Marin-Lacarta's notion of "hiddenness" is not what makes the concept of *indirectness* productive, but it does suggest that there is an observable trend for ITr's not to indicate the MT/L(s) they employ.[23] While the reasons for this phenomenon vary widely, ITr's methodology applies equally to all translations. As A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia indicate, determining whether a translation involves ITr requires one to identify cases of negative interference from possible MT/Ls by macro-structural and micro-textual analysis.[24] The question of whether S-Isa reveals influence from G-Isa, I argue, can be evaluated by these same means.

But S-Isa Is Clearly Not an ITr!

The anticipated objection that S-Isa is clearly not an ITr is really no objection at all, since ITr's theory and methodology envision several possibilities other than *pure* ITr.[25] In fact, the observation that translations betray sporadic or inconsistent use of

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[23] Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 134. See also the section "The Theory and Methodology of Indirect Translation (ITr)" in Chapter 2 above.

[24] A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 123.

[25] For example, Dollerup notes that translations purported to be ITrs differ in their degree of dependence: "in pure *relay*, the translator uses the totality of another translator's text, whereas in regular cases of *support translation* we meet isolated

different MT/Ls serves as an intrigue of some TS scholars working in ITr.[26] I mention the objection only to clarify further some advantages and unique circumstances ancient Bible translations provide for ITr research. First, the number of possible extrinsic MT/Ls was limited for a translator such as the one behind S-Isa. While I will tease out this claim below, it deserves mentioning here in light of the complexity involved in identifying MT/Ls in many *modern* cases of ITr, a situation that is lamented by several TS scholars.[27]

Second, there are many different ways of explaining what appears to be sporadic influence from a MT in an ancient Bible translation. To be sure, there are plenty of sacred Syriac translations that are *pure* ITrs (e.g., the Syro-Hexapla; the Harclean and Philoxenian versions), but in the case of the Peshiṭta Old Testament, most putative correspondence with G, if it exists at all, is *prima facie* consistently inconsistent. The explanations for these inconsistencies are myriad.[28] However, micro-textual analysis might actually reveal that certain "inconsistencies" evidence a pattern, suggesting a model of "support translation" or "eclectic translation"—situations in which the Syriac translators relied on G according to some criteria. These possibilities will be examined

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fragments within these wholes" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 24 [emphasis original]). See also Marin-Lacarta, "Indirectness in Literary Translation," 135.

[26] See Washbourne's excursus on "support translation" in "Nonlinear Narratives," 616-18.

[27] Note the quotations from TS scholars I provide in the section "Epitextual Analysis – Stage 2" in Chapter 2 above.

[28] Obviously, the degree of alleged correspondence with G differs from book to book. On the Syrohexapla and Harclean and Philoxenian versions, see Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed., Gorgias Handbooks 7 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 27-29.

thoroughly below.

And third, the study of a translation such as S-Isa, a translation of a *sacred* ST, provides interesting fodder for TS scholars interested in the larger question of what makes the circumstances and norms of sacred translation exceptional. The observation that text and tradition[29] are often intricately related in religious communities would seem to pose unique challenges to the translator of S-Isa, since translating, and thus recontextualizing, the Book of Isaiah would require making a number of translation

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[29] By "tradition" here, I am not necessarily referring to a memorized oral tradition that guided translators in their phonetic interpretation of the consonants comprising their Hebrew ST, since it is clear that the translators (of G, for example) also relied on their intuition of the text's semantic and syntactical context and their own training. Whether the translators of G mostly relied on oral tradition or their own intuition remains debated among scholars (esp. Tov and J. Barr), but few scholars dispute that tradition, to some degree or another, influenced not only the way the translators of G understood the consonantal base of their *Vorlage* but also what the text meant (or implied), theologically. Space constraints prohibit a full bibliography; see J. Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*, ed. B. Hartmann et al., VTSup 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1-11; idem, "Reading a Script without Vowels," in *Writing without Letters*, ed. W. Haas (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 76-100; idem, "Guessing in the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*, ed. D. Fraenkel et al., MSU 20 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 19-34; S. Schorch, "The Septuagint and the Vocalization of the Hebrew Text of the Torah," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. M. K. H. Peters, SBLSCS 54 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 41-54, who argues that translators of G relied on (mostly narratival) parabiblical traditions that were eclectic (i.e., not comprehensive) and supplementary (e.g., additions), thus explaining the inconsistent nature of translation; Tov, "The Reading Tradition of the MT Group Compared with That of the Septuagint," *JNSL* 40/2 (2014): 1-16; van der Kooij, "Zur Frage der Exegese im LXX-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zur Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen Original und Übersetzung," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Töchterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, ed. A. Aejmelaus and U. Quast (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 374-76; and idem, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*, VTSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), who emphasizes the role of training in school-like environments that would have facilitated the reading of the letters.

decisions that could prove potentially disruptive to the target audience. We can reasonably intuit that the translator of S-Isa faced many problems during the process of translation. The Hebrew Book of Isaiah is difficult on every level (e.g., textual; lexical; morphological; syntactical; exegetical), including dozens of *hapax legomena*. Additionally, the interpretation of the Book of Isaiah was highly disputed most prominently by Jews and Christians due to the various ways the early church interpreted prophecies in the book as referring to Jesus Christ. While scholars still debate the religious identity of S-Isa's translator and whether the translation provides evidence of Christian interpretation, it is reasonable to assume (in light of the likely date for the translation) that those disputes would at least have been known and felt by the translator, leading him to rely on extrinsic mediations (traditions and translations) to satisfy the interpretive tastes of his target audience (an initial norm) or solve translation problems presented by his Hebrew ST (an operational norm).[30] But these hypotheses must be borne out of an investigation into the text's constitutive character and translational norms; they cannot be imposed on the data, since other explanations can account for the same text-linguistic make-up of the text. The significance of drawing attention to the complexities involved in ancient sacred ITr is that the data problematize simplistic solutions to identifying MT/Ls in an alleged ITr. Translations that are not pure ITrs often are evaluated with too little awareness about translation universals, the role of translation technique in interpreting shifts, and the *realia* entailed in ancient scribal, religious,

[30] On the authorship of S-Isa, see the section "The Religious Affiliation and Theology of S-Isa" in Chapter 1.

sociocultural contexts where memory, liturgy, training, and tradition all played crucial roles.

Peritextual and Textual Analysis of S-Isa

Since the original translation of S-Isa is not extant, we cannot know whether it included any peritextual information. The manuscript evidence, however, provides a wealth of peritextual data (e.g., lectionary headings; other lectionary markings; *ṣḥaḥe* divisions; headings; marginal notes, corrections, and variants; marginal, supralinear, and *ad loc* corrections; and subtitles; see Table 3.1 below).[31] But again, these manuscripts postdate the original translation by hundreds of years, and the nature of the peritextual data stems from liturgical, text-critical, and remedial concerns, not the kind of information that would reveal the type of translation S-Isa constitutes or what the translator's attitudes were toward translation, ITr, or any specific MT/L that may have influenced him.[32] Most likely, the original translation did not include anything to this

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[31] I created Table 3.1 by sifting through Brock's detailed descriptions of each manuscript (*The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version: Isaiah*, viii-xxx). The chart certainly lacks relevant information, as Brock did not elaborate on every peritextual detail of every manuscript. I included data from only the most important pre-1300 CE manuscripts to give an initial impression of what kind of data could be explored in future studies. The chart should not be used to produce research results.

[32] Indeed, the peritextual information in S-Isa's manuscript tradition occasionally supplies marginal notes that provide readings and corrections based on G or seem to show interest in the Syrohexapla (= pure ITr), as Fig. 3.1 indicates (e.g., at least one manuscript includes a column that contains the Syrohexapla [9k3]; also, Brock's descriptions of the manuscripts include notes that 7a1 [= BTR] includes a reading at Isa 9:5 that was influenced by G, and 12a1 [= TR] contains several readings that developed secondarily from the Syrohexapla). However, all these developments are secondary and, while certainly interesting and inviting closer examination, fall outside the scope of this project.

effect—no cover page, preface, or discursive slots.[33] Indeed, these later textual elements are of historical interest and deserve further examination, but they belong to studies in reception history and textual criticism proper, providing little to no information about the original S-Isa's relation to other MT/Ls.[34] Only to the extent that peritextual elements betray original S-Isa readings *and* a relation to G-Isa are they pertinent, but I know of no such examples in Isaiah 1-39.

Table 3.1 – Peritextual Data in S-Isa's Manuscript Tradition

[33] The extant manuscript evidence attests different superscriptions and subscriptions at the beginning and ending of S-Isa, but the latter hardly can be considered "colophonic," accomplishing little more than attributing the original text to the prophet Isaiah. The subject of Syriac colophons has attracted a lot of scholarly attention in the past half-decade, as evidenced by the recent Hugoye symposium III, "Colophons in the Syriac Tradition" on May 16, 2014. See also Brock, "Fashions in Early Syriac Colophons," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18 (2015): 361-77, and the bibliography he offers therein.

[34] For studies on S-Isa's manuscript tradition, see Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah," 49-80; "Text Divisions in the Syriac Translations of Isaiah," in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*, ed. A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 200-21.

	Lectionary headings	Headings and *ṣḥaḥe* incipits	Original corrections	Secondary corrections	Miscellaneous
6h3	16		5 (supral)		Some lectionary markings
6h5	20	1 (xxxiii 24)		1	
7a1	1 (secondary; margin)	48 (secondary; margin)	3		
8a1	24 (many erased)	30 *ṣḥaḥe* (secondary)		Many (orthographic)	1 marginal addition at ix 5 (= Syh)
5ph1					
6pk4					
7k11					
7pk1	1		1 (margin)		
8j1			3 (2 supral; 1 margin); 1 partial correction (supral)		*ṣḥaḥe* 23 marked in margin
9k3					Left column of Ms = Syh
10j2					
9a1*fam*			7 (6 supral; 1 margin)	8 (2 of which might be original)	
12a1		30 *ṣḥaḥe*	8 (5 supral; 3 margin)	1 (marginal)	1 partial subtitle from Isa vii 14 in the NT; 1 variant reading (margin)
9d1		30 *ṣḥaḥe*	5 (1 margin; 2 deleted; 2 *ad loc*)		2 marginal notes; 1 omission noted with a cross
9d2		30 *ṣḥaḥe*	2-3 possible corrections	2 deletions; 1 large erasure rewritten at xix 22; 1 line rewritten at xxxii 19; 2 lines rewritten at li 13; 2-3 other corrections	Occasional marginal notes (secondary)
10d1		Some headings (heavier red ink); 30 *ṣḥaḥe*		Sporadic readings added secondarily	
11d1		Some headings in red; 30 *ṣḥaḥe;* second series of numbers (30-59)	16	1	7 lost passages added secondarily; parts of text reinked
11d2			10		2 lost folios replaced secondarily; illegible marginal notes
12d1			20 (1 supral; 1 margin; 3 deletions; 25 *ad loc*)		
12d2		30 *ṣḥaḥe*	17 (2 supral; 1 margin; 14 *ad loc*)		First 10 folios replaced secondarily; reinking at water stains; 1 variant in margin; 2 marginal readings

This lack of relevant peritextual evidence to determine whether S-Isa has any relation to G-Isa has required scholars to discover such a relation through textual analysis at the micro-level. Albeit in pursuit of larger text-critical concerns, scholars claimed to have verified an indirect relationship between M- and S-Isa at places where S-Isa seems

to have followed G-Isa.[35] Their verification relies on their comparative analysis of S- and G-Isa. Because S-G agreements in Isaiah (and other Peshiṭta books) can be explained by a number of reasons other than G-Isa's direct influence on S-Isa, several scholars have attempted to outline criteria by which to both identify S-G agreements and explain them. It is necessary to adumbrate and refine those criteria here since: 1) they reinforce the methodological point that A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia's four stages cannot be practiced sequentially when studying ancient Bible translations, since in many cases possible extrinsic MT/Ls are discovered only by means of micro-level textual comparison; 2) my research problem cannot be approached appropriately without criteria and a method of analysis in place; and 3) past enumerations of such criteria have been laconic and often unable to account for the translational complexities involved.

On the Criteria for Identifying and Explaining S-G Agreements

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that non-literal translations of a specific ST are not necessarily exegetical or ideological renderings of the translator; among other reasons, they could reveal translation strategies employed by the translator to accommodate the linguistic conventions of the target language. Other times the translator may, in light of various goals, have decided that a literal translation would not communicate the sense of his ST, leading him to opt for a more dynamic equivalent. When these linguistic shifts form a pattern, they constitute the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* rather than his

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[35] For more on earlier scholars' goals in understanding S-Isa's relation to G-Isa, see the section "The Source- and Translator-Oriented Nature of Earlier Studies" in Chapter 2 above.

ideology. Nor are these deviations necessarily indications of an underlying *Vorlage* that, in the case of ancient Bible translation, differs from our main textual basis for comparison (i.e., M). The possibility that the translator had a different *Vorlage* (≠ M) arises when his deviations from M are also deviations from his *Übersetzungsweise*. As Aejmelaeus avers, "With the aid of an overall picture of the methods used by the translators in the areas studied, it will then be possible to distinguish the cases which deviate from the general rule and must be dealt with text-critically."[36] The implications of this methodological insight for identifying authentic S-G agreements in the Book of Isaiah must be teased out. Many alleged S-G agreements may be illusory if the cause for the agreement can be explained satisfactorily by each translator's translation technique, especially if S uses the same tactic elsewhere, whereas G goes its own way. There are other explanations that also must be considered (e.g., S has been only secondarily revised toward G). These interpretive conundrums have prompted the following discussion on how to identify authentic influence from G on S. I will outline the main arguments and refine the criteria for identifying and explaining unique S-G agreements in light of ITr.

The overarching question driving the discussion at this point is: How does knowledge of a specific Syriac translator's translation strategies aid in understanding the translation's relation to other versions? More specifically, how does such knowledge assist in: 1) adjudicating between shared variants in the *Vorlagen* of the earliest translations of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., S and G) and M; 2) identifying shared tactics

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[36] Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail*, 80. See also Tov, *The Text-Critical Use*, 18; and Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 13.

employed by both translators in rendering a source text close to M; and 3) determining influence from one translation (G) on another (S)? To a certain degree, these pursuits are beset with inescapable methodological circularity (much like Olofsson's hermeneutical spiral mentioned in Chapter 2):[37] The assumption that cases of S-G agreement betray a specific relation between S and G influences scholars to evaluate other cases on this basis,[38] whereas the assessment that S-G agreements do not indicate any such relation suggests the assumption that they are the result of common translation technique.[39] Complicating this situation are other possible explanations for why S agrees with G (against M and T). Similarities might also be attributable to: 1) a common translation tradition (i.e., usage of a similar tradition of a certain word or expression); 2) a common Jewish exegetical or liturgical tradition; 3) the possibility that S secondarily revised toward G or one of its hexaplaric recensions; and 4) common *Vorlagen*.[40]

While scholars seem to agree on the approximate number and nature of possible explanations for why S agrees with G, their different presuppositions about the external

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[37] Olofsson, *The LXX Version*, 66.

[38] This is precisely the *modus operandi* of Gelston, who, by identifying cases of S-G agreement that are explicable only in light of G, intuits other S-G agreements to reflect S's pervasive dependence on G in the Dodekapropheton ("The Peshiṭta and the Septuagint," in *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, 160-77).

[39] On the methodological circularity involved in these tasks, see Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism," 38.

[40] These categories are a condensation of Dirksen's in ibid., 377-78. I have not included Dirksen's nebulous category of "pure coincidence," since many "coincidental" S-G agreements have their explanation in common translation technique, even if both arrive at similar renderings by different paths.

realia of the translation process have impeded a consensus on the criteria for interpreting the internal evidence. For example, models of G as a constant companion or critical commentary used by the translator,[41] or models of S as a "daughter version" of G, have all been suggested.[42] These models assume that G was directly accessible to S in some (unspecified) way during the actual translation process. Far fewer models, however, have assumed G's *indirect* influence on S, since it seems unclear to some scholars what such a translation process would have entailed. For example, J. Lund, who is otherwise hesitant to interpret S-G agreements as cases of G's influence on S, is willing to claim that S-Psalms betrays indirect influence from G, perhaps through the help of an "informant."[43] Likewise, P. Verwijs suggests that the translator of S-Amos may not have accessed G "in the form of an actual book, but could have been through the translator's memory."[44]

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[41] The language of "critical commentary" comes from M. J. Mulder, who suggests the model not as a reality, but as a possibility that would need to be verified by how "that influence was brought to bear upon the text" ("The Use of the Peshitta in Textual Criticism," in *Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* [Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano" CSIC, 1985], 46). He also speculates that G could have served as a "parent text," constituting a "more familiar medium than the Hebrew," but he rightly notes that such a claim would require substantial evidence.

[42] On S as a "daughter version" of G, see J. Sanders, "Text and Canon: Old Testament and New," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: études bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire*, ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker (Fribourg, Suisse: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 376; and G. W. Anderson, "Canonical and Non-Canonical," in *Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 158f.

[43] Lund, "Grecisims in the Peshitta Psalms," in *The Peshitta as a Translation*, 102.

[44] P. Verwijs, "The Septuagint in the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla Translations of Amos 1:32-2:16," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 40.

Hypotheses such as these invite ITr theory, since it provides the concepts and terminology to investigate and document the phenomenon adequately.

Biblical scholars also have not executed translation technique analysis in similar ways, oftentimes interpreting apparent agreements exclusive to S-G through drastically diverse lenses. For example, a traditional view of S as a completely independent translation tends to interpret S-G agreements as reflecting actual Hebrew variants, with translation technique serving as a secondary criterion by which to rule out cases of coincidence.[45] Lund represents this view:

> What appear to be shared variants between S and G must be considered to be so if the science of textual criticism is to have any meaning. When S and G share the same plus, minus, transposition, or difference in words, one must assume that that is what they both read, and not that S depended on G, while having H [Hebrew text] = MT before it.[46]

As mentioned in my literature review (see Chapter 1), Lund's appeal here to "the science of textual criticism" is puzzling, since the philological task of interpreting S-G agreements is very different from the process of *adjudicating* between Hebrew variants, which would be the occupation of textual criticism. More importantly, an espousal of a minimalist view of the translator from the outset of investigation directly prejudices the way one reads the evidence. As Tov makes clear, it is impossible to distinguish between variants and non-variants without full consideration of grammar, translation technique, the possibility of secondary revisions, and pseudo-variants.[47]

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[45] The idea of S as being entirely independent was expressed initially by Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob*, LXXIII.

[46] Lund, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta," 46.

[47] On the concept of "pseudo-variants," see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the*

The assumption of minimalism may seem theoretically immaterial, but its application produces strikingly different results than does the assumption of maximalism—a view of the translator that assumes S's discrepancies with M find their origins in translation technique—or something in between. For example, Lund applies his methodology (i.e., S-G agreements = textual variants) to S-Genesis and identifies 118 agreements exclusive to S-G, only after which does he apply an additional criterion that takes translation technique into account: "When translation technique adequately accounts for the difference between MT and S, the extra massoretic agreement between S and G must be considered coincidental."[48] The ordering of Lund's criteria have not endured without criticism.

In contrast to Lund, Dirksen argues that the criterion of translation technique has strong *a priori* probability, since: 1) there are a number of studies demonstrating S's adherence to a ST close to M;[49] and 2) S displays a willingness to reformulate his source to produce an acceptable translation.[50] Thus, Dirksen reverses the order of Lund's two methodological criteria, and then he adds a third criterion:

> We should check whether the type of deviation in which the P [= Peshiṭta] and the LXX agree also occurs in the P without a corresponding translation in the LXX. If

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Hebrew Bible, 169, 178-87.

[48] Lund, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta," 117.

[49] Emerton, *The Peshiṭta of the Wisdom of Solomon*; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text of the Peshiṭta Manuscripts of the Book of Judges*; Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*; and Brock, "Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah."

[50] See Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism," 381. Weitzman (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 15-17) articulates a similar view.

this is indeed the case, then there is no reason to assume a Hebrew variant.[51] Applying these criteria to the same 114 exclusive agreements (= variants) noted by Lund, Dirksen adduces very different results. Of Lund's 114 agreements, Dirksen finds only forty-seven that pass all three criteria. Thirty-eight of these agreements involve a deviation that can be explained as stylistic changes. Only six of the remaining nine agreements (which Dirksen evaluates "on their own merits") may reflect an actual variant reading.[52]

In the end, while the polar terminology (minimalism vs. maximalism) serves a heuristic purpose in understanding how translators interact with their STs, the reality is that some S-G agreements will likely attest Hebrew variants, whereas others will be effects of both translators' translation choices for the sake of target language acceptability.[53] Without access to S's *Vorlage* and original translation, there will always be some uncertainty in scholarly analysis. However, since translation technique serves as an effective *a priori* criterion by which to evaluate S-G agreements, the latter cannot be

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[51] Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism," 381.

[52] Ibid., 390. Unfortunately, Dirksen does not provide the method of analysis by which he evaluated these thirty-eight deviations in S-Genesis as having adequate explanation in translation technique. Koster's criticism of Dirksen's methodology in "Translation or Transmission? That Is the Question: The Use of the Leiden Old Testament Peshitta Edition?" in *Basel und Bibel: Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the IOSOT, Basel 2001*, ed. M. Augustin and H. M. Niemann, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 51 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 297-312, will be discussed in Chapter 4 (section, "Non-Literal Shifts as Evidence of Translation or Transmission: The Limitations of the Leiden Edition for This Project").

[53] The question of whether S's unique agreements with G reflect secondary revision will be dealt with in Chapter 4.

routinely interpreted as pointing to common *Vorlagen*.

Yet, for many S-G agreements not found in M (and/or T), S's translation technique does not account for the similarity, since the S-G congruence is significant. Thus, what criteria or principles exist to adjudicate between the explanations of common translation tradition, Jewish exegetical and liturgical tradition, influence from G, or secondary revision? H. Szpek, who compiled the insights of Dirksen[54] and Lund[55] with her own experience working on S-Job,[56] provides six criteria to evaluate whether S was influenced by G:

1) The value of a congruency must be significant, as only these kinds of agreements (e.g., shared and unique grammar, semantics, syntax, or style) could potentially demonstrate influence;[57]
2) If the immediate environment does not continue the parallel, this may indicate that a congruent reading is not the result of versional influence;
3) A S-G reading may be deemed coincidental if the same technique or adjustment is found elsewhere in S without the parallel in G;
4) If a parallel reading in S and G is also present in another version (e.g., T), this weakens the possibility that S's reading is dependent on G;
5) The absence of G's influence on difficult passages might be used as an argument *in absentia* that elsewhere S did not consult G; and
6) The presence of divergent departures from M elsewhere suggest that S did not consult G.[58]

While Szpek's refined criteria are a welcome contribution to the discussion, they more or

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[54] Dirksen, "The Peshitta and Textual Criticism."

[55] Lund, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta."

[56] Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job*.

[57] This criterion is also emphasized in Mulder, "The Use of the Peshitta in Textual Criticism," 49, 53.

[58] Szpek, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta," 251-66.

less assume *direct* and *frequent* dependence on G. She also does not mention the more irrefutable manifestations of S's dependence on G: the Syriac translator renders G's additions (e.g., G-Proverbs); the Syriac translator provides a double-translation (one based on M and one on G); and the Syriac translator mistranslates the Greek.[59] But how might the criteria need to change if G's influence was *indirect* (i.e., a case of indirect ITr, as intimated above in Chapter 2)? Arguably, there were available to the individual Syriac translators a number of extrinsic mediating sources which the translators could access either directly or indirectly during the translation process. Some of these potential sources have already been mentioned (e.g., scribal training; liturgical tradition; educational curricula; common lore). All these mediations could have involved the Greek Scriptures at some level or the same training and traditions that played a role in G's translation. Thus, the socioreligious context of the translators of S may have shaped their translation as much as any other text.[60] But even if this hypothesis is both theoretically possible and realistic, it does not imply that, methodologically, we are able to distinguish between

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[59] As Fox notes, Szpek's criterion for what constitutes a "difficult" passage is itself lacking criteria and assumes that "the S-translator considered the same passages very difficult and that he agreed with, but did not use, G's solution." Also, Szpek's criterion of divergent departures from M "is invalid if applied to a book as a whole, since nothing requires that a translator be entirely consistent in the use of a resource. It has greater validity when applied to individual verses, though in some cases even in a single verse S can diverge from M in one component while using G in another" (see Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 39, fn 5). Tully also includes the following criteria as the only clear evidence that S has depended on G: 1) S misunderstands and translates G; S amalgamates both M and G; and S is explicable only on the basis of G (*The Translation and Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*, 291-97).

[60] Much more about this will be discussed below in the section "Epitextual Analysis."

direct ITr (i.e., where S accessed G directly *via* physical engagement with a Greek manuscript) and indirect ITr (i.e., where S accessed G indirectly *via* his own memory or other extrinsic mediations informed by G) in S's linguistic profile. We can (and should) delimit the historical, sociocultural, scribal, and religious knowledge requisite to determine the Peshiṭta translators' ability to access and employ G and what to expect if they did so directly. But without access to the translation event, our ability to adjudicate between direct ITr and indirect ITr can be only as strong as the epitextual analysis permits. And since epitextual analysis constitutes an essential step in the methodology of ITr, it should be integrated into the criteria by which we identity and explain agreements exclusive to S-G.

Refining the Criteria for Detecting S-G Agreements

If it remains a valid hypothesis that G could be accessed *indirectly* by a Syriac translator, then internal criteria that test for G's direct influence on S must be expanded to account for the external, social *realia* of the actual translation processes whereby the Syriac translator (consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly) employed translation strategies that engaged such extrinsic mediations. Many of these strategies resulted from certain translational norms (both preliminary and operational), but others would have emerged as the translator developed fixed solutions to common problems in the process of translation, and others would have been executed in *ad hoc* fashion. While none of these strategies necessitate a view of direct translation whereby Syriac translators accessed physical Greek manuscripts during the process of translation, the criteria to apply to the *text* of S will be the same for cases of direct ITr and indirect ITr.

While fairly schematic, the following chart (Table 3.2) enumerates the possible

scenarios involving G as one of the extrinsic mediations that S used during the process of translation. The various continua here reflect my inclusive definition of indirectness (developed in Chapter 2): "the *nature* and *number* of non-ST elements (i.e., extrinsic mediations and their respective languages) that translators access during the process of translation, the *extent* to which they rely on each mediation (sporadically or completely?), the *means* by which they access each mediation (directly or indirectly?), and their level of *intent* in doing so":

Possible Scenarios Involving S's Use of G (Table 3.2)

Ultimate TT		**Intent**		**Nature/ Number (MT)**	**Means**		**Extent**
S		intentionally	translates	G	directly	and	completely
S		intentionally	translates	G	directly	and	partially
S		intentionally	translates	G	directly	and	sporadically
S	never	intentionally	translates	G	directly		
S		intentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	completely
S		intentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	partially
S		intentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	sporadically
S	never	intentionally	translates	G	indirectly		
S		unintentionally	translates	G	directly	and	completely
S		unintentionally	translates	G	directly	and	partially
S		unintentionally	translates	G	directly	and	sporadically
S	never	unintentionally	translates	G	directly		
S		unintentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	completely
S		unintentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	partially
S		unintentionally	translates	G	indirectly	and	sporadically
S	never	unintentionally	translates	G	indirectly		

With this chart in mind, a few comments bear mentioning. First, a particular translator of S would not have been restricted to one of the aforementioned categories; he could have weaved in and out of a few possible scenarios. Also, these scenarios include most theoretical possibilities (in rudimentary form), including situations that would have been

humanly impossible (e.g., S unintentionally translates G directly and completely). I have included them for the sake of comprehensiveness. My consolidation of *nature* and *number* and its expression in the designation "G" is not to signify that only one Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible was available to the translators of S; rather, G, *qua* S's MT, refers to a translation of the Hebrew Bible that is both textual and Greek. And last, the continuum of *means* signifies that either S accessed G directly *via* physical engagement with a Greek manuscript or indirectly *via* his own memory or other extrinsic mediations informed by G (e.g., liturgy; scribal training; educational curricula; common lore).

While this model is not without limitations and raises complex questions (e.g., how to detect a translator's intent in using a MT/L), it poses a battery of helpful possibilities to weigh when evaluating S-Isa's relation to G-Isa. It also enables us to conceive of "indirect mixed ITr" as a possibility in ancient Bible translation (e.g., S's direct use of a ST close to M and indirect use of G), which older models rarely considered. It would seem that reconstructing *any* realistic scenario involving S's indirect appropriation of G requires that we account for such translational processes in the criteria we formulate to detect G's influence on S.

It must be conceded that even if our criteria were impeccable (and S's dependence on G were irrefutable), they could never elicit the full extent to which S bears a relation to G. This is because the usage of extrinsic mediations is discoverable in the ultimate TT's linguistic record only when those mediations deviate from the ultimate ST (e.g., S = G ≠ M; S ≠ G = M). In other words, wherever M agrees with G, it is impossible to know if S relied on G. The degree of influence from G theoretically could be stronger (e.g., in

cases where S may have used G as an aid to interpret his ST yet provided a rendering in accordance with M), but to assert as much without positive evidence indicating S's reliance on G in places where both deviate from M is to argue *ex silentio*. This methodological point accentuates the fact that whatever relation we can discover between S and G, our conclusions regarding it will necessarily be limited to a relatively small data set that is subject to critical evaluation (i.e., only cases where S = G ≠ M/T). Assuming the evidence is positive and convincing, the most we could claim is that, with respect to some of S's deviations from M, S agrees uniquely with G. If these agreements *reflect a pattern*, then we can be more confident that G had some sort of indirect or direct influence on S, allowing us to evaluate and describe the norms that seemed to have guided the Syriac translator in accessing G and employing its readings periodically.

Starting from the observation of previous scholars who argue that unique S-G agreements (≠ M/T/1QIsa^{a}) in the Book of Isaiah are sporadic at best, we can narrow the scenarios schematized in Table 3.2 down to four: 1) S-Isa intentionally translates G-Isa directly and sporadically; 2) S-Isa intentionally translates G-Isa indirectly and sporadically; 3) S-Isa unintentionally translates G-Isa directly and sporadically; and 4) S-Isa unintentionally translates G-Isa indirectly and sporadically. The third option is not conceivable in the real world; therefore, only the three remaining options deserve serious consideration. As mentioned before, the degree to which these options remain (historically, socioculturally, scribally, and religiously) possible during the second to third centuries CE requires epitextual analysis (see below). Whether we assume an ITr model that presupposes direct or indirect means of access is inconsequential when

performing textual analysis on individual S-G agreements.[61] The overall sense of indirectness (direct ITr versus indirect ITr) should emerge after numerous agreements have been examined. Therefore, the following criteria apply to either scenario and their variations (i.e., #2 and 4 above). We first need broad criteria to identify the influence of extrinsic mediations in S and then subcriteria to identify those mediations that might find their origins in G.

Identifying Extrinsic Mediations in S

The following criteria to verify indirectness in S are not objective; their interpretive nature cannot be denied. After all, the strength of many inductive arguments resides in their cumulative weight, and such is the case for identifying and explaining the relevant data requisite for this project. And because certain readings in S may meet some criteria but not others, we can speak only of strong to weak probabilities. With these caveats in mind, we can consider extrinsic mediations to obtain in S when:

1) S departs from its ultimate ST (~M);
2) S's normal translation technique cannot account for the reading;[62]
3) there is cross-linguistic and/or contemporary extrabiblical evidence to support the reading (e.g., one or more MT/Ls [G/T] or 1QIsa^{a} have the same reading);[63]
4) the linguistic or ideological context—whether difficult, obscure, or

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[61] Obviously, the question of intentionality is irrelevant here as well.

[62] I will deal with the difficulty of early inner-Syriac development, or the poorly defined concept of "transmission technique," in Chapter 4 (see section "Non-Literal Shifts as Evidence of Translation or Transmission? The Limitations of the Leiden Edition for This Project").

[63] While 1QIsa^{a} is proto-Masoretic, it also differs from M at various places. If S = 1QIsa^{a} ($\neq$ M), or S/G = 1QIsa^{a} ($\neq$ M), it remains possible that S's reading reflects the variant attested in 1QIsa^{a} and should not be interpreted as a deviation originating from translation technique.

controversial—invites the reading; and
5) the reading is one of many that evidence a pattern.

If the third criterion is met, then we should apply subcriteria to evaluate whether the translator accessed his reading *via* G.

Identifying Influence from G on S

The subcriteria for determining whether S relied on G are as follows. Obviously, not all five criteria have to apply in order for a relation to be established. As with the former criteria, the more that apply, the more likely the relation:

3) S's use of G can be considered to obtain if:
   a. common translation technique does not account for the agreement;
   b. common analysis of ambiguous Hebrew forms or vocalization does not account for the agreement;[64]
   c. S does not execute similar translation shifts elsewhere where G goes its own way;[65]
   d. the S-G agreement does not find attestation in T, 1QIsa[a], or any other extrabiblical source;
   e. the S-G agreement is significant (e.g., S misunderstands and translates G; S amalgamates both M and G) or unique (e.g., S is [literarily, lexically, and exegetically] explicable only on the basis of G);
   f. S's agreement with G is not secondary (i.e., a later revision toward G).

Since the logic behind 3.a-c has been explained at length above, I will not repeat it here. The logic behind the other criteria is as follows: 3.d) A S-G congruence attested in

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[64] This particular criterion was articulated by Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 26-28.

[65] This criterion is very much like 3.a in that it emphasizes the role of translation technique in interpreting specific S-G agreements. However, for S-G agreements that involve less common translation shifts (e.g., specific lexical congruences), the fact that S produces similar shifts elsewhere (≠ M/G) significantly weakens the hypothesis that the translator relied on G for the specific S-G agreement under investigation.

another ancient version or contemporaneous extrabiblical source weakens the possibility that G influenced S, since, theoretically, the influence could have come from the non-G source, or the reading could be common to all the sources (≠ M); 3.e) Weak S-G parallels are explicable on many other grounds; and 3.f) A secondary revision toward G is not original and thus not indicative of influence on the original translator. The following criteria (modified from Szpek's) also should be applied if there are good (epitextual) reasons to believe that a Peshiṭta translator had *direct* access to G, or if a Peshiṭta translator had large swaths of G memorized, or if G had direct access to another extrinsic mediation that was heavily influenced by G:

g. S's immediate linguistic environment continues the parallel with G;
h. S agrees with G in difficult places (e.g., at places where the underlying Hebrew appears corrupt or the roots are lexically ambiguous; cases of *hapax legomena*); and
i. S-G agreements exhibit a (literary, lexical, or exegetical) pattern (e.g., shared unit divisions; anthropomorphisms; historical/ideological contemporizations).

The justification for 3.g is that sustained or consistent reliance on G would be expected if G were immediately accessible to S in some way. 3.h) Additionally, if G were immediately accessible and served as some sort of aid for S, then it would be peculiar for S to rely on G at places where S's underlying Hebrew is relatively straightforward and not where the underlying Hebrew is difficult or obscure. And last, 3.i) a pattern of unique S-G agreements suggests systematic reliance on G.

These last two criteria (3.g-h) could apply to a case of indirect ITr in the event that S's parallels with G are attested sporadically yet betray a similar nature. For example, if S occasionally agrees with G at points of difficult lexis, then that might suggest that S used G as some sort of lexicon. The probability of S's reliance on G

increases if the semantic congruity of the lexical agreements exists at a high and sustained level (e.g., in the case of common renderings for *hapax legomena*). This phenomenon would not necessitate a *direct* model of means, as is often assumed. Conversely, the sporadic character of the S-G agreements might suggest an indirect model of means, especially if there is evidence of S guessing (wrongly) elsewhere without any relation to G. In fact, one could argue that the more erratic the S-G agreements, the less likely S used G directly in the process of translation. The occasional agreement might actually (and more realistically) testify to the limitations of the Peshiṭta translator's memory (in the event that he had occasion to memorize parts of G) or betray the innerworkings of a Syriac-Greek bilingual mind.

The idea that S-Isa frequently struggled with his Hebrew ST and had to rely on complex strategies at problem points (e.g., *hapax legomena*) is not in itself problematic. Process-oriented translation research demonstrates that some translation proceeds smoothly, almost automatically, while other translation moves in a non-linear manner. This latter translation process is a spiral one, involving interruptions and frequent switching back and forth in the text, with translators returning to earlier problems either to revise them or be reminded of how they were solved and then resuming from where they left off to solve the present problem.[66] Trends in modern translation obviously should not be assumed to apply to ancient translation in every case, but the assumption that translators have recourse to more complex strategies at problem points (e.g.,

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[66] See Lörscher, *Translation Performance, Translation Process and Translation Strategies*; and Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 89-91.

consulting another translation) is reasonable. The problem, rather, is that a strategy such as *consult G-Isa at difficult points of lexis* requires a fair degree of premeditation and physical preparation on the part of the Syriac translator. In such an event, we would expect fairly consistent use of G-Isa if both S-Isa's underlying Hebrew ST had a high number of lexical anomalies (which it undoubtedly did) and the Syriac translator had a Greek translation immediately before him to consult. The only way to gain any traction here is to evaluate those places where S-Isa rendered obscure lexemes with readings that deviate from both M and G-Isa. The more confidence and autonomy he displays in working solely with his Hebrew ST, the less likely he randomly, intentionally, and directly consulted a Greek manuscript.

Influence of G on S versus S's Reliance on G

A few scholars are quite comfortable with the possibility that the Peshiṭta translators intentionally and directly used G only sporadically. Weitzman states, "There is no difficulty in supposing that P's translators made sporadic use of LXX, alongside a Hebrew text as their main source."[67] To support this claim, Weitzman points to two analogies: 1) the Vulgate's sporadic agreement with G in most books of the Hebrew Bible; and 2) the translator of S-Chronicles mostly follows the Hebrew, but occasionally he "draws upon parallel passages in earlier biblical books, apparently where he found his Hebrew text of Chronicles illegible."[68] Weitzman argues that it is "wrong" to assume that

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[67] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 78-79. Elsewhere, he says, "P is not derived primarily from LXX, but merely utilised LXX here and there."

[68] Ibid., 79.

"because P's translator has not followed LXX consistently, he was not influenced by LXX at all," since the Peshiṭta translators typically consulted G "at points of difficulty, promptly reverting to the Hebrew thereafter."[69] In response to the question of whether the Peshiṭta translators could even read the Greek Bible, Weitzman claims that the bilingual (Hebrew and Greek) Jewish grave inscriptions at Edessa suggests "that the necessary expertise to translate the Hebrew Bible with aid from the Greek could be found there."[70]

When one envisages the picture that Weitzman draws for the translators of S, one is led to wonder how much the model of the modern scholar has influenced his own interpretation of the evidence. Because Weitzman makes a number of assumptions in the model of translation he postulates for the Peshiṭta translators, they require some critical engagement. First, not only has Weitzman uncritically compared the Peshiṭta translators with Jerome who, living a century and a half later, has provided us with a wealth of peritextual information by which to interpret the Vulgate's relation to other ancient versions, he has also confused influence with physical reliance on a Greek manuscript. The latter logically implies the former, but not *vice versa*. As explained thoroughly above, there are other ways to conceive of G's influence on S that do not imply direct means of access. Second, Weitzman's reconstruction of the Peshiṭta translators' alternating between Hebrew and Greek manuscripts is speculative. There is no way to

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid. Unfortunately, Weitzman does not expound on this claim. For support, he cites J. B. Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 27, 42, which I will engage in the section "Epitextual Analysis" below.

uncover such details aside from witnessing the translation event itself.[71] The view that S sporadically relied on G does not necessitate (let alone suggest) such a specific reconstruction of the translation process. Last, the expertise requisite to write the Hebrew-Greek bilingual inscriptions at Edessa does not necessarily imply that the Peshiṭta translators were able to read and engage G during the process of translating an underlying Hebrew ST. In summary, Weitzman's wide-ranging conclusions cannot be drawn from such evidence. It seems axiomatic that "the influence of LXX varies from book to book," but a correlation between influence and the individual translators' "receptivity to linguistic innovation" does not require the hypothesis that the Peshiṭta translators intentionally employed G by direct means.

G-Isa as Support Translation?

That many scholars have proposed the view that S-Isa relied on G-Isa at various places requires that we take the claim seriously, teasing out what the model implies in the terminology and theory of ITr. Since the three scenarios above describing S-Isa's possible use of G-Isa (S-Isa intentionally/unintentionally translates G-Isa directly/indirectly and sporadically) all include the same variable under *extent* (i.e., sporadically), one could argue that G-Isa served as a kind of "support" translation for S-Isa. The concept of support translation is currently being developed in the field of TS and is advantageous to explain here. Dollerup defines support translation as

> the strategy in which, translating a given source text, translators check translations

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[71] As Dollerup notes, "[M]odels of the translation process which operate by means of unbroken chains from the original sender to the final receiver are inapplicable to all the realities of translation work" ("'Relay' and 'Support' Translations," 23).

> into languages other than their own target language in order to see whether colleagues have found satisfactory solutions to certain problems – usually only to find that it is the same passages which prove problematic to translators in related languages.[72]

Although Dollerup's definition emphasizes the problematic nature of an ultimate ST and thus the need for the translator of the ultimate TT to use a MT/L as an aid, Washbourne expands the definition to include other possibilities:

> [S]upport translations are consulted not for micro-level (re-use) of phrases (as retranslators might use earlier translations – scrupulously or unscrupulously) but for providing a potential repertoire of translation shifts or strategies; in sum, an instance of expert modeling. Support translations, in this light, actually are supporting the translation process rather than providing a harvestable translation product … So it may be useful also, in short, to stress translatorial action or intervention in considering this term: after all, the support translation only exists as such when it is *consulted for support* … Further research on support translation would do well to define how these texts are actually used, and to identify *support translation subtypes* (perhaps by distinguishing source types, passage lengths, the relationship of parallel texts to support translations, or such phenomena as the use of author concordances, unpublished, *failed* first commissions of translations provided by publishers, or translations of other works by the same author.[73]

Washbourne's distinction here between using a support translation to aid the process of translation as opposed to provide a "harvestable product" is relevant when consider S-Isa's possible relation to G-Isa. Previous scholars have not elaborated on the possibility that S-Isa relied on G-Isa as a model during the process of translation, influencing the Syriac translator to employ translation shifts and strategies exhibited in G-Isa.[74] While

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[72] Ibid., 23-24.

[73] Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 617-18 (emphasis original).

[74] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 8-9, notes that both S- and G-Isa exhibit a similar conception, expression, and manner, but this claim does not imply that G-Isa served as S-Isa's model.

this idea remains theoretically possible, it is largely untestable for the reason mentioned above: it is impossible to determine G's influence on S when S = M or, in the event that S differs slightly from M (e.g., a case of transposition), the translation shift can be accounted for by S's *Übersetzungsweise*.[75] Rather, previous scholars viewed S-Isa's direct use of G-Isa as inconsistent, pointing to parallels (i.e., isolated short phrases and lexemes) in both S- and G-Isa that deviate from M. In an effort to integrate Washbourne's concept of support translation subtypes, biblical scholars have assumed a model of support translation whereby G-Isa (= one MT/L), a sacred translation (= source type), was accessed intentionally and directly (= means) by S-Isa during the process of translation, and only sporadically, freely, and haphazardly (= extent) did S-Isa borrow a short phrase or lexeme (= passage length) from G-Isa.[76]

Viewing G-Isa as a support translation does not invalidate S-Isa's status as an ITr; it simply limits S-Isa's indirectness to those areas where the translator relied on G-Isa as opposed to his Hebrew ST. In the nomenclature of ITr, S-Isa would constitute a case of "mixed" ITr (using both the ultimate ST and MT[s]), but this constitution is a hypothesis that can be verified only if many of the abovementioned criteria are met and the nature of the cumulative evidence bespeaks a high probability of S-Isa's dependence on G-Isa.[77]

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[75] However, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, a similar translation culture behind the production of G-Isa could have come to East Syria that influenced the scribal milieu around S-Isa's own production.

[76] Gesenius (*Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 81-82) speaks of S-Isa relying on G-Isa "freely and arbitrarily." Barnes's comment that S-Isa's independence is "limited by incursion" also bespeaks the haphazard way S-Isa agrees with G-Isa ("On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," 194).

[77] Of course, this hypothesis refers only to S-Isa's relation to G-Isa.

Even then, it could be confirmed only to a very limited extent. Additionally, the sporadic nature of S-G agreement in S-Isa along with its hidden presentation provide no traction to measure the translator's intention.[78] The covert nature of S-Isa's alleged agreement with G-Isa would have more to do with a translation policy that did not require citations and the translator's (and/or his audience's) tolerance of influence from G-Isa.

If the nature of the agreements exclusive to S-G suggest a relation of dependence or influence, then we can pose the following questions (informed by ITr) to help form a hypothesis to explain the phenomenon: What does S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa suggest about the translator's concept of translation? What does the relation suggest about the translator's (and his audience's) tolerance in translating sporadically from G-Isa? What does the evidence suggest about the translator's general view toward Greek and G-Isa? Was G-Isa accepted and/or valued in East Syria? What was S-Isa's attitude toward ITr?[79] What kind of preliminary norms (translation policy; directness of translation) and operational norms (matricial [distribution of linguistic material]; text-linguistic [selection of linguistic material]) can we infer from the unique S-G agreements? Do any stand out

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Theoretically, S-Isa could constitute a case of "eclectic" ITr, in which case the translator relied on multiple MT/Ls and other extrinsic mediations during the event of translation. While interesting, such an investigation falls beyond the purview of this project.

[78] This fact renders ITr's notion of pseudo-translation irrelevant. On pseudo-translation, see A. Rosa, Pięta, and Maia, "Theoretical, Methodological, and Terminological Issues," 123.

[79] These questions are an application of those found in Gambier, "Working with Relay: An Old Story and a New Challenge," 63. See also Washbourne, "Nonlinear Narratives," 620, and Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1999), 75.

as being unique to the translation of sacred literature? Is there any relationship between these norms and other Jewish exegetical rules known from the location and era? Does S-Isa borrow the models from the stronger system (e.g., G-Isa's translation strategies)? Does S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa indicate the weakness of S-Isa's polysystem? Does G-Isa's influence on S-Isa contribute to the idea that Syriac is a peripheral language? If S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa amounts to negative interference (i.e., a deviation from the target culture's norms regarding translation), what would be G-Isa's disruptive potential? Might there have been a risk involved for the translator of S-Isa to rely on G-Isa at difficult places? Not all these questions can be pursued in detail in this project, but to the degree that the epitextual and micro-textual analysis permits, they will receive attention in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Epitextual Analysis of S-Isa

Previous scholars' micro-textual analysis on S-Isa and their conclusion that it bears a relation to G-Isa serve as sufficient warrant to investigate some very basic epitextual questions: Did the translator of S-Isa have immediate access to G-Isa? If he did, could he have read it? And even if he could have read Greek, is it likely that he would have used Greek Scripture—or been influenced by it (directly or indirectly)—during the translation event? As rudimentary as these questions are, they have not been pursued intently with the aim to calculate to what degree S-Isa bears an indirect relation to its Hebrew ST at those places where S-Isa allegedly agrees uniquely with G-Isa (≠ G/T/1QIsa^{a}). In fact, I have not identified a single study in which these questions have served as the subject of extensive investigation in order to explicate G's relation to a specific book in the Peshiṭta Old Testament. Admittedly, a thorough analysis of each

angle here would include research into the religious context of East Syria (especially Edessa or a Syrian city equivalent to it), the internal and external evidence for Greek language and Scripture in East Syria, the bilingual context of East Syria, and the evidence for scribal training, education, academies, translation practices (Syriac to Greek, and Greek to Syriac), and Syriac literary conventions in or around eastern Syria. Obviously, the space required to expound on each of these inquiries could easily fill several volumes. I will summarize below only what is relevant for calculating S-Isa's indirectness, clarifying what the evidence allows for reconstructing *l'horizon du traducteur*. This background knowledge informs the epitextual criteria requisite to determine S-Isa's ability to both access and read G-Isa.

Was There a LXX in East Syria around 200 CE?[80]

The question of whether the translator of S-Isa had access to some form of G hinges on the date and place where the translation event occurred and the translator's religious identity. Only the region of Osrhoene attests Syriac usage prior to 200 CE,[81] which was before the city of Edessa became a Roman *colonia* in 212/213 CE.[82] But this

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[80] I am indebted to F. Millar (personal communication) for helping me frame the role of G in eastern Syria within such a historical outline.

[81] See Brock, "Edessene Syriac Inscriptions in Late Antique Syria," in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. H. M. Cotton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 289-90, who notes that the few extant Old Syriac inscriptions (150-250 CE) betray no evidence of Christian (or Jewish) presence.

[82] Caracalla deposed King Abgar in 212/213 CE and subsequently conferred on Edessa the status of a Roman *colonia*. On this political process, see Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31 BC – AD 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 472-73; and S. K. Ross, *Roman Edessa: Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman*

is a period and region for which we have meager literary evidence,[83] let alone the kind that might reveal the language of the liturgy, preaching, or extemporaneous sermon translation in religious settings.[84] The bilingual context of Edessa has been an attractive reason to assume a prominent role of Greek Scripture in Edessa, but the external evidence does not necessitate such a view.[85] At most, Edessa, as a "non-Mediterranean descendant of Greek culture,"[86] can serve as a model for other towns in eastern Syria. Edessa's

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Empire, 114—242 CE (London: Routledge, 2001), 59-64.

[83] The literature attested during the relevant period (150-250 CE) in or around Edessa includes Bardaisan's *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, the *Chronicle of Edessa*, and five bilingual (Syriac and Greek) parchments. While these writings reveal much about public scribal and documentary practices, individual literacy and language-use, and the influence of Greek culture, mythology, religion, and philosophy in the Edessan territory, they shed little light on what constituted the "Bible of Edessa" during this period. For a summary of these literary sources and what they indicate about the role of Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene, see Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene, CE 213-363," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 30 (2011): 96-104. For a helpful bibliography on the primary sources, see Millar, "Appendix C: Materials for the History of Roman Edessa and Osrhoene, AD 163-337," in *The Roman Near East*, 553-62.

[84] Based on Bardaisan's (154-222 CE) Syriac hymns, Brock argues that Syriac must have already served as a liturgical language ("Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994], 158). Clearer, however, is Ephrem's Syriac liturgical poetry (*c.* 370). As regards G-Isa, its influence is evident in Jacob of Edessa's writings during the mid-to-late sixth century AD (see Romeny, "Jacob of Edessa's Quotations and Revision of Isaiah," in *Isaiah in Context. Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. N. van der Meer et al., VTS 138 [Leiden: Brill, 2010], 389-406).

[85] For a recent example of how this logic has played out, see Tully, *The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*, 283-84.

[86] Miller, *The Roman Near East*, 472. For Millar's argument that the centrality of Edessa has been accentuated too heavily by scholars, see "Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene, CE 213-363."

location, bilingualism, and use of Syriac during this period did not make it unique. Like its neighbors, Edessa's form of Hellenism was a symbiosis of Greek thought and religion in a Semitic language.[87] Moreover, while there is evidence for the use of Old Greek versions (including Aquila) among Mediterranean Jews of the rabbinic period, the same cannot be said for Jews of the Eastern diaspora. As Fox contends, "[T]he supposition that unidentified Jewish groups [in the Eastern diaspora] knew and used the Septuagint and ascribed to it importance is just conjecture."[88]

Despite the lack of evidence for a particular religious milieu, the internal, text-linguistic character of S indicates clearly that its translators used Hebrew STs (~M) and, in some cases, demonstrated advanced facility in the Hebrew language, thus suggesting Jewish authorship.[89] The ability to learn Hebrew would have required the existence of a

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[87] See the arguments in Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 18-20. Drijvers called Edessa "as Hellenized as the rest of Syria" ("Syrian Christianity and Judaism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*," 139). See also Ross, *Roman Edessa*, who argues that "the political barrier between the Roman and Parthian spheres was no obstacle to the interchange of ideas," in large part due to Edessa's location on the trade routes (p. 123); and S. A. Harvey, "Syria and Mesopotamia," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. M. M. Mitchell and F. M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 351-65.

[88] Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 54. Fox is careful not to imply that the Jews completely jettisoned G during the first century CE, pointing to T. Rajak's arguments in *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 288-313.

[89] Fox argues that the translator of G-Proverbs demonstrated good knowledge of his Hebrew ST, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 53-54. For a more negative view, see J. Joosten, "Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 63-72. For the Peshiṭta Old Testament as a whole, see P. J. Williams, "The Syriac Versions of the Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. J. C. Paget and J. Schaper, vol. 1:

Jewish "school" which valued recitation and repetition, but evidence for the residence of Jews in ancient Edessa is limited.[90] A Jewish tomb in Kirk Mağara with three Aramaic funerary inscriptions, one Greek inscription, and a *menorah* inscribed at the entrance of the tomb attests the presence of some affluent Jews in Edessa.[91] Primary sources indicate that the city included at least two synagogues and Jewish cloth merchants who capitalized on Edessa's location along the silk road.[92] And some have argued that a certain attraction to Judaism among Christians during the third century is what served as the impetus behind the *Doctrine of Addai*, a propagandistic narrative that vindicates its "religious claims against its rival fellow-Christians and Edessene Jews and pagans" while also indicating that many Christians during this time attended the synagogue, prayed with

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From the Beginnings to 600 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 527-28.

[90] As an example of advanced facility in the Hebrew language, see Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 53. For the use of Jewish traditions in early Syriac sources, see Brock, "A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 46 (1995): 271-82; and idem, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," *JJS* 30 (1979): 212-32.

[91] See Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 89-90, and the primary sources he lists in footnotes; and Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 28-32. For the inscriptions, see H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la region de Mossoul* (Paris: Impr. nationale; Librairie V. Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, 1907), 76-80 (nos. 40-43); and J. B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum*, vol. II (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1952), 340 (nos. 1414-18).

[92] The *Chronicle of Edessa* mentions a synagogue in a prominent place in the city (see I. Guidi, *Chronia Minora*, I, CSCO 1, Scriptores Syri 1 [Leuven: Peeters, 1955], 6). And the *Doctrine of Addai* mentions Jewish participation in the lucrative silk industry (see Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 89-90, and the bibliography cited there).

Jews, and adhered to certain Jewish religious practices.[93] Drijvers summarizes this view with the following:

> The Jews at Edessa made their Christian fellow-citizens feel uncertain and often unsafe, whereas they themselves were self-confident as adherents of an old and traditional religion. As such they served as a real magnet to many Christians and gave rise to very ambivalent feelings, especially among church leaders and theologians, who warned their co-religionists against the Jewish danger with all the exuberance of traditional rhetoric. But side by side with such verbal violence went a continuous debate in which Christian theologians took the initiative. And last but not least there were the ordinary people who went to the synagogue—Jews, many Christians and even some pagans. They at least saw the Jews as a source of help against the dangers in their lives.[94]

While Drijver's summary here of Jewish-Christian interaction in Edessa describes a time period for which we have more evidence (*c.* 400 CE), the situation presupposes a lengthy history of Jewish-Christian coexistence in Edessa.

The possibility of Jewish authorship of S, however, raises the question of why, according to our earliest evidence, S is used only within the Syriac Christian Church. Moreover, we know of no Christian authors from this period who knew Hebrew. Some scholars have maintained that if the translators of S were Christians, we would expect them to have translated G, rather than a Hebrew ST (~M).[95] Thus, we are presented with a complex scenario where the Syriac translations of Hebrew *Vorlagen* suggest Jewish

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[93] Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 90-102.

[94] Ibid., 102.

[95] Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 26. This is the main problem with Drijver's argument that early Syriac Christianity was mostly of gentile origin and these same Christians were responsible for creating S ("Syriac Christianity and Judaism"). More about these hypotheses will be discussed in Chapter 6.

involvement and religious allegiances, but S is attested only in the Syriac Christian Church.[96] Such ambiguity has allowed for nuanced hypotheses regarding S's authorship and religious identity (e.g., Judeo-Christian origins;[97] the idea of the "Christianized Jew";[98] non-rabbinic Jews who shared some theological distinctives with eastern Christians [e.g., prayer; faith; charity; hope]).[99] This ambiguity probably attests a religious situation where the boundaries between "Jew" and "Christian" were not clearly understood or demarcated.[100] In fact, the nature of "Syriac Christianity" in the region of Osrhoene was so multi-faceted as to render nonsensical any monolithic understanding of

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[96] That S's *Vorlage* was Hebrew is not the only reason scholars have suggested Jewish authorship. As recounted earlier (see the section "The Religious Affiliation and Theology of S-Isa" in Chapter 1), many have pointed to S's translation technique as having many parallels with the Aramaic Targum.

[97] The proposal that the Peshiṭta was translated by Jewish Christians was mentioned first by Nöldeke, "Das Targum zu den Sprüchen von der Peschita abhängig." For other proponents of this view, see van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 273-77; and W. van Peursen, "The Peshitta of Ben Sira: Jewish and/or Christian?" *Aramaic Studies* 2 (2004): 243-62. For a larger discussion, see Dirksen, "The Old Testament Peshitta," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. J. Mulder, CRINT 2.1. (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 261-64.

[98] Similar to the former Judeo-Christian view, the "Christianized Jew" stresses the recent conversion of the Jews who authored the Peshiṭta. Speaking only in reference to G-Proverbs, see Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 54. For the Peshiṭta as a whole, see Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 13-33.

[99] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 240-45; and idem, "From Judaism to Christianity."

[100] R. Murray, in noting a few parallels between Syriac Christianity and practices at Qumran, made this observation as early as 1975 (*Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], 16-24).

it.[101] Speaking to Edessa's complex religious situation, Romeny states,

> [P]eople's place in society was determined by a web of overlapping and conflicting loyalties, of which they were not always fully conscious. This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that all inhabitants of Edessa took part in a pagan religious feast until at least the end of the fifth century.[102]

Romeny's fair reading of the external evidence and literature from this period is helpful for thinking through the possibilities regarding the religious background of the author of S-Isa, but there is no extant evidence to substantiate G's existence in eastern Syria during this early period.[103] Also, the connection between Antiochian Christianity and Christian Edessa becomes clear around 150 CE, or slightly later (i.e., around the time of S-Isa's translation).[104] If a copy of G-Isa were accessible to S-Isa, then one would have to argue

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[101] The bibliography on the varieties of Christianity in Syria is too extensive to list here. For a succinct discussion, see Harvey, "Syria and Mesopotamia," 351-65.

[102] Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 32. See also Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 7-8. For a description of the religious feast to which Romeny alludes, see Drijvers, "The Persistence of Pagan Cults and Practices in Christian Syria, East of Byzantium," in *Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N. Garsoïan, Th. Mathews, and R. Thomson (Washington-Dumbarton: Dumbarton Oaks Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 35-43.

[103] For an excellent summary of Jewish Christianity and the problems involved, see J. C. Paget, "Jewish Christianity," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Early Roman Period*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 731-75, who offers a praxis-oriented definition. On the problems in early Syriac-speaking Christianity and its different forms, see Drijvers, "Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity," *The Second Century* 2 (1982): 157-75; idem, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*; idem, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism"; and L. W. Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa during the First Two Centuries A.D.," *VigChr* 22 (1968): 161-75.

[104] For the historically reliable sources for this date, see S. H. Griffith, "Christianity in Syria," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in the Ancient World*, ed. M. R. Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 139-40; and Drijvers, "When Did Christianity Come to Edessa?" 186. The arguments for the Palestinian origin

that early Christian missionaries, who quite possibly did not know Syriac, brought copies of G-Isa into Osrhoene before the Syriac translation took place.[105] This hypothesis is not improbable (especially if the translation occurred more around 200 CE), but it remains unverifiable. Clearly, though, it would have taken time to organize a project like S, including but not limited to effective proselytization of educated, bilingual Jews who also could read ancient Hebrew at an advanced level.[106]

However, the hypothesis that at least some translations, especially the earliest ones, were translated by Jews *for Jews* should not immediately be dismissed on the grounds that the Syriac dialect represented the language of "pagans." Drawing on Drijvers's analysis of pagan inscriptions at Edessa, Romeny draws the conclusion that the three Aramaic funerary inscriptions written in the Jewish Aramaic block script from Kirk Mağara suggest a deliberate attempt to assert Jewish religious identity.[107] Expounding on this idea, Romeny states,

> From the Classical Syriac as we know it from later Christian sources, we may infer that Edessan Christians adopted the Old Syriac dialect and script that were used by the pagans, rather than the Jewish script. This confronts us with the paradox of a

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of Edessene Christianity seem strained to me (*pace* G. Quispel, "The Discussion of Judaic Christianity," *VigChr* 22 [1968]: 81-93; and Barnard, "The Church in Edessa during the First Two Centuries A.D.," 161-75).

[105] Drijvers speculates, however, that Christianity may originally have penetrated Edessa *via* Nisibis in the first century ("When Did Christianity Come to Edessa?" 189-91). Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 18, mentions that Nisibis had a school as early as 70 CE.

[106] Both Adiabene and Nisibis had influential Jewish communities (see Drijvers, "When Did Christianity Come to Edessa?" 188-89; and Segal, *Edessa*, 41-42).

[107] Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 28-29.

> translation that must have been made by Jews but was not written in the Jewish script. Was the Peshitta a gentile project, after all, or should we assume that, perhaps together with an update from the language, the translation was recast in Syriac script? I would suggest an alternative: the translators may have been Jewish Christians from the start.[108]

I contend, however, that the inscriptional evidence does not invite such a generalization. One Jewish inscription at Kirk Mağara from this period was in Greek, which means only seventy-five percent of the Jewish inscriptions were in Aramaic, and there are no controls by which to measure whether the preference for the Aramaic block script (as opposed to the Old Syriac script) was motivated by religious concerns or characteristic of all Edessan Jews at that time. The pluralistic culture of Edessa, its religious syncretism, the evidence of syncretistic forms of Judaism in nearby cities (e.g., Palmyra), and the use of other local Aramaic dialects (e.g., Palmyrene) on Jewish funerary reliefs provide strong evidence against any strict notion of what was perceived as "pagan" among various religious groups during the first few centuries CE.[109] As with the case of G's origins, I see no reason why Jews at Edessa (or a nearby city) could not have translated certain books from Hebrew into Syriac for purposes of rendering their Scriptures into the idiom of their people. Moreover, if the criteria adumbrated above for detecting S's reliance on G are not met, then the potentiality for Jewish authorship increases. But this will necessarily differ from book to book.

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[108] Ibid., 29.

[109] For the nature of Judaism at ancient Palmyra and the languages of its Jewish funerary inscriptions, see J. Teixidor, "Palmyra in the Third Century," in *Journey to Palmyra: Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, ed. E. Cussini (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 181-225.

Certain Peshiṭta books clearly attest influence from G, including places where S mistranslates G, amalgamates both M and G, translates G's additions, and is explicable only on the basis of G. The clearest case of influence from G on a specific Syriac translator is S-Proverbs,[110] but this book might be exceptional in its use of G.[111] Modern scholars working in S-Ecclesiastes,[112] S-Jeremiah,[113] S-Daniel,[114] S-Dodekapropheton,[115]

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[110] See H. Pinkuss, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien," 65-141, 161-222; J. Joosten, "Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij, MPIL 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 63-72; C. Hyun, "A Study of the Translation Technique of Peshitta Proverbs," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, 2000), 120-23; and Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint."

[111] Fox, "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 54.

[112] Schoors ("The Peshitta of Kohelet and Its Relation to the Septuagint," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History*, ed. C. Laga, et al., 347-357 [Leuven: Peeters, 1985], 347-57) is careful not to explain every S-G agreement on the basis of G's influence on S, but he still views twenty-three unique agreements as indications of such influence.

[113] Greenberg (*Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah*, 143-68) identifies four places in S where influence from G is "clearly evident" and twenty-six agreements that can be explained by either polygenesis ("same guess"; "same translation technique"; "same perception"; and "same traditional understanding") or influence from G.

[114] Taylor (*The Peshiṭta of Daniel*; and "The Book of Daniel and the Bible in Edessa," *Aramaic Studies* 5 [2007]: 239-53) argues that "there is no reason to think that the Syriac translator of Daniel emended his Hebrew-Aramaic *Vorlage* by comparison with the Septuagint" (2007: 245). However, the situation is more complex with Theodotion-Daniel. Taylor says, "The number of such agreements is large enough to warrant the conclusion that on occasion the Peshitta translator was aware of and was influenced by the so-called Theodotion Greek text" (2007: 246).

[115] Gelston (*The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, 160-77) notes two passages in which the reading ofS "is explicable only in the light of that of LXX," and six places where the agreement of S with G "points strongly to dependence of the former on the

S-Hosea,[116] S-Amos,[117] and S-Zechariah[118] have made similar claims of S's clear yet sporadic dependence on G. However, studies in other books, such as S-Samuel,[119] S-

latter" (p. 162-65).

[116] Tully (*The Translation and the Translator of the Peshitta of Hosea*, 282-326) identifies three indisputable S-G agreements (one amalgamated agreement; two readings explicable only on the basis of G) and twenty-four others that are "probably explicable with reference to the Greek, but they fall short of certainty" (p. 297).

[117] Verwijs ("The Septuagint in the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla Translations of Amos 1:32-2:16," 25-40) comments on six places where S relied on G, sometimes under "subconscious influence," and other times as an interpretive or theological aid. He also notes that S's reliance on G might not have been from an physical manuscript (p. 40).

[118] Micheli ("The Translation Technique Evident in Peshitta Zechariah," 163-91) identifies thirty S-G agreements that he explains on the basis of S "following" G.

[119] Morrison (*The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel*, 98-133) evaluates S-Samuel's relation to G, the Lucianic recension, and the hexaplaric recension and argues that influence from any of these Greek translations cannot be confirmed. Even where S-Samuel's Hebrew was unclear (which was often), the translator usually provided a unique rendering at odds with G.

Job,[120] S-Psalms,[121] and S-Ezekiel[122] have not indicated such a clear relation to G, if one at all.[123] Much of the comparative analysis in these studies lacks nuanced criteria for

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[120] Szpek ("On The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta," 251-66) claims that 98.4% of the congruencies of S with G can be as the result of something other than direct versional influence of G on S (p. 264). Thus, "the Peshitta's translator did not use the LXX as a constant companion in translation. Even to say that the translator consulted the LXX when there was need to resolve a difficulty in the text is clearly inaccurate" (p. 265). Speculating on what seems to be real (though rare) influence from G on the translator of S-Job, Szpek mentions J.-E. Eriksson's idea of "memoriter influence" (in *The Hymns of David Interpreted in Syriac: A Study of Translation Technique in the First Book of the Book of Psalms* [Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1989], 184), influence through the lectionary system, and later Greek "cleansing" (p. 265).

[121] Carbajosa (*The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 187-317) argues that, after evaluating all 116 "potentially significant" S-G agreements, only six of them basically indicate influence from G, and two probably suggest influence from G. However, all eight of these "are situated in the process of textual transmission," thus allowing for "increased appreciation of P-Ps as an independent witness to a Hebrew text" (pp. 316-17). See also Lund, "Grecisims in the Peshitta Psalms," who holds a similar view, arguing that only a handful of cases may suggest that "LXX indirectly provided translation help through an informant" (p. 102). By and large, Lund is predisposed to interpret S-G agreements as attestations of a Hebrew variant (see "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta: A Re-Evaluation of Criteria in Light of Comparative Study of the Versions in Genesis and Psalms").

[122] H. F. Van Rooy ("Agreement between LXX and Peshitta versus MT in Ezekiel: Some Important Examples," in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, ed. H. Ausloos et al., BETL 213 [Leuven: Peeters, 2008], 213-27) examines examples from Ezekiel 1-5 (e.g., 1:12, 18, 21; 2:6) where S agrees with G against M, and explores the question of whether the agreements reflect G influence on S or actual *Vorlagen* differences. Van Rooy argues that most S-G agreements reflect similarity in *Vorlagen* against M, though some can be explained by common translation technique, secondary revision toward G (in the younger S Mss), and possible influence from G on S.

[123] The publications cited immediately above include every major book study since 1975 that devotes significant space to the issue of S's relation to G. For space constraints, I cannot include a summary of all the literature here, though such an investigation could shed some light on the overall question of whether G was available in East Syria during 150-250 CE.

identifying and explaining an agreement exclusive to S-G, and even more assume only a model of ITr that involves direct means and intentionality. While a full-scale analysis of S's relation to G in every Peshiṭta book might reveal certain trends or patterns among the alleged agreements, the upshot of such an investigation is not likely to add much traction on the issue, since individual Syriac translations could have arisen at different times in different places by different translators. The argument from the internal evidence for G's existence in East Syria applies only to those books that betray an indisputable relation to G. Books with weaker relations might suggest influence from a form of G, but none of the translations (with the exception of S-Proverbs) necessitate a model of ITr involving direct means of access, since other explanations can account for the phenomenon of indirectness. What most scholars seem to agree on is that each Peshiṭta book could have been rendered in a disparate socioreligious setting by a different translator.[124] Thus, each translation has to be examined individually to determine its translation character and level of indirectness with respect to its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The Bilingual, Scribal, and Educational Context of East Syria

As intimated above, the bilingual context of ancient Edessa is beyond doubt.[125]

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[124] Fox, for example, claims that the translator of S-Proverbs was "very likely a Christianized Jew," but he proposes this "for Proverbs only … Other translation units present different evidence and may have different origins," "How the Peshitta of Proverbs Uses the Septuagint," 54. See also Weitzman, "Lexical Clues to the Composition of the Old Testament Peshitta," in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. P. Weitzman, JSS Suppl. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 217-46.

[125] Drijvers, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism," 125.

Known in ancient times as the "Athens of the east," Edessa was heavily influenced by Greek language, thought, and culture, as demonstrated most noticeably by Bardaisan's *Books of the Laws of Countries* (modeled on Greek philosophic dialogues),[126] many mosaics depicting scenes from Greek mythology,[127] and architecture.[128] However, deity worship at the local level was limited primarily to the ancestral Aramaean and Babylonian deities, with minimal influence from those of Greece and Rome.[129] Two bilingual inscriptions (one Greek-Syriac [Estrangela script], and one Greek-Aramaic [Hebrew block script]) have been found at Edessa that bear close resemblance to the epigraphic, bilingual practices at other ancient cities in Syria (e.g., Palmyra; Nabataea) during the first two-and-a-half centuries AD.[130] Five Greek-Syriac parchments have been found in the region of Osrhoene (dating to 240, 242, 243, 249, and 250 CE)[131] that,

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[126] Ibid., 126. See also G. W. Bowersock, "The Syrian Tradition," in *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 29-40; and Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N. Garsoïan, T. Mathews, and R. Thomson (Washington, 1982), 17-32.

[127] Millar, "Narrative and Identity in Mosaics from the Late Roman Near East: Pagan, Jewish and Christian," in *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, ed. Y. Z. Eliav, E. A. Friedland, and S. Herbert (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 225-56.

[128] Drijvers, "When Did Christianity Come to Edessa?" 182.

[129] Ross, *Roman Edessa*, 94-96. Harvey's claim that Greek and Semitic deities were "mutually identified with one another" is exaggerated and far more reflects the religious situation at Palmyra ("Syria and Mesopotamia," 352).

[130] F. C. De Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco* (Bonn: Habelt, 2004), nos. 25 and 26.

[131] See Drijvers and Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*, 231-48; and J. Teixidor, D. Feissel, and J. Gascou, "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^{c} s. après J.-C.). II. Les actes du vente-achat

according to F. Millar, "offer remarkable testimony to public scribal and documentary practice …, to individual literacy and language-use …, and to the transition from a (briefly restored) kingdom to established provincial status."[132] Also, the influence of Greek on Syriac can be demonstrated in the Syriac particles ܐܦ̈ and ܓܡ, which are found with varying frequency in the books of the Peshiṭta Old Testament whose underlying ST was Hebrew.[133] These specific lexical innovations were fully integrated by the fifth century and do not seem—in the case of the Peshiṭta New Testament (e.g., S-Matthew)—to be dependent on a Greek source text.[134] Rather, they seem to have entered Syriac *via* codeswitching (i.e., "tagging" or "tag-switching") by bilingual Greek-Syriac speakers.[135]

(P.Euphr. 6 à 10)," *Journal des Savants* 1 (1997): 3, nos. 6/7 and 10. For a detailed review of the role of Greek and Syriac in these parchments, see Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene," 98-104.

[132] Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene," 103. See also Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 151-52.

[133] See D. Taylor's table (12.2) in "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 326-27, in which he computes the number of occurrences of each particle in S-Genesis (1/2), S-Exodus (1/3), S-Deuteronomy (11/7), S-Judges (2/1), S-Proverbs (30/16), and S-Matthew (119/333), noting how the latter book demonstrates full integration of this kind of lexical innovation within a couple centuries. Weitzman sees a correlation between this increase in linguistic innovation and the Peshiṭta Old Testament translators' dependence on G, suggesting that "the LXX version and up-to-date Syriac idiom were viewed as two things which the modern world had to offer, which tended to be adopted or rejected together" (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 181).

[134] Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," in *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, ed. B. M. Metzger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 93; and idem, "The Treatment of Greek Particles in the Old Syriac Gospels," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text*, ed. J. K. Elliott (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 80-86.

[135] Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," 327; and

Other studies on Greek loans[136] in Syriac from late antiquity demonstrate extensive borrowing and (sometimes) adaptation, including technical terminology and, more significantly, grammatical incorporation of Greek verbs.[137] Such integration beyond the nominal level signifies heavy borrowing in Syriac.[138]

Many literary works originating from Osrhoene during the first five centuries AD exist in both Syriac and Greek, indicating a target culture that held each language in high regard and had a long-standing tradition of translating literature.[139] While Greek still

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S. Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), who defines tag-switching as "the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language, e.g., *you know*, *I mean*, etc." (p. 122).

[136] A. Schall, *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); Brock, "Greek Words in the Syriac Gospels (vet. and pe.)," *Le Muséon* 80 (1967), 389-426; and idem, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet. Bericht über ein Symposion in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 4. bis 8. Oktober 1971. Herausgegeben von Albert Dietrich, 1975*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse 96 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 80-108.

[137] Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, 87-91; Healey, "Lexical Loans in Early Syriac: A Comparison with Nabatean Aramaic," *SEL* 12 (1995): 75-84; Drijvers and Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*, 31; and Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," 327.

[138] S. G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language Contact: An Introduction* (Edinburgh, 2001); and Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," 328.

[139] Brock, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977): 1-17; idem, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," 80-82; Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek Learning and Local Culture," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. H. J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald, Studies in Intellectual History 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 55-56; and Segal, *Edessa*, 166.

retained its status as the language of power, Syriac in the East had its own prestige, a bilingual situation the Roman Republic tolerated for purposes of effective communication.[140] Syriac poetry by the fifth century had gained so much cultural prestige that it "posed a source of embarrassment for Greek cultural chauvinism."[141] Nevertheless, both languages were "expressions and vehicles of the same Hellenistic civilization in Syria."[142] As R. Taylor has stated, bilingualism in Syro-Mesopotamia "was not a reflection of weakness but a source of strength that helped one to challenge the whole Roman Empire, the other to range across the whole known world, and all to prosper."[143]

While Syriac was the mother tongue of most residents at Edessa, both in the *polis* and in the *chora*, most also spoke some Greek, especially those who enjoyed a Greek education.[144] However, there is no indication that Edessa housed a hellenized upper class

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[140] B. Rochette, "Language Policies in the Roman Republic and Empire," in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. J. Clackson, trans. J. Clackson (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011), 549-63; and Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 151. M. Sommer argues that the annexation of Osrhoene was probably not a deliberate attempt to spread Graeco-Roman culture; its political implications were purely contingent ("Modelling Rome's Eastern Frontier: The Case of Osrhoene," in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, ed. M. Facella and T. Kaizer [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010], 217-226.)

[141] Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 153.

[142] Drijvers, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism," 126-27.

[143] Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," 331.

[144] See R. Schmitt, "Die Ostgrenze von Armenien über Mesopotamien, Syrien bis Arabien," in *Die Sprachen im Römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium vom 8. bis 10. April 1974*, ed. G. Neumann and J. Untermann, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 40 (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag GMBH, 1980), 201. Brock divides into sub-categories the different possible bilingual scenarios: 1) those who wrote in Greek; 2) those who wrote in both Greek and Syriac; 3) those who wrote in Syriac but who were also clearly well-read in Greek; and 4) those who wrote in Syriac but who read little to no Greek ("Greek and

employing Greek to distinguish itself from the common people's local dialect.[145]

The content and character of several Syriac, Greek, and Syriac-Greek parchments found in Osrhoene (*c.* 240) suggest that professional scribal institutions had developed by this time.[146] Early sources also refer to a late fourth-century, semi-monastic "Persian School" at Edessa that was suppressed in 489 by Zeno.[147] With its pedagogical roots in the Hellenistic school model,[148] the Persian School's curriculum included grammar, pronunciation, rhetoric, writing, reading, studying, and reciting the Old and New

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Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 153-57).

[145] Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, 8; and P. Brown, "Approaches to the Religious Crisis of the Third-Century A.D.," in *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), 85-93.

[146] See Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 151, who notes that many of these documents are private in nature, dealing with the purchase and sale of slaves. See also Millar, who argues that the parchments "reflect in remarkable vividness and detail the political, cultural and linguistic transformations of Osrhoene in the mid-third century" ("Greek and Syriac in Edessa and Osrhoene, CE 213-363," 99-104).

[147] See Vööbus (*History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266 [Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965], 7-32) and the primary sources he provides.

[148] On the nature of textuality, orality, and the ancient scribal mind in the Hellenistic age, see D. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chs. 1, 7-12; and R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), ch. 6. On the nature and curriculum of Hellenistic education, see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); idem, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), chs. 1.7; II.1, 6, 7, 10, Conclusion; III.4, 5, 6.

Testament books, and producing Greek or Syriac translations of important literature.[149] While the East-Syrian school movement continually grew into a minority institution that was "spurred on by a new monastic focus on Scripture and the cannibalization of certain classical texts and ideas," emphasizing scholasticism (with a social emphasis), public debate, intellectual labor, prayer and ritual, apophatic learning, and λόγος theology, it was largely unaltered by Christianity in late antiquity.[150]

Drijvers argued that the "School of Edessa" had a less formal precursor.[151] And many other scholars have mentioned that the school in Edessa served as a model for other schools in Syria, such as the School of Nisibis, which played an important role in the Sasanian Empire.[152] These hypotheses have recently been challenged, however, due to the ambiguous use of "school" in the primary sources, the ethnic emphasis on "Persian" in the literature (as opposed to "Edessa"), and the primary sources' lateness (post-489 CE), theological bias, and stimulus in doctrinal polemic.[153] While we can safely assume

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[149] Ibid., 13-30. See also Drijvers, "The School of Edessa," 50-52.

[150] A. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 6-21.

[151] See Drijvers, "The School of Edessa," 56, who states, "It is hardly imaginable that second- and third-century Christianity at Edessa developed outside a school and a school tradition, where philosophical topics were discussed and written about … Greek learning, at least for a substantial part in Syriac disguise must have been taught at Edessa long before we hear of that city's theological School."

[152] See Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*; and Segal, *Edessa*, 150.

[153] Becker provides an extensive review of the literature, both primary and secondary, in *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 22-76. As regards the "School of Persians" listed in the only reliable source (i.e., *Acts of the "Latrocinium"* [*c*. 449]),

that Edessa was a cradle of study and learning since *c.* 150 CE, the evidence does not allow a precise reconstruction of the kind of scribal institutions that may have existed during S's translation. Also, while the creation of S would have required a "sophisticated culture of (scribal) learning," the evidence does not allow us to pinpoint the exact location(s) or time(s) of the translation event(s).[154]

Summary of Epitextual Analysis

Epitextual analysis does little to shed light on whether the translator of S-Isa had access to G-Isa and, even if he did, whether he might have relied on it during the process of translation. Aside from the internal evidence of the individual books of the Peshiṭta, there is, to my knowledge, no positive evidence of G in the region of Osrhoene during the first three centuries CE. Similarly, there is no evidence that Jews of the Eastern diaspora used any form of G, though Hebrew probably could have been learned at some form of a Jewish school in regions where affluence, education, and religious tolerance were possible. Also, we have no evidence of Greek in the Christian (or Jewish) liturgy within this region and time period, and no evidence of a "school" in which recitation of G was practiced.

The evidence from Edessa's literature and material culture indicates that, while Greek culture certainly influenced the region of Osrhoene, the language of Syriac was not

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Becker argues that until its expulsion, it was probably only a "loosely knit study circle" with strong connections to the East that had much similarly to an ancient voluntary association (p. 62).

[154] The partial quotation is from Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom*, 9.

peripheral. While G may have constituted literature from a stronger polysystem and deemed sacred and authoritative by many Christian communities outside East Syria, the prestige of Syriac in Osrhoene was a real competitor.[155] Likewise, irrefutable cases of S's reliance on G would not indicate any weakness in S's polysystem, as the strongest model of ITr that accounts for the (mostly lexical) relations of some Peshiṭta books to G is one of support translation. This type of ITr might bespeak a degree of prestige and authority that was attributed to G, but since S was translated from a Hebrew ST, the primary reasons for utilizing G would have been pragmatic. For the original audience of S-Isa, the very fact of having a Bible in Syriac suggests their local concern for non-Greek Scriptures to be available in their idiom and dialect. But their selection of a Hebrew ST, as opposed to G, suggests that, for religious and sociocultural reasons, they found the Hebrew Scriptures more authoritative and appropriate. Or, G was simply not (physically) available or (linguistically) accessible to these early religious communities to serve as their Bible or some translators' ST or MT.

On the other hand, Edessa's sociocultural, religious, and bilingual context suggests a culture that was susceptible to practicing various forms of ITr, or mixed ITr (e.g., support translation). Significant factors in this context include but are not limited to: 1) educated, Greek-Syriac bilingual Jews who could read Hebrew (and Aramaic); 2) a pluralistic religious environment wherein the boundaries between Jewish and Christian were not always palpable; 3) a society that valued education, recitation, and translation;

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[155] The proposition that Syriac was central at Osrhoene but G-Isa was literature from a stronger polysystem is compatible with Even-Zohar's theory (see "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," 45-51).

4) a society that was open to various forms of Greek influence (e.g., educational; linguistic; philosophic; literary; artistic; architectural); and 5) a bilingual atmosphere in which both Greek and Syriac were viewed as prestigious languages. Therefore, while it is possible that G-Isa could have been accessible to the translator of S-Isa, the high number of unknown variables in the epitextual realm requires that we entertain models of ITr other than the dominant model that assumes both direct means of access and intentionality. Neither does access to G-Isa imply reliance nor does sporadic agreement with G-Isa reveal the precise form of G. Only in the face of strong internal evidence should we posit a relation between the translations that indicates a relation of reliance. This is precisely the task of the next methodological stage of analysis.

Macro-Structural/Micro-Textual Comparison

As mentioned before, the limitations posed by ancient Bible translations for peritextual and epitextual analysis require that we verify indirectness through micro-textual analysis of both the ultimate TT and MT. In the case of S-Isa, the former is evaluated linguistically on its own terms and then with close comparison to the ultimate ST (~M) to determine its *Übersetzungsweise*. Then, armed with the knowledge of S-Isa's standard translational tactics and norms, S-Isa is compared to G-Isa to detect evidence of negative interference. But since agreements unique to S- and G-Isa (≠ M/T) can be explained on the basis of several hypotheses, the S-G agreements must be run through the set of criteria enumerated above. Shared readings that meet several criteria are then documented and evaluated in light of all other shared readings, in the event that a pattern might be observed. Patterned attestations where S/G ≠ M/T/Isa^{a} are described in terms of their observable preliminary, operational, and text-linguistic norms and evaluated with a

view to the sacred nature of the TT and MT.

This method of analysis is philological in that it requires grammatical, semantical, stylistic, and text-critical study of all the relevant sources (M, S-Isa, G-Isa, T-Isa, 1QIsa[a]) in order to apply shared readings in S- and G-Isa to a stringent set of criteria. This method is also descriptive in that it lists the translation shifts and norms of S-Isa, identifies patterns in unique transformations (i.e., S-Isa = G-Isa), and formulates various hypotheses (e.g., translational; operational) based on these patterns and the overall text-linguistic profile of the translation. The advantage of this method is that numerous S-G agreements that have adequate explanation in common translation technique will not be included in the final analysis, thus leaving us with a data set that is far less ambiguous. The remaining agreements exclusive to S-G are then interpreted in light of each other, providing the greatest amount of traction to determine whether S-Isa relied (directly or indirectly) on G-Isa. The disadvantage is that many readings will satisfy limited criteria, thus allowing for different hypotheses to account for all the instances where S-Isa = G-Isa (cases of common translation technique aside). Another disadvantage is that this methodology limits the analysis to one MT/L (= G/Greek), whereas it is indisputable that S-Isa includes traces of influence from other extrinsic textual mediations. The questions of whether S-Isa was influenced by any other MT/Ls or whether S-Isa constitutes a case of eclectic translation are interesting, but they cannot be explored here.[156]

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[156] Pięta defines an eclectic translation as a translation "that presupposed the alternate or simultaneous use of several mediating texts, often in different mediating languages," ("What Do [We Think] We Know about Indirectness in Literary Translation?" 26).

The task of explicating S-Isa's non-literal translation shifts and reconstructing the preliminary and operational norms that governed their production is the aim of Chapter 4. I will give special attention to the kinds of shifts we expect translators to make at problem points in their STs. In the case of S-Isa, this means evaluating closely how the translator handled *hapax legomena*, ambiguous Hebrew roots, a corrupt Hebrew *Vorlage*, etc. If a view of G-Isa as support translation is to hold up anywhere, one would expect it to surface at these very points. Once I delineate the inventory of non-literal shifts from Isaiah 1, I then use them to evaluate unique S-G agreements in Isaiah 1-39 (Chapter 5). S-G agreements that find explanation in common translation technique are tagged to the inventory in Chapter 4 where S-Isa executes a similar transformation yet G-Isa goes its own way. All other S-G agreements are evaluated independently, in light of the immediate and larger context of the passage. I conclude Chapter 5 with a robust description of S-Isa's translational and constitutive norms.

Formulation of Explanatory Hypotheses

S-G agreements listed in Chapter 5 that do not find their explanation in common translation technique are then examined in Chapter 6 in an effort to form hypotheses that account for all the data. I entertain hypotheses that do and do not assume a model of ITr, providing the reasons for and effects of each scenario in light of the trends in ITr and sacred translation mentioned above. In view of S-Isa's adequacy, acceptability, and constitutive character in relation to both its Hebrew ST and G, I explain the translator's attitude toward or tolerance of G and ITr, his concept of translation, Scripture, and "original" text, and the expectations of the target audience. In terms of Chesterman's causal model, this involves reconstructing the translation event from the both the

translation profile (and its observable norms) and act.[157] I provide a few comments on cultural diffusion, mediation, and multilingual transfer.[158] As Bellos and Toury encourage us, I then conclude by fleshing out the meaning of the juncture or systemic relations that obtain between S- and G-Isa, taking into consideration all the insights gleaned from each of the preceding steps of analysis.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a delineation of how ancient Bible translations pose many limitations for a full implementation of the theory and methodology of ITr. Ancient Bible translation is categorically different not only with respect to its special status as "sacred" translation; it also lacks the paratextual information that is often accessible to scholars who evaluate modern ITrs. I argued that the methodological steps generally followed in modern ITr research cannot be implemented sequentially when exploring ancient Bible translations. It was through micro-textual analysis that previous scholars claimed to have discovered S-Isa's relation to G-Isa, so it will be through that same process that the relation can be examined more thoroughly. Epitextual analysis on the Syriac translator's milieu assisted with generating possible scenarios and problematizing unrealistic models, but it provided no positive evidence about S-Isa's translation event.

I also argued that simple comparison of G-Isa with S-Isa constitutes the second step of micro-textual analysis. One must know how S-Isa generally behaves (in reference

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[157] Chesterman, "Description, Explanation, Prediction."

[158] St. André, "Relay," 231-32.

to its Hebrew ST) before evaluating its alleged sporadic agreement with G, since common translation technique is frequently the best explanation for the S-G agreements, rather than dependence. And last, the complexity involved in interpreting unique S-G agreements calls for an application of refined criteria by which to evaluate them. Describing the translation character of S-Isa and identifying and explaining unique S-G agreements are the tasks of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4: AN INVENTORY OF S-ISA'S NON-LITERAL TRANSLATION SHIFTS

Introduction

The majority of data accumulated from a comprehensive statistical analysis of S-Isa's translation technique would be interesting, yet it is irrelevant to a project concerned primarily with tracking sporadic, negative interference in the ultimate TT from a possible MT/L. In fact, since influence of G-Isa on S-Isa cannot be identified except in places where both S- and G-Isa deviate from M, transformations involving cases where S-Isa ≠ M constitute the most important data by which to compare and interpret unique S-G agreements. But, it is not always clear whether S-Isa's non-literal translations actually deviate from M or reflect the translator's contextually-appropriate guesses at a Hebrew ST whose consonantal base agrees with M. Therefore, it is important to evaluate S-Isa's text-linguistic makeup at precisely these points in order to determine the relevant aspects of the translation's constitutive character in view of the conventions of its bilingual target culture. Once the character of these shifts is understood and described in light of the norms that guided the translator to produce them, all departures from M that approximate G-Isa can be evaluated by means of the criteria outlined in Chapter 3.

Precisely what amounts to a "non-literal" translation is, admittedly, somewhat subjective. What I have in mind here are the Syriac translator's linguistic transformations that are neither immediately transparent to his Hebrew *Vorlage* nor required by the linguistic differences of the languages involved. At the most basic level, non-literal shifts arise from a single production strategy: *change something*. According to Chesterman, this strategy operates informally in the following way:

> [I]f you are not satisfied with the target version that comes immediately to mind—because it seems ungrammatical, or semantically odd, or pragmatically weak, or whatever—then change something in it. The 'being not satisfied' is thus evidence of the existence of a translation problem.[1]

As to the reason why translators apply transformations, van der Louw states, "[B]ecause a literal translation does not work! … This has an important methodological implication. Behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected."[2] The notion of linguistic *change* that both Chesterman and van der Louw highlight goes beyond the self-evident linguistic change that occurs when one language is translated into another; the change they have in mind involves "a choice between options."[3] Choices of this nature are limited when adequate translation involves rendering a text into a cognate language (Hebrew → Syriac), but this makes the non-literal choice all the more interesting, betraying both the preferences of the translator toward target-oriented translation and his limitations (e.g., when he errs).

This chapter, then, is an attempt to identify and explain S-Isa's choices to render its Hebrew ST non-literally, or non-isomorphically (i.e., in ways that are not immediately transparent to its ST). Since constructing a profile of S-Isa's literal renderings would not aid in detecting and explicating influence from G-Isa on S-Isa, I will not include them in the following inventory. S-Isa's serial and quantitative fidelity to its Hebrew ST, or its tendency toward adequate translation, makes its non-literal shifts relatively easy to

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[1] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 92.

[2] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 49.

[3] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 92.

identify. Nothing less than an intensive analysis of these non-literal shifts is necessary to gain a feel for the translator, which is prerequisite to determining the nature of those that appear to deviate from M yet agree with G-Isa.

Method of Analysis

As I noted in Chapter 2, the framework of DTS—and ITr's appropriation of it—is apt to perform analysis on S-Isa that is micro-level, retrospective, bottom-up, and inductive, since it offers descriptive power for explaining and mapping the types of translational shifts (and their regularities) evidenced in the translation. Employing DTS's method of "coupled pairs" ensures that both M and S-Isa receive close examination. Its application to small translation units (word-level) befits the character of S-Isa, which tends to be an isomorphic translation.[4] Moreover, translational problems and their solutions are investigated simultaneously to identify translation shifts and construct a profile of the translation. Such a profile sheds light on the translation act, which elucidates the larger translation event, including the cognitive and sociolinguistic strategies that influenced the translator's linguistic strategies.[5] Since one of S-Isa's sociolinguistic strategies might have been *consult G-Isa (directly or indirectly) at problematic points in the Hebrew ST*, the following method of analysis delineates the steps requisite to examine this hypothesis. The specific method of analysis for this

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[4] Van der Louw, too, examines G-Isa at such a micro-level, since the character of G-Isa involves small translation units (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 20).

[5] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 117.

chapter amalgamates the theoretical framework of DTS,[6] the methodology of ITr (stage 3), Boyd-Taylor's notion of the constitutive character of a translation,[7] van der Louw's own method of analysis in his *Transformations in the Septuagint*,[8] and the refined criteria I laid out in the previous chapter for identifying and explaining unique S-G agreements:

1) Examination of S-Isa as an independent Syriac text, grammatically, semantically, and stylistically;
2) Analysis of M as it stands, grammatically, semantically, and stylistically;
3) Comparison of S-Isa and M by means of coupled pairs;
4) Identification and categorization of S-Isa's non-literal translation shifts, especially at points where M is difficult, obscure, or corrupt;
5) Study of the passage and S-Isa's transformations in the context of the translated book as a whole;
6) Description of S-Isa's constitutive character, including the norms that seem to have guided the translator of S-Isa in producing transformations;
7) Evaluation of text-critical findings;
8) Study of exegetical and ideological elements in the translation;
9) Micro-level comparison of S- and G-Isa, applying my refined criteria for identifying unique S-G agreements;
10) Description of unique S-G agreements in terms of norms (preliminary and operational); and
11) Formulation of explanatory hypotheses that account for the relation between S- and G-Isa.

This chapter concerns only steps one through eight, but I devote the space in this chapter primarily to step four, since having a full inventory of S-Isa's non-literal shifts is essential for comparison with G-Isa (steps nine and ten). However, it is first necessary to distinguish the processes of identifying and categorizing S-Isa's non-literal shifts, since some aspects of both tasks are more complex than the simple description of step four

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[6] As theorized most clearly in Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies*.

[7] Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 33-54.

[8] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 78-79.

suggests.

Non-Literal Shifts as Evidence of Translation or Transmission? The Limitations of the Leiden Edition for This Project

Every scholar interested in the *Übersetzungsweise* of a certain Peshiṭta translator is faced with the question of whether some modernizations or Syriacizing tactics in Leiden's printed BTR text reflect translation or scribal transmission.[9] The manuscript evidence seems clear that both the translators of the Peshiṭta and their copyists employed similar maneuvers (e.g., assimilations to nearby verses or expressions; adaptions to fit the context; explicitations of the subject, direct object, and indirect object; reversals of word order; additions of ܠܐ and ܕܠ), making it difficult to pinpoint the origin of change.[10] And the nature of the earliest manuscripts (e.g., 5b1; 9a1)—when compared to younger manuscripts (= BTR, TR)—indicates that the process of Syriacizing began right from the beginning, although even these older manuscripts occasionally reflect secondary readings not found in any other manuscript.[11] This process of textual manipulation during S's

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[9] In the following discussion, I will avoid referring to "transmission technique" for much the same reason why I prefer the term *Übersetzungsweise* over "translation technique." As Koster helpfully notes, "Using the term 'transmission technique' (or 'revision technique') in connection with the process of transmission seems to me a *contradictio in terminus,* as it suggests too much of a conscious and systematic interference with the text" ("A New Introduction to the Peshitta," 245).

[10] Koster, "A New Introduction to the Peshitta"; idem, "'Translation or Transmission? That is the Question'"; and Romeny, "Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Forms of the Syriac Version of Genesis," in *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and M. L. Mulder, MPIL 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 177-85.

[11] Koster, "'Translation or Transmission? That is the Question'," 309.

transmission was hardly systematic; rather, the high number of variants in 5b1, for example, indicate a mechanical, haphazard, and non-linear "general tendency" toward rendering the received text into idiomatic Syriac.[12] Using this evidence in an argument against a systematic revisionary model and building on Koster's work in S-Exodus, Romeny asserts that "it is difficult to assume a reviser who was changing small details like the choice of words, yet allowed some striking discrepancies between the Hebrew and Syriac texts to remain."[13] According to Koster, the nature of this textual evidence requires that we analyze every deviation from M along the following lines:

> [W]e *first* have to ask ourselves if it could have come into being during this unknown earliest stage of the process of transmission, before ascribing it to translation technique, and then, *secondly*, examine the possibility that the deviation was created as a result of translation technique, before, *thirdly*, ascribing it to the influence of another translation (Tg or LXX), or to a different *Vorlage*, brought about by a real variant reading to MT.[14]

In providing this methodological process, Koster is fully aware that we have no

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[12] Romeny, "Techniques of Translation and Transmission," 179. Speaking specifically to this "general tendency," Romeny states, "We may see a development from a translation very close to the supposed Hebrew *Vorlage*, to one that at times uses more idiomatic Syriac—or Syriac which better meets the prevailing standards of the Syriac literary language—, but certainly is less ambiguous. What is implicit in Hebrew has been made explicit" (p. 183).

[13] Ibid., 181.

[14] Ibid., 302 (emphasis original); and idem, "A New Introduction to the Peshitta," 243-46. In his own response to Dirksen's partial rebuttal ("The Peshitta and Textual Criticism") of Lund's methodology ("The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta"), Koster prefers to interpret Dirksen's forty-seven cases as evidence of early inner-Syriac development, rather than the influence of translation technique (see "'Translation or Transmission? That is the Question'," 302-303). For my own evaluation of Dirksen's and Lund's methodologies, see the section "On the Criteria for Identifying and Explaining S-G Agreements" in Chapter 3.

manuscript evidence to demonstrate that deviations from M occurred after the translation but before the earliest inferable archetype of the Peshiṭta text. Thus, Koster refers to a high "probability" that the "the actual state of relationship of the mss" indicates such early Syriacizing.[15] He continues to argue that this option is especially likely "in the case of accommodation to nearby verses or expressions," since

> the chance of inadvertently assimilating the text to nearby (or even more distanced) verses, without any explainable conscious motive, is many times greater with scribes, who are busy copying at a certain pace their perhaps not always easily readable exemplar, than with a translator, who carefully tries to render, verse by verse and word for word, his Hebrew original.[16]

Aside from this observation and listing some examples to illustrate it, Koster provides no controls by which to determine which Syriacisms in Leiden's BTR text are secondary. However, he stresses that since "the only constant in these processes is agreement or disagreement with MT, depending on looking backwards or forward at the development of the text of P," one must consult Leiden's BTR text (= 7a1, for S-Isa) *along with its apparatuses*.[17] Many readings that betray greater proximity to M are found in the manuscripts noted in these apparatuses and, in most cases, should be given text-critical priority.[18]

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[15] Koster, "'Translation or Transmission? That is the Question'," 303.

[16] Ibid., 303-304. See also the examples Koster includes in footnotes 34-36 and the appendix in *Peshiṭta Revisited* (pp. 255-66, especially sections 1.4-7, 2.5, and 4.8).

[17] Koster cites de Boer (ibid., 305, fn 30), who stresses, "The text printed in this edition – it must be stated *expressis verbis* – ought to be used in exegetical and textual study together with the apparatuses" (see *The Old Testament in Syriac,* viii).

[18] Of course, every reading must be evaluated on its own terms. S-Isa's inconsistent translation of collective nouns with plural nouns, and *vice versa*, makes it nearly impossible to adjudicate between manuscripts (with or without *seyamē*) when all

I agree with Koster's distinction between author, translator, and scribe/copyist and his (and Weitzman's) emphasis that textual criticism and translation technique are "interlocking questions."[19] However, as other scholars have argued, a Hebraistic reading (in 5b1, for example) is not necessarily S's original reading when individual translators show a penchant for lexical variation in the common text.[20] Moreover, the desire to produce an adequate translation will manifest itself differently among the Syriac translators. The manuscript evidence for S-Exodus does not necessarily characterize the state of translation and transmission for all the other books in the Peshiṭta Old Testament, especially the ones translated later when, conceivably, the earliest translations were already being transmitted. Nevertheless, it remains true that several non-literal shifts in the text of S-Isa likely attest to inner-Syriac developments for which we have no manuscript evidence. The only way to avoid constructing a profile of the translation technique evident in the BTR text (as opposed to the original *translator's* translation technique) is to evaluate each non-literal shift in light of Koster's observation that certain Syriacizing tactics (e.g., assimilations to nearby verses or expressions) seem more amenable to the work of a scribe than a translator. But even this procedure is sure to

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betray inconsistency (see G5.2.1 and G5.2.2 below).

[19] Koster, "A New Introduction to the Peshitta," 243. The quotation comes from Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 273.

[20] See van der Kooij, "On the Significance of Ms 5b1 for Peshiṭta Genesis," in *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and M. L. Mulder, MPIL 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 183-99. Greenberg's work is also relevant here (see "Translating and Transmitting an Inspired Text?"; and idem, "Freedom in Biblical Translation: Choice of Lexical Equivalents in the Peshitta," *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 24 [2015]: 115-27).

misinterpret the nature of some readings.

The likelihood that the following analysis attributes some secondary, non-literal shifts (≠ M) to the original translator does not jeopardize this project, since *recourse to G-Isa for support* cannot be classified as a modernization tactic.[21] It remains theoretically possible that some readings in the BTR text of S-Isa that agree exclusively with G-Isa are secondary, but the highly sporadic nature of the agreements overall works against such a hypothesis.[22] Even if some could be proven to be revisions of the original text of S-Isa, this would not imply that the scribe edited S-Isa with a copy of G-Isa directly before him. Additionally, S-G agreements that can be explained by scribes' general Syriacizing tendencies and G's *Übersetzungsweise* are subject to the same analysis as cases of common translation technique. This point should not discourage an evaluation of each reading *on its own terms*. Rather, as Koster rightly posits, it accentuates the various degrees of probability that apply to the majority of deviations from M, with inner-Syriac development being the most probable explanation and influence from G-Isa being the least probable. What bears repeating is that the critical text of Leiden's edition is several centuries removed from its hypothetical Ur-Peshiṭta. The critical apparatuses play a major role in retroverting S-Isa's Hebrew *Vorlage*, but aside from Koster's few guidelines, there are virtually no controls to adjudicate between translation technique and transmission tactics that ultimately produced S-Isa's deviations from M.[23] Thus, the following

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[21] Irrefutable cases of marginal G readings in the later manuscripts also do not reflect a tendency of modernization.

[22] Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, 161-62.

[23] Obviously, many errors too crept into the early transmission of S-Isa that, in

inventory will evaluate the readings in S-Isa that I believe to be text-critically superior, with proximity to M serving as the primary control by which to adjudicate between 7a1 and the readings in the apparatuses. I will also mark non-literal shifts that could be reflexes of the work of copyists, thus permitting a higher degree of ambiguity in their qualification as evidence of the translator of S-Isa.

A Note on Previous Work on S-Isa's *Übersetzungsweise*

I have already provided a summary of the scholarly work on S-Isa's *Übersetzungsweise* in Chapter 1 (see section "The Translator of S-Isa and His *Übersetzungsweise*") and critiqued its source- and translator-oriented nature in Chapter 2 (see section "The Source- and Translator-Oriented Nature of Earlier Studies"), so there is no need to repeat that information here. The commentary in Warszawski's published dissertation is too laconic to be serviceable in the following analysis, though I will draw attention to his analysis occasionally.

Chesterman's Classification System Applied to Tracking S-Isa's Non-Literal Shifts

There were several typologies to choose from when thinking through the clearest way to present the following data.[24] I landed on Chesterman's classification because of its

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large part due to their well-formedness and readability, became the standard readings in the TR. On this possibility, see Koster, "A New Introduction to the Peshitta," 245.

[24] See J.-P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet, *Stylistic Comparée du français et de l'anglais* (Paris: Didier, 1958); J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); E. A. Nida, *Towards a Science of Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); J. L. Malone, *The Science of Linguistics in the Art of Translation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat. Aspecten van het vertalen*; K. M. van Leuven-Zwart, "Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities," *Target* 1 (1989): 151-81; idem, "Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities," *Target* 2 (1990): 69-95; and, most recently, Pym, *Translation*

practicability, accessible terminology, and flexibility.[25] Drawing on the systems of others before him, Chesterman proposes a classification that comprises three groups of strategies: syntactic/grammatical (G); semantic (S); and pragmatic (Pr). Each primary strategy has the following subgroups:

G1: Literal translation
G2: Loan, calque
G3: Transposition
G4: Unit Shift
G5: Phrase structure change
G6: Clause structure change
G7: Sentence structure change
G8: Cohesion change
G9: Level shift
G10: Scheme change

S1: Synonymy
S2: Antonomy
S3: Hyponomy
S4: Converses
S5: Abstraction change
S6: Distribution change
S7: Emphasis change
S8: Paraphrase
S9: Trope change
S10: Other semantic changes

Pr1: Cultural filtering
Pr2: Explicitness change
Pr3: Information change
Pr4: Interpersonal change
Pr5: Illocutionary change
Pr6: Coherence change
Pr7: Partial translation
Pr8: Visibility change
Pr9: Transediting

Solutions for Many Languages: Histories of a Failed Dream, BATS (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

[25] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 93.

Pr10: Other pragmatic changes

As to the justification of such a simple classification, Chesterman explains,

> It acknowledges that these groups overlap to some extent; that pragmatic ones usually involve semantic and syntactic ones as well, etc.; and that strategies of different types often co-occur. It also acknowledges that the strategies listed can themselves be broken down into subgroups in a variety of ways. But no claims are being made here about the formal or theoretical status of these strategies or their grouping. In this context, if the strategies provide useful conceptual tools for talking about translation, for focusing on particular things that translators seem to do, and for improving translation skills, then that is justification enough.[26]

Chesterman's classification accounts for the majority of shifts observed in S-Isa, and its flexibility allows for the inclusion of other shifts that are not satisfactorily covered by his subgroups. His observation that groups overlap has heuristic value, as the following inventory will reveal. To provide one illustration, S-Isa's rendering at Isa 1:5b appears to have involved only a slight change in wording in comparison to M, but the rendering actually required several strategies:

M:	כל־ראש לחלי וכל־לבב דוי	*the whole head has become sick, and the whole heart is faint*
S:	ܟܠ ܪܫܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ	*the whole head is (given over) to sickness, and the whole heart to sickness*

In this single translation unit, S-Isa's ܠܚܘܝܐ involved a case of transposition (G3, adjective [דוי] → noun [ܚܘܝܐ]), cohesion change (G8, addition of the preposition ܠ), scheme change (G10, explicit parallelism with the addition of ܠ), synonymy (S1, ܚܘܝܐ is not a precise lexical equivalent for דוי), trope change (S9, the rhetorical scheme remains figurative, but S-Isa slightly changed the image), and explicitness change (Pr2, +

[26] Ibid.

ל).[27] While the translator of S-Isa maintained the elliptic syntax in his ST by producing a verbless sentence, his explicitation of ל suggests that he analyzed the sentence as having one implied copula that governed both clauses. Thus, ܚܠܝܐ extends the parallelism of the first noun (חלי) in the first clause of his ST. In contrast, M comprises two different types of nominal clauses: the first nominal clause involving the ל of product; and the second a simple nominal clause.[28] The translator's choice of ܚܠܝܐ, though slightly semantically broader than דוי, reflects his awareness of the context of physical suffering (Isa 1:5-6). Whether he knew the precise meaning and morphology of דוי cannot be determined by this passage alone, but his choice nevertheless bespeaks overlap in grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic strategies. The heuristic value in noting the overlap in grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic strategies lies in the opportunity to detect patterns among them and reconstruct the translator's comprehension strategies and norms that guided his decisions.

In the following inventory, I will provide a brief description of each shift, list examples from S-Isa (ch.1 [hereafter S-Isa 1]), and, in many cases, recount the process of

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[27] It is not likely that S-Isa etymologized דוי on the basis of the same Aramaic root or Syriac ܕܐ (“to be sad, wretched; to grieve”). The semantic contexts of דוי elsewhere (Ps 41:4; Job 6:7; Jer 8:18 [paired with יגון]; Lam 1:22 [paired with אנחה]) denote situations of grief, sorrow, or sickness. Likewise, the parallelism of דוי with חלי (“sickness”) here accommodated S-Isa's choice of ܚܠܝܐ. The Syriac nominals from √ܕܐ are ܚܠܝܘܬܐ (“weakness; misery”) and ܟܐ (“misery”); the former occurring only in 4 Ezra 8:50. All these shifts in 1:5 will be examined in their proper categories below.

[28] The ל of product denotes a state or condition of the object that is the result of another action (see Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [GKC], ed. E. Kautzsch, trans. A. E. Cowley, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1910], §165a).

why a literal translation would not have worked. I will cite additional examples that occur throughout Isaiah. Transformations that occur at certain problem points (e.g., ambiguous Hebrew roots; *hapax legomena*; unfamiliar lexis) will receive greater attention within a wider scope (chs. 1-20), since such tactics provide a glimpse into the translator's strategies that might have required (direct or indirect) access to extrinsic mediations. The overall objective in this chapter is to provide an inventory of translation maneuvers that allows one to apply the subcriteria listed in Chapter 3 for identifying and explicating unique S-G agreements:

3) S's use of G can be considered to obtain if:
   a. common translation technique does not account for the agreement;
   b. common analysis of ambiguous Hebrew forms or vocalization does not account for the agreement;
   c. S does not execute similar translation shifts elsewhere where G goes its own way.

S-Isa's Non-Literal Translations Strategies: An Inventory

1. Syntactic Strategies

These changes primarily involve the manipulation of form. Larger changes obviously require smaller changes.[29] Thus, there is often significant overlap in the translator's use of various syntactic strategies to render his ST. When the number of shifts involved in a particular clause or sentence becomes too tedious to list (e.g., in the case of S-Isa's "freer" translation), I discuss them in an added category labeled G11 ("Texts with many formal changes"). This added section allows me to reserve explanation about the complexities involved to a single space, rather than repeating the

[29] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 94.

details under each formal strategy.

G1: Literal translation

Chesterman includes this category even though the strategy produces renderings that are "maximally close to the SL form, but nevertheless grammatical."[30] I follow van der Louw and others who regard this strategy as having the status of a default value.[31] Thus, translators deviate from literal translation when the latter would not work for some reason. Literal translations in S-Isa are so evident to those familiar with the two cognate languages (Hebrew and Syriac) that they are not worth including in this inventory, especially since including them would not reveal anything about where and how the Syriac translator may have relied on G-Isa.[32] Additionally, many fine studies have been produced on the translation techniques of the different Peshiṭta translators.[33] Thus, little would be accomplished, for example, by noting every place where S-Isa rendered the Hebrew *qatal* with the perfect (e.g., 1:1, חזה || ܚܙܐ) or ו + *qatal* with the imperfect (e.g., 1:19, אם־תאבו ושמעתם || ܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܫܡܥܬ ܘ, "If you obey and listen"),[34] translated

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[30] Ibid., 94.

[31] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 49.

[32] While analyzing S-Isa's tactics in light of other translations (e.g., G-Isa) may allow for a more accurate understanding of where S-Isa stands in any typology of literalism, that task cannot be pursued here.

[33] See footnotes 120-32 in Chapter 1 (section "The Relationship of S-Isa to G- and T-Isa").

[34] See also 1:31, והיה החסן לנערת || ܘܗܘܐ ܚܝܠܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ, "and their strength will be as tow."

causal כי with ܕ ܠܡܐ (e.g., 1:2, 29, 30) or the adverbial function of לכן with ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ("because of this"; e.g., 1:24),[35] marked the Hebrew direct object את with -ܐ (e.g., 1:4), rendered the Hebrew interrogative מה על with ܥܠ ܡܢܐ (e.g., 1:5),[36] negated clauses with ܠܐ for Hebrew אין (e.g., 1:6, 31), and translated temporal idiomatic expressions with comparable idioms in Syriac (e.g., 1:26, כבתחלה || ܟܕ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܝ, "as from before").[37] Among many other tactics, such were rendered necessary by the conventions of the Syriac language and approximate literal translation. Thus, they are not relevant data for this project.[38]

G2: Loan, calque

Defined by Chesterman as "the borrowing of individual items and the borrowing

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[35] The translator of S-Isa rendered twenty-one of the twenty-four occurrences of לכן in Isaiah with ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ("because of this"). This equivalent was provided by the majority of Peshiṭta translators, especially in the major prophets, where לכן is found frequently. For a smattering of examples, see Exod 6:6; Num 16:11; Judg 8:7; 1 Sam 2:30; 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 1:4; Jer 2:9; Ezek 5:7; Hos 2:8; Amos 5:11; Mic 1:14; Zeph 2:9; Zech 1:16; Ps 16:9; Job 32:10.

[36] The equivalent מה על || ܥܠ ܡܕ occurs in the Old Testament Peshiṭta, but it is extremely rare (Jer 8:14; 9:11; 22:8; Mal 2:14).

[37] While כבתחלה is not an isomorphic or atomistic rendering of ܟܕ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܝ, the phrase does correspond semantically to the underlying Hebrew phrase.

[38] For a Syriac grammar that pays close attention to the language's similarities and differences to Biblical Hebrew, see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists*, SEILO 6, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014). While somewhat dated, Brock's bibliography on the Syriac language in Muraoka's fuller Syriac grammar is still helpful (see Muraoka, *Classical Syriac: A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy*, PLO 19 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag], 124-47).

of syntagma," loans could be thought to exist in S-Isa at virtually every clause.[39] But S-Isa's fidelity to its ST does not *necessarily* betray a norm of morphosyntactic correspondence; it could have been "a mere by-product of the similarity between the Hebrew and Syriac languages," in which case the morphosyntactic and cognate agreements do not reflect the translator's deliberate choices.[40] As the following grammatical and syntactical strategies will make clear, there seems to have been no hard and fast policy for the translator to represent the Hebrew formally, although isomorphism may have been his default tendency. Frequently, the translator made changes to produce an acceptable Syriac translation. Since it is only these changes with which this project is concerned, it is not relevant to list here every possible formal agreement that the translator made consciously.

S-Isa 1 contains no cases of Syriac calques of Hebrew words.[41]

G3: Transposition

By "transposition," Chesterman does not mean a change in word-order. Rather, he uses the term to mean "any change of word-class, e.g., from noun to verb, adjective to adverb."[42] This strategy usually involves other structural changes.[43]

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[39] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 94-95.

[40] On this point, see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 25-26.

[41] S-Isa's use of Greek loans will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[42] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 95.

[43] Ibid.

G3.1 – Participle → adjective

Syriac uses the participle primarily to express the present and other continuous tenses, but, like Hebrew, it can also function adjectivally.[44] S-Isa occasionally translated adjectival participles with forms that are morphologically adjectival.

Examples:
1:4[45]
M: גוי חֹטֵא *(Woe), O sinful nation!*
S: ܥܡܐ ܚܛܝܐ *(Woe) to a sinful people!*

1:21
M: קריה נאמנה *faithful city*
S: ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ *faithful city*

G3.2 – Participle → noun

S-Isa also translated some substantival or adjectival participles with nouns bearing the same semantics.

Examples:
1:21
M: מרצחים *murderers*
S: ܩܛܠܐ *murderers*

1:26 (cf. G5.1; S10.5)[46]
M: קריה נאמנה *the faithful city*

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[44] J. F. Coakley, *Robinson's Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45.

[45] Contra Delekat ("Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," *Biblica* 38, no. 3 [1957]: 185), it is unlikely that S (and G) read חַטָּא, since—except for Amos 9:8 (and there in the feminine)—the adjective always occurs in the plural, referring to "sinners" (cf. Num 17:3; 1 Sam 15:18, Amos 9:10; Isa 1:28; 13:9; 33:14, Pss 1:1; 1:5; 25:8; 26:9; 51:15; 104:35; Prov 1:10; 13:21; 23:17).

[46] Cp. 1:22 where S-Isa rendered the exact same Hebrew expression (קריה נאמנה) with ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ ("the faithful city").

S: ܐܬܪܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ *the city of faithfulness*

1:28
M: פֹּשְׁעִים *rebels*
S: ܚܛܐ *injustices*[47]

G3.3 – Adjective → noun; noun → adjective

Frequently, S-Isa translated adjectives with nouns, or *vice versa* (including adjectival participles), when the lexeme in its ST functions predicatively (1:5, 7, 13), attributively (1:6), or substantivally (1:31).

Examples:
1:5 (cf. S1; S9.1.1)
M: דוי *(the whole heart) is faint*
S: ܚܘܫܐ *(the whole heart is given over to) sickness*

1:6 (cf. S1; S9.1.1; S10.1.1)
M: מכה טריה *fresh wound*
S: ܚܫܝܢܐ ܕܚܫܝ *swelling wounds*

1:7
M: ארצכם שממה *Your land is a devastation.*
S: ܐܪܥܟ ܫܡܝܡܐ *Your land is desolate.*[48]

1:13 (cf. G5.2.2)
M: מנחת־שוא *offering of vanity* (lit.)
S: ܩܘܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ *vain offerings*

1:13 (cf. S1; S5)

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[47] S-Isa's ܚܛܐ could either be the plural adjective "unjust ones" (ܚܛܵܐ̈) or the plural noun "injustices" (ܚܛ̈ܐ). 7a1's unpointed text allows for either possibility. The pointing in the Mosul edition here has ܚܛ̈ܐ ("injustices"), though Kiraz et al. translate it with "evildoers" (*Isaiah*, 7). However, their translation is inconsistent wherever ܚܛ̈ܐ is found (cp. 1:28; 46:8; 48:8; 53:12). Quite possibly, S-Isa read פְּשָׁעִים ("transgressions"), in which case the example in 1:28 constitutes a literal translation.

[48] Cp. the nominal form ܫܘܝܐ in Isa 64:9 (היתה ירושלם שממה || ܐܬܝ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܫܘܝܐ, "and Jerusalem is a devastation").

M:	קטרת תועבה היא לי	*Incense is an abomination to me.*
S:	ܠܝ ,ܡ ܡܬܣܠܐ ܩܛܪܐ	*The smell (of vain offerings) is contemptible to me.*

1:31 (cf. G5.6; S10.1.2)

M:	היה החָסֹן לנערת	*The strong will be as tow*[49]
S:	ܩܛܪܗܘܢ ܕܡܥܬܝܩ ܗܘܐ	*Their strength will be as tow*

G3.4 – Noun → infinitive

In one place S-Isa rendered a noun with the infinitive construct (1:5).

Example:
1:5 (cf. G4; G6.2.1; S7)[50]

M:	תוסיפו סרה	*(Why) will you continue in obstinacy?*
S:	ܠܡܬܝܣܪ ܬܘܣܦܘܢ	*(Why) will you continue to be chastised*

G3.5 – Verb → verbal participle (with or without enclitic)

Examples:
1:7 (cf. G5.4)

M:	ושְׁמָמָה כמהפכת זרים	*And it is a desolation, like the overthrow of foreigners.*
S:	ܘܐܪܥܟܘܢ ܚܪܒܐ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܟܘܢ ܕܫܬܝܩ	*And it is deserted like the overthrowing of strangers.*

S-Isa read the Hebrew nominal שממה as שָׁמָמָה (as did G-Isa [ἠρήμωται]), or possibly שְׁמֵמָה, and rendered it with the active participle ܫܬܝܩ (“it is deserted”), which refers back to Israel’s land (אדמה). The use of the participle, as opposed to a finite verbal form,

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[49] Hebrew חָסֹן is an adjective, morphologically, but it functions here as a noun.

[50] Kiraz et al. (*Isaiah*, XXIV) suggest that S-Isa’s ܠܡܬܝܣܪ is likely an inner-Syriac corruption. The editors note that a copyist could have mistaken the initial *mem* (from √ܬܝܣ) as the beginning of an infinitive, implying an original ܡܬܝܣ. This explanation is possible, but unnecessary. While S-Isa translated סרה with a form of √ܬܝܣ in three places (14:6; 31:6; and 59:13), the *ithpeʿel* of √ܝܣܪ means “to be chastised” (Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܝܣܪ), indicating that the translator analyzed סרה as the infinitive construct from the Hebrew √יסר (“to chasten, discipline”).

suggests that the translator understood the ST clause to refer to the present tense.

1:11 (cf. G5.4; Pr2.3)		
M:	למה־לי רב־זבחיכם יאמר יהוה	*"What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?" says the LORD.*
S:	ܡܢܘ ܠܝ ܣܓܝ ܕܕܒܚܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܥܝ	*"What are they to me, the multitude of your sacrifices?" says the Lord.*
1:18 (cf. G5.4)		
M:	לכו־נא ונוכחה יאמר יהוה	*"Come now, and let us reason together," says the LORD.*
S:	ܐܬܘ ܢܬܟܠܡ ܓܒܪ ܥܡ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ	*"Come! Let us speak to each other," says the Lord.*
1:23 (cf. G5.4)		
M:	יתום לא ישפטו וריב אלמנה לא־יבוא אליהם	*They do not provide justice (for) the orphan, and the dispute of the widow does not come before them.*
S:	ܕܝܬܝܡ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ	*They do not administer justice (for) orphans, and the judgment of widows does not go to them.*

In the former three examples, S-Isa clarified the gnomic use of the imperfect by using the participle (cf. G5), which is the standard way of expressing the same tense in Syriac.[51] This was also the translator's default translation for passages in which the formula "thus says the LORD" takes the imperfect (33:10; 41:21; 66:9).

1:15 (cf. G5.2.1; G6.3)		
M:	ידיכם דמים מלאו	*Your hands are full of bloodshed.*
S:	ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܕܡܐ	*Your hands are full of bloodshed.*

S-Isa's ܡܠܝ (|| מלאו), as opposed to the literal alternative (ܡܠܐ), reveals the translator's understanding of the passage to refer to the LORD's *present* judgments. Hebrew stative verbs such as מלא were susceptible to being translated with participles by the translator of

[51] Coakley, *Syriac Grammar*, 45.

S-Isa.[52]

1:24 (cf. G5.4; G10; S7)

M:	הוי אֶנָּחֵם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי	*Ah! I will relieve myself on my adversaries, and I will avenge myself on my enemies.*
S	,ܐܘܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܢܩܡ ,ܘ ,ܐܘܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܢܩܡ ܘ	*Ah! I take vengeance against those who hate me, and I am avenged on my enemies.*

G3.6 – Infinitive → verb

S-Isa 1 includes one case where the translator translated a temporal infinitival phrase (e.g., ב + inf.) with ܕ + a finite verb (imperfect). He does so with a participle (active or passive) outside Isaiah 1. This strategy accords with proper Syriac grammar. In contrast, a literal translation of the Hebrew would have led to a barbarism in Syriac.

Example:

1:15 (cf. G5.6; G6.4)[53]

M:	ובפרשכם כפיכם	*And when you spread out your hands*
S:	ܕ ܐܦܬܝܟܘܢ ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ	*When you spread out your hands*

G4: Unit Shift

Units are morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. Unit shifts occur when translators render a ST unit into a different unit in the TT.[54] This strategy necessarily overlaps with many other strategies, since a shift in unit also could involve a shift in phrase (G5), clause (G6), sentence (G7), cohesion (G8), etc. For this

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[52] For comparable examples of the translation of the verb מלא in S-Isa, see 6:1; 22:7; 30:27; 34:6. Conversely, the translator frequently rendered מלא with the verb ܡܠܐ in a passive stem (2:6, 7, 8; 11:9; 13:21; 14:21; 15:9; 21:3; 27:6; 28:8; 40:2; 65:20).

[53] For similar translations of temporal infinitival phrases in the Hebrew, see Isa 20:1 (בשלח); 38:9 (בחלתו); 52:8 (בשוב); 64:2 (בעשותך).

[54] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 95.

reason, many unit shifts appear in G11 below. The examples immediately below constitute only a sample of unit shifts in S-Isa 1.

S-Isa rendered a Hebrew word into a phrase when an idiomatic or reflexive expression in Syriac required it (1:4, 7). S-Isa sometimes preferred a more concrete expression, requiring the construction of a phrase out of a single Hebrew word (1:6). Also, S-Isa translated unreal conditionals and interrogatives in accordance with its TL conventions (1:9, 12).

Examples:

1:4 (cf. G6.1; G8.2.1)

M:	הוי גוי חטא	*Woe, O sinful people!*
S:	ܥܡܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܠ ܘܝ	*Woe to a sinful people!*

1:4 (cf. G5.6; G6.2.1)

M:	אחור	*(they are estranged) backwards*
S:	ܐܚܘܪ ܠ	*(you turned) behind yourselves*

1:5 (cf. G3.4; S7)

M:	תוסיפו סרה	*(Why) will you continue in obstinacy?*
S:	ܠܡܕ ܬܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܠܡܗܘܬ	*(Why) will you continue to be chastised*

1:6 (cf. G9; S1; S5; S8; S9.1.1; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܡܬܘܠ ܕ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ	*place of soundness*

1:7 (cf. G6.2.1; Pr2.1)

M:	עריכם שְׂרֻפוֹת אש	*Your cities are burned (with) fire.*
S:	ܡܕܝܢܬܟܘܢ ܒ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܩܛܠܝܢ	*Your cities are burned with fire.*

1:12 (cf. G5.8)

M:	מי־בקש	*Who required …?*
S:	ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕ ܥܒܕ	*Who is it that required …?*[55]

[55] S-Isa's ܡܢ (+ perfect tense ܥܒܕ) is not the expected equivalent ܡܝ (cf. 27:4; 36:20; 37:23; 40:18, 25; 46:5; 49:21b; 53:1; 57:4, 11; 66:8). However, S-Isa frequently used ܡܢ to translate the Hebrew interrogative מי, especially when the interrogative preceded a perfect tense verb (cf. 23:8; 36:5; 40:12, 13; 40:14, 26; 41:2, 4; 42:24; 45:21; 49:21a; 50:1). The translator also varied between ܡܝ (4x) and ܡܢ (6x) when they

1:19

M:	אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey*
S:	ܘܐܢ ܬܫܬܘܡܥ ܘܬܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ	*And if you obey and listen to me*

1:20 (cf. G8.2.1)[56]

M:	חרב תְּאֻכְלוּ	*You will be consumed (by) the sword*
S:	ܬܬܐܟܠ ܚܪܒܐ	*You be will consumed by the sword*

1:31 (cf. Pr2.4)

M:	היה החָסֹן לנערת	*The strong will be as tow*
S:	ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܚܣܝܢ	*Their strength will be as tow*

G5: Phrase structure change

This strategy includes "changes at the level of the phrase, including number, definiteness and modification in the noun phrase, and person, tense and mood in the verb phrase."[57] Many phrase structure strategies were rendered necessary by virtue of the Syriac language and thus would ordinarily be considered literal translations (e.g., 1:26, כבראשנה || ܐܝܟ ܕܟܝ ܗܘܐ, "as before"). But some of them involved a slight change in the Syriac's internal structure and could be interpreted incorrectly as indicating a *Vorlage* that deviates from M or suggesting dependence on another version. I have included all such transformations below for the sake of comparison with G-Isa in Chapter 5.

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preceded imperfect verbs. For verbless and participial clauses, S-Isa opted regularly for ܗܘ (~10x), though there are exceptions (cf. 51:12; 60:8).

[56] The reading in M is difficult and might reflect corruption with the loss of ב as the prepositional complement to the passive form תְּאֻכְלוּ (see the lengthy discussion in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 104-106). S-Isa's ܚܪܒܐ agrees with 1QIsa[a]; thus, the translator may have had בחרב in his *Vorlage*, in which case this example should be removed from G4 and G8.

[57] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 96.

G5.1 – Genitive relation

Syriac expresses the genitive construction in three ways, one of which is to use the emphatic state together with the relative ܕ.[58] This is a highly frequent strategy that S-Isa employed to render the Hebrew construct state (possession, source, attribute, etc.), requiring modification in the Syriac noun phrase. S-Isa's inclusion of ܕ in this construction should not be interpreted as reflecting an underlying אשר. I provide the following examples since they can be confused with cases of explicitation of the relative pronoun.

Examples:
1:1[59]

M:	חזין ישעיהו	*The vision of Isaiah*
S:	ܚܙܘܬܐ ܕܐܫܥܝܐ	*The vision of Isaiah*
M:	מלכי יהודה	*kings of Judah*
S:	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ	*kings of Judah*

1:3

M:	אבוס בעליו	*the stable/feeding trough of its master*
S:	ܐܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܗ	*the stable of its master*

1:26 (cf. G3.2; S10.5)

M:	קריה נאמנה	*the faithful city*
S:	ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ	*the city of faithfulness*

Other examples: 1:4 (ܙܪܥܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܕܒܝܫܝܢ); 1:6a (ܟܠ ܪܫܐ ܕܡܟܐ); 1:6b (ܚܒܘܪ ܕܡܟܘܬܐ);

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[58] Coakley, *Syriac Grammar*, 28. S-Isa does use the construct state (e.g., Isa 1:4, עם כבד עון || ܥܡܐ ܟܒܝܕ ܥܘܠ, "a people strong of iniquity") and the possessive pronominal suffix + ו (e.g., Isa 1:10a, דבר־יהוה || ܡܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, "the word of the Lord"; 1:10b, תורת אלהינו || ܢܡܘܣ ܐܠܗܢ ܕܡܪܝܐ; 1:19, טוב הארץ || ܛܒ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ, "the good of the land").

[59] Contrast this genitive construction with the use of the construct phrase (בימי עזיהו || ܒܝܘܡܝ ܥܙܝܗܘ) in the same verse (listed under G1).

1:7b (ܐܪܥܟ ܕܢܟܪܝܢ); 1:9 (ܙܪܥܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ); 1:11a (ܕܒܚܝܬ ܐܢܐ); 1:11b (ܕܠܐ ܬܘܣܦܘܢ); 1:11b (ܕܡܩܪܒܬܘܢ ܠܝ); 1:11c (ܕܪܓܠܝܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܣܒܠ ܐܢܐ); 1:16 (ܕܐܬܚܛܝ ܒܥܠܝܠܝܬܟܘܢ); 1:23 (ܕܟܠ ܚܒܝܒ ܠܗܘ ܐܬܚܒ); 1:23 (ܕܐܠܡܢܬܐ ܠܐ); 1:24 (ܕܡܬܢܚܡ ܒܥܠܡ); 1:26 (ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܥܡܝ); 1:28 (ܕܡܬܫܒܪܝܢ ܚܛܝܐ).

G5.2 – Number

S-Isa frequently changed the number in nouns (esp. collectives [e.g., 1:6]) and verbs in order to smooth out the grammar and syntax or assimilate the text-linguistic content to the norms of his target culture (e.g., collective nouns + plural verbs; 1:3, 4), or both.[60] Sometimes specialized nouns in Biblical Hebrew that always appear in the plural (e.g., honorific plurals; 1:3), S-Isa rendered in the singular.

G5.2.1 – Plural → singular (including collectives)

1:2[61]
M: שמעו שמים — *Listen, O heavens!*
S: ܐܫܬܡܥ ܐܫܡܝ — *Listen, O heavens!*

1:3
M: בעליו — *its master(s)*
S: ܡܪܝܐ — *its master*[62]

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[60] This observation coheres with the profile Warszawski provides in his summary (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 6).

[61] The Leiden edition provides ܐܫܬܡܥ in the singular (contra the Mosul edition). The singular of ܐܫܬܡܥ reflects consistent translational practice in S-Isa (13:5, 10, 13; 14:12, 13; 34:4, 5; 37:16; 40:12, 22; 42:5; 44:23, 24; 45:8, 12, 18; 47:13; 48:13; 49:13; 50:3; 51:6, 13, 16; 55:9, 10; 63:15, 19; 65:17; 66:1, 22).

[62] The Hebrew honorific plural has no linguistic counterpart in Syriac; see B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [IBHS] (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §7.4.3c. S-Isa's ܡܪܝ reflects a translation according to sense.

1:4 (cf. G5.5)

M:	זרע מרעים	*seed of evildoers*
S:	ܙܪܥ ܥܒܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ	*evildoing seed*

1:15 (cf. G3.5; G6.3)

M:	ידיכם דמים מלאו	*Your hands are full of bloodshed.*
S:	ܐܝܕ̈ܝܟ̈ܘܢ ܕܡ̈ܐ ܡܠ̈ܝܢ	*Your hands are full of bloodshed.*

1:18[63]

M:	כשנים	*like scarlet*
S:	ܟܫܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ	*like scarlet*

G5.2.2 – Singular → plural (including collective nouns)

1:3[64]

M:	עמי לא התבונן	*my people does not understand*
S:	ܥܡ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒ̈ܘܢ	*my people do not understand*

1:6

M:	פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה	*bruise and sore and raw wound*
S:	ܦܨ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ ܘܚ̈ܒ̈ܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܡ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܛ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ	*bruises and sores, and swelling wounds*

1:12

M:	מי־בקש זאת מידכם	*Who required this from your hand?*
S:	ܡ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܝܕ̈ܝܟ̈ܘܢ	*Who required these things from your*

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[63] In light of 1QIsa's שני, M's plural שנים might be secondary, perhaps due to a conflation of כשלג, the immediately following word, and משלג (see G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isaiah i-xxxix," *JTS* 38 [1937]: 37). Many Masoretic manuscripts do not include *mem*, and the other forty occurrences of the noun שני do not include *mem*. S-Isa's inconsistent translation of collective nouns with plural nouns, and *vice versa*, makes it impossible to determine what appeared in the translator's *Vorlage*.

[64] The reading in 7a1 (ܥܡ̈ܐ) is probably a result of inner-Syriac variation. 6h3, 9a1, 9l2.5.6, and 11l4 all have ܠܥܡ̈ܐ (= M), which is most likely original. The reading in the singular also reflects the number agreement in the following clause (ܘ̇ ܐ̈ܝܕ̈ܝܗ̇ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܥ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܗ̇ܘ̈ ܐ̈ܝܕ̈ܝ̈ܗ̇ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ). I have included this example since it is possible that 6h3, 9a1, 9l2.5.6, and 11l4 reflect a case of haplography by dint of the *waw* in the following clause (ܘ̇ ܠ̈ܥ̈ܡ̈ܐ). However, dittography in 7a1 is possible too.

hands?

At first glance, S-Isa's ܗܠܝ ("these things") seems to refer back to the multitude of Israel's sacrifices which had not delighted the LORD (1:11). By virtue of the following infinitival clause (ܠܡܕܚܠ ,ܗܘ), "these things" served to trample the LORD's courts. The plural ܐܝܕܟܘܢ ("your hands") agrees with the number of ܐܬܝܢ ("[when] you come"), the primary verb of the sentence. Presumably, the translator made these adjustments to clarify the syntax of the Hebrew, which is not clear. It is difficult to know whether M's phrase רמס חצרי refers to the former question (מי־בקש זאת מידכם) or the following prohibition (לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת־שוא).[65] M's verse division indicates that the Masoretes understood זאת to function cataphorically ("Who has required this from your hand—to trample my courts?"), but the Hebrew Bible contains no indisputable attestations of such usage (cf. Exod 9:16; 1 Sam 25:31).[66] And, as Williamson argues, "it is most unusual for בקש to govern an inf. constr. without ל."[67] Nevertheless, S-Isa's explicitation of ܠ in the infinitive ܠܡܕܚܠ suggests clearly that the translator interpreted רמס as referring back to the phrase ܗܠܝ ܒܥܐ ("Who has required these things?"). Thus, the demonstrative has a duel function and was probably the result of the translator's tendency to render his ST

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[65] For the possible poetic use of "pivot pattern" here—whereby לא תוסיפו governs both הביא and רמס—see A. Spreafico, "Nahum i 10 and Isaiah i 12-13: Double-Duty Modifier," *VT* 48 (1998): 104-10; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 76-77.

[66] See also F. Brown, *The Brown, Driver, Briggs Hebrew And English Lexicon: with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* [BDB] (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), s.v. זאת.

[67] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 76.

morphosyntactically.

1:13 (cf. G3.3)

M:	מנחת־שוא	*offering of vanity* (lit.)
S:	ܩܘܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܣܓ̈ܝܐ	*vain offerings*

1:16[68]

M:	הסירו רע מעלליכם	*Remove the evil of your deeds!*
S:	ܐܟ̈ܫܘ ܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܝܟ̈ܘܢ	*Remove the evils of your deeds!*

1:17 (cf. G8.2.1; S4)[69]

M:	אשרו חָמוֹץ	*Set the oppressors straight!*
S:	ܛܒ̈ܘ ܠܡ̈ܥܩ̈ܐ	*Do good to the oppressed!*

1:17

M:	שפטו יתום ריבו אלמנה	*Vindicate the orphan! Plead for the widow!*
S:	ܕ̈ܝܢ̈ܘ ܝܬ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܘܕ̈ܝܢ̈ܘ ܐܪ̈ܡ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ	*Vindicate the orphans! Vindicate the widows!*

1:22 (cf. G6.2.1; G8.2.2; S1; S10.1.1; S10.1.2)

M:	סבאך מהול במים	*Your wine is mixed with water.*
S:	ܚ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܟ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ	*Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

S-Isa's ܕ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ("your tavern-keepers") reflects his analysis of סבאך in light of the Aramaic √סבי/א (see S10.1). A change in subject like this (wine → tavern-keeper) required the translator to change the voice and number of מהול (see G6; G8), rendering it unnecessary to include an equivalent for ב since ܚ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܟ became the direct object of the sentence.

1:23

M:	כלו אהב שחד ורדף שלמנים	*Each one loves a bribe and pursues gifts.*
S:	ܟ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܕ̈ܚ̈ܒ̈ܝ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܪ̈ܕ̈ܦ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ܢ̈ܐ	*All of them are lovers of a bribe and hasten*

[68] See also 1:16b (חדלו הרע || ܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܢ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܘ, "Cease from evils!"). Possibly, the reading ܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܘ in 7a1 is secondary, since 6h3 has the singular (= M). The inconsistency of translating/transmitting plural and singular nouns and verbs in both manuscripts makes it difficult to adjudicate between the two readings here.

[69] The exegetical difficulties in this example are discussed below in S4.

	ܠܡܚܣܝ ܫܘܚܕܐ ܘܪܕܦܝ ܫܠܡܢܝܡ	*to requite interests.*
G:	ἀγαπῶντες δῶρα διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα	*—loving gifts, pursuing requital.*
1QIsa[a]:	כולם אוהבי שחד ורדפי שלמנים	*All of them are lovers of a bribe and pursuers of gifts.*
T:	כולהון רחמין לקבלא שוחדא אמרין גבר לחבריה עביד לי בדיני דאשלים לך בדינך	*All of them love to accept a bribe, saying—a man to his neighbor—assist me in my case, so that I will repay you in your case.*

S-Isa's deviations from M here must be interpreted in light of 1QIsa[a], G-Isa, and T-Isa. While G-Isa lacks an equivalent for כלו/ם, 1QIsa[a] and T-Isa include the 3mp suffix.[70] All three versions have a plural participle where M has אהב, referring back to the plural subjects in the immediately preceding clause (שריך סוררים וחברי גנבים). And both G-Isa and 1QIsa[a] have a plural participle where M has the singular רדף. For these reasons (and the fact that no pre-thirteenth century Peshiṭta manuscripts secondarily revised toward M here), it is highly possible that S-Isa read כלם אהבי שחד ורדפי שלמנים, in which case the translator did not depart from literal translation. I include S-Isa's plural readings here as examples of phrase structure change since they may reflect the translator's inconsistent practice of rendering collectives in the plural (and often in places where the other versions = M).

1:23		
M:	יתום … אלמנה	*orphan ... widow*
S:	ܝܬܝܡܐ … ܐܪܡܠܬܐ	*orphans ... widows*
1:24 (cf. G5.5; S10.5; Pr1.3)		
M:	האדון יהוה	*The Lord, the LORD (of hosts)*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ	*The Lord of lords, (the mighty)*

[70] M's כלו is the *lectio difficilior*, but, according to P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, the singular suffix on כל here has "the vague meaning of *totality of that = each*" (§146j [italics original] in *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* [JM], 2nd reprint of the 2nd ed., with corrections [Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2009]), and thus requires no emendation.

The Syriac collocation ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ (“the Lord of lords”) occurs two times in Isaiah, 247 times in the prophets (mostly in Ezekiel [224x] and the Dodekapropheton [21x]), and ~300 times in the whole Peshiṭta. It was used mainly to render the Hebrew collocation אדני יהוה, which occurs 217 times in Ezekiel alone. That ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ was a fixed Syriac epithet for God remains beyond doubt, but the translator of S-Isa was hardly consistent in his renderings of the divine name. Aside from 3:1, where the same equivalent is found (האדון יהוה || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ), the translator also rendered האדון יהוה with ܡܪܝ̈ ܡܪܝ (10:16, 33) and simply ܡܪܝ (19:4). The translator also vacillated between two translations of the much more common Hebrew expression אדני יהוה: ܡܪܝ (3:15; 10:23, 24; 22:15; 28:22); ܡܪܝ̈ ܡܪܝ (7:7; 22:5, 12, 14; 25:8 [+ ܐܠܗܐ]; 28:16; 40:10; 48:16; 49:22; 50:4, 5, 7, 9; 52:4; 56:8; 61:1, 11; 65:13, 15).[71] Both of these latter translations are sensible on the basis of the Hebrew alone. In one case (ܡܪܝ), S-Isa collapsed (what appeared to be) a redundancy in אדני יהוה, and in the other case (ܡܪܝ̈ ܡܪܝ), he relied on the reading tradition (= אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה), as preserved in M’s vocalization in many of these cases (e.g., 50:4). The translation ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ (|| האדון יהוה) here and at 3:1, however, appear to be an assimilation to the much more common expression outside S-Isa or, in the event that S-Isa was among the earlier Peshiṭta translations, a certain translation tradition previously established. It is unlikely that these assimilations were produced by the work of a

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[71] There are two exceptions to this list. First, at 30:15 the translator omitted an equivalent for אדני יהוה and instead rendered the epithet in apposition קדוש ישראל (|| ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ). And second, at 51:22, the translator provided ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ (“your Lord, the Lord”) for אדניך יהוה. Interestingly, from 40:10 onward, the translator consistently rendered the Hebrew expression with ܡܪܝ̈ ܡܪܝ thirteen times, excluding the single exception at 51:22, which can be explained by the exceptional Hebrew.

transmitter, since one would expect the transmitter to have remained somewhat consistent throughout the whole book.[72] That both constitute the first two instances of יהוה + אדון in Isaiah suggests that the translator himself defaulted to the common expression ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܗܘܬ at the beginning of his project, but soon thereafter he chose to render the epithet fluidly.

1:31 (cf. S10.1.2)
M: פעלו לניצוץ — *his work (will become) a spark*
S: ܥܒܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܚܠܝ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ — *their works (will become) sparks*

S-Isa's 3mp suffix on ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ("their works") accords with strategies he executed earlier in the chapter, involving a change of the person on verbs to maintain consistent inflection (see G5.3). He also added a suffix earlier in 1:31 to explicitate the antecedent (see G5.6, היה החסן לנערת || ܗܘܬ ܠܫܘܝܐ ܕ[ܗ]ܘ ܚܣܢ ܕܥܡܐ, "*their* strength will be as tow").

G5.3 – Person

The following person changes likely arose from larger pragmatic concerns (e.g., Pr5, Illocutionary Change). In Isaiah 1, the translator of S-Isa changed the person only when his ST randomly changed the person. He preferred to keep the person consistent, insofar as he was able.

Examples:
1:4 (cf. Pr5)[73]
M: עזבו ... נאצו ... נזרו — *(who) have forsaken ... have despised ... are*

[72] Unless, of course, after realizing how many revisions such a practice would require, a transmitter simply retired the practice after the first two assimilations.

[73] S-Isa (and G, ἐγκατελίπατε … παρωργίσατε) analyzed the same subjects as constituents of a long vocative address (הוי … משחיתים). It is not necessary to invoke the claim that S translated a *Vorlage* with עזבתם … נאצתם. For a comparable example, see 5:8.

estranged

S: ... ܐܬܪܚܩ ... ܐܬܫܒܩ ܐܬܦܟܐ — *You have abandoned ... have provoked ... have turned (behind yourselves)*

1:29 (cf. Pr5)

M: כי יבשו מאילים אשר חמדתם ותחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם — *For they will be ashamed of the oaks which you took pleasure in, and you will be abashed because of the gardens which you have chosen.*

S: ܡܛܠ ܕ ܐܬܒܫܘ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕ ܚܡܝܬ ܘ ܐܬܒܫܘ ܡܢ ܓܢܬܐ ܕ ܓܒܝܬ — *For they will be ashamed of the idols which they desired, and they will be ashamed of the gardens which they have chosen*

The sudden change in person in M (חמדתם … יבשו) obviously caused a problem for the translator, as it does for many modern exegetes.[74] To resolve the disparity, the translator assimilated the person of חמדתם … תחפרו … בחרתם to that of יבשו (|| ܓ ... ܢ ... ܐ ... ܐ).[75] This tactic was also taken by the translator of G-Isa (διότι καταισχυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν, ἃ αὐτοὶ ἠβούλοντο, καὶ ἐπῃσχύνθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις αὐτῶν, ἃ ἐπεθύμησαν). A similar passage occurs in 61:7, where the Hebrew immediately shifts person: תחת בשתכם משנה וכלמה ירנו חלקם לכן בארצם משנה יירשו. While slightly more paraphrastic than in 1:29, S-Isa also assimilated the person in this sentence: ܫܠܡ ... ܐܬܝܪܬ ... ܕ ܒܐܪܥܗ ... ܕ ܒܛܘܒܢ ... ܕ ܒܗܘܢ ... ܫܠܡ ... ܕ ܒܟܠܡܗ, "Instead of your shame, and instead of your reproach, you will inherit a double inheritance in your land."

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[74] See the different solutions summarized and critiqued in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 148-49. The integrity of M's consonantal base is supported by both 1QIsa[a] and 4QIsa[f]. T-Isa's 2nd person readings (אתון מסתיעין … חמידתון תבהתון) are secondary, as well as the three medieval manuscripts that read תבשו (see D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, II, *Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations*, OBO 50/2 [Freiburg/Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986], 10).

[75] S-Isa continued to use the 3rd person through verse 31. See the following examples.

Translational maneuvers such as this demonstrate the translator's concern to provide a readable TT.

1:30 (cf. Pr5)
M: כי תהיו כאלה *For you will become like an oak*
S: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗ[ܘ̈ܝ]ܢ ܐܠܐ *For [they will become] like an oak*

Here S-Isa simply maintained the changes in person made in the previous verse, achieving a consistency of reference throughout verses 29-31.

G5.4 – Tense

I mentioned under G1 (Literal translation) that I would not list every example where S-Isa rendered the Hebrew *qatal* with the perfect (e.g., 1:1, חזה || ܚܙܐ), *yiqtol* with the imperfect (e.g., 1:18, ילבינו || ܢ[ܬ]ܚܘܪ, "you will be whitened"), or ו + *qatal* with the imperfect (e.g., 1:19, אם־תאבו ושמעתם || ܐܢ ܬ[ܨ]ܒ̈ܝ ܘܬ[ܫ]ܡ̈ܥ, "If you obey and listen"; 1:31 [2x]). These changes were necessary because of the TL's linguistic conventions. The translator of S-Isa demonstrated a fair degree of competence interpreting the nuances of the Hebrew tense system. Thus, I will list below only those instances in Isaiah 1 where the translator deviated from the function of the tense of his *Vorlage*. Also, I will list where S-Isa translated Hebrew imperfect verbs with participles (with or without an enclitic), since its practice was inconsistent, and some examples affect interpretation.

Examples:
1:7 (cf. G3.5)
M: ושְׁמָמָה כמהפכת זרים *And it is a desolation, like the overthrow of foreigners.*
S: ܘܡ[ܫ]ܬ̈ܝ ܐܝܟ ܕ[ܡ]ܟ ܙ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ *And [it is deserted] like the overthrowing of strangers.*

Reading שְׁמָמָה, the translator changed the assumed perfect verb with the active participle ܡ[ܫ]ܟ ("it is deserted"), thus affecting the tense.

1:11 (cf. G3.5; Pr2.3)

M:	למה־לי רב־זבחיכם יאמר יהוה	*"What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?" says the LORD.*
S:	ܡܢܐ ܠܝ ܪܘܓܙ ܕܕܒܚܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܥܝܬ	*"What are they to me, the multitude of your sacrifices?" says the Lord.*

1:18 (cf. G3.5)

M:	לכו־נא ונוכחה יאמר יהוה	*"Come now, and let us reason together," says the LORD.*
S:	ܐܬܘ ܢܬܬܟܚ ܥܡ ܕܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ	*"Come! Let us speak to each other," says the Lord.*

1:21

M:	צדק ילין בה	*Righteousness used to lodge in her*
S:	ܙܕܩ ܐܬܝܠ ܒܗ	*Righteousness lodged in her*

S-Isa rightly analyzed ילין as referring to the past, which it translated with the perfect from √ܐܬܝ ("to lodge, remain").[76] The context of the LORD's reminiscing on Jerusalem's former righteousness and justice surely aided his interpretation (Isa 1:20-21). Since the Syriac imperfect most often indicates the future tense, the translator chose the perfect here to produce a suitable equivalent for ילין.

1:23 (cf. G3.5)

M:	יתום לא ישפטו וריב אלמנה לא־יבוא אליהם	*They do not provide justice (for) the orphan, and the dispute of the widow does not come before them.*
S:	ܝܬܝܡܐ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܬ ܠܗ ܘܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ	*They do not administer justice (for) orphans, and the judgment of widows does not go to them.*

1:24 (cf. G3.5; G10; S7)

M:	הוי אֶנָּחֲם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי	*Ah! I will relieve myself on my adversaries, and I will avenge myself on my enemies.*
S	ܘܝ, ܐܢܐ ܐܬܢܩܡ ܡܢ ܒܥܠܝ ܕܣܢܝܢ ܠܝ ܘܐܬܢܩܡ ܡܢ ܒܥܠܝ ܕܣܢܝܢ ܠܝ	*Ah! I take vengeance against those who hate me, and I am avenged on my enemies.*

[76] On the past frequentative function of the imperfect ילין here, see GKC §107b; and JM §113f.

S-Isa's use of participles (+ enclitics) here to signify the present tense was probably due to the difficulty posed by the unusual semantics of אנחם + מן in this verse (see S4; S7). While M's אנחם refers to the relief that the LORD *will* experience as a result of pouring out vengeance on Israel's unjust leaders, S-Isa's ܐܬܢܚܡ focuses on the LORD's *present* act of vengeance, thus eliminating any notion of future consolation for the LORD.

G5.5 – Changes to the construct or appositional phrase

These changes involved S-Isa's conversion of an attributive construct phrase into an adjectival phrase (1:4) and an appositional construct phrase into a case of simple apposition (1:24). However, it is possible that in 1:4, S-Isa interpreted the unpointed consonants as formulating an original adjectival phrase.

Examples:
1:4 (cf. G5.2)

M:	זרע מרעים	*seed of evildoers*
S:	ܙܪܥ ܕܥܒܕܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ	*evildoing seed*

This phrase structure change could also be interpreted as a substantival participle → adjectival participle change, but I have placed it here to note the subtle shift in morphosyntax.

1:24 (cf. G5.2.2; S5; S7; S10.5; Pr1.3)

M:	האדון יהוה צבאות	*The Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠ	*The Lord of lords, the mighty one*

Here M's noun phrase consists of the subject האדון + the construct phrase יהוה צבאות, which is in apposition to האדון.[77] In contrast, S-Isa rendered the first two constituents of

[77] It was long thought that personal names cannot serve as head nouns in a construct chain, but the inscriptions unearthed at Kuntillet ʿAjrud reveal the divine names (Yhwh of Samaria; Yhwh of Teman) in construct relation. This syntactical phenomenon has been explained by Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of

the phrase יהוה האדון as the subject, putting them in the construct relationship (ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ, "Lord of lords"). Then, he translated צבאות with the substantival adjective ܡܫܠܡ, which stands in apposition to ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ.[78] These changes in syntax were due to the translator's desire to assimilate the Hebrew collocation יהוה האדון to the common Syriac expression ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ (see G5.2.2), resulting in the transformation of צבאות into a substantive in apposition. The translator's understanding of צבאות as referring to an attribute of God (i.e., his strength), rather than an integral part of the divine epithet, facilitated this specific shift.

G5.6 – Addition/omission of pronominal suffix

S-Isa occasionally added suffixes to prepositions, verbs, and nouns to clarify the reflexive sense of a passage (1:4), specify the object (1:19), and signify a word's antecedent (1:31).[79] In one place, S-Isa dropped a pronominal suffix as part of an infinitival expression in exchange for a finite form (1:15).

Examples:
1:4 (cf. G4; G6.2.1)

M:	אחור	*(they are estranged) backwards*
S:	ܚܙ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܘ̈ܢ	*(you turned) behind yourselves*

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the Inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 3-9.

[78] The divine epithet יהוה צבאות occurs over sixty times in Isaiah, which S-Isa translated with surprising variation. His most common rendering, however, was ܡܪܝ ܡܫܠܡ (3:15; 5:7, 9, 16, 24; 6:3, 5; 8:13, 18; 9:6, 12, 18; 10:23, 26; 13:4; 14:22, 23, 24, 27; 17:3; 18:7; 19:4, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25; 22:14, 25; 23:9; 24:23; 25:6; 28:5; 28:29; 29:6; 31:4, 5; 37:16, 32; 39:5; 44:6; 45:13; 47:4; 48:2; 51:15; 54:5).

[79] I do not list occurrences where S-Isa added a suffix to ܟܠ (‖ כל) in its appositional usage, since the practice is found everywhere and was necessitated by the syntactical conventions of Syriac.

1:15 (cf. G3.6; G6.4)
M: ובפרשכם כפיכם — *And in your spreading out your hands* (lit.)
S: ܟܕ ܐܦܬܝܢ ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ — *When you spread out your hands*

1:19 (cf. G4)
M: אם־תאבו ושמעתם — *If you are willing and obey*
S: ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܬܘܢ ܘܬܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܝ — *And if you obey and listen to me*

1:31 (cf. G4; Pr2.4)
M: היה החָסֹן לנערת — *The strong will be as tow*
S: ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܚܝܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܬܘܐ — *Their strength will be as tow*

M's sudden drop of a 2nd person verbal or pronominal reference in this sentence was not preferred by S-Isa. To clarify the antecedent of this clause, S-Isa provided the 3mp suffix, referring back to the subjects in verse 30 (ܐܝܟ ܐܠܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܘܬܐ, "For they will be like an oak").

G5.7 – Addition of a participle

In Isaiah 1, S-Isa added the participle of ܐܬܐ where his ST had a verbless clause. Such an explicitation clarifies the present tense of the context (1:11) and demonstrates the translator's preference for marked predication.

Example:
1:11 (cf. Pr2.3)
M: למה־לי רב־זבחיכם — *What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?*
S: ܡܢܘ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܐܬܝܢ ܕܒܚܬܟܘܢ ܕܐܬ ܣܓܝ — *What are they to me, the multitude of your sacrifices?*

G5.8 – Addition of an enclitic

While produced to accommodate the TL's linguistic conventions, some of S-Isa's enclitics effectually changed the ST syntagm, even if slightly.

Example:
1:12 (cf. G4)
M: מי־בקש — *Who required …?*

S: ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕ ... *Who is it that required …?*

G5.9 – Addition of indirect object (ל + suffix)

In one place, S-Isa added ל + suffix to clarify the indirect object.

Example:
1:13 (cf. Pr2.1)
M: לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת־שוא *Do not continue bringing vain offerings.*
S: ܠܐ ܬܘܣܝܦܘ ܕ ܡܝ ܠ ܡܓܝܒ ܡܢܚܬ ܫܘܐ *Do not continue to bring to me vain offerings.*

G5.10 – Preposition change

1:25 (cf. G6.3; S1; S5; S7; S9.1.1; S10.1.2)
M: אצרף כבר סיגיך *I will refine your dross as with lye*
S: ܐܨܪܦ ܠ ܟܠ ܣܝܓܝܟ *I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

S-Isa's change of כ to ל here was caused by his semantic understanding of both בר and סיגיך (see S1, 7, 9 below). Understanding the former as referring to "purity" (ܕܟܝ) and the latter to "rebels" (ܣܓܝܐ), a simile involving the two would not have made sense in context. Thus, the translator was required to change the preposition to facilitate his (limited) semantic understanding of the Hebrew.

G6: Clause structure change

As the name suggests, a clause structure change involves changes to a clause's constituent phrases (e.g., word-order; case; voice; finite vs. non-finite structure; transitive vs. intransitive).[80]

[80] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 96-97.

G6.1 – Case change

S-Isa seldomly departed from its ST's case structure. However, some idioms in Syriac required a case change. For example, S-Isa consistently rendered the Hebrew interjection הוי + vocative with ܠ + the dative of reference, which is a common way of rendering Syriac interjections.[81] Exceptions to this practice occur where the Hebrew itself does not take the sense of "Woe!" (1:24, הוי אנחם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי || ܟ ܐܝܟ ܡܬܚܡܐ ,ܠ ܟ ܐܝܟ ܡܬܢܩܡ ,ܠܝ, "Ah! I take vengeance against those who hate me, and I am avenged on my enemies").

Example:
1:4 (cf. G4; G8.2.1)[82]

M:	הוי גוי	*Woe, O (sinful) nation!*
S:	ܐܝܟ ,ܠ	*Woe to a (sinful) people!*

G6.2 – Voice changes

G6.2.1 – Passive → active (intransitive → transitive)

Occasionally, S-Isa translated passive Hebrew verbs or verbal participles in the active voice. Sometimes this occurred because the translator was unfamiliar with the Hebrew root (1:4), or his reading of the unpointed Hebrew text might have been different from that represented in M (1:7), or his analysis of the subject in his ST required a change in voice (1:22).

Examples:

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[81] See the examples in Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ,ܠ.

[82] Other examples from S-Isa: 5:8 (ܠ ,ܕܡܚܡܬܝ); 5:11 (ܠ ,ܕܡܚܡܕܝ); 5:20 (ܠ ,ܕܡܪ); 5:21 (ܠ ,ܕܡܪ); 5:22 (ܠ ,ܕܚܝܬܢ); 10:1 (ܠ ,ܕܡܡܪ); 10:5 (ܠ ,ܟܐܦܝܟ); 17:12 (ܠ ,ܠܫܠܟ); 18:1 (ܠ ,ܟܚܟ).

1:4 (cf. G5.3; S10.1.2; Pr5)

M:	נזרו אחור	*they are estranged backwards*
S:	ܠܚܘܝܬܟ̈ ܐܬܦܢܝܬ̈	*you have turned behind yourselves*

The Hebrew noun אחור here functions adverbially with the sense of "backwards," but in relation to the *niphal* of זור, it creates the awkward expression, "they are estranged backwards."[83] The meaning is that Israel has chosen an older form of apostasy over Yahweh.[84] Using the 2nd person plural after a vocative address, S-Isa rendered נזרו אחור with a transitive verb + an idiomatic phrase (ܐܬܦܢܝ + -ܠ), "and you turned yourselves backwards" (i.e., "you regressed").[85]

1:5 (cf. G3.4; G4; S7)

M:	תוסיפו סרה	*(Why) will you continue in obstinacy?*
S:	ܬܬܝܣܪܘܢ ܠܡܗܘܬ	*(Why) will you continue to be chastised?*

While סרה is a substantive meaning "obstinacy," the translator analyzed the form as the G infinitive construct of √יסר. He translated it in the passive voice to cohere with the former clause, ܠܡܐ ܬܗܘ ܥܘܕ ܡܟܝܬ̈, "Why will you be wounded again?"

1:7 (cf. G8.2.1; Pr2.1)

M:	עריכם שְׂרֻפוֹת אש	*Your cities are burned (with) fire.*[86]
S:	ܡܕܝܢܟ̈ܝ ܢܩܝܕ̈ ܐܝܬ̈	*Your cities are burned with fire.*

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[83] GKC § 119ee-gg.

[84] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 36.

[85] On the semantics of this example, see S10.1.2.

[86] Literally, M reads, "Your cities are burnt things of fire," with שְׂרֻפוֹת as the head participial substantive of a construct phrase. However, it is possible to read שְׂרֻפוֹת as a verbal passive participle, with אש functioning as an adverbial accusative. However, the adverbial function of שרף usually occurs with the preposition ב (cf. 2 Chron 36:18 [שרפו באש]; Pss 46:10 [ישרף באש]; 80:17 [שרפה באש]).

S-Isa's active participle ܡܫܩܐ could reflect a literal rendering of שֹׁרְפוֹת. However, the form is not attested in M. More likely, the translator understood the passive sense of his Hebrew ST and intended ܦܥܠ (*peʿal*) to function intransitively and convey a meaning comparable to שרף, explicitating the passive sense by adding a *beth* of manner (ܒ).

1:22 (cf. G5.2.2; G8.2.2; S1; S10.1.1; S10.1.2)

M:	סבאך מהול במים	*Your wine is mixed with water.*
S:	ܚܡܪ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܩܝ	*Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

G6.2.2 – Active → passive

Example:
1:18

M:	כשלג ילבינו	*They could become white as snow*
S:	ܐܬܚܘܪ ܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ	*They will be whitened like snow*

Since ילבינו lacks an object (cf. Dan 11:35), the translator rendered it in the passive so that the subject (חטאיכם || ܚܛܗܝܟ, "your sins") of the sentence receives the action by an unknown agent (contrast with G-Isa's ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ, "*I* will whiten them as snow").[87]

G6.3 – Transpositions

Unlike strategy G3 (Transpositions), this strategy refers to changes in word-order that affect the clause of a sentence. In accordance with his TL text-linguistic conventions, S-Isa sometimes preferred that adverbs precede verbs (1:5) and objects precede adjuncts (1:25). He also changed the word order in *casus pendens* constructions, clarifying the subject and predicate (1:7).

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[87] Cp. Joel 1:7 (הלבינו שריגיה || ܚܘܪܘ ܐܝܣܘ, "and it whitened their branches") and Ps 51:9 (משלג אלבין || ܐܫܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ ܕ, "I will be whiter than snow").

Examples:[88]

1:5

M: תכו עוד *(Why) will you be wounded again?*

S: ܗܘ ܬܬܠܘܢ *(Why) will you be wounded again?*

1:7

M: אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים אכלים אתה *Your land before you strangers devour (it).*

S: ܐܪܥܟܘܢ ܩܕܡܟܘܢ ܓܝܪܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܢܟܪܝܐ *Your land before you, devouring it are strangers.*

1:15 (cf. G3.5; G5.2.1)

M: ידיכם דמים מלאו *As for your hands, of bloodshed they are full.* (lit.)

S: ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܕܡܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ *Your hands are full of bloodshed.*

1:25 (cf. G5.10; S1; S5; S7; S9.1.1; S10.1.2)

M: אצרף כבר סיגיך *I will refine your dross like lye*

S: ܐܢܩܐ ܠܟ ܠܓܠܝܐ ܘܐܦ ܣܝܓܝܟ *I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

1:25 (cf. S7; S9.1.1)

M: אסירה כל־בדיליך *I will remove all your alloy*

S: ܐܫܕܪ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܚܛܝܬܟ *I will remove all your inquities*[89]

G6.4 – Temporal Infinitival Clause → temporal clause beginning with ܟܕ

Example:

1:15 (cf. G3.6; G5.6)

M: ובפרשכם כפיכם *And in your spreading out your hands* (lit.)

S: ܟܕ ܬܦܪܣ̈ܘܢ ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ *When you spread out your hands*

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[88] Among the following examples, Warszawski only listed 1:5 as a case of transposition (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 8).

[89] As in Hebrew, a substantive in Syriac can have ܟܠ in apposition with it, placed either before or after it, and with suffixes of its own (Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* [*CSG*], trans. J. A. Crichton [London: Williams & Norgate, 1904], §218). S-Isa transposed similar constructions with ܟܠ elsewhere (5:25; 9:11, 16, 20; 10:4; 14:26, 29; 28:24; 31:3), but he more often followed the ordering of his ST (e.g., 2:2; 2:12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 3:1; 4:3, 5). His preference for one order over the other cannot be determined.

G6.5 – Concessive clause with גם כי *→ concessive clause with* ܐܦ

Example:
1:15

M:	גם כי־תרבו תפלה	*Even though you increase prayer*
S:	ܘܐܦ ܟܕ ܣܓܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܐܦ	*And even though you increase prayer*

Appropriately, S-Isa interpreted the two constituents גם כי as having a concessive sense and translated with the Syriac equivalent (ܐܦ).[90]

G6.6 – Concessive conditional clause with אם *→ standard conditional clause with* ܐܢ

Example:
1:18

M:	אם־יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו אם־יאדימו כתולע כצמר יהיו	*Though your sins be like scarlet, they could become white like snow; though they be red like crimson, they can become like wool.*
S:	ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢ ܬܗܘܝܢ ܚܘܒܝܟܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܢܝܐ ܐܢ ܟܬܘܠܥܐ ܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܨܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢ ܬܗܦܟܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܥܐ ܕܙܩܝܪ ܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܨܡܪ ܢܗܘܘܢ	*And if your sins be like scarlet, they will be whitened like snow; and if they turn red like scarlet dye, they will be like wool.*

Admittedly, the Hebrew syntax here is ambiguous, allowing for several intepretations of the function of אם in this verse and requiring larger exegetical considerations.[91] The

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[90] 7a1's proximity to the Hebrew here suggests that the reading in 11l4 (ܐܢ) is secondary.

[91] For a summary of the interpretations, see J. T. Willis, "On the Interpretation of Isaiah 1:18," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 35-54. See also Williamson's concise summary of the six basic positions regarding the interpretation of the verse, not all of which are mutually inclusive (*Isaiah 1-5*, 111-17): 1) unconditional promise (the view of G-Isa and many commentators); 2) conditional promise (the view of T-Isa, Jerome, the reformers, many Jewish commentators, and other commentators); 3) conditional promise that views the function of אם as denoting hypotheticals (the view of Williamson and many other commentators); 4) the conditional sentence does not constitute a genuine plea for repentance, but justifies inevitable judgment; 5) the conditional sentence is ironic and sarcastic, employing hyperbole (Duhm's view); and 6) the imperfects in the verse are jussives and connect intricately with vv. 16-17 ("they must become white …").

modality (or lack thereof) of the Syriac is equally ambiguous, as the imperfect in conditional sentences can take on different nuances without additional markers and modifiers.[92] Since S-Isa usually translated אם + verb with ܐ + verb in places where the conditional nature of the sentence is unquestionable (cf. 1:19, 20; 21:12; 36:8; 58:9, 13), and since Syriac has a way of indicating a concessive conditional clause (e.g., Isa 1:15, גם כי־תרבו תפלה || ܐܦ ܕ ܣܓܝܬ ܨܠܘܬ̈ܐ, "and even though you increase prayer"), the translator of S-Isa most likely analyzed his ST at 1:18 as two standard conditional clauses.[93]

G6.7 – Addition of an enclitic

In one place, the translator added an enclitic to make predication explicit.

Example:
1:23 (cf. Pr2.3)

M:	שריך סוררים וחברי גנבים	*Your princes are rebels and parters of thieves.*
S:	ܪܓܫ̈ܝܟ ܣܪ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܘܚ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܓ̈ܢ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܢ̈ܘܢ	*Your nobles rebel, and partners of thieves are they.*

Rather than viewing שריך סוררים as a verbless clause with סוררים functioning substantivally, the translator of S-Isa analyzed the Hebrew participle סוררים as the verbal predicate. This analysis required the translator to supply predication (+ ܗ̈ܢ̈ܘܢ) in the

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[92] Nöldeke, *CSG*, §265, 374; Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, §82. Due to the syntactical ambiguity in both the Hebrew and Syriac in this passage, I have not included S-Isa's translation here under S7 (Emphasis change) or Pr5 (Illocutionary change).

[93] S-Isa never translated one of the thirty-seven occurrences of אם with ܐܦ. Rather, he used a variety of renderings, depending on the specific collocation in the Hebrew (e.g., כי אם; לא אם; עד אם). Unsurprisingly, many of the nuances of אם caused problems for the translator, as they do for modern exegetes (see especially Isa 22:14; 29:16; 53:10; 65:6; 66:8, 9).

second noun phrase חברי גנבים, whereas in the Hebrew the elliptic expression assumes the same predication as the preceding verbless clause.[94]

G7: Sentence structure change

Only two sentence-level changes are found in the first chapter of S-Isa. Since a change at this level requires many other strategies, I have listed the two instances of sentence structure change under G11 (see 1:13, 28). The meagerness of this data, however, enforces the observation that the translator most often translated at the word- or phrase-level. Only occasionally did he make changes that affected the clause or sentence.

G8: Cohesion change

This strategy affects "intra-textual reference, ellipsis, substitution, pronominalization and repetition, or the use of connectors of various kinds."[95] As one who worked mostly at the word- or phrase-level, the translator of S-Isa made many cohesion changes (e.g., minor additions) to produce an acceptable Syriac text. As evident from the shifts below, the translator attempted to avoid elliptic, hypotactic, and asyndetic syntax. He was much more reluctant to omit elements in his ST than he was to add them.

G8.1 – Addition/omission of waw-conjunctive

Given that the various translators of the Hebrew Bible frequently render +/- *waw* for purposes of target acceptability, the process of reconstructing the respective *Vorlagen*

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[94] Like Hebrew, the second term in a *status constructus* in Syriac is rarely broken, but exceptions are made with inconsequential words (see Muraoka, *Classical Syriac* §73.e).

[95] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 98.

of the translators remains impossible. Thus, I will not provide comment on instances of +/- *waw* in this analysis. We can assume safely that numerous cases of + *waw* occur in S-Isa, since parataxis was a linguistic convention of the translator's target culture. The one striking feature to point out is that, in comparison to M, S-Isa 1 includes twenty-seven cases of + *waw* and only one instance of - *waw*.

a. + *waw* (1:1 [3x], יותם אחז יחקיהו || ܘܝܘܬܡ ܘܐܚܙ ܘܚܙܩܝܗܘ; 1:3, ישראל || ܘܠܝܣܪܝܠ; עמי || ܥܡܝ; 1:4, נאצו || ܘܐܬܪܓܙܘ; נזרו || ܘܐܬܚܣܡܘ; 1:5, תוסיפו || ܘܬܘܣܦܘܢ; 1:7, עריכם || ܥܪܝܟܝܢ; 1:8, כמלונה || ܟܡܠܘܢܐ ܒܥܪܬܐ; כעיר || ܟܩܪܝܬܐ ܒܥܪܬܐ; 1:9, לולי || ܠܘ; לעמרה || ܠܥܡܪܐ; 1:10, האזינו || ܐܐܙܝܢܘ; 1:15, תפלה גם כי־תרבו || ܘܓܡ ܟܝ ܬܪܒܘ ܨܠܘܬܟܘܢ; 1:16 [2x], רחצו הזכו הסירו || ܐܬܪܚܨܘ ܐܬܙܟܘ ܐܫܪܝ; 1:17, היטב למדו || ܐܬܠܡܕܘ ܐܛܒ; אשרו חמוץ || ܫܬܘܠ ܐܬܚܡܝܨ; ריבו אלמנה || ܪܝܒܘ ܐܠܡܢܬܐ; 1:18, לכו־נא || ܐܬܐ; אם־יהיו || ܐܢ ܢܗܘܘ ܐܢܘܢ; אם־יאדימו || ܐܢ ܐܬܐܕܡ ܐܢܘܢ; 1:19, אם־תאבו || ܐܢ ܬܐܒܝܢ ܐܢ; 1:21, צדק ילין בה || ܙܕܩ ܝܠܝܢ ܒܗ; 1:26, אחרי־כן || ܒܬܪ ܗܟܝܠ; קריה נאמנה || ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܬ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ).

b. - *waw* (1:15, ובפרשכם כפיכם || ܘܒܦܪܫܟܡ ܟܦܝܟܡ).

G8.2 – Addition/omission of a preposition

This strategy, affecting form and resulting from pragmatics, involves S-Isa's addition of a preposition to provide a smooth translation in the TL by making explicit (cf. Pr2) a linguistic element implied in the underlying Hebrew (e.g., the object or predicate; 1:1), rendering in accordance with the linguistic standards of the TL's idioms (1:4, 20), or a combination of these options.

G8.2.1 - Additions[96]

Examples:

1:1 (cf. Pr2.1)

M:	על יהודה וירושלם	*concerning Judah and Jerusalem*[97]
S:	ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ	*concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem*

1:4 (cf. G4; G6.2.1)

M:	הוי גוי	*Woe, O (sinful) nation!*
S:	ܘܝ ܠ ܥܡܐ	*Woe to a (sinful) people!*

1:4[98]

M:	נזרו אחור	*they are estranged backwards*
S:	ܐܬܚܙܪܬܘ ܠܐܚܘܪ	*you have turned behind yourselves*

1:5 (cf. Pr2.1)

M:	וכל־לבב דוי	*and the whole heart is faint*
S:	ܘܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܠ ܚܠܝ	*and the whole heart is (given over) to sickness*

In this example, S-Isa's objective ܠ on ܚܠܝܐ ("to sickness")[99] is an assimilation to the expression in its ST's preceding clause (כל־ראש לחלי).[100]

1:6

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[96] S-Isa's additions of the infinitive's prefixed ל are located under G8.6.

[97] Repetition of the preposition in enumerated phrases is the norm in Biblical Hebrew (~90% of cases, according to Muraoka). However, in poetry sometimes the initial preposition is assumed before subsequent nouns in parallel succession (cf. Isa 15:8); see JM §132g (pp. 455-56).

[98] The Syriac collocation -ܠ + ܐܚܘܪ (and often with a suffix) is an idiomatic expression meaning "backwards" (Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܐܚܘܪ). With the verb ܗܦܟ the expression means "to turn backwards" and is frequently used to render Hebrew verbs that take the prepositional complement אחור (see also Gen 49:17; Ps 114:3; Jer 7:24; 38:22; 46:5; Lam 1:8).

[99] On the Syriac use of objective ל, see Nöldeke, *CSG* §287-88.

[100] On the ל of status or condition, see BDB, s.v. ל (p. 516B [k]).

M: עד־ראש — *as far as the head*
S: ܥܕ ܪܫܐ — *up to the skull/brain*[101]

1:7 (cf. G4; G6.2.1; Pr2.1)
M: עריכם שְׂרֻפוֹת אש — *Your cities are burned (with) fire.*
S: ܡܕܝܢܬܟܘܢ ܒܢܘܪ ܡܬܩܛܪܝܢ — *Your cities are burned with fire.*

1:16 (cf. G11)
M: חדלו הרע — *Cease to do evil!*
S: ܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ — *Cease from evils!*

1:17 (cf. G5.2.2; S4)
M: אשרו חמוץ — *Set the oppressors straight!*
S: ܛܒܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ — *Do good to the oppressed!*[102]

1:20 (cf. G4)
M: חרב תְּאֻכְלוּ — *You will be consumed (by) the sword*
S: ܢܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܒܣܝܦܐ — *You be will consumed by the sword*

G8.2.2 – Omissions

Example:
1:22 (cf. G5.2.2; G6.2.1; S1; S10.1.1; S10.1.2)
M: סבאך מהול במים — *Your wine is mixed with water.*
S: ܚܡܪܟ ܡܫܚܠܝܢ ܡܝܐ — *Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

G8.3 – Omission of causal conjunction

S-Isa most often translated the Hebrew conjunction כי (when used causally) with ܡܪܝ ܐ (e.g., 1:2, כי יהוה דבר || ܡܪܝ ܐ ܡܡܠܠ ܘܐܡܪ, "for the Lord has spoken"). In one place in Isaiah 1 the translator omitted the conjunction, though probably not intentionally.

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[101] Whereas the spatial terminative in Hebrew is the preposition עד ("up to; as far as"), Syriac uses the idiomatic expression -ܥ ܪܫܐ. On this Syriac collocation, see R. Payne-Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus* [*CSD*] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), s.v. ܪܫܐ.

[102] S-Isa's addition of ܠ here is due to his choice of ܛܒ (|| אשר), which often takes a prepositional complement.

Example:
1:20

M:	כי פי יהוה דבר	*For the mouth of the LORD has spoken.*
S:	ܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܐܡܪ	*The mouth of the Lord has spoken.*

Taking into account S-Isa's isomorphic tendency and the fact that the translator rendered the exact Hebrew phrase with ܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܐܡܪ ܠܐ ("for the mouth of the Lord has spoken") in 40:5 and 58:14, S-Isa's translation here probably reflects a case of *homoiarchon,* given the graphic similarity between כי and פי.

G8.4 – Insensitivity to disjunctive waw

Occasionally, S-Isa leveled the syntax of disjunctive *waw* in his ST when a translation with ܕ or ܗܘ would seem to have been more contextually appropriate. This could attest to a tendency of the translator to opt for formal correspondence over semantic correspondence, but note the examples listed under G8.5.

Examples:
1:2 (cf. S1)

M:	והם פשעו בי	*but they transgressed against me*
S:	ܘ ܗܘܘ ܒܝ ܥܒܪܘ	*and they transgressed against me*

1:19-20 (cf. S1)

M:	… אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey …*
	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	… ܐܢ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ ܘܬܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܝ ܗܘ	*And if you obey and listen to me …*
	ܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ ܘܬܡܪܕܘܢ ܗܘ	*And if you do not obey and resist …*

1:21 (cf. S1)

M:	ועתה מרצחים	*but now murderers*
S:	ܗܫܐ ܩܛܠܐ ܗܘ	*and now murderers*

1:28 (cf. S1)

M:	ושבר פשעים וחטאים יחדו	*whereas transgressors and sinners alike will be crushed*
S:	ܗܘ ܫܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܪܝ ܘܚܛܝܐ ܒܚܕ	*and the breaking of injustices and of sinners, together*

G8.5 – Simple conjunction → adverbial conjunction (ܐܦ)

In contrast to the examples in G8.4, the translator of S-Isa rendered the Hebrew conjunction ו with lexemes that reveal his sensitivity to the ST's sense and implied cohesion. His sensitivity is evident with his use of ܐܦ ("also, even"), which he employed to translate ו (1:6; 22:2; 28:27; 32:5; 41:23; 42:8), גם (5:2; 7:13, 20; 14:8, 10; 21:12; 23:12; 28:7, 29; 30:33; 43:13; 44:12; 48:8; 57:6, 7; 66:3, 4, 21), the phrase ואין (3:7; 44:12), כי (7:9), and אף (26:8, 9; 41:10 [2x], 23, 26; 44:15, 16; 46:6, 7, 11 [2x]; 28:15). He also added it in eight places where M has no conjunction or adverb (31:3; 34:12; 38:18; 47:14; 50:5; 51:6; 56:2, 6). Some of these shifts show a concern for literary taste over morphosyntactic correspondence (e.g., 1:6).

Example:
1:6 (cf. S7)

M:	מכף־רגל ועד־ראש אין־בו מתם פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה לא־זרו ולא חבשו ולא רככה בשמן	*From the sole of the foot to the head,* *there is no soundness in it. Bruises,* *wounds, and fresh sores; they are* *not drained, and they are not bound up, and* *they are not softened with oil.*
S:	ܡܢ ܟܦܐ ܕܪܓܠܐ ܥܕ ܪܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܠܡ ܦܨܥ ܘܚܒܘܪܐ ܘܡܟܐ ܛܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܬܪ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܚܒܫ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܪܟ ܒܫܡܢ ܐ	*From the sole of the foot to the* *brain, there is no place of soundness in it.* *Bruises and wounds and swelling* *sores—not to be bandaged, not* *to be bound up, not even to be softened with* *oil.*

G8.6 – Addition of the infinitive's prefixed ל

1:12 (cf. G5.2.2; Pr2.2)

M:	רמס חצרי	*to trample my courts*
S:	ܠܡܕܘܫ ܕܪ	*to trample my courts*

1:13 (cf. G5.9; Pr2.2)

M:	לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת־שוא	*Do not continue bringing vain offerings.*
S:	ܠܐ ܬܘܣܝܦܘ ܠܡܗܒܠ ܡܢܚܬ ܩܘܪܒܢ ܣܟܠ	*Do not continue to bring to me vain* *offerings.*

1:14 (cf. Pr2.2)

M:	נלאיתי נשא	*I am weary of bearing (them).*
S:	ܐܬܥܝܬ ܠܡܣܒ	*I am weary of bearing/to bear (them).*

1:17 (cf. Pr2.2)

M:	למדו היטב	*Learn to do good!*
S:	ܐܬܠܡܕܘ ܛܒܐ	*Learn to do good!*

G8.7 – No translation of the particle of entreaty (נא)

With the exception of the translator of S-Job, the Peshiṭta translators rarely translated the Hebrew particle of entreaty (נא).[103] The particle occurs sixteen times in Isaiah, but S-Isa translated it with ܐ (“beg you, please!”) only once (47:12), for reasons that are not apparent.[104]

1:18

M:	לכו־נא	*Come now!*
S:	ܐܬܐ	*Come!*

G8.8 – No translation of the ל of product

1:21

M:	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה	*How the faithful city has become a whore!*
S:	ܐܝܟܡܐ ܐܬܬ ܐܡܝܢܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܙܢܝܬ ܐܬܬ ܐܡܝܢܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ	*How has the faithful city become a whore?*

Quite often in Hebrew the object of the preposition ל denotes the state or condition resulting from another action, especially when the verb היה means “to become.”[105] Syriac

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[103] See 1 Sam 22:12; 2 Chron 18:4; Job 4:7; 5:1; 6:29; 8:8; 17:3; 38:3; 40:7; Song 3:2; Mal 1:8).

[104] The occurrences of נא are as follows: 1:18; 5:1, 3, 5; 7:3, 13; 19:12; 29:11; 36:4, 8, 11; 38:3; 47:12, 13; 51:21; 64:8.

[105] GKC §119t; IBHS §11.2.10d.

does not follow this pattern consistently if the object is indefinite, as ܙܢܝܬܐ ("whore") is in this example.[106]

G9: Level shift

Chesterman identifies four levels: phonology; morphology; syntax; and lexis. The level shift involves a change in the mode of expression from one level to another.[107] Level shifts necessarily overlap with several other strategies (e.g., G5; G6; S8; Pr2). For this reason, I examine all but one case of level shift in S-Isa 1 under G11 (Texts with many formal changes). For S-Isa, non-literal level shifts occurred when the translator encountered elliptic syntax or lexical difficulties, or a combination of both problems. An example of the latter is below.

Example:
1:6 (cf. G4; S1; S5; S8; S9.1.1; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕ ܐܬܪ	*place of soundness*

Here S-Isa resolved the lexical difficulty of מתם with syntax (+ ܕ) and lexis (+ ܐܬܪ, "place"), thus modifying the mode of expression.

G10: Scheme change

This category refers to the kinds of changes translators make when they translate rhetorical schemes (e.g., parallelism; repetition; alliteration; metrical rhythm).[108] When a translator encounters a scheme, he is faced with three basic possibilities: 1) ST scheme X

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[106] Nöldeke, *CSG* §288.

[107] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 99.

[108] Ibid., 100-101.

→ TT scheme X; 2) ST scheme X → TT scheme Y; and 3) ST scheme X → TT scheme Ø. Obviously, if the translator creates a scheme when his ST does not have one, then we could consider the change as a fourth alternative.

S-Isa often preserved some of its ST's rhetorical schemes (e.g., repetition; syntactic parallelism). However, these congruences were mere by-products of the translator's tendency to translate atomistically. There is no evidence in S-Isa that the translator intentionally tried to retain the metrics of his ST or produce functional equivalents for its other poetic devices. Rather, he frequently added or modified conjunctions, prepositions, and other morphosyntactic elements in accordance with his initial norm of acceptability (see G3-9).[109] And he regularly produced a fair degree of semantic redundancy (see S1-10). Thus, there is little to gain in providing examples of where the translator inadvertently (yet literally) preserved his ST's scheme.

Moreover, it is difficult to illustrate how S-Isa changed or dropped his ST scheme, since there is little agreement among scholars on what the various schemes are in the Hebrew (e.g., metrics; alliteration). With strategies G3-G9 in mind, one can safely assume that the translator deviated from his ST's metrics (however one quantifies them) in virtually every clause. Thus, there is no need to include any examples of this practice.

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[109] Arguably, sometimes the translator's syntactic solutions resulted in greater parallelism than what was in his ST, but these changes should be viewed as assimilations to TL linguistic conventions, not assimilations to TL poetic conventions or attempts to preserve ST poetic conventions. For a couple examples, see: כל ראש לחלי וכל לבב דוי || ܟܠ ܪܫܐ ܠܚܠܝ ܘܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܕܟܝܟ ܐ, "the whole head is (given over) to sickness, and every heart to sickness" (1:5); and תוסיפו סרה || ܢܬܝܣܘܢ ܠܡܗܘܐ, "(Why) will you continue to be chastised?" (1:5). In the latter case, the translator interpreted סרה as a G infinitive construct from √יסר, translating it in the passive voice to agree with the sense of the former clause, ܠܡܗܘܐ ܬܗܘ ܟܐ ("Why will you be wounded again?").

Additionally, since scholars dispute cases of intentional alliteration in Isaiah, I will draw attention only to what may be considered the most obvious example:

1:24 (cf. G3.5; G5.4; S7)

M:	אנחם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי	*I will relieve myself on my adversaries, and I will avenge myself on my enemies*
S:	ܐܬܢܩܡ ܒܥܠܡ ܘܐܬܚܦܬ ܒܥܠܡ	*I take vengeance against my enemies, and I am avenged against my foes*

While the Hebrew here presents some morphosyntactic and semantic difficulties (see G3.5; G5.4; S7), it is clear that the translator made no attempt to recreate the alliteration in his ST (אנחם … אנקמה). Whatever high literary style one ascribes to the Hebrew of Isaiah, it was not S-Isa's intention to produce a TT with comparable ornamentation. Thus, the few cases of scheme change in the following section (G11) involve only (inadvertent) syntactical parallelism. The norms that may have guided the translator's decisions will be discussed in this chapter's conclusion.[110]

G11: Texts with many formal changes

As I mentioned above, I have created this category to discuss clauses and sentences in S-Isa that betray a relatively high number of formal production strategies (4+ morphological and syntactical changes). Since S-Isa's affinity to G-Isa is far more semantic than syntactical, it is not necessary to comment on every change. It is more important to delineate what the translator found difficult in his ST and how he customarily relied on certain tactics to overcome such difficulties.

Examples:
1:6 (cf. S1; S9.1.1)

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[110] Of course, we cannot assume that the translator S-Isa was knowledgeable of whatever poetics actually obtain in the Hebrew of Isaiah.

M:	לא־זרו ולא חבשו ולא רככה בשמן	*They are not drained, and they are not bound, and it is not softened with oil*
S:	ܕ ܠܡܚܒܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܚܒܝ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܡܬܚܫܚ	*not to be bound, and not to be bandaged, even not to be softened with oil*

In this example, S-Isa translated three consecutive perfect verbs (רככה ... חבשו ... זרו) with three infinitives, creating paratactic coordination to the former substantives: פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה (|| ܚܒܫܐ ܘܡܟܬܐ ܕܥܬܝܪ ܘܦܨܝܥܐ), "bruises and sores, and swelling wounds"). Given the translator's tendency toward providing a translation that bears morphosyntactic resemblance to its source, these transpositions (G3) are difficult to explain. They involved unit shifts (G4, sentence → phrase), clause structure changes (G6), level shifts (G9, morphology → morphology + syntax), and a scheme change (G10, ST scheme of three perfect verbs → TT scheme of three consecutive infinitives). It could have been that the translator interpreted זרו as an infinitive (+ 3ms suffix) and followed suit with the remaining verbs, but this hypothesis is unverifiable.

1:9

M:	לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט כסדם היינו לעמרה דמינו	*Had the LORD of hosts not left a few survivors for us, we would have become like Sodom; we would have become like Gomorrah.*
S:	ܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܕܡܘ ܠܣܕܘܡ ܗܘܝܢ ܕܡܘ ܠܥܡܘܪܐ	*Had the Lord of hosts not left a survivor for us, we would have become like Sodom; and we would have become like Gomorrah.*[111]

In this example, S-Isa chose not to translate the morphosyntax of the Hebrew verbs literally, since the Syriac perfect verb nearly always denotes the past tense. Instead, S-Isa clarified the hypothetical construction by rendering היינו and דמינו with participles + the

[111] S-Isa's lack of an equivalent for כמעט (= G-Isa) most likely reflects a variant. I discuss this possibility in Chapter 5.

enclitic of ܐܡܪ, involving the strategies of transposition (G3, verb → participle [2x]), phrase change (G4, word → phrase [2x]), and level shift (G9, morphology → morphology + syntax [2x]).[112]

1:13 (cf. S5; S8; Pr1.3; Pr2.4)

M:	חדש ושבת קרא מקרא	*New moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly—*
S:	ܒܚܕ̈ܬ ܣܗܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܫܒܬܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܠܟܢܫܬܐ	*On the first of the months, and on the Sabbath, you assemble the congregation;*

The syntax of the Hebrew here only makes sense in light of the following clause, לא־אוכל און ועצרה ("I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly"). The lack of parataxis in the Hebrew syntax caused difficulty for the translator of S-Isa, who rendered the whole Hebrew expression into two complete clauses. In assimilating חדש to the Hebrew collocation ראש חדשים (|| ܒܚܕ̈ܬ ܣܗܪ̈ܐ), attested in the legal corpora (cf. Exod 12:2; Num 10:10; 28:11), the translator added the preposition ܒ (G4; G8), making it necessary to do the same before ܒܫܒܬܐ, the second substantive in S-Isa's temporal clause.[113] The translator also translated חדש with the plural ܣܗܪ̈ܐ (G5), קרא (a G infinitive) with the G active participle ܩܪܝܢ + the personal pronoun ܐܢܬ (G3; G4; G5; G6), and מקרא with ܠܟܢܫܬܐ, the direct object of S-Isa's sentence. These morphosyntactic shifts (G9) created a sentence from an original sub-clause (G7).

1:13

M:	לא־אוכל און ועצרה	*I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly*

[112] For the use of unreal conditionals in Classical Syriac, see Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, §86.

[113] I deal with S-Isa's assimilated expression ܒܚܕ̈ܬ ܣܗܪ̈ܐ in S5, S8, Pr1.3, and Pr2.4 below.

S: ܘܥܝܢܐ ܘܥܫܝܩܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܐ *I am not a consumer of deceit and distress/captivity*

S-Isa's ܐܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ reflects an analysis of אוכל as the participial substantive אוֹכֵל ("consumer, devourer"). Such a reading then required the translator to include the 1st person enclitic and construct a genitive chain with ܕ (G5). These strategies included a unit shift (G5, word → phrase), clause change (G6, verbal → verbless clause), and level shift (G9, morphology → syntax).

1:15
M: אינני שמע *I will not listen*
S: ܐܢܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܐ *I am not listening*

Since Syriac's negative particle of existence (ܠܝܬ) does not take suffixes and the expression ܠܝ ܠܝܬ is for possessive constructions (= "I do not have"), the translator of S-Isa used the participle + enclitic, a collocation that appromixates the Hebrew. S-Isa's production strategies included transposition (G3, particle of existence → negation [ܠܐ] + enclitic [ܐܢܐ]), phrase structure change (G5, modification in the noun phrase), and clause structure change (G6).

1:16 (cf. G8.2.1)
M: חדלו הרע *Cease to do evil!*
S: ܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܥܠ *Cease from evils!*

S-Isa's reading of הרע as the definite noun הָרָע (or הָרֹעַ), rather than M's C infinitive הָרַע, involved a transposition (G3, infinitive → noun). The occurrence of the noun רע in the immediately preceding clause (הסירו רע מעלליכם) might have influenced the translator to interpret הרע as a substantive, rather than an infinitive. Reading הרע as a noun did not require the addition of ܡܢ in Syriac. Rather, the prepositional complement ܡܢ here accompanies ܥܠ and accords with the common Syriac idiom "to cease *from*" (cf. Ruth

1:8; Jer 26:3; 42:10; Job 3:17; 21:9; Prov 1:33; Lam 3:49).[114] Such an accommodation to the TL also required a unit shift (G4, word → phrase) and a phrase structure change (G5).

1:18 (cf. S8; S10.1.2; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	לכו־נא ונוכחה	*Come now, and let us reason together!*
S:	ܐܬܐ ܢܬܡܠܠ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܚܕ	*Come! Let us speak with each other!*

S-Isa's ܢܬܡܠܠ ("Let us speak!") for נוכחה can be explained on one of two grounds. It could have been that the translator understood √יכח in the N-stem as having the same meaning as it does in the C-stem ("to prove, correct, rebuke") and, in light of the context, determined that such a meaning did not apply.[115] Or, on the basis of the same morphological parsing in the former scenario, the translator could have had theological reservations toward the idea of reproving the LORD ("Let us reprove each other!") and thereby flattened the semantics with ܢܬܡܠܠ. Clearly, the translator parsed the verb correctly, explicitating the verb's reflexivity with the added phrase ܚܕ ܥܡ ("with each other"). Whatever the reason for his choice of ܢܬܡܠܠ, the translator employed multiple (grammatical and semantic) strategies in this short sentence. Among the grammatical

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[114] See especially Ruth 1:18 (ותחדל לדבר אליה || ܘܫܒܩ ܡܠܡܡܪ ܥܡܗ, "she ceased from speaking to her"). Sometimes the collocation occurs with ל, and sometimes it does not (cf. Jer 42:10).

[115] S-Isa consistently translated the C-stem of יכח with √ܬܟܚ ("to blame, reprove"; see 2:4; 11:4; 37:4). That S-Isa translated נוכחה on the basis of the Dt-stem of the same root in Aramaic ("to argue, discuss") in JLAtg and LJLA is possible, but not probable. While this meaning is listed in the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project [*CAL*], it is not included in Jastrow's *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [*DTTBYML*] (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) or Sokoloff's *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* [*DJPA*], 2nd ed. (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002) and *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* [*DJBA*] (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002).

production strategies are: unit shift (G4, word → phrase); phrase structure change (G5, modification in verb phrase; tense change); cohesion change (G8, + *waw* and preposition ܒ); and level shift (G9, morphology → morphology + syntax and lexis).

1:21		
M:	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה מלאתי משפט	*How the faithful city has become a whore, (she who was) full of justice!*
S:	ܐܝܟܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܬܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܙܢܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ	*How has the faithful city become a whore, she who was full of justice?*

Many strategies were employed by the translator in this sentence which resulted in non-literal shifts. I have remarked on some of these elsewhere (cf. G3; G8; S1). Under evaluation here is the end of the sentence, S-Isa's ܕܗܘܬ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܝܢܐ ("she who was full of justice") for מלאתי משפט, a clause that can be understood only in relation to the whole verse. M's elliptic syntax was not preferred by the translator, who clarified the subordinate nature of the relative clause by adding ܕ (G5; G8; G9). Additionally, rather than retaining the construct relation in מלאתי משפט, S-Isa transformed the adjective into the passive participle ܡܠܝܐ + enclitic (ܡܢ), referring back to the "city" (G3; G4; G5; G9). This example, along with the array of other small cohesion and phrase structure changes noted above (cf. G5; G8), demonstrates what must have been the translator's need to produce a smooth translation; he was not constrained to reproduce words, phrases, and clauses in his Hebrew ST that have no explicit linguistic connectors within their literary context (e.g., conjunctions; prepositions, relative pronouns).

1:22 (cf. S1; S6; S7; S9.3)[116]

[116] Warszawski called this verse a "freie sinngemässe Übersetzung" based on its paraphrastic character (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 6). The semantic problems in this verse are discussed in S1, S6, S7, and S9.3.

M:	כספך היה לסיגים	*Your silver has become dross*
S:	ܟܣܦܟ ܐܬܚܫܒ	*Your silver has been rejected/thrown aside*

As discussed below in S1, the translator's understanding of לסיגים as from √סוג yet his ignorance of its nominal meaning (i.e., "dross") led him to collapse the Hebrew verb of being (היה) + ל of product + object (סיגים) into a single word (ܐܬܚܫܒ). The translator normally translated Hebrew היה + ל with ܗܘܐ (+/- ܠ, depending on the object's definiteness [see G8.7]).[117] Therefore, his translation of the collocation here with ܐܬܚܫܒ was influenced by *ad hoc* semantic concerns, requiring a transposition (G3, noun → verb), unit shift (G4, phrase → word), phrase structure change (G5), cohesion change (G8, ל → Ø), and level shift (G9, syntax + lexis → morphology + lexis).

1:23 (cf. S1; S6; S7; S8; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܦܘܬ ܚܣܝܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

S-Isa's paraphrastic reading was due to the translator's difficulty with שלמנים, a *hapax* in the Hebrew Bible with an exact correlate in Akkadian's *šulmānu*, which referred to salutation gifts that were exchanged between kings.[118] Clearly, the translator associated שלמנים with the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense"), which the translator rendered with √ܦܪܥ elsewhere (see 57:18, אשלם נחמים לו || ܐܫܠܡ ܢܚܡܬܐ ܠܗ ܘܦܪܥܬ; "I repaid her with comfort";

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[117] The single place where S-Isa did not render היה + ל with ܗܘܐ was at 23:15 (הזונה יהיה לצר כשירת || ܐܬܐ ܘܢܫܪ ܠܨܘܪ ܐܝܟ ܙܡܪܬܐ), but the preposition ל here marks the indirect object and thus is not a comparable example.

[118] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [*HALOT*], rev. W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, trans. M. E. J. Richardson, study edition, vol 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), s.v. שלמן.

59:18, גמול ישלם || ܗܘܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܓܡܘܠܐ, “he will requite the recompense”; 65:6, כי אם־שלמתי ושלמתי על־חיקם || ܐܠܐ ܐܫܠܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܫܠܡ ܒܥܠ ܚܕ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܚܫܝܢܗܘܢ, “until I have repaid them double in their bosom”; 66:6, משלם גמול לאיביו || ܡܫܠܡ ܓܡܘܠܐ ܠܒܥܠ̈ܝ ܒܝܬ ܚܫܝܢܗ, “paying back recompense to his enemies”). His choice of ܡܫܬܕܪܝܢ (“they hasten”) for √רדף is unique (cp. 5:11 [ܪܕܦ]; 17:13 [ܢܬܪ]; 30:16 [ܓ̈ܪܝܕ̈ܐ]; 41:3 [ܕܒܪ]; 51:1 [ܪܕܦ]) and required ל + an objective complement (ܠܡܦܪܥ + ܒܪܒܝܬܐ, “to repay interests). The addition of ܒܪܒܝܬܐ (“interests”) is not unique to the Peshiṭta translators who occasionally added it when the ST verb implied it, especially with √גמל (cf. 2 Sam 20:19; Job 24:9; Prov 11:17; 2 Chron 20:11; Joel 4:4).

S-Isa’s paraphrase here must be read in concert with G- and T-Isa, both of which analyzed שלמן as from the D-stem of √שלם with the meaning “repayment” (G-Isa: διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα; T-Isa: אמרין גבר לחבריה עביד לי בדיני דאשלים לך בדינך). This kind of lexical congruity could point to a common exegetical tradition on which all the translators relied, explaining S-Isa’s deviations from the sense of M in this clause. I explore this idea in Chapter 5 when discussing G-Isa’s relation to S-Isa. But of concern in this section are the formal strategies the translator employed to produce the paraphrase, which include a phrase structure change (G5, singular participle → plural participle), a transposition and unit shift (G3-4, plural noun → infinitive + plural noun), a cohesion change (G8, + infinitive with ל), a level shift (G9, morphology → morphology + syntax + lexis), and a scheme change (G10, syntactical parallelism broken: אהב שחד ורדף שלמנים → ܘܡܬܪܕܦܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܥ ܒܪܒܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܕܪܝܢ, “and they hasten to requite interests”).

1:24 (cf. S10.1.2; S10.5; Pr1.3)

M:	נאם האדון יהוה צבאות	*An utterance of the Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ	*Thus says the Lord of Lords, the mighty one*

S-Isa rightly understood נאם as denoting speech yet consistently rendered the noun with the participle ܐܡܪ ("to say, speak"), as did all the other Peshiṭta translators of the prophets (e.g., Jer 1:8; Ezek 5:11; Hos 2:15; Joel 2:12; Mic 5:9; Nah 2:14; Zeph 1:2; Hag 1:9; Zech 1:3; Mal 1:2).[119] However, S-Isa's addition of ܗܟܢܐ without the presence of כה in M is exceptional, occurring only at 56:8 (נאם אדני יהוה || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ, "thus says the Lord God"). The adverb is found ubiquitously in S-Isa as one of three constituents in the rhetorical formula "thus says the [divine name]" (כה אמר אדני || ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ).[120] Thus, it appears that the translator (or, more likely, a transmitter of S-Isa) assimilated this verse to the more common expression found throughout Isaiah. This verse was particularly susceptible to such change since: 1) this is the first verse in Isaiah in which נאם appears; and 2) this is one of two occurrences in Isaiah where the formula entirely *precedes* the divine speech act. The other occurrence is, of course, Isa 56:8, where S-Isa has ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ. Thus, it appears quite clear that the translator of Isaiah, or a transmitter of his translation, added the formula to produce a certain amount of literary consistency. The specific formal changes in this phrase include a transposition and unit shift (G3-4, noun → adverb + participle), a phrase structure change (G5, modification in noun phrase), a cohesion change (G8, + adverb), a level shift (G9, lexis → morphology +

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[119] It is possible that several translators read unpointed נאם as a verb from √נאם. The verbal form of this root is attested in the Hebrew Bible and relates specifically to prophecy (cf. Jer 23:31; Ezek 13:6, 7). However, the Aramaic √נאם (or √נום) refers simply to "speaking, saying" (see Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. נום). Unfortunately, the occurrence of the Hebrew root in the prophetic literature makes it impossible to determine how נאם registered in the minds of the bilingual translators.

[120] The formula occurs fifty-one times in (e.g., Isa 7:7; 8:11; 10:24; 18:4; 21:6, 16; 22:15; 28:16).

syntax + lexis), and a scheme change (G10, scheme created [+ rhetorical formula]).

1:26		
M:	יִקָּרֵא לָךְ	*You will be called*
S:	ܬܬܩܪܝ	*You will be called*

Whereas M indicates the subject of the passive verb יקרא with ל here and elsewhere, the translator of S-Isa preferred to indicate the person solely in the inflection of passive verbs (cf. 48:8 [קרא לך || ܬܬܩܪܝ, "you will be called"]; 58:12 [קרא לך || ܢܬܩܪܘܢ, "they will call you"]; 61:3 [קרא להם || ܢܬܩܪܘ, "they will be called"]).[121] This strategy is different from that in 1QIsa[a] where its transmitter preferred the impersonal *qal* plural (יקראו).[122] However, S-Isa could have read a Hebrew text like 1QIsa[a] and still changed the impersonal construction. This possibility could account for S-Isa's odd use of plural here where M has the singular (cf. 48:8). All through verses 21-26a S-Isa consistently rendered suffixes on nouns in the singular (= M). However, 1QIsa[a] still has לך. Thus, it appears that the translator has connected the address here with the one in 1:20 (ואם־תמאנו ומריתם חרב תאכלו), which immediately precedes the LORD's indictments in 1:21 (איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה). These changes in S-Isa required a unit shift (G4, phrase → word), two phrase structure changes (G5, impersonal construction → personal; singular → plural), a cohesion change (G8, omission of preposition + suffix), and a level shift (G9, syntax → morphology).

1:28 (cf. S7)		
M:	וְשֶׁבֶר פשעים וחטאים יחדו ועזבי יהוה יכלו	*whereas rebels and sinners alike will be crushed, and those who forsake the LORD*

[121] On this Hebrew construction, see *IBHS* §10.4c; 11.2.10g; and JM §132f.

[122] See E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a])*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 42.

will perish.

S: ܘܫܒܪ ܕܥܒܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܚܛ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܕ̈ܐ ... ܘܐ̈ܝܠܝܢ ... ܕܫܒ̈ܩܘ ... ܢܬܒ̈ܕܪܘ ... ܡܪܝܐ ... ܢܗܪ̈ܒܘ
and the breaking of injustices and of sinners, together, and those who forsook the Lord will perish

While M's vocalization and consonantal text at the beginning of the verse (וְשֶׁבֶר) have caused difficulty for many exegetes, S-Isa's ܫܒܪ (“breaking”) suggests a reading that agrees with M's pointing.[123] The translator's decision to render שבר as a noun (rather than a verb) required him to establish predication for the clause. His explicitation of predication elsewhere (e.g., 1:7, 23) suggests that he did not intend to create an incomplete sentence here, as implied in the Antioch Bible's “The crushing of the evildoers and of the sinners.”[124] Rather, the translator understood the Hebrew to include two compound subjects (שבר פשעים וחטאים and עזבי יהוה), both of which function as the subject of יכלו (|| ܢܗܪ̈ܒܘ, “they will perish”).

S-Isa's interrogative pronoun + ܕ + verb collocation (ܐ̈ܝܠܝܢ ... ܕܫܒ̈ܩܘ, “those who

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[123] See the helpful summary of scholarly proposals, emendations, and versional evidence in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5,* 147-48. I am in agreement with Williamson that GKC's argument (§147c) for retaining M's reading (i.e., that וְשֶׁבֶר is an exclamation “in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed”) neither adequately accounts for the unanticipated nature of the locution nor coheres with the other examples they gave to illustrate the linguistic phenomenon. The reading in M probably arose “by the observation that the pi'el nowhere else has people as its object, whereas they are several times said to be the recipient of the noun” (Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5,* 148). While the context anticipates a passive form here, a possible impersonal use of the שָׁבַר occurs in Isa 21:9, כל־פסילי אלהיה שבר לארץ (|| ... ܫܒ̈ܪ ... ܕܡ̈ܣܠ̈ܐ ... ܟܠ ... ܐ̈ܠܗ̈ܝܗ̇ ... ܕ̈ܡ̈ܣܠ̈ܐ ... ܟ̈ܠ ... ܐ̈ܠܗ̈ܝ̈ܗ̇ ... ܫ̈ܒ̈ܪ

forsook") is a standard Syriac idiom, though ܕ ܫܒܩ + participle is more common.[125] The translator of S-Isa frequently used the latter construction to render plural participles in the construct state (cf. 9:1; 29:24; 38:18; 40:31; 49:23; 59:20), verbal participles (27:6; 32:3 [2x]; 32:10; 32:11; 41:11; 42:17; 57:13; 64:3, 4; 66:5), certain verbal nouns (10:20 [פליטת]; 15:9 [פליטת]; 45:20 [פליטי]; 57:13 [קבוציך]), and other Hebrew expressions (8:19 [ידרש]; 41:11 [כל הנחרים]; 41:22 [את אשר תקרינה]; 44:10 [מי־יצר]; 46:10 [אשר לא־נעשו]; 65:1 [ללוא שאלו]). S-Isa's ܫܒܩ ܘܫܒܩܗ (|| עזבי), however, is the only place where the translator included a finite verb in the collocation where his ST had a participle, thus changing the tense (G5).[126] Other changes in S-Isa's ܫܒܩ ܘܫܒܩܗ include a transposition (G3, verb → participle), unit shift (G4, word → phrase), sentence structure change (G7, two clauses → one clause), cohesion change (G8, + interrogative pronoun and ܐ; + ܠ of direct object), level shift (G9, morphology → morphology + syntax + lexis), and scheme change (G10, parallelism reduced by the combination of clauses).

1:30 (cf. S7)

M:	כאלה נבלת עלה	*like an oak whose foliage falls*
S:	ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܢܐ ܕܫܒܩ	*like an oak whose leaves have fallen*[127]

[125] Coakley, *Syriac Grammar*, 18.

[126] In two other places the translator translated with ܕ ܫܒܩ + perfect, but in both cases M has a perfect verb and the collocation is slightly different (Isa 41:22; 46:10).

[127] Warszawski's suggestion that the translator read נבלת as נפלת, or interpreted נבלת on the basis of √נפל, is unwarranted (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 12), since elsewhere the translator demonstrated familiarity with the verb's meaning "to wither" (cf. Isa 40:7-8 [ܢܬܒ, "wither"]) and the Hebrew here and elsewhere (Isa 34:4; Ezek 47:12) very well could have the meaning "to fall, droop" (BDB, s.v. נבל). And even if the Hebrew lexeme does denote "withering" or "decay" (as suggested by *HALOT*, s.v. נבל), the extension from "wither" to "fall" (i.e., from withering) is quite small and Syriac ܢܦܠ is found frequently in contexts involving the "falling off" of withered flowers or fruit (see

The ambiguous phrase נבלת עלה can be understood in different ways. Either the participle נבלת is in the absolute state (with עלה as its accusative, "falling as regards its foliage"), or it is in the construct state (with עלה as the genitive).[128] Additionally, עלה can be interpreted as a singular masculine noun עָלֶה ("leaf, foliage") or as the singular masculine noun עָלֶה + a 3fs suffix (עָלֶהָ), as M reads. While some fifty medieval Masoretic manuscripts explicitate the suffix by adding *yod* (עליה),[129] the reading is inferior, since M's עָלֶהָ is easily defensible on phonological grounds and is supported by 1QIsa[a].[130] S-Isa clarified these ambiguities by turning the phrase נבלת עלה into an attributive relative clause with ܕ (G4; G6; G8; G9). His choice of the perfect tense for נבלת (G3) does not suggest the retroversion נבלה, since the translator rendered participles in the perfect tense in other constructions involving a relative clause (e.g., 1:29, עזבי יהוה || ܕܫܒܩܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ, "those who forsook the Lord"). And his rendering ܥܠܘܗܝ ("its leaves") could reflect either a literal translation of עליה (which he understood as a plural noun with a 3fs suffix) or the decision to render a collective noun (+ 3fs suffix) in the plural, a strategy evident throughout his translation (see G5.2).

1:31 (cf. S10.6; Pr2.4)
M: אין מכבה *with none to quench (them)*

CSD, s.v. ܢܓܐ).

[128] Cf. GKC §116i.

[129] See the critical apparatus in R. Kittel, ed., *Biblica Hebraica* [*BH*] (Lipsiae: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906).

[130] Cf. GKC §91d, 93ss. In light of Qumranic Hebrew's preference for defective spelling, 1QIsa[a]'s עלה suggests that the transmitters did not recognize the form to include a suffix.

S: ܠܝܬ ܕ[ܡ]ܟܒܐ ܠܝܬ *there is none [who] quenches*

M's idiomatic expression אין + participle is found over twenty times in Isaiah in circumstantial clauses, most of which S-Isa translated with ܠܝܬ ܕ + participle.[131] Morphologically, אין is a substantive and demonstrates greater syntactical flexibility in the Hebrew in comparison to Syriac's particle ܠܝܬ, which is used almost exclusively to negate a clause.[132] The comparable locution in Syriac to אין would be ܠܐ ܚܕ ("no one, none, nothing"), but S-Isa, along with the other Peshiṭta translators, seem to have preferred a construction that bears greater morphological transparency to the Hebrew, perhaps under its influence (see S10.6).[133] Nevertheless, S-Isa's ܠܝܬ ܕ + participle expression required several strategies: G4 (word → phrase); G5 (a modification of noun phrase); G6 (circumstantial clause → ܠܝܬ + relative clause); G8 (+ ܕ); and G9 (lexis → lexis + syntax).

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[131] See Isa 5:29; 14:31; 41:26; 42:22 (2x); 43:13; 47:10, 15; 50:2; 51:18 (2x); 59:4 (2x); 59:16; 63:5 (2x); 64:6; 66:4. S-Isa's duel use of the expression ܠܝܬ ܕ + imperfect in 22:22 was due to the immediately preceding imperfects in his ST (but compare with 1:31).

[132] Syriac's idiom ܠܝܬ ܕ ("it is not allowed") does not apply here (see Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܠܝܬ). On אין, see BDB and *HALOT* (s.v. אין).

[133] The collocation ܠܐ ܚܕ occurs only four times in the Peshiṭta (excluding the apocryphal writings), with two cases constituting a formal equivalent of לא כל (cf. Ps 115:17; 1 Kgs 11:39) and the remaining two having a denotation other than "nothing, none, no one" (Deut 5:21; 2 Kgs 12:14).

2. Semantic Strategies

S1: Synonomy

According to Chesterman, this strategy involves selecting not the "obvious" equivalent, but "a synonym or near-synonym for it" (e.g., to avoid repetition).[134] This definition is useful because it stresses the non-literal nature of the following examples. However, lexical repetition was not a practice that the translator of S-Isa avoided. Lexical redundancy often was accomplished with the use of drudge/slot words (i.e., default renderings for underlying ST lexemes whose meanings are semantically narrower) and stock equivalents (see S10.3 and S10.4).[135] His close adherence to the semantics of his ST makes it fairly easy to detect (unexpected) synonyms in S-Isa. Naturally, S-Isa includes many synonyms that exist by virtue of the minor lexical disparities between Hebrew and Syriac. Many cases of synonymy, however, reflect the translator's mostly correct attempts to translate his lexically difficult, obscure, or ambiguous ST. At many of these places, the translator provided his best guess based on the semantic context, his understanding of the SL triconsonantal root in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac (i.e., etymologization [S10]), or a combination of these and other factors. Occasionally, his

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[134] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 102.

[135] Notably, S-Isa translated different Hebrew words with the same Syriac lexemes in close proximity even when those lexemes did not serve as stock equivalents or drudge words (e.g., 1:17, למדו היטב דרשו משפט אשרו חמוץ || ܐܬܠܡܕ ܛܒ ܕܪܫ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܫܪ ܚܡܝܐ ܐܬܪܥܝ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ, "Learn to do good! Seek out justice, and do good to the oppressed!"; 1:23, יתום לא ישפטו וריב אלמנה לא־יבוא אליהם || ܝܬܘܡ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܪܝܒ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܥܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܥܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ, "They do not administer justice (for) orphans, and the judgment of widows does not go to them").

choices were lexically hyponymic or superordinate to those in his ST. I have located and analyzed these in S3. The following examples comprise a list of the translator's renderings (and guesses) that, while somewhat unexpected, basically approximate the semantics of his Hebrew ST. The translator's equivalents that deviate more significantly from the semantics of M are located under S7 (Emphasis change).

Examples:
1:2 (cf. G8.4)

M:	והם פשעו בי	*but they transgressed against me*
S:	ܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܥܒܪܘ ܒܝ	*and they transgressed against me*

Mentioned under G8.4 was the observation that S-Isa often leveled the syntax of disjunctive *waw* in his source text when a translation with ܐܝ or ܗܠܐ would seem to have been more contextually appropriate. Only occasionally did the translator provide ܐܝ or ܗܠܐ for ו (cf. 10:20; 13:21; 23:15). Since the Hebrew conjunction most often means "and," I have placed this example here, though arguably S7 (Emphasis change) is an equally expedient category of analysis.[136]

1:5 (cf. G3.3; S9.1.1)

M:	דוי	*faint*
S:	ܚܠܝܐ	*sickness*

It was argued earlier that S-Isa's choice of ܚܠܝܐ most likely does not reflect an Aramaized or Syriacized rendering.[137] M's immediate semantic context in 1:5 (על מה תכו עוד תוסיפו סרה כל־ראש לחלי וכל־לבב דוי) suggests a meaning related to that of Hebrew חלי ("sickness") for דוי, as do the other contexts in which דוי is found (Ps 41:4; Job 6:7; Jer

[136] The other examples listed under G8.4 (1:19-20, 21, 28) apply here as well.

[137] See fn 27.

8:18).[138]

1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S5; S8; S9.1.1; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)
M: מתם *soundness*
S: ܐܬܪ ܕܥܘܬܐ *place of soundness*

Contextually, ܫܠܡܐ ("healthy") would have cohered better semantically with the larger metaphor of physical sickness, but ܥܘܬܐ can have the denotation of "wholeness" or "soundness."[139] Most likely, the translator did not know the meaning of מתם, which—as *hapax* in Isaiah and occurring only three other times in the Hebrew Bible—is not entirely clear.[140] Nevertheless, the translator provided an apt equivalent based on the metaphorical context of a wounded Israel.[141]

1:6 (cf. G3.3; S9.1.1; S10.1.1)
M: מכה טריה *fresh wounds*
S: ܚܒܘܪ ܕܚܫܝ *swelling wounds*

Syriac's cognate ܛܪܝܐ ("fresh") would seem to have been the obvious equivalent (cf. Judg 15:15, לחי־חמור טריה || ܛܪܝܐ ܕܐܬܢܐ ܕܚܡܪ, "the fresh jaw of an ass"), but the translator was not bound to cognate correspondence even if the Syriac cognate had not deviated

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[138] S-Isa uses ܥܒܝܕ also to translate עצב (Isa 14:3) and מעצבה (Isa 50:11).

[139] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܥܘܬܐ.

[140] See the comparable expressions in Ps 38:4, 8 (אין־מתם בבשרי) in which מתם seems to refer to the healthy part of the body and is associated with שלום. See also Judg 20:48 (עד־בהמה עד כל־הנמצא ויכום לפי־חרב מעיר מתם) in which מתם takes on the sense of "whole, complete."

[141] It is also possible that the translator reasonably assumed a semantic relation between מתם and תֹּם, but the latter is almost always rendered in the Old Testament Peshiṭta with a form from √ܫܠܡ, "to make entire, complete" (cf. Gen 20:5, 6; 25:27; 2 Sam 15:11; 1 Kgs 9:4; 22:34; Pss 7:9; 25:21; 26:1; 26:11; 37:37; 41:13; 64:5; 78:72; 101:2; Job 1:1; Prov 10:9).

semantically from the Hebrew.[142] While not a pure synonym, ܚܕܟ describes one attribute of a fresh wound and suits the overall context quite well. It is also possible that the translator thought he saw עביה (from עֲבִי, "thickness") instead of טריה.[143]

1:6 (cf. G11; S9)
M: זרו *They are (not) pressed*
S: ܠܐ ܢܬܝ *(not) to be bound/bandaged*

The Hebrew meaning of √זור is derived from later cognates.[144] Assuming there is a relation among these cognates, the obvious equivalent in Syriac would have been ܙܝܪ ("press, compress"). Syriac √ܢܬܝ is used elsewhere in the Peshiṭta Old Testament only in 2 Sam 20:8 (|| מצמדת, "bound"). The translator's use of it here accommodates the larger context of bandaging various wounds (ܚܒܘܪ ܘܡܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܒܪܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܝ, "bruises and sores, and swelling wounds").

1:13 (cf. G3.3; S5)
M: קטרת תועבה היא לי *Incense is an abomination to me.*
S: ܠܝ ,ܗܝ ܡܣܟܐ ܪܝܚܐ *The smell (of vain offerings) is contemptible to me.*

S-Isa's ܪܝܚܐ (|| קטרת) reflects the translator's understanding of קטרת to refer to the smell

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[142] Of course, cognate correspondence is commonly found in S-Isa, even with lexemes in Biblical Hebrew that are infrequently attested (e.g., 1:6, רככה || ܠܚܙܚܐ; 1:7, מהפכת || ܡܫܬܦܝܢ; 1:9, הותיר || ܫܒܩ [cp. 1:8, נותרה || ܫܝܫܬܐ]; 1:18, תולע || ܫܚܠܠܝ). In constrast, a pure cognate did not always preserve certain nuances in the Hebrew (e.g., 1:11, שבעתי עלות אילים, "I am *fed up with/overfull with/stuffed with* the *burnt offerings* of rams" || ܣܒܥܬ ܘܐܬܪܘܬ ܠܚܫ ܕܟܝܪܐ, "I am *satiated* with the *sacrifices* of rams").

[143] Cf. 1 Kgs 7:26 (עביו || ܥܒܝ); Jer 52:21 (עביו || ܥܒܝ). See also Exod 19:9 (בעב הענן).

[144] See Aramaic √זרר ("press, stamp"), Arabic √*zry* ("press"), and the related nominals in BDB (s.v. זור) and Jastrow (s.v. זרר). BDB incorrectly lists Syriac *zār* ("press"), which cannot be found in the standard Syriac lexicons.

of the "vain offerings" mentioned in the preceding sentence (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܣܓܝܐ̈ || מנחת־שוא). Aside from one other attestation (Ps 66:15), the equivalent is anomalous. One expects ܩܛܘܪܬܐ (cf. Ezek 8:11; 16:18; 23:41; Lev 10:1; Num 7:14; 16:7, 18, 35; 17:5; 1 Sam 2:28; Prov 27:9; 2 Chron 26:18), ܩܛܘܪܐ (Exod 25:6; 30:1, 7, 8, 9; 39:38; Lev 4:7; 16:12, 13; Num 4:16; Ps 141:2), or even ܩܛܘܪܝܐ (1 Chron 6:34; 2 Chron 2:3; 29:7). Other Peshiṭta translators used ܪܝܚܐ as the second constituent of the common Hebrew idiom ריח ניחוח, "a pleasing aroma."[145] Thus, S-Isa's ܪܝܚܐ (|| קטרת) here stands out as a contextualized rendering.

1:13 (cf. G3.3; S5)
M: קטרת תועבה היא לי *Incense is an abomination to me.*
S: ܠܝ ܗܝ ܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܩܛܠ *The smell (of vain offerings) is contemptible to me.*

While תועבה is translated elsewhere with a form from √ܪܓܙ (Gen 46:34; Deut 7:25), especially in S-Proverbs (Prov 6:16; 11:1, 20; 15:8, 9, 26; 20:10), the equivalent is highly infrequent. More often, the translators rendered תועבה with ܪܓܣܢܐ ("abomination; uncleanness"),[146] ܓܣܐ ("unclean") or ܪܓܣܘܬܐ ("uncleanness"),[147] and other lexemes chosen in light of the immediate context.[148] S-Isa's translation for נתעב in Isa 14:19 (||

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[145] See Gen 8:21; Lev 1:9; 4:31; 6:14; 8:21, 28; 17:6; 26:31; fifteen times in Numbers [e.g., 15:7, 13]; Ezek 16:19; 20:28. See also Joel 2:20, where the translator used ܪܝܚܐ to render צחנתו ("smell, stench").

[146] See, for example, Exod 8:22; Lev 20:13; Deut 7:26; 13:15; 20;18; 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 21:2; Isa 41:24; Jer 2:27; 8:12; 16:18; 32:35; 44:4; Ezek 5:9; 6:9; 6:11; 7:3, 4, 8, 9, 20; Mal 2:11.

[147] See, for example, Gen 43:32; Lev 18:22; Deut 14:3; 17:1; 18:12; 22:5; 23:19; 24:4; 25:16; 27:15; Ps 88:9; Prov 3:32; 8:7; 13:19; 16:5, 12; 17:5; 20:23; 21:27; 24:9; 28:9; 29:7; Ezra 9:1, 11, 14.

[148] See Isa 44:19 (ܪܓܓܐ, "idol"); Jer 7:10 (ܪܓܓܐ, "evil things"); Lev 18:26

ܡܬܥܒ) and for מתעב in 49:7 (|| ܡܬܬܥܒ) suggest that here the translator intuited the meaning of תועבה on the basis of the Hebrew √תעב, though he obviously knew the meaning "abomination" for its nominal form (cf. Isa 41:24, תועבה || ܬܘܥܒܬܐ).[149]

1:14 (cf. S9.1.1)

M:	היו עלי לטרח	*They have become a burden to me.*
S:	ܗܘܘ ܠܝ ܠܛܘܪܚܢ	*They have become baggage to me.*

The Hebrew word טרח occurs elsewhere only in Deut 1:12 (איכה אשא לבדי טרחכם ומשאכם וריבכם, "How can I alone bear your burden, your load, and your strife?"). In both Deut 1:12 and Isa 1:14 the denotation of "burden" is clear from context. This meaning is also substantiated by Aramaic cognates, making it likely that the translator of S-Isa knew the meaning of this lexeme.[150] Thus, S-Isa's ܛܘܪܚܢ is difficult to explain and raises the question of why the translator did not employ one of the many Syriac lexemes that specifically mean "burden" (e.g., ܡܠܐ; ܥܘܠܐ; ܡܠܐܐ; ܫܘܚܠܐ; ܫܠܝܬܐ). Thirty-five times elsewhere the Peshiṭta translators consistently used ܛܘܪܚܢ to render טף ("children [as a form of possession]").[151] The two exceptions are Deut 1:12 (see above) and 2 Sam

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(ܚܛܗ, "sins"); Deut 18:9 (ܥܒܕ, "works"); 32:6 (ܓܠܘܠ, "idols"); 2 Kgs 16:3 (ܢܡܘܣ, "law"); 2 Kgs 21:11 (ܥܒܕ); 2 Kgs 23:13 (ܓܠܘܠ, "idol"); Prov 26:25 (ܫܩܨ, "their evil things"); 2 Chron 28:3 (ܢܡܘܣ); 33:2 (ܥܒܕ, "work"); 34:3 (ܫܩܨ ܥܒܕ, "hated works"); 36:8 (ܫܩܨ, "hated things"); 36:14 (ܥܒܕ).

[149] In view of the other attestations of a form of √הלך for תועבה, it is unlikely that the translator (thought he) saw תעובה instead of תועבה.

[150] See the Aramaic √טרח ("to toil") and the nouns טירחא/טרח ("burden" [JLAtg, Sam, LJLA]) and טרחותא/טרחו ("burden" [GAL, PTA, LJLA]) in *CAL*; and Jastrow, *DTTBYML*.

[151] Cf. Gen 34:29; 43:8; 45:19; 46:5; 47:12, 24; 50:8, 21; Exod 10:10; 12:37; Num 14:3, 31; 16:27; 31:9, 18; 32:16, 17, 24, 26; Deut 1:39; 2:34; 3:6, 19; 20:24; 29:10;

19:36 (|| משא). Interestingly, Deut 1:12 refers to Moses' inability to "bear" (נשא) Israel's burden, along with their strife and load. Similarly, the LORD in Isa 1:14 is simply unwilling to endure the burden; it is wearisome for him to continue doing so (1:14b, נלאיתי נשא). Whether S-Isa's ܡܫܘܐ reflects an allusion to S-Deuteronomy cannot be established. The equivalent משא || ܡܫܘܐ in 2 Sam 19:36 suggests that at least some of the Syriac translators understood ܡܫܘܐ to have a specific nuance of "burden," likely as a result of carrying "baggage." This semantic extension could have been made under the influence of Hebrew.

1:15

M:	אעלים עיני מכם	*I will hide my eyes from you.*
S:	ܐܟܣ ܚܙܝ ܡܢܟ ܠܥܠܡ	*I will avert my eyes from you.*

S-Isa's ܟܣܐ is not a true synonym for אעלים but approximates the sense of "disregard" in the latter (cf. Isa 58:7). Other Peshiṭta translators rendered √עלם with the same Syriac verb ܟܣܐ (cf. Lev 5:2, 3, 4; Deut 22:1, 3, 4; Pss 10:1; 55:2), but ܟܣܐ is not among the list of expected verbs when the action refers to a subject's eyes (עין).[152]

1:19-20 (cf. G8.4; S2; S7; S8; Pr2.4)

M:	… אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey …*
	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	… ܘܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܫܡܥܬ ܠܝ	*And if you obey and listen to me …*
	ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܡܪܝܬ	*And if you do not obey and resist …*

These two verses should be evaluated in tandem, as the translator must have chosen ܨܒܐ twice in view of the immediate context. His rendering of תאבו with ܨܒܐ is

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31:12; Josh 1:14; 2 Sam 15:22.

[152] E.g., ܫܩܠ (Lev 4:13); ܟܚܕ (Lev 20:4; Prov 28:27; Lam 3:56 [אזנך]); ܟܚܕ (Num 5:13; Job 28:21); ܟ ܕܓ (1 Sam 12:3).

seen in one other place (Isa 30:15, לא אביתם || ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ, "you did not obey"), but more frequently he translated √אבה with a form from √ܨܒܐ ("to be willing, want"), as expected (cf. Isa 28:12; 30:9; 42:24). With the context's emphasis here on actual obedience (as opposed to mere willingness), the translator correctly understood תאבו as having the sense "consent, yield to," even though the choice is somewhat redundant with the following lexeme (ܬܫܡܥܘܢ, "you listen/obey"), resulting in a slight change of emphasis (see S7).[153] More striking, however, is S-Isa's equivalent ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ ("you do not obey") for תמאנו. This translation stands out in light of the unity with which the other Peshiṭta translators rendered the forty-two (out of forty-five) occurrences of the verb מאן with ܠܐ + ܨܒܐ ("he is not willing").[154] Aside from Isa 1:20, the two exceptions are Prov 1:24 (ותמאנו || ܘܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ, "you did not believe") and Ps 77:3, which posed difficulty for S-Psalms.[155] Such agreement among the translators suggests a translation tradition that the translator of S-Isa may have known but did not opt for here. As in verse 19, where submission to the LORD's command is highlighted, verse 20 accentuates the opposing consequences of Israel's insubordination, which S-Isa made explicit by providing the

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[153] See BDB, s.v. אבה. The notion of willingness alone does not apply in passages like Deut 13:9, where the verb אבה takes an indirect object: לא־תאבה לו ולא תשמע אליו. See also Ps 81:12 (לא־שמע עמי לקולי וישראל לא־אבה לי); Prov 1:25 (תפרעו כל־עצתי ותוכחתי לא אביתם), 30 (לא־אבו לעצתי נאצו כל־תוכחתי).

[154] It is not necessary to list all forty-two occurrences of this equivalent, but for a representative sample, see Gen 37:35; Exod 4:34; Num 20:21; Deut 25:7; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Sam 2:23; 1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 5:16; Ps 78:10; Job 6:7; Prov 21:7; Est 1:12; Neh 9:17; Jer 3:3; Hos 11:5; Zech 7:11.

[155] The reading מאנה in Ps 77:3 was either not translated by the translator or interpreted as the particle of negation (|| ܠܐ).

expression ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ("[But it] you do not obey"). Antonomy is not common in S-Isa (see S2), but the example of it here suggests that, at least with respect to conditional clauses, the translator expanded his TU, showing awareness of his sensitivity to the immediate context.

Last, S-Isa's ܐܢ ܡܬܡܪܝܢ ("[But if] you resist") for מריתם is not from the root (√ܡܪܐ) that was chosen most frequently by the Peshiṭta translators to render √מרה ("to rebel"), which some understood (wrongly) as being related to √מרר ("to be bitter").[156] However, there are exceptions (cf. 1 Kgs 13:26 [√ܫܠܚ]; Isa 50:5 [√ܦܩܕ]; Ezek 5:6 [√ܫܠܚ]; Neh 9:26 [√ܦܩܕ]), including cases where √ܡܪܐ ("to resist") was appropriately chosen (Josh 1:18; Ps 106:7).[157] These last three examples demonstrate that at least some of the translators were familiar with the semantics of √מרה. Thus, S-Isa's ܐܢ ܡܬܡܪܝܢ indicates both the translator's correct morphological parsing of מריתם and a willingness to depart from its stock equivalent.

1:21		
M:	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה	*How the faithful city has become a whore!*
S:	ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܙܢܝܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܩܘܪܢܣܝܐ	*How has the faithful city become a prostitute?*

Syriac ܐܝܟܢܐ ("how?") always functions interrogatively unless it is followed by ܕ (= "for

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[156] S-Isa translated √מרה with forms from √ܡܪܐ in 3:8; 50:5; and 63:10.

[157] Obviously, other lexical alternatives existed, such as ܡܪܕ ("to rebel"), but the Peshiṭta translators (at least for the prophets), generally used ܡܪܕ to translate the Hebrew roots מרד, סרה, סור, סרר, and קשר.

example"),[158] but the use of איכה here is exclamatory.[159] One expects Syriac ܐܝܟ ("how!"), but all the Peshiṭta translators used this lexeme to render איכה, regardless of its function in the sentence.[160] This had the overall effect of converting all the Hebrew exclamations with איכה into interrogatives, including Isa 1:21. It is possible that S-Isa's ܐܝܟܢܐ here is a Hebraism, taking on the semantics of Hebrew איכה, but the interrogative sense is permissible in this specific context.[161]

1:21, 26 (cf. S10.5)
M: קריה *city*
S: ܩܪܝܬܐ *city*

S-Isa's ܩܪܝܬܐ is an appropriate synonym for קריה, especially since קריה refers clearly to Jersualem in these two verses.[162] However, the translator most often translated קריה with ܩܪܝܐ ("town, village"), even when the reference is to Jerusalem (e.g., 33:20).[163] Similarly, while he also used ܩܪܝܬܐ to render עיר nine times (1:8; 10:13; 19:2 [2x];

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[158] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܐܝܟܢܐ; *CSD*, s.v. ܐܝܟܢܐ.

[159] See BDB, s.v. איכה.

[160] See especially Jer 48:17; Lam 1:1; 2:1; and 4:1, 2 for the exclamatory usage of איכה, which all the translators rendered with ܐܝܟܢܐ. The one exception is Song 1:7 (איכה || ܐܝܟܢܐ, "where?").

[161] For this reason, Kiraz et al. are probably correct to translate this ܐܝܟܢܐ as an interrogative (*Isaiah*, 5).

[162] Lexicographers have noted that קריה often denotes a specific city; see BDB; *HALOT* (s.v. קריה).

[163] For the equivalent קריה || ܩܪܝܐ, see 22:2; 24:10; 25:2, 3; 26:5; 29:1; 32:13; 33:20.

32:19; 36:1; 37:26; 38:6 [2x]), he translated עיר much more frequently with ܩܪܝܬܐ.[164] Thus, the semantic distinction in the Hebrew Bible in which קריה signifies a specific city (e.g., Jerusalem) seems not to have been known to the translator. Or, if he knew of the nuance, he did not adhere to it consistently.[165]

1:22 (cf. G11; S6; S7; S9.3)

M:	כספך היה לסיגים	*Your silver has become dross*
S:	ܟܣܦܟ ܐܬܪܚܩ ܚܣܦܐ	*Your silver has been rejected/thrown aside*

S-Isa's apparent deviation from M here and its lexical proximity to G-Isa's τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον ("your silver is unacceptable/unapproved") has led some scholars to conclude that the Syriac translator consulted the latter at this point, presumably on the grounds that לסיגים posed difficulty for him.[166] It is true that Syriac has many words that refer to the "dross" of silver that would have been more contextually apt in this passage (e.g., ܪܘܓܐ/ܪܘܓܝܐ; ܪܝܚܢܐ; ܪܘܒܠܐ; ܪܘܫ). Moreover, at least one Peshiṭta translator understood סיג to refer to dross (Prov 25:4, הגו סיגים מכסף || ܐܣܪܘ ܟܣܦܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܒܠܗ ܕܟܣܦܐ, "Collect the dross from the silver"). However, the alleged parallel with G-Isa can be understood purely on the basis of S-Isa's analysis of the Hebrew.

The translator understood the meaning of the verb סוג (cognate to its nominalized

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[164] It is not necessary to list all thirty-three occurrences of this equivalent, but it is interesting to point out that after Isa 38:6, the translator consistently rendered עיר with ܩܪܝܬܐ until the end of the book (40:9; 42:11; 44:26; 45:13; 48:2; 52:1; 54:3; 60:14; 61:4; 62:12; 64:9; 66:6).

[165] This practice seems to cohere with how other Peshiṭta translators rendered ܩܪܝܬܐ and ܡܕܝܢܬܐ (see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 177).

[166] I will discuss this example and S-Isa's apparent relation to G-Isa in the next chapter, interacting with scholars who assume a direct model of dependence.

form סיג), as revealed by his renderings for the four verbal attestations of the root in Isaiah: נסגו אחור || ܗܦܟ ܠܚܫ ܐܝܬ, "they turned their backs" (42:17); אחור לא נסוגתי || ܠܚܫ ܐܦܟ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ, "I did not turn my back" (50:5); נסוג מאחר אלהינו || ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܗܢ ܦܟ ܐܢܚܢ, "we turned away from following our God" (59:13); and הסג אחור משפט || ܐܦܟ ܐܝܬ ܠܚܫ ܕܝܢܐ, "we have turned justice around" (59:14).[167] In all these cases, S-Isa captured the basic idea of "turning back" (N) or "being displaced" (Cp) in its use of √ܦܟ ("to turn [back]") + ܠܚܫ/ܒܬ ("back[wards]"). This evidence suggests that the translator analyzed (correctly) the סיג in לסיגים as deriving from √סוג, since its equivalent ܡܫܬܒܩ ("it has been rejected") is a reasonable semantic extension from its presumed Hebrew counterpart (לסיגים היה, "[your silver] has become a thing turned away" [i.e., a rejected thing]).[168] Equally possible is that the translator read (or thought he read) לסוגים (cp. 1QIsa[a], היו לסוגים), the plural passive participle of √סוג.[169] Either way, S-Isa's analysis of סיג as a form from √סוג also makes good sense of his translation of אצרף כבר סיגיך (|| ܐܦܢ ܠܟ ܚܘܪܝܟ ܐܝ ܕܟܝ, "I will refine your rebellious ones to purity") only a few verses later (1:25). In the context of Isa 1:21-25, those who "turned back" here are Israel's "rebellious

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[167] The basic idea of "a moving back" inherent to √סוג describes the process of removing pieces of slag (= סיג) in the refining process; see *HALOT*, "סיג". This image is alluded to in passages like Ezek 22:18 in which Israel is compared to dross (i.e., that which is cast aside): בן־אדם היו־לי בית־ישראל לסיג כלם נחשת ובדיל וברזל ועופרת בתוך כור סגים כסף היו. The reading in *Ketiv* is לסוג.

[168] Interestingly, the translator of S-Proverbs followed a similar path in his translation of כסף סיגים מצפה על־חרש (25:23) with ܐܝܟ ܟܣܦܐ ܕܡܬܦܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܕܟܝ ("Like rejected silver that is overlaid on an earthern vessel …").

[169] That S-Isa did not retain the ל of product (with היה) here is not at all alarming. See similar examples of this tactic in G8.7.

princes” (שריך סוררים) and “companions of thieves” (חברי גנבים). Therefore, while the translator of S-Isa may not have known the literal, nominal denotation “dross” for סיג, he was able to infer its basic sense from both its verbal cognate סוג and context. No appeal to the Greek here is necessary.

1:22 (cf. G5.2.2; G6.2.1; G8.2.2; S10.1.1; S10.1.2)

M:	סבאך מהול במים	*Your wine is diluted with water.*
S:	ܚܡܪܟ ܫܠܠ ܣܒܥ̈ܝܟ	*Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

M’s מהול is a *hapax legomenon* from √מהל (= √מול, “to circumcise, weaken”), which lexicographers have understood here in light of the same root in Jewish Aramaic (“to dilute”).[170] The idea of dilution certainly fits the context quite well. Assuming the translator extrapolated the sense of “mixing” from dilution, one should not categorize S-Isa’s ܫܠܠ as a pure Aramaism, even if the translator understood מהול only in light of Aramaic (see S10.1). The Hebrew and Aramaic are too similar to make such a claim. Interestingly, S-Isa chose the general word for “mixing” here (ܫܠܠ) instead of the expected word ܡܙܓ (“to mix, mingle, blend, dilute”), which was used more commonly in Classical Syriac to refer to the mixing of wine with water.[171] This is the verb the translator used when he encountered similar images of mixing wine (cf. Isa 5:22, אנשי־חיל למסך שכר || ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܙܓܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܕܫܬܝܢ ܚܡܪ̈ܐ, “to the strong men who mix strong drink”; 65:11, הממלאים למני ממסך || ܡܙܓ̈ܝ ܚܡܪ̈ܐ ܠܗܘܢ, “they mixed wine vessels for them”).[172]

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[170] For the meaning of מהל, see BDB; *HALOT* (s.v. מהול). For the root in Aramaic, see Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. מְהַל (I-II).

[171] See in Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, and *CSD*, s.v. ܡܙܓ.

[172] Conversely, elsewhere the translator used ܫܠܠ to refer to the “joining” of fields (שדה בשדה יקריבו || ܫܠܠ ܚܩܠܐ ܚܩܠܐ, “join field to field”) and “being associated

S-Isa's choice of ܚܡܪܐ, then, raises the question of whether the translator assumed that "wine" was the implied adverbial accusative ("with wine"), which at least one later manuscript made explicit (cf. 11l4[1], ܒܚܡܪܐ), presumably with recourse to G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι. But S-Isa's literal (and laconic) translation here makes it impossible to intuit what he thought his ST implied.

1:23 (cf. G11; S6; S7; S8; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܡܚܣܕ ܠܚܦܐ ܫܚܠܐ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

In G11 I listed the many formal changes in S-Isa's translation, many of which were rooted in the translator's difficulty with שלמנים. He analyzed this root as if it were from the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense"). This understanding of שלמנים is most likely what influenced the translator to depart from his usual renderings for √רדף (5:11 [ܢܪܕܝ]; 17:13 [ܢܪܕܘܢ]; 30:16 [ܕܡܬܪܕܝܢ]; 41:3 [ܪܕܘܢ]; 51:1 [ܢܪܕܝ]), since the idea of "chasing after recompenses" is not sensible in context. Thus, to clarify the objectionable act in view, the translator chose ܡܚܣܕ ("they hasten [to]"), which required ܠ + an objective complement (ܚܦܐ + ܫܚܠܐ, "to repay interests").

1:25 (cf. G5.10; G6.3; S5; S7; S9.1.1; S10.1.2)

M:	אצרף כבר סיגיך	*I will refine your dross as with lye*
S:	ܐܬܝܪ ܠܡܬܪܚܩ ܚܛܝ̈ܐ	*I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

I mentioned above (S1) that S-Isa analyzed both לסיגים in 1:22 and סיגיך here as if the words were from √סוג and had the meaning "to turn aside, back, or away." On this meaning, סיגיך—as a plural substantive with a 2ms suffix—would suggest "those who

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with" the Lord (ועתה התערב נא את־אדני || ,ܗܟ ܚܡ ܠܡܫܬܥ ܫܡܝ, "And now, be associated with the Lord").

turn away," which the translator glossed with ܡܪܕܢܟ (“your rebels”). Additionally, it appears that the translator was not familiar with both the abstract and concrete meanings for בֹּר (“lye; cleanness”). While the noun does refer to “cleanness” or “pureness” in a few texts (cf. 2 Sam 22:21, 25; Ps 18:21, 25; Job 22:30), it also refers to the “lye, potash, or alkali” used in smelting metals, as in the case at 1:25 (cf. Job 9:30; Jer 2:22; Mal 3:2).[173] The translator's limited semantic understanding of בֹּר to “cleanness” prohibited him from preserving the simile in the Hebrew which is couched in a smelting metaphor.[174] Since it would not have made sense to speak of God's refining rebels “like cleanness,” the translator chose a different to preposition (כ) to indicate the LORD's intent to purify.

1:26 (cf. S7; Pr1.2)

M:	ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה	*And I will restore your judges as before*
S:	ܘܐܩܝܡ ܕܝܢܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ	*And I will set up your judges just as before*

While the nuanced semantics of restoration in M's אשיבה are uncommon (cf. Gen 40:13, 21; 2 Sam 19:12, 11, 13, 44), S-Isa's ܩܝܡ (“I will set up, establish”) is not quite the expected equivalent (e.g., ܗܦܟ, “to restore” [C]).[175] The translator typically used ܣܡ

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[173] BDB, s.v. בֹּר. The translator of S-Job, too, missed the metaphor of cleaning one's hands with “lye” at 9:30 (ܘܐܝܟ ܕܟܝ ܐܝܕܝ ܡܢ ܟܒܣܐ, “and I am pure by the cleanness of my hands”).

[174] The rare attestation of the abstract meaning of “cleanness” for בֹּר in the Hebrew Bible yet its semantic proximity to Aramaic (תא)ברירו (“cleanness, purity”) and (א)ברר (“purity; unalloyed metal”) makes it difficult to know if the translator was influenced by the latter in his analysis of the Hebrew consonantal text (see Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. בְּרִירוּת; בְּרַר; בְּרָרָא). Syriac ܒܪܝܪܘܬܐ (“holiness, purity”) is also a cognate.

[175] Cp. Gen 40:13; 2 Sam 19:11, 12, 13, 44. The use of ܣܡ for the C-stem of שוב is found in Gen 40:21 (וישב את־שר המשקים על־משקהו || ܘܐܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܩܝܬܗ ܕܡܫܩܐ ܣܡ), “and I will appoint the chief cupbearer over his position”), but the addition of על in M facilitated the translator's use of the specific Syriac expression ܣܡ + ܠ, “to appoint

("to establish [C]") to render forms from √קום (23:13; 29:3; 31:2; 49:6, 7; 51:17; 52:2) or √עמד (3:13; 36:2, 13; 44:11; 48:13; 61:5), but there are exceptions (3:4 [נתן]; 55:3 [כרת + ברית]).[176] It is possible that the translator read (or thought he read) אשימה, אקימה, or even אציבה (from √נצב). However, it is also possible that he was guided by a common exegetical tradition in which אשיבה was believed to refer to the act of (re)appointment. This option seems to cohere well with the readings in both T-Isa (ואמני ביך דייני קושטא, "and I will appoint honest judges among you") and G-Isa (καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον, "and I will establish your judges as before"). A common rendering for all three translations is also found at Isa 3:4 where the main Hebrew verb נתן takes its special sense of "make, constitute": ונתתי נערים שריהם (S-Isa: ܘܐܩܝܡ ܠܟ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܫ̈ܝܢ, "and I will set up youths as your chiefs"; G-Isa: καὶ ἐπιστήσω νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, "and I will establish young men as their rulers"; T-Isa: ואמני ינקיא פרנסיהון, "and I will appoint children as their leaders"). The way all three translators rendered נתתי here and the closeness of their strategy to that demonstrated in 1:26 could suggest that a common exegetical tradition influenced them in both verses, but it must be admitted that their readings at 3:4 basically approximate the Hebrew. Moreover, S-Isa's choice of lexis (from √ܩܝܡ) in both verses is not as semantically specific as the other translations'. Thus, it seems more likely that S-Isa's ܩܝܡ reflects a (reasonable) attempt to translate the sense of his underlying Hebrew ST at both points. The idea of restoration is not lost in S-

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over" (see Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܩܘܡ).

[176] S-Isa's use of ܘܐܩܝܡ ("[and] I will set it") in 44:13 is part of a paraphrase that arose from other difficulties in his ST.

Isa, however, since it translated the rest of the clause literally; Israel's judges would be set up "just as before" (ܩܕܡܝܬ ܟܕ ܗܘܘ).

S2: Antonomy

Antonomy is the strategy of choosing a ST/L's antonym and negating it.[177] While this technique was common practice for the *targumic* translators (often described as "converse translation"), it was not for the Peshiṭta translators, though patterns for certain words or expression can be found (e.g., מאן || ܠܐ ܨܒܐ, "he was not willing").[178] In Isaiah 1, only one case of antonomy occurs in S-Isa.

1:20 (cf. G8.4; S1; S7; S8; Pr2.4)

M:	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܕ[ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘܢ] ܘܡܪܝܪܝܬ ܐܬ	*And if you [do not obey] and resist …*

S3: Hyponomy

Words that carry a more specific meaning than their superordinates are called hyponyms (e.g., cutlery → spoon; bird → canary). The strategy of choosing a more specific word than the superordinate, or *vice versa*, is common in translation.[179] Chesterman identifies three categories that translators can choose from: 1) ST superordinate → TT hyponym; 2) ST hyponym → TT superordinate; and 3) ST hyponym

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[177] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 102.

[178] On "converse translation" in the *targumim*, see M. Klein, "Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique," in *Michael Klein on the Targums: Collected Essays 1972-2002*, ed. A. Shinan and R. Kasher, SAIS 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 19-39.

[179] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 102.

X → TT hyponym Y (of the same superordinate).[180] S-Isa's tendency to approximate the lexical semantics of his Hebrew ST rendered this strategy undesirable, generally speaking. In S-Isa 1, only two examples are found.

S3.1 – ST superordinate → TT hyponym

On one occasion, S-Isa rendered a ST superordinate with a hyponym. This semantic change also affected a change in the trope employed (cf. S9).

Example:
1:6 (cf. S9.1.1)

M:	ראש	*(as far as) the head*
S:	ܪܫܐ	*(as far as) the skull/brain*

Hebrew ראש has a variety of meanings ("head, top, chief"),[181] but the context in 1:6 suggests the top of one's head (מכף־רגל ועד־ראש אין־בו מתם). S-Isa's ܪܫܐ ("brain, skull") is more specific semantically than ראש.[182]

S3.2 – ST hyponym → TT superordinate

In another case, S-Isa did not opt for the obvious equivalent, rendering with the Hebrew lexeme's superordinate instead:

1:11 (cf. S5)

M:	שבעתי עלות אילים	*I am fed up with the burnt-offerings of rams.*
S:	ܪܓܙܬ ܩܘܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܕܟܒ̈ܫܐ	*I am satiated with the sacrifices of rams.*

[180] Ibid., 102-103.

[181] See BDB, s.v. ראש.

[182] The expression "from the sole of the foot to the head" most often occurs as מכף רגלך ועד קדקדך in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 28:35; 14:25; Job 2:7), where translators translated קדקד with ܪܫܐ. It is possible that earlier Peshiṭta translations with this expression influenced the translator of S-Isa. S-Job's choice of ܪܫܐ for עלומו ("his youth") in 20:11 was probably a guess (see also S-Job 21:24).

The obvious choice for עלות in this context would have been ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ("burnt-offerings"), which S-Isa used in 43:23 (לא־הביאת לי שה עלתיך || ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܠܝ ܥܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܝܟ, "Do not bring to me the sheep which [are for] your burnt-offerings"). But his choice of ܥܠܬܐ for עולה elsewhere (40:16; 56:7) and the tendency of other Peshiṭta translators to translate עולה with ܥܠܬܐ (cf. Exod 10:25; 20:24; 29:18; 29:25, 42; 30:9, 28; 31:9; 32:6; 40:6, 10, 29 [2x]) suggest that the latter was a common rendering for the former, in spite of the loss in semantics.[183]

S4: Converses

Converses are "pairs of (usually) verbal structures which express the same state of affairs from opposite viewpoints" (e.g., *buy* versus *sell*).[184] Since S-Isa's tendency was to produce a TT with close lexical approximation to its ST, attestations of converse translation are infrequent. S-Isa includes only two instances of converse translation in Isaiah 1. One case is accidental, due to the translator's limited understanding of his Hebrew ST (1:17). And the other was produced as a result of the translator's difficulty understanding the unusual semantics of his ST (1:24).

1:17 (cf. G5.2.2; G8.2.1)

M:	אשרו חָמוּץ	*Set the oppressors straight!*
S:	ܥܒܕܘ ܛܒܬܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕܐ	*Do good to the oppressed!*

The polysemic nature of the Hebrew √אשר (D) has produced exegetical challenges for

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[183] S-Exodus also translated עולה with ܩܘܪܒܢ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ (18:12; 24:5) and ܩܘܪܒܢ (35:16; 38:1), with the latter referring to the altar (cp. 40:6, מזבח העלה || ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܬܐ, "the altar of sacrifice").

[184] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 103.

commentators.[185] Reading אשר in line with its meaning "to be happy," some commentators have emended חָמוֹץ (a *hapax legomenon*) to a passive form (חָמוּץ) and understood the latter as coming from √חמץ ("to oppress"). Clearly, this is how S-Isa read חמוץ, which possibly influenced how the translator interpreted אשר. However, S-Isa translated the other attestations of this root in Isaiah with the same Syriac root (ܛܒ, "to do good"; 3:12 [ܡܛܝܒܝܟ]; 9:15 [ܡܛܝܒܝܢ]), even when doing so did not make sense in context.[186] Additionally, he consistently rendered the Hebrew expression אשרי with a nominal form from ܛܒܘܬ ("goodness; blessedness"). More likely, then, the translator had a limited understanding of אשר, which led to the evaluation of חמוץ as a passive participle.

S5: Abstraction change

Lexical shifts involving a change in abstraction (concrete to abstract or *vice versa*) were frequently made by the translator of S-Isa and usually required other types of translation strategies (e.g., G5; G6; G9; S3; S8). S-Isa produced paraphrases that provided greater concretion (1:6, 13) and rendered hyponyms with superordinates that resulted in greater abstraction (1:11). Sometimes the translator's change at the level of the

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[185] A delineation of the exegetical problems in this passage is provided in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 80-81. I am in agreement with Williamson that אשר here should be understood in its second sense ("to direct, correct, put in order"), which is the same denotation of the verb in both Isa 3:12 and 9:15 (cf. Prov 23:19). On this reading, M's חָמוֹץ requires no emendation.

[186] See Isa 3:12 (עמי מאשריך מתעים || ܥܡܝ ܡܛܝܒܝܟ ܡܫܕܪܝܢ ܠܟ, "O my people, those who do good to you have led you astray") and 9:15 (יהיו מאשרי העם־הזה מתעים || ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܛܝܒܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܕܪܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, "And those who are doing good to this people are leading (them) astray"). Kiraz et al. (*Isaiah*) provide the translation "leaders" for the C participles of ܛܒ, but the Syriac cannot convey this meaning. Their translation here seems to be based on the Hebrew, rather than the Syriac.

phrase (G5) affected the degree of concretion (1:13). His semantic choice for the divine epithet יהוה צבאות resulted in a slightly higher degree of abstraction (1:24). Likewise, some of his solutions to lexically ambiguous or obscure forms led to more abstract renderings (1:25).

Examples:

1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S1; S8; S9.1.1; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)[187]

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܪܘܚܐ ܪܒܬܐ	*place of soundness*

1:11 (cf. S3.1)

M:	שבעתי עלות אילים	*I am fed up with the burnt-offerings of rams.*
S:	ܪܚܝܬ ܪܒܬ̈ܐ ܕܟܒ̈ܫܐ	*I am satiated with the sacrifices of rams.*

1:13 (cf. G3.3; S1)

M:	קטרת תועבה היא לי	*Incense is an abomination to me.*
S:	ܠܝ ܗܝ ܪܓܣܐ ܪܒܬ	*The smell (of vain offerings) is contemptible to me.*

1:13 (cf. G11; S8; Pr1.3; Pr2.4)

M:	חדש ושבת קרא מקרא	*New moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly—*
S:	ܒܪܫ ܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܕܫܢܐ ܒܫ̈ܒܬ̈ܐ ܩܪܝ ܟܢܫ̈ܬܐ	*On the first of the months, and on the Sabbath, you assemble the congregation;*

1:24 (cf. G5.5; S7; S10.5; Pr1.2)[188]

M:	האדון יהוה צבאות	*The Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ̈ܐ ܘܚܝܠ̈ܐ	*The Lord of lords, the mighty one*

1:25 (cf. G5.10; G6.3; S1; S7; S9.1.1; S10.1.2)

M:	אצרף כבר סיגיך	*I will refine your dross as with lye*
S:	ܐܢܩܐ ܠܟ ܠܚܘܒ̈ܟ ܟܐ̈ ܕܟܝ	*I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

1:29 (cf. S7; S10.2.1)

M:	תחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם	*You will be abashed of the gardens which you have chosen*

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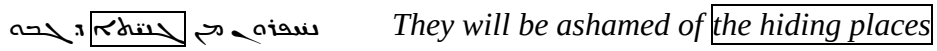
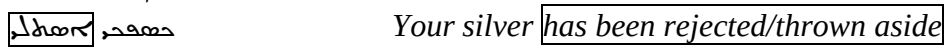
[187] For this specific example, see the comments in sections G9 and S8.

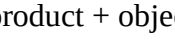
[188] I discuss the details of S-Isa's choice of ܡܪܝܐ (|| צבאות) in S10.4.

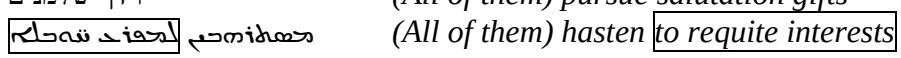
S:  *They will be ashamed of the hiding places which they have chosen*

S6: Distribution change

This strategy involves changing "the distribution of the 'same' semantic components over more items (expansion) or fewer items (compression)."[189] Such a strategy was not characteristic of the translator of S-Isa, since his average TU was quite small, usually at the word or phrase level. However, at points of difficulty (e.g., uncommon or uncertain lexis), the translator regularly had to resort to translating the sense of a phrase, or clause, relying on what he understood semantically about the root(s) in view. Sometimes his translation solution(s) to these problems semantically expanded or compressed his ST.

1:22 (cf. G11; S1; S7; S9.3)
M: כספך היה לסיגים *Your silver has become dross*
S:  *Your silver has been rejected/thrown aside*

This example is a minor one, with the translator having collapsed היה לסיגים (= verb of being + ל of product + object) into  (cf. G11). The semantic difficulties in this clause here are discussed in S1.

1:23 (cf. G11; S1; S7; S8; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)
M: רדף שלמנים *(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:  *(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

The translator's analysis of שלמנים as deriving from the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense") required him to make several formal and semantic changes, since the idea of "chasing after recompenses" was contextually nonsensical. As part of his solution, he

[189] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 104.

expanded שלמנים by rendering the phrase ܠܡܚܦ ܫܘܠܡ (“to requite interests”).

S7: Emphasis change

This change involves the addition, reduction, or alteration of the ST’s emphasis or thematic focus.[190] As far as S-Isa is concerned, the strategy often involved shifts in syntax that affected the text’s cohesion (1:6), revealing the translator’s concern to render his ST in accordance with the literary tastes of his target culture. Other times, the translator wanted to accentuate a specific notion in his ST (1:19-20). And on occasion his solution to lexical problems in his ST (1:22, 23, 26), his adherence to a particular reading tradition (1:24), or his alternate (assumed) vocalization (≠ M) of an ambiguous Hebrew form (1:27) resulted in a change of emphasis. I also include non-synonymous lexical departures from M in this category so long as they do not meet the specific criteria of an antonym or hyponym.

Examples:
1:4 (cf. G5.3; Pr5)

M:	נאצו את־קדוש ישראל	*They have despised the Holy One of Israel*
S:	ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܟܥܣ	*You have angered the Holy One of Israel*

S-Isa’s choice of √ܟܥܣ for נאצו is not an obvious equivalent (= ܚܣܪ; ܟܕܒ), but the translator made similar decisions at Isa 5:24 (קדוש־ישראל נאצו || ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܟܥܣ, “they have angered the holy one of Israel”) and 60:14 (השתחוו על־כפות רגליך כל־מנאציך || ܘܟܠ ܕܡܪܓܙܝܢ ܠܟ ܢܦܠܘܢ ܥܠ ܦܣ ܪܓܠܝܟ, “and all those who anger you will bow to the soles of your feet”), thus pointing to a limited understanding of the Hebrew root’s meaning. The only other occurrence of √נאץ in Isaiah is in 52:5, S-Isa’s equivalent for which was

[190] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 104.

ܡܚܪܦ (|| מנאץ). Such a rendering is *apropos* since it stands in predicate relation with ܫܡܝ (“My name is blasphemed”); a translation from √ܚܪܦ would have been contextually inappropriate here. Nevertheless, the change in semantics with S-Isa’s choice of √ܚܪܦ for נאצו in 1:4 shifts the focus to the LORD’s anger, rather than on Israel’s odious attitude.

1:5 (cf. G3.4; G4; G6.2.1; S7)

M:	תוסיפו סרה	*(Why) will you continue in obstinacy?*
S:	ܢܬܝܣܪ ܠܡܗܘ ܡܐ	*(Why) will you continue to be chastised*

S-Isa’s ܢܬܝܣܪ (“be chastised”) suggests that the translator analyzed סרה as the infinitive construct from the Hebrew √יסר (“to chasten, discipline”).

1:6 (cf. G8.5)

M:	ולא רככה בשמן	*and not softened with oil*
S:	ܕܠܐ ܡܫܚܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܐ ܐܦ	*not even softened with oil*

1:8 (cf. S9.2)

M:	כעיר נְצוּרָה	*like a guard-city*
S:	ܐܝܟ ܩܪܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܬܪ	*like a besieged city*

S-Isa’s ܐܬܝܬܪ (“besieged”) reflects the reading נְצוּרָה, the *niphal* participle of √צור, which is not attested anywhere. Both G-Isa and T-Isa translated similarly (G: ὡς πόλις πολιορκουμένη; T: כקרתא דצירין), supporting the soundness of M’s consonantal text.[191] The idea of besiegement, however, cannot be the point of comparison, since Jerusalem already had been besieged. The previous two comparisons in verse 8 are potentialities and emphasize Israel’s seclusion (נותרה בת־ציון כסכה בכרם כמלונה במקשה). Thus, we expect something similar with כעיר נצורה. The recent solution that נצורה is an infinitive noun (much like שמועה, פבוצה, and גבורה) meaning “watch, guard” and corresponds with newly

[191] Noted also by Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 11.

excavated watch-guard centers in isolated, border cities has much to commend it and certainly makes sense in context.[192] Thus, while M focuses on the isolation that Israel's injustices have reaped, S-Isa simply draws attention to what Israel was at that time: a besieged city.

1:13 (cf. S9.4)

M:	לא־אוכל און ועצרה	*I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly*
S:	ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܘܕܫܘܩܪ ܘܥܩܬܐ	*I am not a consumer of deceit and distress/captivity*

The translator (rightly) analyzed עצרה as coming from √עצר ("to restrain, retain") and, on this basis, chose a nominal with comparable semantics (ܥܩܬܐ, "captivity, siege, imprisonment").[193] However, he seems to have been unaware of the specific meaning "assembly" for Hebrew עצרה, as other Peshiṭta translators understood (cf. Jer 9:1; Joel 1:14; 2:15; Amos 5:21). S-Isa's translation of עָצָר with ܥܩܬܐ in 53:8 (לקח מעצר וממשפט) also demonstrates his limited understanding of the substantive's nuances.[194] In 1:13, however, his former choice of ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܘܕܫܘܩܪ ("I am not a consumer of captivity")—

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[192] On this view, see Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 51-52. For the archaeological evidence, see Z. Meshel, "The Architecture of the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods–In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 294-301; and Z. Yeivin, "Two Watchtowers in the Jordan Valley," *EI* (1992): 155-73.

[193] An analysis of עצרה from √צור might also explain S-Isa's ܥܩܬܐ (cf. 2 Chron 32:10; Ezek 4:3, 8; 5:2), but I find this unlikely. Cf. Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 11.

[194] Note, however, that S-Isa translated עצרתי with ܡܫܟ (he hinders, restrains") in Isa 66:9.

reading אוֹכֵל—limited the ways he could process עצרה. Thus, the translator most likely meant to convey the metaphorical use of ܥܩܬܐ ("distress"), though, admittedly, this sense too is contextually unclear.[195] S-Isa's lack of a contextually apt rendering here is unusual but was required by the semantics imposed by his reading of אוכל.

1:19-20 (cf. G8.4; S1; S2; S8; Pr2.4)

M:	… אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey …*
	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	… ܘܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܫܡܥ ܠܝ ܗ̇ܘ	*And if you obey and listen to me …*
	ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܡܪܝ ܗ̇ܘ	*And if you do not obey and resist …*

As mentioned in S1 and S2, S-Isa's minor semantic deviations from its ST here highlight the importance of Israel's obedience in light of the LORD's conditional promise in 1:18. A mere "willingness" (אבה) to obey will not suffice.

1:22 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S9.3)

M:	כספך היה לסיגים	*Your silver has become dross*
S:	ܟܣܦܟ ܫܪܝ ܗ̇ܘ	*Your silver has been rejected/thrown aside*

While S-Isa's reading most likely resulted from his struggle to understand the precise semantics of סיגים and thus the image of refinement, his solution nevertheless draws attention to the LORD's rejection of the former glory (i.e., "silver") of the "faithful city" (ܩܪܝܬܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܬܐ) in verse 21. However, the reference to "silver" in S-Isa could also have been understood as referring to currency, especially since it stands at the beginning of a list of social and economic injustices (1:22-23). Without access to the translator's mind, it is difficult to say one way or the other.

1:23 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S8; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*

[195] See Payne-Smith, *CSD*, s.v. ܥܩܬܐ.

S: ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܦܘܙ ܡܫܠܡ̈ܐ *(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

Whereas M emphasizes how Israel's nobles are quick to bribe and establish international connections through unjust gain, S-Isa's translation here places the emphasis on the nobles' unjust means of paying off debts. The contrast between M and S-Isa is rooted in the Syriac translator's difficulty with שלמנים, which is discussed in G11 and S1 above. While S-Isa's translation could reflect his *ad hoc* solutions to the lexical difficulties attending שלמנים, it is also possible that he relied on an exegetical tradition that understood this lexeme on the basis of the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense"), as attested also in G- and T-Isa.

1:24 (cf. G5.5; S5; S10.5; Pr1.2)

M:	האדון יהוה צבאות	*The Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ̈ܐ ܘܟܝ	*The Lord of lords, the mighty one*

Understanding צבאות as an abstract intensive plural with the meaning "strength" (see S10.4), S-Isa's ܚܝܠܐ ("strength, might") changed the focus from the LORD's "hosts" (i.e., his divine council consisting of military personnel) to his "might." Had the translator associated the epithet with "hosts," we would expect him to have employed ܨܒܐܬ ("hosts"), as he did elsewhere to refer to beings in the heavens (Isa 34:4; 40:26).

1:24 (cf. G3.5; G5.4)

M:	הוי אֶנָּחֵם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי	*Ah! I will relieve myself on my adversaries, and I will avenge myself on my enemies.*
S	,ܐܘܝ ܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܬܚܦܪ ,ܠ ܘܐܬܚܦܪ ܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠܝ ܒܥܠܝ	*Ah! I take vengeance against those who hate me, and I am avenged on my enemies.*

In opposition to M's focus on the relief the LORD will experience after taking vengeance on Israel's unjust leaders (1:23-24), S-Isa accentuates the LORD's present act of vengeance and explicitates it both morphologically and lexically (ܐܢܐ ܡܬܚܦܪ). S-Isa's choice of the participle + 1st person singular enclitic to render אנחם is consistent with his

practice of rendering Hebrew imperfect verbs with the participle when the former refer to the present tense, as in the expression כה יאמר יהוה (cf. G3.5; G5.4). But the tense of the imperfect אנחם in 1:24 refers to the future (as all the imperfects do through verse 27), serving as the LORD's imminent response to his indictment against Israel in 1:23.[196]

More pertinent, however, is S-Isa's anomalous lexical choice of ܐܬܢܩܡ ("I take vengeance") for אנחם. In all the remaining sixteen occurrences of √נחם in Isaiah (mostly in the D-stem), the translator of S-Isa consistently (and appropriately) rendered the root with a form from √ܢܚܡ ("to comfort").[197] While most of the occurrences of √נחם in Isaiah do refer to "comfort," there is good reason to believe that the N-stem of √נחם infrequently denoted a reflexive or passive action ("to relieve oneself/be relieved, comfort oneself/be comforted [i.e., by taking vengeance]"), on parallel with the verb's function in the Dt-stem (cf. Gen 37:35; Ps 119:52).[198] The best evidence, of course, for this interpretation is the present verse, since it would not make sense in context for the LORD to feel pity for his enemies. It was likely this very semantic obstacle, or a similar one (e.g., that S-Isa simply analyzed אנחם as being in the D-stem), that led the translator

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[196] Strikingly, for reasons unknown, the translator switched to the imperfect at verse 25 (ܐܦܐܪ̈ܥ, "And I will turn [my hand]").

[197] See 12:1; 22:4; 40:1 (2x); 49:13; 51:3 (2x), 12, 19; 52:9; 54:11; 57:6; 61:2; 66:13 (3x). The two readings at 51:3 in 7a1 (כי־נחם יהוה ציון נחם כל־חרבתיה || ܡܠܐ ܕ[ܢܚܡ] ܐܬܪ̈ܥ ܟܠ ܚܪ̈ܒܬܗ ܕܨܝܘܢ ܡܬ̈ܥܕܢ ܠܗ ܡ[ܢܚܡ]ܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ, "For the Lord has built Zion, and he restores all of her ruins") reflect graphic confusion between ܢܚܡ and ܐܬܪ̈ܥ. 9a1 here preserves the original readings (ܡ[ܢܚܡ]ܢ … ܕ[ܐܬܪ̈ܥ]).

[198] See also a similar use of the N-stem of √נחם in Isa 57:6 and the glosses in BDB, s.v. נחם.

to choose a lexeme other than ܚܛܐ.[199] While S-Isa's choice from √ܚܕܐ not only fits the context (despite its semantic redundancy with ܐܬܢܩܡ ܐܢܐ, "I am avenged" [|| אנקמה], in the clause that immediately follows), its Gt-stem (ܐܬܚܕܐ) takes the prepositional complement ܒܝ (= M).[200]

1:25 (cf. G5.10; G6.3; S1; S5; S9.1.1; S10.1.2)
M: אצרף כבר סיגיך — *I will refine your dross as with lye*
S: ܘܐܬܚܕܐ ܠܟ ܚܛܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܥܒܕ ܟܝ — *I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

M's סיגיך refers back to 1:22 where the LORD claims that Israel's "silver" (i.e., their former glory) has become "dross" (סיגים). Here the LORD promises to refine that same dross as a smelter would with lye. In contrast, S-Isa refers specifically to Israel's "rebels" (ܚܛܐܝܟ) and notes the LORD's intent to bring them into a state of purity. The change in emphasis in S-Isa was most likely not intentional, occurring as a result of the translator's limited understanding of both Hebrew סיג and בֹּר (see S1).

1:25 (cf. G6.3; S9.1.1)
M: אסירה כל־בדיליך — *I will remove all your alloy*
S: ܐܫܬܠ ܟܠ ܚܛܝܬܟ ܐܝ ܥܒܕ — *I will remove all your iniquities*[201]

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[199] A similar strategy is observed in T-Isa's paraphrase: וי לרשיעיא כד אתגלי למעבד פורענות דין מסנאי עמא, "Woe to the wicked when I am revealed to execute just vengeance from the enemies of the people."

[200] See Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܚܕܐ. M's collocation אנחם + מן is unusual and cannot be understood on parallel with Judg 2:18, which has a different meaning (ינחם יהוה מנאקתם). Closer parallels occur where √נחם is in the Dt-stem (Gen 27:42; Ezek 5:13). Williamson explains the unusual semantics of אנחם + מן here on the basis of the author's intention to "achive an alliterative effect with ואנקמה following" (*Isaiah 1-5*, 123).

[201] The reading "I will remove your evildoers" in Kiraz et al.'s *Isaiah* (p. 7), whose Syriac text is pointed, reflects a misanalysis of ܚܛܝܢ as a substantival adjective. The consonantal text allows for either the noun or adjective, but the context lends itself to the noun, since it would not make much sense for the LORD to both refine and remove

The translator's ܚܛܝܬܟ (“your iniquities”) perpetuated his partial figurative reading of the Hebrew in the first line of 1:25 (אצרף כבר סיגיך || ܐܬܢܩܐ ܠܟܝ ܟܣܦܟ ܘܐܦܝܪ ܠܟ), “I will refine your rebels to purity”). Based on how other Peshiṭta translators rendered בדיל, the translator may have understood the lexeme to have the concrete meaning of “tin, lead.”[202] But such a meaning would have been abstruse here, since the translator missed his ST's overarching metaphor of smelting and its simile in the previous line. His choice of ܚܛܝܬܟ (“your iniquities”), then, was aimed at producing a translation that is sensible in context.

1:26 (cf. S1; Pr1.2)

M:	ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה	*And I will restore your judges as before*
S:	ܘܐܩܝܡ ܠܟ ܕܝܢܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ	*And I will set up your judges just as before*

As discussed in S1, S-Isa's ܐܩܝܡ (“I will set up”) reflects the translator's attempt to render אשיבה, the precise nuance of which he did not know. His diverse use of √ܗܦ to render different Hebrew lexemes suggests that he used it here as something of a slot word. Or, he relied on an existing exegetical tradition (see S10). As the text stands, however, S-Isa placed heavier emphasis on the LORD's plan to establish Israel's judges “just as before” (ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ), whereas M speaks of the same restoration in more explicit terms.

1:27

M:	שָׁבֶיהָ	*her repenters (i.e., those in her who repent)*[203]

Israel's rebels/evildoers. The emphasis in S-Isa is on moral transformation, requiring the removal of iniquity, not the people themselves.

[202] Syriac ܟܪܨܝܬܐ (“tin, lead”) is used to render בדיל in Num 31:22; Ezek 2:18, 20 (perhaps ܟܝܬܐ [“lead”] here); 27:12.

[203] The genitive in M's שָׁבֶיהָ is one of “nearer definition” (see GKC §116i).

S: ܫܒܝܗ *her captives* (coll.)

Reading שביה as שְׁבָיָהּ,[204] S-Isa's ܫܒܝܗ ("her captives") changed the focus from those in Zion who repent to her captives who could be redeemed by the LORD's righteousness and justice (ܨܝܘܢ ܬܬܦܕܐ ܒܕܝܢܐ ܫܒܝܗ ܘܒܙܕܩܐ ܢܬܦܕܘܢ, "Zion will be redeemed by judgment, and her captives by righteousness").[205] The translator's introduction of captivity here was perhaps influenced by his familiarity with the theme found later in Isaiah (cf. Isaiah 14). Or, the concentration on Israel's besiegement and desolation in 1:7-9 may have activated the theme of captivity in his mind.[206] However, the particular semantics of שביה here, with its idea of a moral "turning" (i.e., repentance), was probably not known by the translator. A similar use of √שוב is found in 6:10 (ישמע ולבבו יבין ושב ורפא לו) and 10:22 (כי אם־יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו), which the translator rendered with ܘܢܬܘܒ ("and [they] turn") and ܢܬܦܢܘ ("they will turn"), respectively. Thus, it seems that with his basic understanding of √שוב limited to "turn," he struggled to make sense of שביה in this context. The competing vocalization (שְׁבָיָהּ) is both grammatically warranted and sensible enough in context.

1:28 (cf. G11)

M: ושֶׁבֶר פשעים וחטאים יחדו ועזבי יהוה יכלו — *whereas rebels and sinners alike will be crushed, and those who forsake the LORD*

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[204] While the vocalization שְׁבָיָהּ is grammatically possible, the context suggests the pointing in M (contra the emendation in K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* [*BHS*] [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998]: יִשְׁבֶיהָ). 4QIsa^{f}'s ושביה וש[ב]יה reflects a classic case of dittography.

[205] Warszawski's analysis of S-Isa here agrees with my own assessment (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 12).

[206] G-Isa's comparable rendering here (αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς) will be discussed in Chapter 5.

will perish.

S: ܘܫܒܪܐ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܘܕܚܛܝܢ ܟܚܕ ܘܐܝܟ̈ܢ ܕܫܒ̈ܩܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܢܬܒܪ̈ܘ ܘܢܦ̈ܠܘ *and the breaking of injustices and of sinners, together, and those who forsook the Lord will perish.*

In this example, the translator's change from the present to past tense departs slightly from his usual way of transforming plural participles in the construct state into the Syriac idiom ܗ ܡܛܠ ܕ + participle (see G11).[207] This is, in fact, the only place where the translator produced the expression (ܗ ܡܛܠ ܕ) with a finite verb where his ST had a participle. Since there is no linguistic explanation for his non-literal shift here, his deviation from M should be interpreted on contextual grounds. The simplest explanation is that the translator viewed the statement in light of the LORD's indictment against the past behavior of Israel's unjust leaders (1:21-23).

1:29a

M: כי יבשו מאילים *For they will be ashamed of the oaks*

S: ܡܢ ܛܘܦܣ̈ܐ ܕܝ ܐܬܒ̈ܫܘ ܟܠ *For they will be ashamed of the idols*

When compared to M's מאילים, S-Isa's ܡܢ ܛܘܦܣ̈ܐ ("idols") is surprising, especially because the translator rendered כי תהיו כאלה with ܟܠ ܕܐܬܒ̈ܫܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܢ ("for they will become like an oak") in the following verse (see also 6:13). However, the spelling in 1QIsa[a] is אלים, which very well could have been the same in S-Isa, which the translator read as אֵלִים.[208] Likewise, 1QIsa[a] has אלים at 57:5 where S-Isa has ܡܢ ܛܘܦܣ̈ܐ. And, interestingly,

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[207] However, there are exceptions (e.g., 1:30, כאלה נבלת עלה || ܐܝܟ ܐܠܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ, "like an oak whose leaves have fallen").

[208] The translator of S-Isa consistently used ܡܢ ܛܘܦܣ̈ܐ to render nouns meaning "idols," "images," or "abominations (related to idolatry)": אלילים (8x); עצב (4x); אשרה (2x); פסיל (1x); בול (1x); ציר (1x); און (1x); and שקוץ (1x).

where M has אילי הצדק ("oaks of righteousness") in 61:3, 1QIsa[a] reads the same and S-Isa has ܐܝܠܐ ("rams"). In light of the potential confusion over אלים, a scribe may have added an extra *yod* (= אילים) during the developing proto-M tradition.[209] The reading אלים also has support in G-Isa's διότι καταισχυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν ("For they will be ashamed of their idols") and T-Isa's double-translation ארי תבהתון מאילני טעותא ("For you will be ashamed of the oaks of the idols").[210] Thus, if S-Isa read אלים, then his translation here emphasizes the idolatrous nature and false reality of Israel's worship of other "gods," an act for which they will experience shame (ܐܬܒܗܬ).

1:29 (cf. S5; S10.2.1)

M:	תחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם	*You will be abashed of the gardens which you have chosen*
S:	ܐܬܒܗܬ ܘ ܐܢ̈ ܕ ܓܢ̈ܬܐ ܕ ܒܚܪ	*They will be ashamed of the hiding places which they have chosen*

While it is possible that S-Isa's ܓܢ̈ܬܐ ("hiding places") arose from inner-Syriac corruption (i.e., from an original ܓܢ̈ܬܐ ["gardens"] or ܓܢ̈ܬܐ ["gardeners"]), other considerations make this explanation unlikely. First, as was discussed in the last example, the translator's choice of ܐܝܠ̈ܐ ("idols") for אלים makes clear that he interpreted the verse not as referring to ecological realities (i.e., trees and gardens [used in service of idolatrous practices]), but to moral ones (i.e., idolatry). The same evaluation probably influenced his reading of הגנות, especially since "gardens" would not have been a fitting

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[209] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 149. Of course, if איל comes from an original /*ʾ*ayl*-/, then איל should be the historical spelling. An original /*ʾ*il*-/ would have led to a form that was homophonous with **il* ("deity"). I thank J. Hutton for drawing this to my attention.

[210] This similarity was also noted by Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 11.

parallel for "idols" in context. Whether the translator actually considered the lexeme "gardens" (ܓܢܬܐ) here obviously cannot be determined, but it would seem probable in light of his translation of גנה with ܓܢܬܐ ("garden") in the following verse (1:30).[211] Either way, it appears that he ultimately analyzed הגנות here in view of Syriac √גני ("to be concealed, conceal" [G]; "to conceal, hide" [C]; "to hide" [Gt]).[212] While probably unintentional, S-Isa's "secret places" (ܓܢܬܐ) shifted the emphasis from the location of Israel's place of idolatrous worship to one of its objectionable attributes (i.e., hiddenness).[213]

1:30 (cf. G11)

M:	כאלה נבלת עלה	*like an oak whose foliage falls*
S:	ܐܝܟ ܐܠܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠܗ ܓܢܬܐ	*like an oak whose leaves have fallen*

S-Isa's use of the perfect tense for נבלת corresponds with the example from 1:28 in which the translator rendered עזבי יהוה with ܕܫܒܩ ܠܡܪܝܐ ("those who forsook the Lord").

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[211] That S-Isa understood גנה to mean "garden" is indisputable (cf. 61:11; 65:3 [f.pl]; 66:17 [f.pl]). If there was any uncertainty about the semantics of הגנות in 1:29, the word's meaning would have become clear by the next verse (though we should not expect the translator to have gone back to correct ܓܢܬܐ). The fact that no other pre-thirteenth century manuscripts correct the reading to agree with M is good evidence that the translator meant to translate with ܓܢܬܐ and that the reading made good sense in context.

[212] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܓܢܝ. Syriac also uses derivatives from √ܓܢܝ ("to be hidden" [Gt]; "to hide" [C]) to indicate "hiddenness": ܓܝܢܐ ("hidden"); and ܓܢܘܬܐ ("secrecy"). See also Aramaic גְּנַז ("to remove from sight, hide" [G]; "to disappear, be hidden" [N]) and גְּנַז ("hidden, stored up, reserved") in Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, *ad loc*.

[213] Syriac ܓܢܬܐ is found elsewhere in the Peshiṭta only in 1 Samuel, the translator for which used ܓܢܬܐ to translate העשתרות, probably referring to the "secret places" (i.e., "shrines") where foreign goddesses were worshipped (cf. 1 Sam 7:3, 4; 12:10; 31:10).

Here, however, the change of tense slightly intensifies the figurative imagery. Whereas M depicts Israel as a withering oak, S-Isa compares Israel to an oak whose sign of vitality is already absent.

S8: Paraphrase

A paraphrase is a loose, free, or even undertranslated rendering in the TT. As Chesterman describes, paraphrases are particularly common for the translation of idioms.[214] While S-Isa usually rendered his ST isomorphically, he occasionally departed to explicitate elements implied in the Hebrew (1:6), even contentual elements (1:19). The translator produced other paraphrases to resolve certain linguistic (morphological, syntactic, semantic) and/or ideological difficulties in his ST (1:13, 17).

Examples:
1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S1; S5; S9.1.1; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)
M: מתם *soundness*
S: ܐܬܪ ܕܫܠܡܐ *place of soundness*

While one of his stock equivalents for מקום, S-Isa's ܐܬܪܐ ("place") might suggest a double-reading (מקם/מתם), but ת/ק confusion is rare.[215] More probable, S-Isa paraphrased in light of the context by adding ܕ- ܐܬܪܐ (see G9), since "soundness" (מתם), as an abstract concept, was felt to require a concrete expression in view of the former clause (see S5), ܡܢ ܦܣܠܐ ܕܪܓܠܐ ܥܕ ܪܫܐ, "from the sole of the foot to the head."

1:13 (cf. G11; S5; Pr1.3; Pr2.4)[216]

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[214] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 104-105.

[215] See Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 228-31, for a list of common graphic confusions in the Hebrew script.

[216] Warszawski also included this verse in his list of paraphrases (*Die Peschitta*

M:	חדש ושבת קרא מקרא	*New moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly—*
S:	ܒܪܫ ܝܪܚܐ ܘܒܫܒܬܐ ܩܪܝ ܟܢܫܬܐ	*On the first of the months, and on the Sabbath, you assemble the congregation;*

As mentioned above, S-Isa's translation here required several formal strategies (cf. G11). The assimilated phrase ܒܪܫ ܝܪܚܐ occurs in the following verse (חדשיכם || ܘܒܪܫ ܝܪܚܐ) and in several other Peshiṭta books.[217] A similar Hebrew collocation exists in the Pentateuch (ראש חדשים; cf. Exod 12:2; Num 10:10; 28:11), serving as the origin of the phrase in the Peshiṭta. The point of difficulty resides in the Hebrew's want of parataxis, which the translator rendered somewhat freely while still operating isomorphically.

1:18 (cf. G11; S10.1.2; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	לכו־נא ונוכחה	*Come now, and let us reason together!*
S:	ܐܬܘ ܢܬܡܠܠ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܚܕ	*Come! Let us speak with each other!*

This paraphrase arose from the difficulty posed by נוכחה, which the translator most likely analyzed correctly, but translated loosely. Each constituent of the Hebrew is represented in Syriac, demonstrating the translator's commitment to quantitative fidelity. Nevertheless, he produced a freer translation here either because of his limited understanding of the semantics of נוכחה (see G11; S10.1.2), or he had some apprehension with the idea of "reproving God" (see Pr1.2).

1:19-20 (cf. G8.4; S1; S2; S7; Pr2.4)

M:	… אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey …*
	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	… ܘܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܬܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܘ	*And if you obey and listen to me …*

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zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39], 7, 11).

[217] Cf. Num 28:14; 29:6; 1 Sam 20:5, 18, 24, 27, 34; 2 Kgs 4:23; Neh 10:34; 1 Chron 23:31; 2 Chron 2:3; 31:3; Ps 81:4; Ezek 45:17; 46:1, 3, 6; 47:12; Hos 2:13.

ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬܘ ܘܡܬܡܪܪܬܘ ܐܢ *And if you do not obey and resist …*

This example is described at length under previous strategies. I include it here as well since more precise lexemes were available to the translator to render his source. The emphasis on obedience in S-Isa was probably not driven by an ideolological concern; rather, an equivalent from √ܨܒܐ (“to be willing, wish, want”), the expected rendering for תאבו, would not have captured the force of the injunction.

1:23 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S7; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܦܬ ܫܘܚܠܐ ܕܡܬܐܚܕܝܢ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

The translational details of this particular paraphrase have been remarked on at length in different sections above (see G11; S1; S6; S7), so I will not repeat them here.

S9: Trope change

Chesterman uses the term “trope” broadly to refer to words or expressions that carry a figurative or metaphorical sense.[218] This strategy usually requires the use of other strategies (e.g., G10; S3; S7), and its three basic subclasses (ST trope X → TT trope X; ST trope X → ST trope Y; and ST trope X → TT trope Ø) can be further divided.[219]

As is well-known, punctuated throughout the Hebrew Book of Isaiah are many tropes and figures, most of which exist at the word level (verbs and nouns). However, the book contains larger tropes constituting whole sentences (e.g., 1:5-6) and even entire

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[218] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 105-107.

[219] Obviously, a translator can create a trope in the TT without a corresponding one in his ST. This is similar to the fourth subclass under G10 (ST scheme Ø → TT scheme X). Thus, Chesterman appends the following strategy to S9: ST trope Ø → TT trope X (ibid., 106-107).

chapters (e.g., ch. 5). S-Isa's isomorphic tendency to render his ST at the word- or phrase-level led him to supply tropes that agree lexically with his ST, insofar as they were available in his TL. Occasionally, S-Isa seems to have chosen figures with related but not exact semantic meaning as his ST, and other times he—when faced with a difficult or obscure lexeme—changed them altogether by means of guessing or etymologizing on the basis of Hebrew, Syriac, or Aramaic. The translator of S-Isa inadvertently reproduced the large-scale tropes in his ST by following his regulative norms (e.g., morphosyntactic and lexical correspondence).

S9.1 – ST trope X → TT trope X

Chesterman divides this strategy into three additional subclasses: 1) the TT trope is the same trope in terms of its lexical semantics; 2) the TT trope is of the same type as the one in the ST, but is not semantically identical, only related; and 3) the TT trope is of the same type, but not related lexically to the ST one: the source of the image is different.[220] What all three strategies have in common is the TT's close proximity to its ST (lexically, semantically, or otherwise). As with scheme change G10 (ST scheme → TT scheme X), I will not list every example where S-Isa literally translated the different rhetorical tropes in its ST (i.e., cases where the TT trope is the same trope in terms of its lexical semantics).[221] Such data provide no traction on where the Syriac translator might have relied on G-Isa. However, I will list cases where there are differences in the

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[220] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 105-106.

[221] For one example, S-Isa rendered the figurative expression על מה תכו עוד with ܥܠ ܡܐ ܬܬܒܥܘܢ ܬܘܒ, "Why will you be wounded again?"

semantics involved, since these often amount to non-literal transformations and are useful to consider when determining the character of S- and G-Isa's lexical relations. In S-Isa 1, there are no cases where the TT trope is of the same type, but not related lexically to the ST one.

S9.1.1 – The TT trope is semantically related but not identical

The translator of S-Isa frequently departed from the exact lexical semantics of his ST's tropes but nevertheless provided renderings that were semantically related, thus maintaining a similar degree of figurativeness.

Examples:

1:4 (cf. S10.4)[222]

M:	עם כָּבֶד עון	*a people weighed down (by) iniquity*
S:	ܥܡܐ ܚܣܝܢ ܥܘܠ	*a people strong of iniquity*

1:5 (cf. G3.3; S1)

M:	דוי	*faint*
S:	ܡܟܝܢܘܬܐ	*sickness*

1:6 (cf. S3.1)

M:	ראש	*head*
S:	ܪܫܐ	*skull/brain*

1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S1; S5; S8; S10.3.1; Pr2.4)

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܕܠܐ ܡܟܬܐ	*place of soundness*

S-Isa's addition of -ܕ ܡܟܬܐ changes the abstract notion of "soundness" in מתם to the more concrete expression, "place of soundness," denoting that all Israel had abandoned

[222] The translation "a people heavy with iniquity" in the Antioch Bible (Kiraz et al., *Isaiah*, 3) seems to be influenced (incorrectly, in my opinion) by the meaning of the Hebrew. ܚܣܝܢ is not S-Isa's normal equivalent for forms of כבד. S-Isa's default equivalent of כבד is ܝܩܪ (31x in S-Isa), though see 21:15 (ומפני כבד מלחמה || ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܚܪܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܬܩܝܦܘܬ ܩܪܒܐ).

the LORD (Isa 1:4-6). Nevertheless, the translator provided a translation that bears a semantic relation with the trope in his ST.

1:6 (cf. G3.3; S1)

M:	מכה טריה	*fresh wounds*
S:	ܚܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܚܒܝܢ	*swelling wounds*

S-Isa's ܚܒܪ (|| טריה) seems to be an etymologization prompted by the graphemic collocation -טר (see S10.1.1).

1:6 (cf. G11; S1)

M:	זרו	*They are (not) pressed*
S:	ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܫ	*(not) to be bound/bandaged*

1:14 (cf. S1)

M:	היו עלי לטרח	*They have become a burden to me.*
S:	ܠܝ ܗܘܘ ܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ	*They have become baggage to me.*

1:25 (cf. G5.10; G6.3; S1; S5; S7; S10.1.2)

M:	אצרף כבר סיגיך	*I will refine your dross as with lye*
S:	ܐܢܣܝܢ ܠܟ ܠܡܪܕ̈ܝܟ	*I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*

While both M and S-Isa share the trope of refinement, M refers specifically to the process of smelting as a way to compare the LORD's intent to refine Israel. Conversely, S-Isa understood בר in its abstract sense of "cleanness" and סיגיך to refer to "those who turn away" (i.e., rebels). The unintelligible comparison of refining rebels "as with cleanness" required the translator to drop the simile altogether and instead speak of the LORD's purpose to purify Israel's rebellious leaders.

1:25 (cf. G6.3; S7)

M:	אסירה כל־בדיליך	*I will remove all your alloy*
S:	ܐܫܪܐ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܚܛ̈ܝܬܟ	*I will remove all your iniquities*

As I discussed in S7, S-Isa's ܚܛ̈ܝܬ (“your iniquities”) for בדיליך further reveals the translator's limited understanding of the smelting imagery in both lines of 1:25. Whereas M's בדיליך refers to Israel's impurities that the LORD will remove like a refiner discards

dross in pursuit of silver, S-Isa simply focuses on the LORD's intention to refine Israel's rebels morally, resulting in purity (ܕܟܝܐ). Since a literal translation of בדיל ("tin, alloy, dross") would have obscured S-Isa's emphasis on moral purification, the translator chose a lexeme that suited the context he created.

S9.2 – ST trope X → TT trope Y

In the following case, S-Isa retained the figurativeness of its ST lexemes but employed a different tenor. However, S-Isa misread his ambiguous Hebrew ST and inferred the lexeme's denotation from a root different from that of M.

1:8
M: כעיר נְצוּרָה *like a guard-city*
S: ܐܝܟ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܨܝܪ *like a besieged city*

As stated in S7, S-Isa's ܕܡܬܨܝܪ ("besieged") reflects the reading נְצוּרָה, the *niphal* participle of √צור.[223] Like M, S-Isa still drew a comparison (with ܐܝܟ), but the translator changed the realization from an isolated guard-city to that of a besieged city.

S9.3 – ST trope X → TT trope Ø

For the translator of S-Isa to have dropped a metaphor in his ST would have required justification, given his overall attempt to produce a TT that semantically approximated his Hebrew ST. Or, such a deviation from M could indicate that the translator struggled with the underlying Hebrew and his solution to the problem(s) involved a non-metaphoric rendering. Such is the case in 1:22.

1:22 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S7)
M: כספך היה לסיגים *Your silver has become dross*

[223] That S-Isa extrapolated ܕܡܬܨܝܪ from √נצר is far less likely, since the translator almost always rendered the verb נצר with ܛܪ (cf. 26:3; 27:3 [2x]; 48:6).

S: ܟܣܦܟ ܐܬܒܛܠ ܟܣܦ *Your silver has been rejected/thrown aside*

I have already recounted S-Isa's grammatical and semantic solutions above in the translator's rendering of לסיגים (see G11; S1; S6; S7). Here I will mention how the translator's apparent ignorance of the meaning "dross" for סיג led him to employ another lexeme that entirely removed the ST's metaphor of refinement. It is difficult to say whether the translator understood his translation of "silver" (ܟܣܦ) to refer to Israel's former state of righteousness and justice (Isa 1:21). If he did, then he retained one aspect of his ST's metaphor, while missing the overall vehicle. But, as mentioned before, if he missed the metaphor altogether, then he may have interpreted כסף as referring to literal silver (i.e., currency). The context allows for both interpretations.

S9.4 – ST trope Ø → TT trope X

Rarely did S-Isa produce metaphors when his ST did not include them. In one passage, the translator misanalyzed an ambiguous form and misunderstood the precise lexical meaning of another, though he correctly identified the Hebrew root (1:13).

1:13 (cf. S7)

M: לא־אוכל און ועצרה *I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly*

S: ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܥܘܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܫܩܪ *I am not a consumer of deceit and distress/captivity*

In his attempt to render an ambiguity and lexical difficulty in his ST, the translator portrayed the LORD metaphorically as a "consumer" (= אוֹכֵל) who, in light of Israel's deceit and distress from injustice, does not regard the sacrifices of his people. This image contrasts significantly from the one in which the LORD expresses his inability to tolerate Israel's pretensious religious gatherings (= M).

S10: Other semantic changes

S10.1 – Aramaisms

Occasionally, the translator of S-Isa rendered a Hebrew lexeme with the sense of the root in Aramaic. Since Syriac is a late dialect of Aramaic, it is possible to identify influence from the latter on the translator only when there is no attestation of the cognate in Syriac. Or, in the case of polysemes, the context must permit a semantic meaning limited to Aramaic. Even with these considerations in mind, it is difficult to establish convincing cases of Aramaic influence on the translator of S-Isa. To aid in my evaluation of possible attestations of this linguistic phenomenon, I have adopted and modified J. Joosten's methodological criteria for locating Aramaic influence in G, bearing in mind the recent qualifications by S. L. Byun. According to Joosten, one can determine a case of Aramaic influence when:

1) the Aramaic lexeme invoked corresponds exactly to the form written in M;
2) the meaning of the Aramaic lexeme corresponds exactly to the meaning of the Syriac equivalent under investigation; and
3) the latter meaning is distinct from the earlier meaning obtaining in M.[224]

Byun qualifies Joosten's criteria by noting how his third criterion does not account for the "overlap of meanings that is bound to exist in the process of semantic change."[225]

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[224] Joosten, "On the LXX Translators' Knowledge of Hebrew," in *10th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, ed. B. A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2001), 169.

[225] S. L. Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah* (London: T&T Clark, 2017), 25. A.-F. Loiseau's monograph on this subject is also valuable (*L'influence De L'araméen Sur Les Traducteurs De La LXX Principalement, Sur Les Traducteurs Grecs Postérieurs, Ainsi Que Sur Les Scribes De La Vorlage De La* Vorlage *de la LXX*, SCS 65 [Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016]).

Developing this thought, Byun notes,

> Whether a new sense emerges or an old one obsolesces, semantic change is a gradual process, and this ambiguity must be taken into account. For example, in the case of polysemes, where a lexeme has more than one sense within its semantic range, the predominance of meanings can oscillate over time so that a once predominant sense becomes relatively unknown.[226]

As regards Joosten's first criterion, Byun argues that it does not account for the grammatical and orthographical changes that took place between Classical Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, especially the development of weak verbs and other irregular forms.[227] In the end, while these criteria help to delimit parallels between the Syriac of S-Isa and Aramaic, each case will need to be evaluated independently in light of the context and the translator's translation technique. Since the probability of Aramaic influence on the Syriac translator varies between cases, I will divide the cases into two categories: probable influence and possible influence. I will also include a few probable cases of Aramaic influence outside of Isaiah 1 in order to demonstrate the translator's tendency to Aramaize at lexically difficult places in his Hebrew ST.

S10.1.1 – Probable cases of Aramaic influence

Examples:
1:6 (cf. G3.3; S1; S9.1.1)

M:	מכה טריה	*fresh wounds*
S:	ܚܫܝܟ ܕܚܫܝܟ	*swelling wounds*

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[226] Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,* 25.

[227] Ibid. Byun also cites Tov, who argues that the translators of G often inferred semantic meaning from "clusters" of two Hebrew consonants, including weak verbs, difficult lexemes, and other anomalous words (see "Biliteral Exegesis of Hebrew Roots in the Septuagint," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld,* ed. R. Rezetko, T. H. Kim, and W. B. Aucker [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 459-82).

While the meaning of M's טריה ("fresh") seems certain on the basis of cognates in Arabic (*ṭaruʾa/uwa.iya*) and Ugaritic (*ṭry*), S-Isa seems to have arrived at his reading by analyzing טריה on the basis of the meaning of the biradical collocation טר־ in Aramaic, which can refer to "inflammation" or "dripping" (cp. T-Isa's מחא מרססא, "a dripping wound").[228] There is the attestation of a √ܫܬܐ ("to swell, boil over") in Syriac, but had the translator analyzed the Hebrew in light of it, we would expect to see a form of it.[229]

1:22 (cf. G5.2.2; G6.2.1; G8.2.2; S1; S10.1.2)

M:	סבאך מהול במים	*Your wine is mixed with water.*
S:	ܚܡܪܟ ܡܫܬܚ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ	*Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

Whether S-Isa's ܡ̈ܫܬܚ̈ܝ̈ܢ constitutes a pure Aramaism is difficult to establish since the Hebrew √סבא clearly refers to imbibing or drinking large quantities of "liquor" (סֹבֵא),[230] which was understood by some of the Peshiṭta translators.[231] However, while a nominal equivalent of "liquor-seller" in Hebrew is unattested, it is found in Aramaic (סָבְיָא, "wine-retailer"),[232] with its denominative verbal form meaning "to guzzle wine, retail wine" (G)

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[228] Cf. Aramiac טריבא ("inflammation"), טור ("to drip"), טרוט ("dripping"), טריא ("dripping"), טרי ("to drip"), and טרסאנא ("disease") in *CAL* and Jastrow, *DTTBYML* (s.v.).

[229] S-Isa's proximity to G-Isa's πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα here will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[230] See BDB and *HALOT*, s.v. סבא.

[231] Cf. Deut 21:20; Prov 23:20, 21; Nah 1:10. Undoubtedly, the context aided the translators in their analysis of סבא in these passages. Contrast these equivalents with the translations for Hos 4:18 (סר סבאם || Ø) and Ezek 23:42 (אדם מובאים סבאים ממדבר || ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܝ̈ܬܝ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܢ ܫ̈ܒܐ ܘ̈ܡ̈ܢ ܡ̈ܕܒܪܐ, "men who came from Sheba and from the wilderness").

[232] See Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. סָבְיָא, who provides Akk. *sābû* ("innkeeper, beer merchant") for comparative evidence.

or "retail wine" (D).[233] S-Isa's lexical similarity here to G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί σου has indicated to some scholars that the Syriac translator depended on the Greek for his translation. More likely, however, both translators were influenced by their knowledge of Aramaic and allowed it to influence the way they interpreted the Hebrew semantics of סבאך. More about this particular S-G agreement is discussed in Chapter 5.

2:2

M:	ונהרו אליו כל־הגוים	*And all the nations will flow to it*
S:	ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܢܣܒܘ ܠܘܬܗ	*And all the peoples will look to it*
G:	καὶ ἥξουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη	*And all the nations will come to it*

While M's נהרו is not *hapax* in the Hebrew Bible, it is very rare and *hapax* in Isaiah, causing obvious difficulty for the different translators. There is a √נהר in Aramaic meaning "to shine," but that sense would be unintelligible here. Most likely, the translator sought his solution in the bi-radical collocation of ה-ר, given its graphemic proximity to √חור in Aramaic, which carries the meaning "to look at, expect."

2:16

M:	ועל כל־שכיות החמדה	*and against all the beautiful boats*[234]
S:	ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܘܠ	*and against all the desirable watchmen*
G:	καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους	*and upon every view of fine ships*

In this example, MT שכיות, a *hapax legomena*, caused some difficulty for the translators. While both S- and G-Isa seem to have associated שכיות with something involving "sight,"

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[233] See the verbs סבי/א, סָבָא, and סְבָא in *CAL*; Jastrow, *DTTBYML*; and Sokoloff, *DJBA*.

[234] Exegetes are now agreed that שכיות is related to Egyptian *śkty* and Ugaritic *ṯkt*, both words referring to some sort of ship (see the summary and bibliography in Williamson, *Isaiah* 5, 199-200). Also, the semantic parallelism in the verse suggests a similar meaning.

assuming √שכה (“to look at”), which is attested in later Hebrew and Aramaic, each translator seems to have arrived at his translation independently. G-Isa’s θέαν πλοίων constitutes a double-rendering, demonstrating the translator’s uncertainty about the form.[235] S-Isa’s ܚܙܘܬܐ (“watchmen”), however, reflects the association of שכיות with Aramaic סכוי, meaning “watchmen” or “watchtower.”

28:1 (cf. 28:4)

M:	וציץ נבל צבי תפארתו	*and the fading flower of (Ephraim’s) glorious beauty*
S:	ܘܠܫܘܓܪܐ ܕܫܘܠܡ ܕܚܝ ܕܒܙ ܕܐܝܩܪ	*and to the abused garland, the might of his glory*
G:	τὸ ἄνθος τὸ ἐκπεσὸν ἐκ τῆς δόξης	*the flower that has fallen off from (its) glory*

Significantly, in this example S-Isa departed from its usual equivalent for Hebrew נבל (= ܢܒܠ) and rendered the verb with a form from √ܒܙ (“to abuse, dishonor”), which is the meaning of the Aramaic √נבל.[236]

S10.1.2 – Possible cases of Aramaic influence

Examples:
1:4 (cf. G5.3; G6.2.1; Pr5)
M: נזרו
S: ܐܬܦܪܫܘ

In this example, the translator of S-Isa could have translated נזרו on the basis of Aramaic √*zwr*, “to turn aside” (= Heb. √*swr*), but other explanations are available for this specific rendering.[237]

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[235] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 154.

[236] For S-Isa’s translation’s of נבל with ܢܒܠ, see 1:30; 34:4 (2x); 64:5.

[237] The *niphal* of √זור occurs elsewhere only in Ezek 14:5. S-Ezek renders נזרו with ܕܐܬܦܪܫ (“who departed, withdrew”), an equivalent that can be explained by the

1:18 (cf. G11; S8; Pr1.2; Pr2.4)
M: לכו־נא ונוכחה *Come now, and let us reason together!*
S: ܐܬܘ ܢܬܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ ܚܕ̈ *Come! Let us speak with each other!*

As mentioned above, it is possible (though not probable, in my opinion) that S-Isa translated נוכחה on the basis of the Dt-stem of the same root in Aramaic ("to argue, discuss"). *CAL* lists this meaning under JLAtg and LJLA, but, significantly, the same meaning is not included in Jastrow's *DTTBYML* or Sokoloff's *DJBA* and *DJPA*. Either way, S-Isa's ܢܬܡܠܠ does not have the connotations of tension, argumentation, and admonition that are inherent to the Aramaic √יכח.

1:22 (cf. G5.2.2; G6.2.1; G8.2.2; S1; S10.1.2)[238]
M: סבאך מהול במים *Your wine is mixed with water.*
S: ܚܡܪ̈ܟ ܡܫܠܝ̈ ܡ̈ܝ̈ *Your tavern-keepers mix the water.*

1:24 (cf. G11; S10.5; Pr1.3)
M: נאם האדון יהוה צבאות *An utterance of the Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S: ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܪ̈ܝ̈ *Thus says the Lord of Lords*

As mentioned above, S-Isa's participle ܐܡܪ for נאם accords with the practice of the other Peshiṭta translators and corresponds with modern Bible translations. Functionally, נאם coheres well with אמר and is sometimes paralleled with it (cp. Jer 49:18 and 50:40).[239] It

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meaning "to withdraw (from)" from Aramaic √נזר. It is also possible that S-Isa presupposed סור or סוג, as suggested by Williamson (*Isaiah 1-5*, 36), or that the translator assimilated this rendering to the more common expression found elsewhere (e.g., Isa 42:17, נסגו אחור; 50:5, אחור לא נסוגתי; 53:9, נסוג מאחר; 59:13, ונסוג מאחר; 59:14, והסג אחור). As Williamson notes (p. 36), the suggestion by A. Guillaume that the Hebrew here is cognate with Arabic *zawira*, Akkadian *zâru*, and Aramaic *zwr* fails to explain why the form is *niphal* rather than *qal* ("Hebrew Notes," *PEQ* 79 [1947]: 40-44).

[238] See S1 for additional discussion on the semantics of S-Isa's ܡܫܠܝ.

[239] For an argument that נאם is cognate to the Akkadian particles *umma/anumma*, with much morphosyntactic and semantic overlap, see S. A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible*, VTSup 46

is possible that the translators read unpointed נאם as a verb or participle from √נאם. The verbal form of this root is attested in Jer 23:31 and associated with prophecy, but the verb here is most likely a denominative that developed in the post-biblical period (i.e., after the word's etymology had been forgotten).[240] The Aramaic √נאם (or √נום), however, refers simply to "speaking, saying."[241] Whether the different translators analyzed נאם in light of its Aramaic meaning, defaulted to ܐܡܪ because of its functional equivalency, relied on a common translational tradition (cf. T's בכין אמר רבון; G's τάδε λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος), or a combination of these possibilities depends on the particular translator in view. Without access to the translators' bilingual minds, S-Isa's ܐܡܪ (|| נאם) should be understood only as a possible Aramaism.

1:25 (cf. G5.10; G6.3; S1; S5; S7; S9.1.1)

M:	אצרף כבר סיגיך	*I will refine your dross as with lye*
S:	ܐܬܪܘܡ ܠܒܥܠ ܡܪܕܘܬܟ ܟܕ ܟܣܦܐ ܐܡܪ	*I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*[242]

1:31 (cf. G3.3)

M:	היה החָסֹן לנערת	*The strong will be as tow*
S:	ܗܘܬ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܚܣܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܣܝ	*Their strength will be as tow*

Since Hebrew חָסֹן is itself an Aramaism, it is impossible to know how the translator evaluated the lexeme.[243] S-Isa's understanding of √חסן seems to have been limited to the

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(Leiden: Brill, 1992), 298-314.

[240] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 123.

[241] See Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. נום.

[242] See my comments under S1, S5, S7, and S9.1.1.

[243] See BDB and *HALOT*, s.v. חסן.

meaning "be strong," which corresponds with its primary use in Aramaic.[244] While that meaning is correct in 1:31, elsewhere the translator rendered other derivatives from √חסן according to the context, since the notion of "strength" was insufficient and the denotation of "wealth, abundance" (= חֹסֶן) was probably not known.[245]

1:31

M:	והיה החסן לנערת	*And the strong will be as tow*
S:	ܘܗܘܬ ܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܙܝܬܐ	*And their strength will be as tow*

Since the meaning of M's נערת is understood on the basis of Aramaic נעורת ("tow; hatchelled flax"), it is impossible to know whether the Syriac translator arrived at ܙܝܬܐ ("tow") by virtue of the Aramaic.[246] Both T-Isa (נעורת, "tow") and G-Isa (καλάμη στιππύου, "stalk of flax") translated with words that have similar semantics.[247] Hebrew נערת occurs elsewhere only in Judg 16:9 (פתיל נערת), which the translator rendered with ܚܘܛܐ ܕܟܬܢܐ ("thread of flax").

1:31 (cf. G5.2.2)

M:	פעלו לניצוץ	*their work (will become) a spark*
S:	ܥܒܕܝ ܐܝܟ ܫܪܪܐ	*their works (will become) sparks*

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[244] Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. חסן; and חסנא. The notion of "wealth" in חֹסֶן was also lost on other Peshiṭta translators (cf. Jer 20:5; Ezek 22:25; Prov 15:6 [|| ܫܠܝܐ]; 27:24).

[245] See 33:6 (והיה אמונת עתיך חסן ישועת || ܘܗܘ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬ ܙܒܢܟ ܚܝܠ ܦܘܪܩܢ ܘܚܟܡܬ ܘܡܕܥ, "and your time will be faithfulness, and your redemption in protection"). M's יחסן in 23:18 (לא יאצר ולא יחסן) is probably another Aramaism (= "to be hoarded up"), the nuance of which S-Isa seems not to have known (|| ܢܬܬܩܢ ܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܣܟܢܘܬ ܠܐ, "they will not be set in the house of treasure, and they will not be guarded").

[246] See Jastrow, *DTTBYML*; Sokoloff, *DJBA*; and idem, *DJPA*, s.v. נער (N-stem), נעורת, and נעורא. *HALOT* also notes Ugaritic *nʿr* as a cognate (s.v. נערת).

[247] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12.

As with the last couple examples, Aramaic cognates (√ניץ ["to spark"] and ניצוץ ["spark"]) largely inform our understanding of Hebrew ניצוץ, though the former may have originated from the latter.[248] A cognate also exists in Arabic (*nāḍa*, "to shine") and, possibly, Ugaritic (*nṣṣn*, personal name). The verbal form of ניצוץ is attested in Ezek 1:7 (נחשת קלל נצצים כעין), which the translator rendered as ܕܡܚܘܡ ܕܥܫܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܚܘܡ, "(they) were flashing like brass which flashes." Even if the Aramaic cognates are borrowings from the Hebrew, the process of understanding for the translator of S-Isa possibly could have happened in the reverse order: Aramaic → Hebrew.

S10.2 – Syriacisms

S10.2.1 – Probable cases of Syriac influence

1:29 (cf. S5; S7)

M:	תחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם	*You will be abashed of the gardens which you have chosen*
S:	ܘܢܬܒܗܬ̈ܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܣܬ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܚܪ̈ܬ̈ܘܢ	*They will be ashamed of the hiding places which they have chosen*

As I mentioned in S7, S-Isa's understanding of גנות as "gardens" is certain from his translation of it elsewhere and even in the next verse (גנה || ܓܢ̈ܬܐ). His particular choice of ܣܬ̈ܪ̈ܐ ("hiding places") here was influenced by אלים in the preceding cause, which he understood as referring to "(false) gods" (i.e., "idols" [ܨܠܡ̈ܐ]).[249] This must have suggested to him that, in light of the context of idolatry, the parallel הגנות would have to denote something similar here to אלים. Since the literal solution of "gardens" (ܓܢ̈ܬܐ)

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[248] Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. ניצוץ ("spark, sparkling light"); נצץ ("to sparkle, blossom"); צוץ ("to come forth, shine, bloom").

[249] See the discussion on אלים in 1:29a under S7.

would not have served as an ideal parallel, the translator interpreted הגנות in light of the Syriac √גני (“to be concealed, conceal” [G]; “to conceal, hide” [C]; “to hide” [Gt]), or its nominal form ܓܢܝܐ (“hiding place”).[250] Interestingly, M poetically reverses the imagery in 1:30 and compares Israel’s leaders to the very the objects they idolized (כי תהיו כאלה עלה וכגנה אשר־מים אין לה נבלת). And even though S-Isa faithfully rendered the sentence in 1:30 (ܠܡ ܐܢ ܐܬܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܠ ܥܠ ܐܠܢ ܕܐܒ ܥܠܗ ܘܐܝܟ ܓܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܝ, “For they will be like an oak whose leaves have fallen, and like a garden without water”), the translator did not go back and correct his renderings ܐܝܕܘܠܐ (“idols”) and ܐܬܪܐ ܓܢܝܐ (“secret places”) or maintain the imagery of his ST. Thus, reading אלים as אֵלִים required several subsequent translation choices that resulted in a TT at variance with M.[251]

S10.3 – Double-Renderings

S10.3.1 – Possible case of a double-rendering

Examples:
1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S1; S5; S8; S9.1.1; Pr2.4)

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܬܪ	*place of soundness*

As mentioned before, S-Isa’s ܐܬܪܐ (“place”) might suggest a double-reading (מקם/מתם),

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[250] Syriac ܓܢܝ is cognate to Aramaic גני, but for words meaning “hide,” Classical Syriac more commonly used derivatives from √ܟܣ (“to be hidden” [Gt]; “to hide” [C]): ܟܣܝ (“hidden”); ܟܣܝܘܬܐ (“secrecy”).

[251] Similar strategies have been noted to occur in the Septuagint. See Barr, “Guessing in the Septuagint,” who says, “A mistaken identification, once made, and once fixed either by pronunciation in Hebrew, i.e. in the Hebrew that it implies, or by translation into Greek, at once sends a series of shock waves along the line of contiguous words” (p. 33).

but ק/ת confusion is rare.[252]

S10.4 – Drudge/slot words

S-Isa, like other Peshiṭta translators, frequently rendered many Hebrew words with a slot or drudge word, a kind of default rendering for underlying lexemes whose meanings are semantically narrower (but not always [e.g., 1:4 below]), unclear yet inferable from the context, or simply unknown.[253] Changes in lexical semantics could also involve changes in tropes (cf. S9).

Example:
1:4 (cf. S9.1.1)
M: עם כָּבֶד עון — *a people weighed down (by) iniquity*
S: ܥܡܐ ܚܫܝܢܐ ܕܚܛܗ — *a people strong of iniquity*

As noted by Weitzman, ܚܫܝ is the most common root used in the Old Testament Peshiṭta to render underlying lexemes denoting strength, but also words with semantics unknown by the different translators.[254] This holds true for S-Isa, the translator for which used ܚܫܝ for several lexemes, some of which relate semantically to strength or power (e.g., 1:24 [אביר]; 2:15 [בצור]; 25:2 [בצורה]; 19:6 [מצור]; 19:4 [עז]; 19:6 [מעוזה]) and others of which do not cohere with ܚܫܝ.[255]

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[252] See the discussion under S5.

[253] On some uses of drudge words in the Old Testament Peshiṭta, see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 41.

[254] Ibid. See Weitzman's list of examples.

[255] For example, the translator of S-Isa used ܚܫܝ to translate the roots עלז (22:2; 23:7), ערץ (13:11; 25:3-4), שגב (12:4), רב (8:7), שאון (5:14), and מת (3:25).

S10.5 – Stock equivalents

S-Isa often defaulted to rendering particular lexemes with certain equivalents (שפט || ܕܝܢ), even in environments where doing so flattened the semantics in the Hebrew and other synonyms were available (1:4).[256] Such a strategy often resulted in a semantically repetitive TT in places where the Hebrew's semantic parallelism elicits more diversity (1:7, 17, 23, 26). And sometimes the translator's default rendering reflects a commitment to a preexisting exegetical tradition that guided his choice of lexemes that depart from his ST's semantics (1:24).

Examples:
1:4[257]

M:	גוי חטא עם כבד עון	*(Woe), O sinful nation, people weighed down with iniquity*
S:	ܘܝ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܥܡܐ ܣܒܝܐ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܙܪܥܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܥܡܐ ܬܩܝܦ ܒܥܘܠܐ	*Woe to a sinful people, a people strong of Iniquity*

S-Isa translated גוי with ܥܡܐ even though ܐܡܐ ("people, nation") would have served as an appropriate synonym. Aside from 61:9 (העמים || ܐܡܡܐ), S-Isa used ܐܡܐ ("people, nation") to render Hebrew לאמים (17:12; 34:1; 41:1; 43:4, 9; 49:1; 51:4; 55:4; 60:2), suggesting that ܥܡܐ was the translator's preference for גוי and that he had little reason to avoid repetition on the semantic level.

1:7

M:	ארצכם ... אדמתכם	*Your country ... your land*

[256] But with some words (e.g., צר) the translator demonstrated good variety: ܒܥܠ, "enemy" (1:24; 59:18); ܨܝܪ, "oppressor" (9:10; 63:18); and ܒܥܠ ܕܒܒܐ, "enemy" (26:11; 64:1).

[257] S-Isa consistently renders Hebrew גוי with ܥܡܐ (2:2, 4; 5:26; 9:2; 10:6, 7; 11:10, 12; 13:4; 14:6, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32; 16:8; 18:2 [2x], 7).

S: ܐܪܥܟ … ܐܪܥܟ *Your land … your land*

S-Isa consistently rendered אדמה with ܐܪܥܐ (cf. Isa 14:1; 28:24), as did other Peshiṭta translators (e.g., Jer 16:15; 23:8; 27:10; 27:11; 42:12; 52:27). The choice in Isa 1:7 is semantically appropriate, though the TT is lexically repetitive. As in the case of Isa 1:4 above, the translator exhibited little concern to avoid such repetition. The tactic of choosing a stock equivalent often received priority over semantic variation.[258]

1:17

M: שפטו יתום ריבו אלמנה *Vindicate the orphan! Plead for the widow!*

S: ܕܝܢܘ ܠܝܬܝܡܐ ܘܕܝܢܘ ܠܐܪܡܠܬܐ *Vindicate the orphans! Vindicate the widows!*

S-Isa routinely used ܕܝܢ to render שפט and ריב, both their verbal and nominal forms.[259] ܕܝܢ was used here to render both Hebrew equivalents in שפטו יתום ריבו אלמנה, even though such conformity inhibited the semantic variation in the translator's ST. Syriac ܕܝܢ can mean "to plead someone's case," but this expression requires a complement (e.g., ܠ or ܥܡ ܦܘܡܐ, "on behalf of a person").[260]

1:23

M: יתום לא ישפטו וריב אלמנה *They do not provide justice (for) the orphan,*

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[258] However, many words in the translator's ST neither had stock equivalents nor allowed the use of drudge words. In some of these cases, S-Isa exhibits the same degree of semantic variation as its ST (e.g., Isa 1:8 כסכה בכרם כמלונה במקשה כעיר נצורה || ܐܝܟ ܟܘܡܬܐ ܒܟܪܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܘܡܬܐ ܒܓܘ ܩܛܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܛܪܪܐ, "like a booth in a vineyard, and like a hut in a cucumber garden, and like a besieged city").

[259] S-Isa rendered every occurrence of √שפט with a form from √ܕܝܢ (1:17, 23, 26; 2:4; 3:2; 5:3; 11:3, 4; 16:5; 33:32; 40:23; 43:26; 51:5; 59:4; 66:16). Likewise, aside from one instance (57:16 [לא לעולם אריב || ܠܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܬܚܡܐ ܘܠܐ], "I will not keep anger forever"]), S-Isa consistently rendered ריב with a form from ܕܝܢ (3:13; 19:20; 27:8; 45:9; 49:25; 50:8; 51:22).

[260] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܕܝܢ.

	לא־יבוא אליהם	*and the dispute of the widow does not come before them.*
S:	ܕܝܢܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ	*They do not administer justice (for)*
	ܠܝܬܡܐ ܘܕܝܢ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܗܘܢ	*orphans, and the judgment of widows does not go to them.*

This example is similar to the last except here M's ריב is a noun, which is found five times in Isaiah. Of these five occurrences, S-Isa translated the noun with ܕܝܢ ("judgment"; Isa 1:23; 34:8; 41:21). His choices for the remaining two occurrences reveal his understanding of the noun's connotations of "contention, strife" (41:11, יאבדו אנשי ריבך || ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܬܚܕܝܢ ܥܡܟ ܢܗܘܘ ܐܒܕܝܢ, "the men who contend with you will perish"; 58:4, הן תצומו לריב ומצה || ܐܢ ܒܨܘܡ ܬܬܟܪܟܘܢ ܘܒܡܚܐ ܕܡܬܚܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ, "If you fast for contention and strife"). Lexically-specific solutions as such would have been more contextually appropriate here.[261]

1:24 (cf. G11; S10.1.2; Pr1.3)

M:	נאם האדון יהוה צבאות	*An utterance of the Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ	*Thus says the Lord of Lords*

M's נאם refers to some sort of "utterance" of revelation and is found exclusively in contexts of prophecy,[262] but its precise etymology and morphology are uncertain.[263] The various Peshiṭta translators most frequently rendered it with the participle ܐܡܪ

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[261] Syriac ܕܝܢܐ ("strife, contention, dispute") also would have been a good candidate for ריב in this context.

[262] BDB, s.v. נאם.

[263] G. R. Driver argues that נאם is a "stereotyped archaism," much like we find in all languages to indicate a speech act (*Problems of the Hebrew Verbal Syntax* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1936], 145). Williamson cites Driver's argument approvingly (*Isaiah 1-5*, 123).

("speaking, saying"), which has a wide semantic field and requiries context and modifiers to determine the type of speech in view.[264] On the functional level, however, נאם is quite similar to אמר (cp. Jer 49:18 and 50:40). This semantic realization appears in many modern Bible translations (i.e., "thus says the LORD") and could have been the line of reasoning that led S-Isa (and translators of the other versions [e.g., T and G]) to render נאם with a basic verb of saying. The obvious semantic difference to note here is that Syriac ܐܡܪ is not found exclusively in literary contexts of revelation or prophecy.

1:24 (cf. G5.5; S5; S7; Pr1.2)

M:	האדון יהוה צבאות	*The Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܐ̈ ܡܪܝ	*The Lord of lords, the mighty one*

The divine epithet יהוה צבאות occurs sixty-two times in Isaiah, which S-Isa translated primarily with ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ unless the epithet in Hebrew is in apposition to other names for God or other epithets (e.g., האדון; אדוני; אלהי ישראל), like the case in 1:24.[265] The following chart demonstrates S-Isa's overwhelming consistency, while also taking stock of numerous anomalous renderings (e.g., יהוה צבאות || ܐܡܪ̈ܝ ܡܪܝ at 1:9 [see Pr7]):

יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ – 47x
יהוה צבאות || ܐܡܪ̈ܝ ܡܪܝ – 1x
יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝ – 1x
האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܐ̈ ܡܪܝ – 1x
האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܐ̈ ܡܪܝ – 1x
האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܐ ܡܪܝ – 2x

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[264] The equivalent נאם || ܐܡܪ is found in S-Isa in the following places: 3:15; 14:22; 14:23; 17:3, 6; 19:4; 22:25; 30:1; 31:9; 37:34; 41:14; 43:10; 43:12; 49:18; 52:5; 54:17; 55:8; 56:8; 59:20; 66:2; 66:17; 66:22.

[265] S-Isa translated יהוה צבאות with ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ at 3:15; 5:7, 9, 16, 24; 6:3, 5; 8:13, 18; 9:6, 12, 18; 10:26; 13:4; 14:22, 23, 24, 27; 17:3; 18:7 (2x); 19:4, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25; 22:14, 25; 23:9; 24:23; 25:6; 28:5; 28:29; 29:6; 31:4, 5; 37:32; 39:5; 44:6; 45:13; 47:4; 48:2; 51:15; 54:5.

אדוני יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ – 4x
אדוני יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܐ – 3x
יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל || ܝܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܐ – 1x
יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל || ܝܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ – 1x

The equivalent יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ is not unique to S-Isa (e.g., Jer 2:19; Mic 4:4; Nah 2:14; Hab 2:13; Zeph 2:9; Hag 1:2; Zech 1:4; Mal 1:14) and reflects the exegetical or liturgical tradition of analyzing צבאות as an intensive abstract plural,[266] which is an intellible way of understanding the function of צבאות in different books of the Hebrew Bible stemming from different periods of the word's usage.[267] Its denotation in Isaiah, however, probably refers to a "host" comprised of members of Yahweh's divine council (cf. Isa 6:1-5; 1 Kgs 22:19-23), including military personnel (cf. 31:4-5), with Yahweh as their commander.[268] At least some of these military connotations of √צבא seem to have been lost on the translator of S-Isa, as evidenced by his *exclusive* use of √ܥܠ ("to strengthen"; or ܚܝܠܐ, "strength, might"; or ܐܟܣܢܝܐ, "hosts" [pl.]) to render its nominal and verbal forms.[269] Whether the association of צבאות with "strength" led to an imposition

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[266] See G's κύριος παντοκράτωρ in many LXX books (e.g., 2 Sam 5:10; 1 Chron 11:9; Jer 23:16; Nah 2:14; Hag 1:2; Zech 1:3; Mal 1:4).

[267] See the section B.4.f in *HALOT*, s.v. צבאות.

[268] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 72-73.

[269] For his translations of the verb צבא, see 29:7a (ܬܥܠܝܬܐ, "strengthening"); 29:7b (ܚܝܠܐ, "strong [deeds]"); 29:8 (ܬܥܠܝܬܐ, "strengthening"); 31:4 (ܠܡܬܥܠ, "to strengthen"). Likewise, he consistently translated צבא (excluding its occurrences in the collocation יהוה צבאות) with ܚܝܠܐ ("strength, host") in 13:4; 24:21; 34:2; 34:4 (2x); 40:2, 26; 45:12. Admittedly, ܚܝܠܐ can mean "army" in Syriac, but this is not the word's primary meaning and must be interpreted in light of the translator's use of √ܥܠ even in contexts where his choice clearly deviates semantically from his ST. See his word division, for example, at 13:4 (יהוה צבאות מפקד צבא מלחמה || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܚܝܠܐ, "the Lord, the mighty one, does strong [deeds]"), where his limited understanding of the

of semantics onto other words from the same root, or *vice versa*, is difficult to determine. However, the cross-linguistic evidence of reading צבאות as an intensive abstract plural (e.g., G's κύριος παντοκράτωρ) and the association of √צבא with √ܥܠ clearly had developed by the time of S-Isa's translation. One or both traditions likely governed his choice of the equivalent ܡܪܝܐ for צבאות.

1:26 (cf. G3.2; G5.1; S1)

M:	יקרא לך עיר הצדק קריה נאמנה	*You will be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܕܩܫܬܐ ܢܬܩܪܝ ܠܟ ܐܡܐ ܕܙܕܩܬܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܕܩܫܬܐ	*You will be called the city of righteousness, and the city of faithfulness*

This is yet another good example of how S-Isa's tendency to supply default equivalents resulted in a TT with less semantic richness than its ST. Even though the translator used ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ("city") many times elsewhere to render both עיר (e.g., 1:7; 6:11; 14:17) and קריה (e.g., 22:2; 24:10; 25:2, 3), he chose to employ ܡܪܝܐ ("city") two times in this verse despite his ST's explicit semantic parallelism. Moreover, he rendered the exact same Hebrew expression in 1:21 (קריה נאמנה) with ܡܪܝܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ("the faithful city"). This lack of consistency in choosing lexical equivalents even within close proximity suggests that lexical consistency was not necessarily the translator's (or a transmitter's) goal.

S10.6 – Hebraisms

This strategy includes translations whose lexical semantics do not correspond with their normal use in Classical Syriac. Rather, they adhere to the semantics of the underlying Hebrew lexemes.

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semantics of צבא required him to analyze מלחמה as beginning the next sentence (ܡܠܚܡܬܐ ܡܬܝܢ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܪܚܩ, "Warriors are coming from far away" || באים מארץ מרחק).

Examples:

1:11

M:	למה־לי רב־זבחיכם	*What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?*
S:	ܠܡܐ ܠܝ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܕܕܒܚܝܟ̈ܘܢ	*What are they to me, the multitude of your sacrifices?*

While S-Isa consistently translated למה with ܠܡܐ (40:27; 55:2; 58:3; 63:17), often with the interrogative sense of "what?", the Syriac locution ܠܡܐ almost always means "Why?" It can also mean "the fact that, because" in certain phrases, but that cannot be the sense in Isa 1:11.[270] The possibility that ܠܡܐ reflects attraction to G-Isa's interrogative τί is highly unlikely given that many of the Peshiṭta translators rendered למה with ܠܡܐ and the correspondence is not formal (= διὰ τί; cf. Isa 63:2).[271]

1:11

M:	ודם פרים וכבשים ועתודים לא חפצתי	*And the blood of bulls, and lambs, and goats I did not delight in.*
S:	ܘܕܡܐ ܕܬܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܕܟܪ̈ܒܐ ܘܕܥܬ̈ܘܕܐ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬ	*And the blood of bulls, and lambs, and goats I did not delight (in).*

While the Biblical Hebrew expression "to delight in" occurs without its prepositional complement in poetic texts (cf. Isa 55:11; 58:2; Hos 6:6; Mic 7:18; Pss 37:23; 40:7; 51:8, 18, 21; 68:31; 115:3; 135:6; Prov 21:2; Job 21:14; Qoh 8:3), it is usually accompanied with ב.[272] The same morphosyntax holds for Syriac ܨܒܝ, which S-Isa sometimes

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[270] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܠܡܐ.

[271] Contra the terse suggestion in Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 11.

[272] See the many citations in *HALOT*, s.v. חפץ.

accompanied with ـت even when its Hebrew ST did not have it (38:17; 30:2).[273] Elsewhere the translator did not include it when the sense called for it (42:21). This inconsistency is not uncharacteristic of the translator of S-Isa.

1:31 (cf. G11; Pr2.4)

M:	אין מכבה	*with none to quench (them)*
S:	ܠܝܬ ܕܡܟܒܝ	*there is none who quenches*

As discussed in G11, the Syriac expression ܕ ܠܝܬ means "not to be allowed," which is clearly not the sense in 1:31. Rather, the function of ܕ in this example and throughout the Peshiṭta is as a relative particle that seems to refer to an implied subject in ܠܝܬ (= "there is *none*"), much like the particle אין does in 1:31 and elsewhere. It appears, then, that the Peshiṭta translators' use of the Syriac particle ܠܝܬ involved a subtle borrowing of the semantics of its Hebrew counterpart.

3. Pragmatic Strategies

These strategies have to do with translator's selection of information in the TT, "a selection that is governed by the translator's knowledge of the prospective readership of the translation."[274] Since these strategies typically involve larger changes from the ST, they require syntactic and semantic changes to manipulate form and meaning, thus affecting the TT's message. They are quite often influenced by the translator's "global decisions concerning the appropriate way to translate the text as a whole."[275] As the

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[273] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ـت.

[274] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 107.

[275] Ibid.

former strategies have made clear, larger changes do not characterize S-Isa. Therefore, there is scant evidence for S-Isa's use of pragmatic strategies. Nevertheless, what evidence does and does not exist is equally important for understanding the translator's model of translation.

Pr1: Cultural filtering

Translators apply cultural filters when items in the ST/L, especially items specific to the source culture, must be adapted, naturalized, or domesticated to meet certain norms in the target culture (e.g., sociocultural; ideological; socioreligious; translational).[276] This is especially true when the ST/L is no longer linked to its original source culture and thus has no status within it. Translation of such a ST/L can present problems, since the two cultures may not share the same cultural presuppositions or ideology.[277] However, since a TT/L culture may prefer direct transfer from the ST/L (e.g., in the translation of sacred literature), strategies involving exoticization, foreignization, or estrangement can also be viewed in terms of cultural filters.[278] As S-Isa is largely an isomorphic translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* approximating M, the whole translation could be characterized as a foreignized translation. Functional equivalents are difficult to find, but not non-existent (e.g., נאם || ܐܡܪ). Most culture-specific items that the translator changed are linguistic in nature. Thus, I have analyzed and placed them under the former strategies (G1-11; S1-

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[276] Ibid., 108.

[277] J. House, *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment* (Tübingen: TBL Verlag Gunter Narr, 1977), 247.

[278] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 108.

10). Some of these strategies could be interpreted as the target culture's preference for the TT's linguistic fidelity to its ST (e.g., Hebraisms [S10.5]) and thus could be considered as a kind of cultural filter, but linguistic deviations from M could just as easily indicate certain vocational norms inherent to the task of translation. Thus, I limit the following examples to those that cannot be explained purely on a linguistic basis, including oral traditions, possible ideological/exegetical renderings, and translation traditions (e.g., assimilations to the common expression in the TL).

Pr1.1 – Oral traditions

Example:
1:1 (cf. Pr7.1)[279]
M: ישעיהו *Isaiah*
S: ܐܫܥܝܐ *Isaiah*

Pr1.2 – (Possible) Ideological/exegetical renderings

1:18 (cf. G11; S8; S10.1.2; Pr2.4)
M: לכו־נא ונוכחה *Come now, and let us reason together!*
S: ܐܬܐ ܢܬܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܕ̈ *Come! Let us speak with each other!*

Mentioned above (G11) was the notion that S-Isa's ܢܬܡܠܠ (|| נוכחה) possibly reflects the translator's hesitancy to posit the idea that man should "reprove" God.[280] Based on his translation of √יכח elsewhere (2:4; 11:4; 37:4) and his correct morphological parsing of it here suggests that he read נוכחה with the meaning "Let us reprove each other," a concept

[279] For other name changes in S-Isa 1-38, see Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 7.

[280] This observation was made independently of Warszawski, who argues, "Diese Abschwächung des Ausdrucks ist hier beabsichtigt, da ein Rechten mit Gott nicht passend schien" (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 11).

he (intentionally?) avoided by employing √חלל (“to speak”) instead.[281]

1:23 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S7; S8; Pr2.4)		
M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܡܬܪܕܦܝܢ ܠܡܬܚܙܝ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*
G:	ἀγαπῶντες δῶρα διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα	*—loving gifts, pursuing requital.*
T:	כולהון רחמין לקבלא שוחדא אמרין גבר לחבריה עביד לי בדיני דאשלים לך בדינך	*All of them love to accept a bribe, saying—a man to his neighbor—assist me in my case, so that I will repay you in your case.*

S-, G-, and T-Isa’s common analysis of שלמנים with the sense of “repayment” (instead of M’s “salutation gifts”) may suggest that all the translators relied on a common exegetical tradition. Since S-Isa’s reading here bears some lexical congruity with G-Isa, I reserve discussion of the parallel for Chapter 5.

1:24 (cf. G5.5; S5; S7; S10.5)		
M:	האדון יהוה צבאות	*The Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܘ	*The Lord of lords, the mighty one*

In S10.4 (Stock equivalents) I discussed how S-Isa’s ܡܪܝܐ (|| צבאות) perpetuated an exegetical or liturgical tradition known throughout the Peshiṭta and attested in earlier translations with similar instantiations (e.g., G’s κύριος παντοκράτωρ). The tradition had its origins in analyzing צבאות as an intensive abstract plural, but that semantic development took place before S-Isa’s own inception.

1:26 (cf. S1; S7)		
M:	ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה	*And I will restore your judges as before*
S:	ܘܐܬܒ ܕܝܢܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܣܘܡ ܠܟ	*And I will set up your judges just as before*
G:	καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον	*And I will establish your judges as before*
T:	ואמני ביך דייני קושטא תקנין	*And I will appoint honest judges among you,*

[281] Cp. the similar expression in Isa 43:26: נשפטה יחד || ܢܬܕܝܢ ܒܗܕܐ, “let us judge together”.

כיד בקדמית *steadfast as before*

Mentioned in S1 was the possibility that S-, G-, and T-Isa all relied on a common exegetical tradition here and (less likely) in 3:4. While M focuses on the restoration of Israel's judges, the versions accentuate the idea of (re)appointment, though restoration is implied in their renderings for כבראשנה. S-Isa's ܐܩܝܡ ("I will set up") does not necessarily stand out in view of how the translator used ܩܘܡ to render different Hebrew verbs (e.g., עמד; קום; נתן; כרת), and he could have independently arrived at the meaning "establish, appoint, set up" by the context alone. Thus, his reliance on an exegetical tradition here is only a possibility.

Pr1.3 – Assimilations

Many assimilations occur as a result of norms that influence the translator to make explicit what is implied in his ST. I have placed examples of such in Pr2 (Explicitess change). Here I provide examples of where the translator of S-Isa deviated from M in preference for a more common expression.

1:13 (cf. G11; S5; Pr2.4)

M:	חדש ושבת קרא מקרא	*New moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly—*
S:	ܒܪܝܫ ܝܪܚܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܘܒܝܘܡ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܩܪܝܬ ܟܢܫܬܐ	*On the first of the months, and on the Sabbath, you assemble the congregation;*

1:24 (cf. G10; S10.1.2; S10.5)

M:	נאם האדון יהוה צבאות	*An utterance of the Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܪܐ ܐܡܪ	*Thus says the Lord of Lords, the mighty one*

1:24 (cf. G5.2.2; G5.5)

M:	האדון יהוה	*The Lord, the LORD*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ	*The Lord of lords*

Occurring ~300 times in Peshiṭta (especially Ezekiel), the Syriac collocation ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ ("the Lord of lords") for אדני יהוה was the standard epithet for God, reflecting a translation

tradition in Syriac. The proximity of האדון יהוה to the Hebrew locution here likely triggered the translator to default to the normal equivalent, though he did not follow the same path in its other occurrences (10:16, 33; 19:4), aside from one (3:1). Nor did he remain consistent in rendering the more common Hebrew expression אדני יהוה (see G5.2.2).

Pr2: Explicitness change

Commonly referred to as a translation universal,[282] explicitation involves adding components that are (assumed to be) implicit in the ST, and implicitation is the converse strategy.[283] Either strategy necessarily involves other grammatical and syntactic shifts. For examples involving small morphosyntactic changes (Pr2.1), I provide only the Syriac text below, since these examples are listed and examined above (see G1-11; S1-10). I do not include inadvertent explicitations, since these are caused by the translator's solutions to problems in his ST that have no basis in drawing out what is implied. In other words, they were not governed by norms inherent to the TT's prospective function or a result of the translator's global decision-making process. They were *ad hoc* solutions by nature, requiring *ad hoc* production strategies.

Pr2.1 – Addition of preposition

1:1 (cf. G8.2.1)
S: ܒܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܠ̈ ܘܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܠ̈ *concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem*

1:5 (cf. G8.2.1)

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[282] On translation universals, see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 295-316; and S. Halverson, "The Cognitive Basis of Translational Universals," 197-241.

[283] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 108-109.

S: ܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܘܟܠ ܟܪܥܐ ܠ ܐ ܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܠ ܟܪܥܐ — *the whole heart is (given over) to sickness and the whole heart to sickness.*

1:7 (cf. G4; G6.2.1; G8.2.1)
S: ܡܕܝܢܬܟ ܒܢܝܪ ܐ ܟܝ — *Your cities are burned with fire.*

1:13 (cf. G5.9)
S: ܠ ܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܠ ܡܓܝ ܫ ܘ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ — *Do not continue to bring to me vain offerings.*

Pr2.2 – Addition of signs of the infinitive (prefixed-ܠ)

1:12 (cf. G5.2.2; G8.6)[284]
M: רמס חצרי — *to trample my courts*
S: ܠ ܕܪܟ ܬ — *to trample my courts*

1:13 (cf. G5.9; G8.6)
M: לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת־שוא — *Do not continue bringing vain offerings.*
S: ܠ ܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ — *Do not continue to bring to me vain offerings.*

1:14 (cf. G8.6)
M: נלאיתי נשא — *I am weary of bearing (them).*
S: ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ — *I am weary of bearing (them).*

1:17 (cf. G8.6)
M: למדו היטב — *Learn to do good!*
S: ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ ܐ ܟ ܬ — *Learn to do good!*

Pr2.3 – Explicitation of predication

1:11 (cf. G3.5; G5.4)
M: למה־לי רב־זבחיכם יאמר יהוה — *What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? says the LORD.*
S: ܡ ܡ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܬ — *What are they to me, the multitude of your*

[284] The complexities of the Hebrew here are discussed in G5.2.2. S-Isa added the sign of the infinitive (ܠ) to clarify its coordination with the preceding verb ܒܥܐ (“to seek”).

	ܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܬܐ	*sacrifices? says the Lord.*[285]

1:23 (cf. G6.7)

M:	שריך סוררים וחברי גנבים	*Your princes are rebels and partners of thieves.*
S:	ܪܫܝܟ ܡܪܕܐ ܘܚܒܪ ܓܢܒ̈ܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ̈ܝ	*Your nobles rebel, and partners of thieves are they.*

Pr2.4 – Other changes in explicitness

Less frequently the translator of S-Isa clarified the sense of his ST by adding linguistic elements or paraphrasing (cf. S8), either because his ST was too contextually unclear or lexically obscure, or both.

Examples:

1:6 (cf. G4; G9; S1; S5; S8; S9.1.1; S10.3.1)

M:	מתם	*soundness*
S:	ܐܬܪ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ	*place of soundness*

In this example, S-Isa clarified that מתם refers to the physical soundness that was lacking in Israel's body, a larger metaphor for Israel's iniquity.

1:13 (cf. G11; S5; S8)

M:	חדש ושבת קרא מקרא	*New moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly—*
S:	ܒܥܝ ܫܪܝ ܕܝܪܚܐ ܕܫܢܐ ܘܒܫܒܬܐ ܡܟܢܫ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ	*On the first of the months, and on the Sabbath, you assemble the congregation;*

S-Isa correctly analyzed חדש as referring to lunar months, whose initial days were set aside for religious observance. The translator explicitated the sense of חדש by adding "on the first of" (ܒܥܝ). Also, the translator evaluated קרא as a participle, requiring him to

[285] S-Isa rendered every instance of יאמר יהוה with ܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ (1:18; 33:10; 41:21; 66:9). He also translated יאמר elsewhere primarily with the participle of √ܐܡܪ (29:16; 40:1 [ܐܡܪ ܠܫܡܥ], 25 [ܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ]; 41:6, 21; 44:20; 45:9) and less frequently with the imperfect (33:24; 44:5; 56:3; 58:9) or perfect (8:12; 44:16, 17).

clarify who the subject is in the clause (ܐܢܬ, "you").

1:18 (cf. G11; S8; S10.1.2; Pr1.2)

M:	לכו־נא ונוכחה	*Come now, and let us reason together!*
S:	ܐܚܕ ܒܗܕ̈ ܢܬܟܠܡ ܗܐ	*Come! Let us speak with each other!*

Here S-Isa clarified the reflexive sense of נוכחה by adding ܐܚܕ ܒܗܕ̈, since his choice of ܢܬܟܠܡ ("let us speak"), an imperfect verb, does not convey reflexivity without an adverbial complement.

1:19-20 (cf. G8.4; S1; S2; S7; S8)

M:	… אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey …*
	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But it you refuse and rebel …*
S:	… ܘܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ̈ܝܬ̈ ܠܡ̈ܫܡܥ ܠܝ	*And if you obey and listen to me …*
	ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ̈ܝܬ̈ ܠܐ ܠܡ̈ܫܡܥ	*And if you do not obey and resist …*

S-Isa's semantic changes here (i.e., "be willing" → "obey"; "refuse" → "do not obey") emphasize the notion of obedience implied in the text. The translator made it clear that willingness and listening alone will not fulfill the vivid promise of forgiveness in 1:19.

1:23 (cf. G11; S1; S6; S7; S8; Pr1.2)

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܡܚܣܕ̈ ܠܡܚܦ ܡܚܬ̈ܗ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*

In this example, the translator attempted to clarify the sense of שלמנים (*hapax*), which he analyzed incorrectly as deriving from the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense"). By adding the infinitive ܠܡܚܦ ("to requite"), he explicated the process of repaying interests in haste. The idea of "chasing after" (רדף) interests did not make sense in context, explaining why the translator departed from his usual renderings for רדף and chose ܡܚܬ̈ܗ instead.[286]

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[286] For S-Isa's usual renderings of √רדף, see 5:11 (ܪܕܦ); 17:13 (ܢܬܪ); 30:16 (ܢܬܪܕܦ̈); 41:3 (ܒܥܐ); 51:1 (ܪܕܦ).

1:31 (cf. G5.6)

M:	היה החֶסֹן לנערת	*The strong will be as tow*
S:	ܗܘܝ ܚܝܠ[ܗ] ܕܥܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܢܥܘܪ	*[Their] strength will be as tow*

To clarify the antecedent of this clause, S-Isa provided the 3mp suffix, referring back to the subjects in verse 30 (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܘܢ ܕܥܠܡ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ, "For they will be like an oak").

1:31 (cf. G11; S10.6)

M:	אין מכבה	*with none to quench (them)*
S:	ܠܝܬ ܕ[ܡ]ܟܒܐ	*there is none [who] quenches*

The translator's use of ܠܝܬ here required the insertion of ܕ to clarify that the particle implies a subject. This is not the ordinary way ܠܝܬ was used (see S10.6), so explicitation was doubly necessary to produce a readable TT.

Pr3: Information change

This change involves adding new (non-inferrable) information that is relevant to the target culture but is not included in the ST. Moreover, this strategy occurs when the translator omits information from his ST that he believes is irrelevant to his readership.[287] There are no clear cases of this strategy in S-Isa 1.

Pr4: Interpersonal change

Operating at the level of the overall style, this strategy "alters the formality level, the degree of emotiveness and involvement, the level of technical lexis and the like: anything that involves a change in the relationship between text/author and read."[288] As with the last strategy, there are no cases of this strategy in S-Isa 1.

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[287] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 109-110.

[288] Ibid., 110.

Pr5: Illocutionary change

Mood changes, changes in various rhetorical devices, and changes in specific classes of speech acts (e.g., direct to indirect speech) all affect a text's illocution and work in conjunction with other strategies (e.g., G5, Phrase structure change).[289] Three cases of illocutionary change are found in S-Isa 1, the explanations for which reside in local linguistic concerns and the translator's preference for contextual coherence.

1:4 (cf. G5.3)

M:	עזבו ... נאצו ... נזרו	*(who) have forsaken ... have despised ... are estranged*
S:	... ܫܒܩܬ̈ܘܢ ... ܐܬܟܥܣ̈ܘ ܐܬܦܢ̈ܝܬ̈ܘ	*You have abandoned ... have provoked ... have turned (behind yourselves)*

Here S-Isa independently analyzed the same subjects as constituents of a long vocative address (הוי… משחיתים).[290]

1:29 (cf. G5.3)

M:	כי יבשו מאילים אשר חמדתם ותחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם	*For they will be ashamed of the oaks which you took pleasure in, and you will be abashed because of the gardens which you have chosen.*
S:	ܡܛܠ ܕ ܐܬܒܫܘ ܡܢ ܐܝܠ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕ ܚܡܕ̈ܬ̈ܘ ܘ ܐܬܟܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܓ̈ܢ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕ ܒܚ̈ܬ̈ܘ	*For they will be ashamed of the idols which they desired, and they will be ashamed of the gardens which they have chosen*

1:30 (cf. G5.3)

M:	כי תהיו כאלה	*For you will become like an oak*
S:	ܡܛܠ ܕ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠ̈ܐ	*For they will become like an oak*

In both these examples, S-Isa assimilated the person of these verbs to the first in the series (יבשו). The translator did not prefer to change the person so abruptly, thus affecting

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[289] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 110-11.

[290] For more on this specific example, see the notes in G5.3.

the TT's illocution.

Pr6: Coherence change

Contra G8 (Cohesion change), which lists changes having to do with formal markers of cohesion, coherence changes "have to do with the logical arrangement of information in the text, at the ideational level."[291] No such changes occur in S-Isa 1.

Pr7: Partial translation

This is a broad category that includes strategies such as summary translation, transcription, transliteration, etc.[292] Since some partial transliterations in S-Isa may indicate reflexes of an oral tradition, they should be cross-listed with Pr1 (Cultural filtering).

Pr7.1 – Transcriptions

Examples:
1:1 (cf. Pr1.1)

M:	יחזקיהו ... עזיהו ... ישעיהו	*Isaiah ... Uzziah ... Hezekiah*
S:	ܚܙܩܝܐ ... ܥܙܝܐ ... ܐܫܥܝܐ	*Isaiah ... Uzziah ... Hezekiah*

Personal and geographical pronouns in S-Isa are almost always transcribed, but there are exceptions. Weitzman argues that the phonology of ܐܫܥܝܐ, as with other major prophets (e.g., ירמיהו || ܝܪܡܝܐ; יחזקאל || ܚܙܩܐܠ), suggests preservation of a specific oral formulation in Syriac.[293] The lack of transcription for the other theophoric endings (הו-) on ܥܙܝܐ and ܚܙܩܝܐ problematizes Weitzman's assumption, but the need for consistency should not be

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[291] Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 111.

[292] Ibid., 111-12.

[293] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 51.

expected on less common forms. The phonological shift may reflect a reading or speaking tradition.

1:1		
M:	אמוץ אשר חזה על־יהודה וירושלם בימי עזיהו יותם אחז	*(son of) Amos, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz*
S:	ܕܥܡܘܣ ܕܚܙܐ ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܥܠ ܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܥܘܙܝܐ ܘܝܘܬܡ ܘܐܚܙ	*(son of) Amos, which he saw concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah and Jotham and Ahaz*

1:9[294]		
M:	יהוה צבאות	*The LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ	*The Lord of hosts*

Pr8: Visibility change

Broadly speaking, this strategy refers to a change in "the status of the authorial presence." This can be executed by "overt intrusion" or "foregrounding of the translatorial presence" (e.g., footnotes; bracketed comments; added glosses). Put another way, the translator becomes "visibly interposed between original author and reader, and the author is accordingly backgrounded (temporarily)."[295] S-Isa's close adherence to the form and semantics of its ST suggests that the translator wished to preserve his ST inasmuch as he was able to produce an acceptable Syriac translation. With this goal in mind, he did not intrusively make his presence known.

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[294] The divine epithet יהוה צבאות occurs over sixty times in Isaiah (see G5.5), but S-Isa rendered it with ܡܪܝܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ only here, as opposed to S-Jeremiah, which preferred the transcription.

[295] All quotations from Chesterman, *Memes of Translation,* 112.

Pr9: Transediting

This strategy refers to the radical re-editing translators sometimes have to do on poorly preserved ultimate STs. As Chesterman notes, it includes "drastic re-ordering, rewriting, at a more general level than the kinds of changes covered by the strategies so far mentioned." [296] As expected, no signs of transediting occur in S-Isa 1.

Pr10: Other pragmatic changes

The obvious pragmatic strategy not listed in Chesterman's typology yet most relevant to this project is the strategy of (indirectly or directly) accessing another MT/L to assist in producing the TT. I have devoted Chapter 5 to listing and evaluating these data.

Toward a Descriptive Profile of S-Isa's Operational and Regulative Norms

The inventory above categorized the various non-literal shifts the translator of S-Isa made at the text-linguistic level. Regarding changes at the morphosyntactic level, the translator was by no means bound to isomorphic or atomistic translation, though both characterize what seemed to have been his default translation policy. The high number of phrase structure changes (G4) and cohesion changes (G8) suggest that the translator aimed for linguistic well-formedness at the micro-level. Everything he produced was grammatically well-formed Syriac, clearing up morphosyntactic difficulties in his ST by supplying modifiers, complements, and other small linguistic changes and explicitations. However, his quantitative fidelity to his ST, including his serial fidelity (i.e., strict adherence to word order), still allowed for a fair degree of interference from his ST/L,

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[296] Ibid.

precluding the kind of macro-level clause, sentence, and other poetic changes requisite to achieve textual and literary well-formedness (e.g., intertextuality; cultural referencing; thematically-motivated shifts; alliteration).

At the semantic level, the translator worked toward producing lexis that approximated his ST. However, his TT is less semantically rich than his ST, as revealed by his stock pairing, lexical repetition, and use of drudge words. Such tactics preserved the ST's semantic parallelism only accidentally. While cognate translation can be found frequently in S-Isa, much of this exists because of the semantic similarities between Hebrew and Syriac. However, as the shifts in S1 indicate, the translator felt some freedom to provide synonyms that were not exactly the expected lexical equivalents.

The text of Isaiah 1 presented many difficulties to the translator of S-Isa (e.g., ambiguous forms; *hapax legomena*; elliptic constructions). Unsurprisingly, approximately half of the cases listed under G11 (Texts with many formal changes) and S8 (Paraphrase) and over seventy-five percent of the cases under S7 (Emphasis change) exist because of the translator's misanalysis of a particular form or triradical root, his limited understanding of a known lexeme's semantic range, or his unfamiliarity with a particular lexeme (e.g., *hapax legomena*). His (sometimes incorrect) solutions to these problems involved the following *ad hoc* strategies, often in combination: 1) adjusting nearby morphosyntactic content to accommodate his assumed vocalization and/or the semantic requirements of his choice of lexeme; 2) intuiting the sense of an obscure lexeme in light of the context; 3) inferring a root's semantic meaning by way of Aramaic or Syriac; and 4) choosing a slot word that did not obscure the sense of the passage. The possibility of whether the translator directly or indirectly consulted G-Isa as another *ad*

hoc strategy to interpret lexical difficulties in his ST will be examined in the next chapter.

And last, some non-literal translations in S-Isa have explanation in pragmatic concerns, such as the translator's occasional assimilation to a more common expression (Pr1.2), his frequent linguistic explicitations (Pr2), and his exegetical renderings (Pr1.2). Taken as a whole, however, pragmatic shifts in S-Isa are exceedingly scarce, and this fact is revealing. It suggests that S-Isa's target audience expected a TT that more or less communicated the same message as its ST. Moreover, S-Isa's many micro-level explicitations (e.g., prepositions; enclitics; other small morphological markers) suggest that at least one global decision was for the translator to produce a readable TT. There was little tolerance for the TT to include barbarisms, unmarked predication, and hypotaxis at the morphosyntactic level.

Conclusion

The abovementioned micro-textual analysis and description of S-Isa's regulative and translational norms is necessary to gauge negative interference from G-Isa, since one must know what constitutes S-Isa's *Übersetzungsweise* in order to rule out the hypothesis of "influence from G-Isa" when common translation technique better explains the S-G parallel. This inventory allows for quick and easy comparison to the S-G agreements in Chapter 5 that pass the necessary methodological criteria outlined in Chapter 3. Rather than make the bare claim often seen in the literature that a certain agreement has its explanation in translation technique, I can cite specific tactics of S-Isa demonstrated elsewhere (often where G-Isa goes its own way) in light of the norms that governed the translator's process of translation. S-G agreements that can be explained by S-Isa's translation technique, or norm-governed decisions, should not be used in support of a

hypothesis that assumes G-Isa's (direct or indirect) influence on S-Isa.

CHAPTER 5: COMMENTARY ON S-G AGREEMENTS IN ISAIAH 1-39

Introduction

I argued in Chapter 3 that the complexities inherent to ancient Bible translation necessitate micro-textual analysis in order to track possible interference from a MT/L such as G-Isa. I also argued in Chapter 4 that because G-Isa's influence on S-Isa is sporadic at best, one must have an informed idea of how the translator typically rendered his ST at difficult places so as to mitigate hasty conclusions involving G-Isa's influence on S-Isa when other explanations more easily account for the S-G agreement under consideration. The inventory provided in Chapter 4, along with the articulation of S-Isa's regulative norms, now allows for the application of my refined criteria for identifying and explaining S-G agreements in Isaiah. The goal of this chapter is to gain a much clearer idea of S-Isa's translation norms. What was the translator's translation policy at difficult points in his ST, and how do we explain his solutions when they agree exclusively with G-Isa? What was the directness of translation with respect to his ST? Was there any tolerance for translating from G-Isa, even if indirectly? These questions can be answered only by examining S-Isa's operational norms more closely. While many of the translator's operational norms were enumerated at the end of the last chapter, this chapter looks specifically for one text-linguistic norm—the translator's selection of G-Isa as the linguistic material for the formulation of his TT. With this data (or lack thereof), one can finally write up S-Isa's constitutive norms. For my data set, I analyze all the S-G agreements in Isaiah 1-5 and the significant ones noted by scholars through Isaiah 39.

Criteria for Identifying S-G Agreements

The S-G agreements in this chapter will be examined by means of micro-textual analysis and in light of the following criteria. If both versions appear to deviate from M, I list them below. For those agreements that have explanation in S-Isa's translation technique, I simply refer to the specific strategy listed in Chapter 4. This tagging system allows me to avoid repeating the nature of the agreement in prose and rests on the premise that agreements of such a kind do not betray influence from G-Isa since the same strategy is typical of the Syriac translator's autonomous translation processes. S-G agreements that are not as easily explained away by common translation technique require deeper analysis, which I provide in commentary fashion. For those S-G agreements that correspond with T-Isa or 1QIsa^{a}, I list all the readings and, when necessary, provide comment.[1] As a reminder, S-Isa's direct or indirect use of G-Isa can be considered to obtain if:

1) common translation technique does not account for the agreement;
2) common analysis of ambiguous Hebrew forms or vocalization does not account for the agreement;
3) S-Isa does not execute similar translation shifts elsewhere where G-Isa goes its own way;
4) the S-G agreement does not find attestation in T-Isa, 1QIsa^{a}, or any other extrabiblical source;
5) the S-G agreement is significant (e.g., S-Isa misunderstands and translates G-Isa; S-Isa amalgamates both M and G-Isa) or unique (e.g., S-Isa is [literarily, lexically, and exegetically] explicable only on the basis of G); and
6) S-Isa's agreement with G-Isa is not secondary.

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[1] Where T-Isa is not listed below, it can be assumed that the version = M or goes its own way. Likewise, where 1QIsa^{a} is not listed, it can be assumed that it approximates M or contains a lacuna.

S-Isa's relation to G-Isa is more likely direct if:

7) S-Isa's immediate linguistic environment continues the parallel with G-Isa;
8) S-Isa agrees with G-Isa in difficult places (e.g., at places where the underlying Hebrew appears corrupt or the roots are lexically ambiguous; cases of *hapax legomena*); and
9) S-G agreements educe a (literary, lexical, or exegetical) pattern (e.g., shared unit divisions; anthropomorphisms; historical/ideological contemporizations).

Analysis of S-G Agreements (≠ M) in Isaiah 1-5

Isaiah 1

1:1 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change])

M:	על־יהודה וירושלם	*concerning Judah and Jerusalem*
S:	ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘ[ܥܠ] ܝܪܘܫܠܡ	*concerning Judah and [concerning] Jerusalem*
G:	κατὰ τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ [κατὰ] Ιερουσαληµ	*concerning Judah and [concerning] Jerusalem*

1:1 (cf. G8.1 [cohesion change])[2]

M:	עזיהו יותם אחז יחזקיהו	*Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah*
S:	ܥܘܙܝܐ [ܘ]ܝܘܬܡ [ܘ]ܐܚܙ [ܘ]ܚܙܩܝܐ	*Uzziah [and] Jotham [and] Ahaz [and] Hezekiah*
G:	Οζιου [καὶ] Ιωαθαμ [καὶ] Αχαζ [καὶ] Εζεκιου	*Uzziah [and] Jotham [and] Ahaz [and] Hezekiah*

1:2 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change])

M:	שמעו שמים	*Listen, O heavens!*
S:	[ܐܫܡܥ] ܫܡܝܢ	*Listen, O [heaven(s)]!*
G:	ἄκουε [οὐρανέ]	*Listen, O [heaven(s)]!*

1:3 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change])

M:	בעליו	*its master(s)*
S:	ܡ[ܪܝܗ]	*its [master]*
G:	[κυρίου] αὐτοῦ	*its [lord]*

[2] Since S-Isa adds ו (and other cohesion changes) so frequently, I will not include any more instances of common + *waw* in this analysis. It is impossible to determine where both translations might attest a variant +/- ו.

S-Isa's ܥܡܐ and G-Isa's κυρίου, both singular nouns, contrast with M's common honorific plural + suffix (בעליו).[3] Syriac lacks a linguistic counterpart to the Hebrew, and while Greek grammars list an "allusive plural," where one person is represented by a plural number, this category of analysis—should it even befit the underlying Hebrew meaning—did not exist in the inventory of tactics by the translators of the LXX, wherein plural בעל + suffix was always translated in the singular (cf. Exod 21:29; 22:12; Qoh 5:12; Hos 2:16).[4]

1:3 (cf. G3.1 [transposition])[5]

M:	גוי חֹטֵא	*(Woe), O sinful nation!*
S:	ܥܡܐ ܚܛܝܐ	*(Woe) to a sinful people!*
G:	οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν	*(Woe), O sinful nation!*

1:4 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change]; G5.5 [noun phrase change])

M:	זרע מרעים	*offspring of evildoers*
S:	ܙܪܥ ܒܝܫܐ	*evildoing seed*
G:	σπέρμα πονηρόν	*evil seed*

1:4 (cf. G5.3 [person change]; Pr5 [illocutionary change])

M:	עזבו ... נאצו ... נזרו	*They have forsaken ... have despised ... are estranged*
S:	... ܫܒܩܬ ... ܐܬ ... ܐܬܪܓܙ ... ܐܬܩܛܦ	*You have abandoned ... have provoked ... have turned (behind yourselves)*
G:	ἐγκατελίπατε … παρωργίσατε …	*You abandoned ... provoked ...*

[3] For the honorific plural, see IBHS §7.4.3c (p. 123).

[4] See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), §1007 (p. 270).

[5] Minor, target-oriented transpositions (or word-class changes) of this sort are so common in S-Isa (see G3) and G-Isa that there is hardly any reason to list every place where they do so at the same place. Unless the common shifts could reflect different *Vorlagen* or differ semantically from M, I do not include them in the analysis below.

Whereas the verbs in M (נזרו ... נאצו ... עזבו) take גוי and עם as their subjects, both S- and G-Isa analyzed these subjects as constituents of a long vocative address (הוי … משחיתים). Since person and illocutionary changes as such are not uncommon in S-Isa (see G5.3 and Pr5), there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa relied on G-Isa or that both attest a variant.[6] Both translators responded similarly to their ST's sudden change in illocution.

1:5 (cf. G6.3 [clause structure change])

M:	תכו עוד	*(Why) will you be wounded again?*
S:	ܥܕ ܬܬܢܘܢ	*(Why) will you be wounded again?*
G:	ἔτι πληγῆτε	*(Why) should you be smitten again?*

1:5 (cf. G3.3 [transposition]; G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; S1 [synonymy]; S9.1.1 [trope change])

M:	וכל־לבב דוי	*and the whole heart is faint*
S:	ܘܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܠܚܠܝܐ	*and the whole heart is (given over) to sickness*
G:	καὶ πᾶσα καρδία εἰς λύπην	*and the whole heart is (given over) to pain*

M's immediate semantic context in 1:5 (על מה תכו עוד תוסיפו סרה כל־ראש לחלי וכל־לבב דוי) suggests that דוי bears some semantic relation to חלי ("sickness").[7] Whether or not S-Isa knew the meaning of דוי, he easily could have inferred its basic sense in light of the clear context. This kind of contextual guessing was the translator's most common tactic when he faced unfamiliar lexemes or *hapax legomena*. S- and G-Isa's common preposition + noun collocation is evidence of their common translation tactics. S-Isa frequently transposed adjectives into nouns (cf. G3.3) and added prepositions (cf. G8.2.1).

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[6] For similar constructions in the Hebrew, S-Isa usually rendered the 3rd person finite verb with the participle (cf. 5:8, 11, 23; 29:15; 31:3).

[7] This same semantic domain obtains in other contexts in which דוי is found (Ps 41:4; Job 6:7; Jer 8:18).

1:6 (cf. G3.3 [transposition]; G5.2.2 [number change]; S1 [synonymy]; S9.1.1 [trope change]; S10.1.1 [Aramaism])

M:	מכה טריה	*fresh wounds*
S:	ܚܒܘܪ ܡܫܚܬܐ	*swelling wounds*
G:	πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα	*festering wounds*
T:	מחא מרססא	*dripping wound*

As *hapax* in Isaiah, M's טריה caused semantic difficulty for the translators. T-Isa's מרססא ("dripping") seems to reflect a choice made in light of the context; however, √טרי in Aramaic means "to drip." The graphemic proximity this word has with Hebrew טריה could have prompted T-Isa's choice, though this raises the question of why the translator did not simply use a form from √טרי. This explanation, however, adequately accounts for the readings in both S- and G-Isa. The biradical collocation טר־ likely would have had different semantic associations in the minds of the bilingual translations with Aramaic words related to inflammation and disease.[8] Aramaizing was a tendency of both translators (see S10.1), the evidence for which is attested in places where the translations often do not agree.[9] Thus, there is no reason to believe that S-Isa relied on G-Isa here.[10]

1:6 (cf. G11 [texts with many formal changes])

M:	לא־זרו ולא חבשו ולא רככה בשמן	*They are not drained, and they are not bound, and it is not softened with oil*
S:	ܠܐ ܠܡܚܒܫ ܘܠܐ ܠܡܚܒܫ ܕ ܚܒܫ	*—not to be bound, and not to be bandaged,*

[8] Cf. Aramiac טריבא ("inflammation"), טור ("to drip"), טרוט ("dripping"), טריא ("dripping"), טרי ("to drip"), and טרסאנא ("disease") in *CAL* and Jastrow, *DTTBYML* (s.v. each lexical entry). See also s.v. ܚܒܫ ("to swell, boil over"), in Sokolof, *A Syriac Lexicon*.

[9] See especially the examples from 2:2 and 2:16 below.

[10] Although I am less convinced of this, it is possible that the translator thought he saw עביה (from עָבִי, "thickness"). Cf. 1 Kgs 7:26 (עביו || ܥܒܝܐ); Jer 52:21 (עביו || ܥܒܝܐ). See also Exod 19:9 (בעב הענן).

	ܠܐ ܡܬܪܟܟ ܒܡܫܚܐ	*not even to be softened with oil*
G:	οὐκ ἔστιν μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι οὔτε ἔλαιον οὔτε καταδέσμους	*there is no emollient to put on, nor oil nor bandages*

My evaluation of S-Isa here in Chapter 4 (see G11) showed the many changes the translator made to produce his TT. The deviations stem from the obscurity of the connection between the previous list of wounds (פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה) and the following finite verbs (לא־זרו ולא חבשו ולא רככה). S-Isa's solution was to subordinate the verbal elements by transposing finite forms with infinitives. While the particular transposition verb → infinitive is not as common, the translator frequently employed the strategy of transposition in order to produce a smooth translation (see G3). Thus, S- and G-Isa's common use of the infinitive to render לא־זרו most likely reflects similar attempts to clarify the relationship between clauses.

1:7 (cf. G3.5 [transposition]; G5.4 [tense change])

M:	וּשְׁמָמָה כמהפכת זרים	*And it is a desolation, like the overthrow of foreigners.*
S:	ܘܡܬܪܥܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܗܦܟܐ ܕܫܚܦ ܘܐܬܝ ܗ	*And it is deserted like the overthrowing of strangers.*
G:	καὶ ἠρήμωται κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ λαῶν ἀλλοτρίων	*And it has been made desolate, overthrown by foreign peoples*

It is quite possible that both translators read the Hebrew nominal שממה as שָׁמָמָה, or possibly שְׁמֵמָה, and rendered it with participles, referring back to Israel's land (אדמה). The suggestion that G-Isa could have known the alternative tradition preserved in 1QIsa[a] (שממו עליה, "they were appalled at it") is pure conjecture.[11] The common deviation from

[11] Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 92.

M is easily explained by both the translators' common way of reading the ambiguous Hebrew form שממה.

1:8 (cf. S7 [emphasis change]; S9.2 [trope change]; S10.5 [stock equivalent])

M:	כעיר נָצוּרָה	*like a guard-city*
S:	ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܥܨܪ	*like a besieged city*
G:	ὡς πόλις πολιορκουμένη	*like a besieged city*
T:	כקרתא דצירין	*like a besieged city*

The versions reflect the reading נָצוֹרָה, the *niphal* participle of √צור, which is not attested anywhere but hardly a reason to think that the translators would have avoided it.[12] As pointed out in the last chapter, the idea of besiegement cannot be the point of comparison, since Israel was already in fact besieged (see S7). The lexical congruence of "besiegement" in all the translations suggests that S-Isa did not rely on G-Isa. He easily could have arrived at the sense of his rendering by means of etymologization, a tactic he employed frequently (see S1; S7).

1:9

M:	שריד כמעט	*a few survivors*
1QIsa[a]	שריד כמעט	*a few survivors*
S:	ܫܪܝܪܐ	*a survivor*
G:	σπέρμα	*a seed*

In view of S-Isa's isomorphic translation, it is highly unusual for the translation to omit an equivalent for an underlying lexeme. That both S- and G-Isa lack an equivalent for כמעט suggests that both translators' *Vorlagen* probably did not have the prepositional

[12] The agreement among the versions was noted early on by Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 11.

phrase.[13] Its inclusion in both M and 1QIsa[a] most likely reflects a later qualifying gloss.[14]

1:12 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	מי־בקש זאת מידכם	*Who required this from your hand?*
S:	ܡܢ ܒܥܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ	*Who required these things from your hands?*
G:	τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν	*For who has required these things from your hands?*

1:12 (cf. G8.6 [cohesion change]; Pr2.2 [explicitness change])[15]

M:	רמס חצרי	*to trample my courts*
S:	,ܠܡܕܘܫ ܕ	*to trample my courts*
G:	πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου	*to trample my court*

1:15 (cf. G3.6 [transposition]; G6.4 [clause structure change])

M:	ובפרשכם כפיכם	*And when you spread out your hands*
S:	ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ ܕܡܦܪܣܝܢ ܕ	*When you spread out your hands*
G:	ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνητε	*When you stretch out your hands*

1:15 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	אעלים עיני מכם	*I will hide my eyes from you.*
S:	ܡܢܟܘܢ ܥܝܢܝ ܡܣܬܪ	*I will avert my eyes from you.*
G:	ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν	*I will turn away my eyes from you.*

S-Isa's ܡܣܬܪ approximates the sense of "disregard" in the Hebrew, as does G-Isa's

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[13] Both Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 106) and van der Vorm-Croughs (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 372-73) suggest that the absence of an equivalent for כמעט in G-Isa was possibly influenced by its omission at Deut 3:3 where a similar phraseology occurs (ונכהו עד־בלתי השאיר־לו שריד). Van der Louw (*Transformation of the Septuagint*, 151) suggests that the phrase's syntactical ambiguity likely led the translator to omit an equivalent for it, as did later revisers of the LXX. Wagner (*Reading the Sealed Book*) also mentions the possibility of parablepsis (כמעט כסדם) or that the phrase dropped out of G-Isa's Hebrew text before the translation took place.

[14] T-Isa is too free to retrovert its likely ST.

[15] For a discussion of the various strategies in this passage, see G5.2.2 in Chapter 4.

ἀποστρέψω. Other Peshiṭta translators rendered √עלם with the same Syriac verb ܗܦܟ (cf. Lev 5:2, 3, 4; Deut 22:1, 3, 4; Pss 10:1; 55:2). The root occurs once more in Isaiah 58:7 in the context of not "hiding" (תתעלם) from one's kin when they lack basic needs. The translators rendered תתעלם with ܠܐ ܬܫܬܟܚ (“Do not neglect”) and οὐχ ὑπερόψῃ (“Do not overlook”). The idea of averting one's eye (עין) was commonly expressed in Aramaic with √עלם (C-stem) and could have influenced the translators' reading of the cognate in Hebrew.[16] However, the basic denotation of אעלים here could have been inferred from the context wherein the LORD expresses how repugnant the religious behavior of Israel is to him. Thus, it is unnecessary to view S-Isa's rendering as explicable only on the basis of G-Isa.

1:15 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change])

M:	ידיכם דמים מלאו	*Your hands are full of bloodshed.*
S:	ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ ܕܡܐ ܡܠܝܢ	*Your hands are full of blood.*
G:	αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις	*For your hands are full of blood.*

1:16 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	הסירו רע מעלליכם	*Remove the evil of your deeds!*
S:	ܐܫܬܩܠܘ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܝܟܘܢ	*Remove the evils of your deeds!*
G:	ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν	*Remove the iniquities from your souls!*

1:16 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; G11 [texts with many formal changes])

M:	חדלו הרע	*Cease to do evil!*
S:	ܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ	*Cease from evils!*
G:	παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν	*Cease from your evils!*

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[16] See Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. עלם II. Elsewhere in the Peshiṭta ܗܦܟ is not among the list of expected verbs when the action refers to a subject's eyes (עין); see ܫܒܩ (Lev 4:13); ܢܚ (Lev 20:4; Prov 28:27; Lam 3:56 [אזנך]); ܚܣܐ (Num 5:13; Job 28:21); ܟ ܙܙ (1 Sam 12:3).

ὑμῶν

Both S- and G- Isa most likely read הרע as the definite noun הָרָע (or הָרֹעַ), rather than M's C infinitive הָרֵעַ. The previous occurrence of the noun רע (הסירו רע מעלליכם) might have influenced the translator to interpret הרע as a noun, rather than an infinitive. Reading הרע as a noun did not require the addition of ܡܢ in Syriac; the complement ܡܢ accompanies ܫܒܩ and accords with the common Syriac idiom "to cease *from*" (cf. Ruth 1:8; Jer 26:3; 42:10; Job 3:17; 21:9; Prov 1:33; Lam 3:49).

1:17 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change]; G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; S4 [converse])

M:	אשרו חָמוּץ	*Set the oppressors straight!*
S:	ܫܒܩ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܛܒܘܬܐ	*Do good to the oppressed!*
G:	ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον	*Rescue the one wronged!*

Both translators struggled here with the precise meaning of אשרו (D, "to set straight"). S-Isa's understanding of the root was limited to the idea of "doing good," translating its other attestations with the same Syriac root (ܛܒ, "to do good"; 3:12 [ܡܛܝܒܝܢ]; 9:15 [ܡܛܝܒ ,ܗܘܐ]) even when doing so did not make sense in context.[17] This semantic limitation probably influenced his reading of חמוץ as the passive form (חָמוּץ, "oppressed one") from √חמץ ("to oppress"). G-Isa's renderings of the root elsewhere (3:12 [μακαρίζοντες]; 9:15 [μακαρίζοντες]) suggest that he supplied a contextually-informed

[17] See my discussion of this under S4 in Chapter 4.

guess,[18] or he understood the form to have a root other than √אשר.[19] The ambiguity of the Hebrew form חמוץ and the limitations the translators faced in analyzing אשרו make it highly unlikely that S-Isa sought assistance from G-Isa.

1:18 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change])

M:	כשנים	*like scarlet*
S:	ܐܰܟ ܙܰܗܪܳܐ	*like scarlet*
G:	ὡς φοινικοῦν	*like crimson*

1:19 (cf. G4 [unit shift]; G5.6 [phrase structure change])

M:	אם־תאבו ושמעתם	*If you are willing and obey*
S:	ܘܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܫܡܥ ܠܝ	*And if you obey and listen to me*
G:	καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου	*And if you are willing and listen to me*

1:20 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S2 [antonomy]; S7 [emphasis change]; S8 [paraphrase]; Pr2.4 [explicitness change])

M:	ואם־תמאנו ומריתם	*But if you refuse and rebel*
S:	ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܘܫܡܥ ܠܝ	*And if you do not obey and resist*
G:	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰσακούσητέ μου	*But if you are not willing nor listen to me*
T:	ואם תסרבון ולא תקבלון למימרי	*But if you rebel and do not consent to my word*

These antonymic renderings in the versions attest a translational tradition whereby the notion of disobedience is expressed with a form of negation + a verb with the meaning

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[18] This is the view of J. W. Olley, *"Righteousness" in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study*, SBLSCS 8 (Missoula: Scholars, 1979), 59; and Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 141. Van der Louw calls the reading in G-Isa a "generalization" (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 167).

[19] F. Wilk argued that G-Isa may have derived the meaning of √ישע from √ישר ("Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem [Jes 1 LXX]: Zur Eigenart der Septuaginta-Version des Jesajabuches," in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie*, ed. W. Kraus, K.-W. Niebuhr, and L. Doering, WUNT 162 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 24 fn. 32b).

"to wish, will, want" (βούλομαι; θέλω; ܨܒܐ). The Peshiṭta translators rendered the forty-two (out of forty-five) occurrences of the verb מאן with ܠܐ + ܨܒܐ ("he is not willing").[20] S-Isa's choice of ܠܐ + ܫܡܥ ("[if] you do not obey"), instead of ܠܐ + ܨܒܐ, can be explained by the former verse, wherein the translator attempted to make clear that a mere willingness to listen (אם־תאבו ושמעתם) would not result in the LORD's blessing. Actual obedience would be required. That S-Isa's deviation here is uncharacteristic of his technique, has cross-linguistic support, and the Peshiṭta as a whole reveals a pattern of agreement with this specific locution strongly suggests that the various translators relied on a translational tradition when they encountered √מאן.

1:21 (cf. G5.4 [tense change])

M:	צדק ילין בה	*Righteousness used to lodge in her*
S:	ܒܗ ܢܛܠ ܙܕܩܐ	*Righteousness lodged in her*
G:	δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτη	*Righteousness remained in her*

1:22 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S6 [distribution change]; S7 [emphasis change]; S9.3 [trope change]; S10.1.1 [Aramaism]; S10.1.2 [Aramaism])

M:	כספך היה לסיגים סבאך מהול במים	*Your silver has become dross; your wine is mixed with water.*
S:	ܫܠܝܟ ܐܬܪܚܩ ܟܣܦܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܣܝܓܐ ܚܡܪܟ ܡܫܚܠ ܒܡܝܐ	*Your silver has been rejected; your tavern-keepers mix the water.*
G:	τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι	*Your silver is worthless; your tavern-keepers mix the wine with water.*

This passage calls for close examination, since several S-G agreements are located within

[20] For example, see Gen 37:35; Exod 4:34; Num 20:21; Deut 25:7; 1 Sam 8:19; 2 Sam 2:23; 1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 5:16; Ps 78:10; Job 6:7; Prov 21:7; Est 1:12; Neh 9:17; Jer 3:3; Hos 11:5; Zech 7:11. In many of these passages, the LXX has μὴ + a form of βούλομαι or a comparable verb.

close proximity, giving the appearance of dependence. The morphosyntactic congruences are easily explained by common translation technique (see G5.2.2; G6.2.1; G8.2.2; G11). However, the lexical agreements require greater analysis. First, both versions translate the Hebrew word for "dross" (סיג) with the meaning "rejected" (S-Isa) and "worthless" (G-Isa), with S-Isa having employed the passive verb ܡܫܬܕܐ and G-Isa having supplied the predicate adjective ἀδόκιμον. It was noted in Chapter 4 that the translator of S-Isa understood the meaning of the verb סוג (cognate to its nominalized form סיג). This is clear from his other renderings of the verb in Isaiah in which he captured the basic idea of "turning back" (N) or "being displaced" (Cp) in its use of √ܗܦܟ ("to turn [back]") + ܐܚܘܪ/ܐܚܘܬ ("back[wards]").[21] This suggests that the Syriac translator correctly analyzed the סיג in לסיגים as deriving from √סוג, since its equivalent ܡܫܬܕܐ ("it has been rejected") is a reasonable semantic extension from its presumed Hebrew counterpart (היה לסיגים, "[your silver] has become a thing turned away" [i.e., a rejected thing]).

As regards G-Isa, J. Ziegler argued that the choice of ἀδόκιμον suggests that the translator did not know the meaning of סיג.[22] Wagner and Troxel posit that G-Isa supplied a contextually apt guess, though Wagner adds that δόκιμον is attested outside of the Hebrew Bible in contexts of currency where it denotes the purity or genuineness of a substance.[23] With this reading, ἀδόκιμον in 1:22 could refer to the admixture of impure

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[21] Cf. 42:17; 50:5; 59:13, 14.

[22] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 81.

[23] Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 156; and Troxel, *A Commentary on the*

metals that were rendered fraudulent by trained individuals.[24] Van der Louw argues that the translator interpreted the passage literally (i.e., non-metaphorically), in which case it would have been "strange to say that silver has become dross."[25] While the translator rendered √סוג elsewhere in Isaiah mostly with lexemes having a similar semantic range (42:17 [ἀπεστράφησαν]; 50:5 [ἀντιλέγω]; 59:13 [ἀπέστημεν]; 59:14 [ἀπεστήσαμεν]), it seems clear that he associated סיגים with this root. This observation is comparable to S-Isa, whose lexical equivalents for √סוג and סיגים bear a semantic relation. There seems to be enough semantic difference between ἀδόκιμον and ܒܝܪܐ, however, to suggest that each translator arrived at his reading independently, especially since S-Isa chose many other lexical equivalents for obscure vocabulary by means of similar problem-solving tactics (see S1).

Even more noteworthy in 1:22 is that S-Isa provided "your tavern-keepers" (ܚܢܝܢܟ) where M has סבאך. S-Isa's reading appears to agree uniquely with the G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί σου.[26] For this reason, Warszawski argued that S-Isa translated G-Isa here but

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Old Greek and Peshiṭta of Isaiah 1-20, 1:22.

[24] Wager, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 156.

[25] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 171.

[26] Delekat ("Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," 187-88) rightly noted that the plural of S-Isa's ܚܢܝܢܟ and G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί does not reflect variant *Vorlagen*; it reflects the translators' tendency to render Hebrew collective expressions in the plural (see G5.2.2). The question of whether the LXX's οἱ κάπηλοί σου and τὸν οἶνον reflect a double-translation of סבאך remains debated. Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 60), Goshen-Gottstein (*The Book of Isaiah*, The Hebrew University Bible [*HUB*] [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975], 4), and Wagner (*Reading the Sealed Book*, 158 fn. 42) argue that G-Isa offers a double-translation. Troxel asserts that G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί σου stands as his translation of סבאך (*A Commentary*, 1:22). In contrast, van

omitted an equivalent for τὸν οἶνον to maintain fidelity to the Hebrew.[27] In contrast, Troxel, who notes Warszawski's "strained" logic, argues that both translators' reliance on a common exegetical tradition—as opposed to S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa—remains an equally valid option for explaining the lexical agreement.[28] However, the explanation from common translation technique might prove to be the easier solution. As mentioned in Chapter 4 (see S1; S10.1.1), while the Hebrew √סבא clearly refers to imbibing or drinking large quantities of "liquor" (סֹבֶא), a noun meaning "liquor-seller" from the same root in Hebrew is unattested. However, a nominal equivalent is found in Aramaic (סביא, "wine-retailer"),[29] with its denominative verbal form meaning "to guzzle wine" (G) or "to

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der Louw views οἱ κάπηλοι as a culturally-influenced addition (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 212-13). Wilk's text-critical suggestion that G-Isa read סבאיך מהלו סכר/סבא במים is both unnecessary and fanciful ("'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem'," 25). Note also T-Isa's חמריך and its proximity to G-Isa's οἱ κάπηλοί σου and τὸν οἶνον. Distinct features in both Greek constituents of this passage, however, can be interpreted to reflect various aspects of the Hebrew, as noted by van der Vorm-Croughs (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 156-57).

[27] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12. Barnes also noted this agreement as evidence of S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa "in the translation of difficult words and phrases" ("On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshiṭta," 195).

[28] Troxel's full reasoning is as follows: "The alignment between OG's οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι and S's ܚܡܪܟ ܡܫܠܒܝ ܫܬܝ, over against T's חמריך מערב במיא and V's *vinum tuum mixtum est aqua* could be interpreted as evidence of S appealing to the OG, although it is equally possible that OG and S simply rely on a common exegetical tradition here. The lack of a clear foundation for either translation makes a choice between these options irresolvable" (*A Commentary*, 1:22). This observation also seems to concord with Goshen-Gottstein's laconic siglum "exeg" in *HUB*, 4.

[29] See Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. סָבְיָא, who provides Akkadian *sābû* ("innkeeper, beer merchant") for comparative evidence.

retail wine" (D).[30] The observation that both translators analyzed סבאך on the basis of this Aramaic noun was recently made by R. Wagner.[31] Such an identification of the subject in the clause then influenced both translators to read מהול as an active participle.[32] Since Aramaizing constitutes a tactic of both translators and was often employed by one translator when the other went his own way (see S10.1.1), there is little reason to believe that S-Isa sporadically consulted a Greek manuscript at this very point. Even the hypothesis that the Syriac translator was *indirectly* influenced by G-Isa seems less likely than the idea that both translators independently analyzed סבאך in view of its nominal meaning in Aramaic.

1:23 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])[33]

M:	כלו אהב שחד ורדף שלמנים	*Each one loves a bribe and pursues gifts.*
S:	ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܒ̈ܝ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕܫܘܚܕܐ	*All of them are lovers of a bribe and hasten*
	ܘܠܬܒ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܡܗ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈	*to requite interests.*
G:	ἀγαπῶντες δῶρα διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα	*—loving gifts, pursuing requital.*
1QIsa[a]:	כולם אוהבי שחד ורדפי שלמנים	*All of them are lovers of a bribe and pursuers of gifts.*
T:	כולהון רחמין לקבלא שוחדא אמרין גבר לחבריה עביד לי בדיני דאשלים לך בדינך	*All of them love to accept a bribe, saying—a man to his neighbor—assist me in my case, so that I will repay you in your case.*

1:23 (cf. G11 [texts with many formal changes]; S1 [synonymy]; S6 [distribution change]; S7 [emphasis change]; S8 [paraphrase]; Pr1.2 [cultural filtering]; Pr2.4

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[30] See the verbs סבי/א, סָבָא, and סְבָא in *CAL*; Jastrow, *DTTBYML*; and Sokoloff, *DJBA*.

[31] Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, 158 fn. 42. I arrived at this conclusion independently.

[32] Van der Vorm-Croughs has made this observation with respect to G-Isa (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 48).

[33] This passage is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (cf. G5.2.2).

[explicitness change])

M:	רדף שלמנים	*(All of them) pursue salutation gifts*
S:	ܡܬܪܕܦ ܠܡܚܦ ܫܘܠܡ̈ܐ ܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ	*(All of them) hasten to requite interests*
G:	διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα	*(Your leaders) pursue repayments*
T:	אמרין גבר לחבריה עביד לי בדיני דאשלים לך בדינך	*saying—a man to his companion—help me in my case so that I will repay you in your case*

As discussed in detail above (see especially G11 in Chapter 4), all the versions analyzed שלמנים as from the D-stem of √שלם ("to recompense"), which has a positive and negative sense: reward versus punishment.[34] S- and T-Isa clearly understood their ST as referring to repayment, though in context it is difficult to know what it would mean for Israel's unjust leaders to make repayments when the emphasis in the Hebrew is on their exploitative behavior. G-Isa's choice of ἀνταπόδομα, however, is less opaque, since a "requital" could be to reward or retaliate. Both meanings of the Greek lexeme are found in the LXX.[35] T. Muraoka suggested that the sense of ἀνταπόδομα here is "kick-back," but this is a little too interpretive, since the meanings "reward" or "retribution" also fit the context.[36] Regardless of which nuance of ἀνταπόδομα the translator of G-Isa intended to convey, the common ways the translators parsed שלמנים suggests that S-Isa arrived at his reading independently, perhaps under the influence of an extrinsic mediating exegetical tradition known to him.

1:23 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

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[34] Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 173.

[35] For the negative sense, see Gen 50:15; Jer 28:6; Joel 3:4, 7; Obad 15; Ps 27:4; Judg 14:4. For the positive sense, see Sir 12:2; 20:10.

[36] Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [*GELS*] (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), s.v. ἀνταπόδομα.

M:	יתום … אלמנה	*orphan ... widow*
S:	ܝܬܝܡܐ … ܐܪܡܠܬܐ	*orphans ... widows*
G:	ὀρφανοῖς … χηρῶν	*orphans ...widows*

1:23 (cf. G3.5 [transposition]; G5.4 [tense change])

M:	יתום לא ישפטו וריב אלמנה לא־יבוא אליהם	*They do not provide justice (for) the orphan, and the dispute of the widow does not come before them.*
S:	ܕܝܬܝܡ ܢܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ	*They do not administer justice (for) orphans, and the judgment of widows does not go to them.*
G:	ὀρφανοῖς οὐ κρίνοντες καὶ κρίσιν χηρῶν οὐ προσέχοντες	*They do not judge orphans, and they do not pay attention to the widows' cause*

1:23

M:	לכן	*Therefore*
S:	ܥܠ ܗܕܐ	*Because of this*
G:	διὰ τοῦτο	*Because of this*

The translator of S-Isa rendered twenty-one of the twenty-four occurrences of לכן in Isaiah with ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ("because of this"), an apt Syriac equivalent. The majority of Peshiṭta translators translated the Hebrew adverb with the same locution, especially in the major prophets, where לכן is found frequently.[37] Since ܥܠ ܗܕܐ was S-Isa's (and other Peshiṭta translators') default rendering for לכן, it is hardly necessary to appeal to G-Isa as the source of the phrase. Rather, the linguistic influence of Greek on Syriac seems a much better explanation given the bilingual context of the translator.[38]

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[37] For example, Exod 6:6; Num 16:11; Judg 8:7; 1 Sam 2:30; 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 1:4; Jer 2:9; Ezek 5:7; Hos 2:8; Amos 5:11; Mic 1:14; Zeph 2:9; Zech 1:16; Ps 16:9; Job 32:10.

[38] On this point, see Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia," 326-27; Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," and idem, "The Treatment of Greek Particles in the Old Syriac Gospels," 80-86.

1:24 (cf. G11 [texts with many formal changes])

M:	נאם האדון יהוה צבאות	*An utterance of the Lord, the LORD of hosts*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܟܘܬ̈ܝܐ ܗܟܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ	*Thus says the Lord of Lords, the mighty one*
G:	τάδε λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος σαβαωθ	*Thus says the Lord, the Lord Sabaoth*

S-Isa's ܗܟܝܢܐ ("thus") and G-Isa's τάδε could be interpreted as attesting a common variant (= כה) or the latter's influence on the former. However, S-Isa does add ܐܡܪ ܗܟܝܢܐ without the presence of כה in 56:8 (נאם אדני יהוה || ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܝܢܐ, "thus says the Lord God"). I argued above that a transmitter of S-Isa most likely assimilated these verses to the more common expression found throughout Isaiah. This is even more true for 1:24, since the verse is the first in Isaiah in which נאם appears and one of two occurrences in Isaiah where the formula entirely *precedes* the divine speech act. The other occurrence is Isa 56:8. Similarly, while G-Isa most often rendered the expression כה אמר with τάδε λέγει, he also rendered נאם with the same Greek expression several times (cf. 14:22; 17:6; 19:4; 22:15; 30:1; 31:19; 37:34; 52:5).[39] Thus, the translation technique of each translator easily accounts for the apparent deviation from M.

1:25 (cf. G5.10 [preposition change]; G6.3 [clause structure change]; S1 [synonymy]; S5 [abstraction change]; S7 [emphasis change]; S9.1.1 [trope change]; S10.1.2 [Aramaism])

M:	אצרף כבר סיגיך	*I will refine your dross as with lye*
S:	ܠܢܩܝܘܬܐ ܠܚܘܛ̈ܝܟ ܐܬܟ̈ܫܪ	*I will refine your rebels to (a state of) purity*
G:	καὶ πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρόν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας	*And I will burn you to (become) pure, but the disobedient*

The lexical congruities between the Syriac and Greek here led Warszawski to argue that

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[39] G-Isa translated the phrase כה אמר with τάδε λέγει in the following places: 7:7; 10:24; 22:15; 29:22; 36:4, 14, 16; 37:3, 6, 21; 38:1, 5; 52:3; 56:1, 4; 57:15; 65:13; 66:12.

the S-Isa is "fast wörtlich zu der der LXX," which is quite the exaggeration when one considers the major differences between the translations' morphosyntax.[40] I mentioned under S1 in Chapter 4 that S-Isa analyzed both לסיגים in 1:22 and סיגיך here as if the words were from √סוג and had the meaning "to turn aside, back, away." On this meaning, סיגיך—as a plural substantive with a 2ms suffix—would suggest "those who turn away," which the translator rendered as ܡܬܪܕ̈ܝܟ (“your rebels”), resulting in a partially demetaphorized TT. It would seem that the Greek translator naturally followed a similar path of analysis, although he seems to have read אצרפך בר (≠ M).[41] The idea that S-Isa consulted G-Isa for lexical support yet produced a translation at significant morphosyntactic variance with G-Isa would seem like an odd problem-solving strategy. It is easier to envision how both translators commonly inferred the meaning of סיגיך on the basis of the form's assumed root.

Additionally, it appears that both translators were not familiar with the concrete meaning for בֹּר, which S-Isa rendered with the noun ܕܟܝܘܬܐ (“purity”) and G-Isa translated with the adjective καθαρόν. While the Hebrew noun does refer to "cleanness" or "pureness" in a few texts (cf. 2 Sam 22:21, 25; Ps 18:21, 25; Job 22:30), it also refers

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[40] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12.

[41] On G-Isa's demetaphorized translation here, see Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 178. Van der Vorm-Croughs views G-Isa's translation as an "interpretive translation," reading סיגים as from √סוג (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 334). Wagner (*Reading the Sealed Book*, 181), Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 81), Wilk ("'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem'," 26 fn. 40d), and J. Fischer (*In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie*, BZAW 56 [Giessen: A. Töpelmann], 16) all suggest that G-Isa's ἀπειθοῦντας was influenced by his analysis of סיגיך as deriving from √סוג.

to the "lye, potash, or alkali" used in smelting metals, as in the case at 1:25 (cf. Job 9:30; Jer 2:22; Mal 3:2). Both translators' limited semantic understanding of בֹּר to "cleanness" prohibited them from preserving the full smelting metaphor.[42] Moreover, in the case of S-Isa, it would have been nonsensical to refer to refining rebels "like cleanness," leading the translator to choose the telic use of ל to indicate the LORD's intent to purify (see G5.10).

1:25 (cf. G6.3 [transposition]; S7 [emphasis change]; S9.1.1 [trope change])

M:	אסירה כל־בדיליך	*I will remove all your alloy*
S:	ܠܥܠܘܗܝ ܚܛܝܬܗ̈ ܕܝܠܟ	*I will remove all your iniquities*[43]
G:	ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ	*I will remove all the lawless from you*
T:	אעדי כל חייבך	*I will remove all your guilty ones/sinners*

This clause in M extends the smelting metaphor in 1:25a, which S- and G-Isa only partially retain.[44] Warszawski also had this clause in view when he spoke of S-Isa's word for word congruity with G-Isa.[45] As with the last example, the relation between S- and G-

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[42] Wagner's claim that "G's contextually suitable rendering further enriches the densely intratextual character of Isaiah's opening vision" may be true from a literary point of view (*Reading the Sealed Book*, 176). However, the enrichment could be wholly unintentional in the case of G-Isa's choice of καθαρόν.

[43] While ܚܛܝܬܐ in Leiden's BTR text could be a noun or adjective, the Mosul edition has the noun ܚܛܝܬܐ, which the context lends itself to quite well. It would not make much sense for the Lord to both refine and remove Israel's rebels/evildoers. As stated in Chapter 4 (S7), the emphasis in S-Isa is on moral transformation, requiring the removal of iniquity, not the people themselves.

[44] However, T-Isa's בבוריתא ("alkali") for סיגיך in this verse suggests that the translator maintained most of the smelting metaphor.

[45] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12.

Isa here is not on the morphosyntactic level. While S-Isa employed the strategy of phrase structure change (i.e., transposition [G6.3]), G-Isa maintained serial fidelity to the Hebrew while changing בדיליך into a prepositional phrase ("the lawless *from* you"). As noted above (see S7), the translator of S-Isa may have been familiar with the lexeme בדיל, as evidenced by the translations of other Peshiṭta translators.[46] But the meaning of "tin, lead" here would have been obscure, since the translator missed his ST's overarching metaphor of smelting and its simile in the previous line. S-Isa's choice of ܚܛܗ̈ܝ ("your iniquities"), then, was aimed at producing a translation that is sensible in context; the Lord would purify Israel's rebels by removing their iniquities. G-Isa differs in its thematic content, emphasizing the Lord's intent to burn and remove Israel's lawless ones (δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ).[47] Such a thematic difference, especially in light of the translations' morphosyntactic differences, suggests that both S- and G-Isa arrived at their choice of lexemes independently. However, both demetaphorized their text consistently.[48] And because T-Isa's reading here (כל חייבך אעדי)

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[46] Syriac ܟܒܪܝܬܐ ("tin, lead") is used to render בדיל in Num 31:22; Ezek 2:18, 20 (perhaps ܟܒܝܬܐ ["lead"] here); 27:12.

[47] G-Isa's use of ἄνομος often functioned as a drudge word for rare Hebrew lexemes; see 13:11 (זדים); 29:20 (עריץ); 31:6 (סרה); 31:7 (זמות). It is fair to say that ἄνομος was not a default equivalent for any particular lexeme in G-Isa.

[48] Regarding G-Isa here, van der Louw notes, "After his explicitation of סיגים 'dross' into ἀπειθοῦντας 'inobedient ones' he could not return and speak of 'alloy', of course. Therefore he rendered בדיליך 'your alloy' with what he perceived to be the sense of the 'impure elements in the silver', viz. 'the lawless' (harking back to 1:4 and pointing forward to 1:28, 31," (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 178). Wagner's explanation is similar (*Reading the Sealed Book*, 182-83).

virtually says the same thing as the other versions, it could be that all the translators relied on a common exegetical tradition.[49]

1:26 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S7 [emphasis change]; Pr1.2 [explicitness change])

M:	ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה	*And I will restore your judges as before*
S:	ܘܐܩܝܡ ܕܝܢܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ	*And I will set up your judges just as before*
G:	καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον	*And I will establish your judges as before*
T:	ואמני ביך דייני קושטא	*And I will appoint honest judges among you*

The uncommon semantic nuance of restoration in M's אשיבה caused difficulty for the different translators,[50] or they may have read אשימה[51] or אציבה (from √נצב).[52] As noted before, S-Isa regularly used ܩܘܡ ("to establish" [C]) to render forms from √קום (23:13; 29:3; 31:2; 49:6, 7; 51:17; 52:2) or √עמד (3:13; 36:2, 13; 44:11; 48:13; 61:5). His choice of ܐܩܝܡ ("I will set up, establish"), while unexpected, coheres well with the readings in both T- and G-Isa. Assuming the three translators read אשיבה (= M), this could indicate that they relied on a common exegetical tradition that clarified that it would not be the same unrighteous judges as before who would be (re)appointed to leadership.[53] Similar

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[49] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 81.

[50] √שוב takes the sense of restoration in Gen 40:13, 21; and 2 Sam 19:12, 11, 13, 44.

[51] Both Wilk ("'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem'," 27 fn. 41a) and Wagner (*Reading the Sealed Book*, 185 fn. 148) prefer this view (cf. Isa 41:22 where G-Isa translated שים with ἐπιστήσομεν).

[52] This reading was suggested by Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 126.

[53] Van der Louw argues that this is the reasoning for G-Isa's ἐπιστήσω (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 179).

renderings are also located in Isa 3:4, where נתן takes its distinct sense of "make, constitute": ונתתי נערים שריהם (S-Isa: ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܥܠܝܡ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ, "and I will set up youths as your chiefs"; G-Isa: καὶ ἐπιστήσω νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, "and I will establish young men as their rulers"; T-Isa: ואמני ינקיא פרנסיהון, "and I will appoint children as their leaders"). Admittedly, the translators' solutions here basically approximate the Hebrew, but their same choice of verbs is conspicuous, suggesting that the translators may have read אשיבה in 1:26. S-Isa's choice of lexis (from √ܗܒ) in both verses is not as semantically specific as the other translations and easily could have come about by the translator's sensitivity to the context. Moreover, the common renderings of the translators suggest that S-Isa did not rely on G-Isa.

1:26 (cf. G5.10 [preposition change])

M:	כבתחלה	*as in the beginning*
S:	ܟܩܕܡܝܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ	*as from before*
G:	ὡς τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς	*as from the beginning*

S-Isa's ܟܩܕܡܝܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ is an idiomatic Syriac phrase that required a preposition change. Likewise, G-Isa's phrase (ὡς τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς) reflects a common way to render temporal expressions (cf. 2:6; 63:19). Thus, their choice of preposition does not reflect an underlying מ.

1:26 (cf. G11 [texts many formal changes])

M:	יִקָּרֵא לָךְ	*You will be called*
S:	ܬܬܩܪܝ	*You will be called*
G:	κληθήσῃ	*You will be called*

Both S- and G-Isa preferred to indicate the subject in the inflection of verbs, including passive constructions (cf. 48:8 [קרא לך || ܬܬܩܪܝ; κληθήσῃ, "you will be called"]; 58:12 [קרא לך || ܢܬܩܪܘܢ; κληθήσῃ, "they will call you"]; 61:3 [קרא להם || ܢܬܩܪܘ; κληθήσονται,

"they will be called"]).

1:27 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	שָׁבֶיהָ	*her repenters (i.e., those in her who repent)*
S:	ܫܒܝܗ	*her captives*
G:	ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς	*her captives*

Both translators' renderings reflect the vocalization שִׁבְיָהּ, which is grammatically possible. However, the context suggests the pointing in M.[54]

1:29 (cf. S1 [synonymy])

M:	כי יבשו מאילים	*For they will be ashamed of the oaks*
1QIsa[a]:	כי יבשו מאלים	*For they will be ashamed of the oaks*
S:	ܡܢ ܐܝܠ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܬܒܗ̈ܬܘ	*For they will be ashamed of the idols*
G:	διότι καταισχυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν	*For they will be ashamed of their idols*
T:	ארי תבהתון מאילני טעותא	*For they will be ashamed of the oaks of idols*

The text-critical problems in this verse have already been discussed (see S1). All the translators obviously read a text like 1QIsa[a] and translated אלים with "idols."[55]

1:29 (cf. G5.3 [person change]; Pr5 [illocutionary change])

M:	חמדתם ותחפרו מהגנות אשר בחרתם	*you desired, and you will be ashamed of the garden which you have chosen*
S:	ܡܢ ܓܢ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܚܪ̈ܬ̈ܘܢ ܘ ܬ̈ܚ̈ܦ̈ܣ̈ܘ ܘ	*they desired, and they will be ashamed of the secret places which they have chosen*
G:	αὐτοὶ ἠβούλοντο, καὶ ἐπῃσχύνθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις αὐτῶν, ἃ ἐπεθύμησαν	*they wanted, and they were ashamed of their gardens, which they desired*

1:30 (cf. G5.3 [person change]; Pr5 [illocutionary change])

M:	כי תהיו כאלה	*For you will become like an oak*

[54] The suggested emendation in *BHS* (יִשְׁבֶיהָ) is unnecessary. 4QIsa[f]'s ושביה יה[ב]וש underwent dittography.

[55] T-Isa's מאילני טעותא reflects a double-rendering אלים.

S: ܐܝܟ ܐܠܘܢ ܕ[ܢܗ]ܘܝܢ ܠܗܘ — *For they will become like an oak*
G: ἔσονται γὰρ ὡς τερέβινθος — *For they will be like a terebinth*

1:30 (cf. G11 [texts with many formal changes]; S7 [emphasis change])
M: כאלה נבלת עלה — *like an oak whose foliage falls*
S: ܕܡܦ̈ܐ ܕ[ܥ]ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܘܢ — *like an oak whose leaves have fallen*
G: ἀποβεβληκυῖα τὰ φύλλα — *(that) has shed (its) leaves*

1:31 (cf. G3.3 [transposition]; G4 [unit shift]; G5.6 [phrase structure change]; S10.1.2 [Aramaism]; Pr2.4 [explicitness change])
M: היה החסן לנערת — *the strong will be as tow*
S: ܐܝܟ ܕ[ܥ]ܡܗ ܕܥܡܐ — *their strength will be as tow*
G: ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ὡς καλάμη στιππύου — *their strength will be like a stalk of flax*

1:31 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])
M: פעלו לניצוץ — *their work (will become) a spark*
S: ܐܝܟ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ ܕ[ܫ]ܠܗܒ̈ — *their works (will become) sparks*
G: αἱ ἐργασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς σπινθῆρες πυρός — *their works like sparks of fire*

Isaiah 2

2:1 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; Pr2.1 [explicitness change])
M: על־יהודה וירושלם — *concerning Judah and Jerusalem*
S: ܥ̈ܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘ[ܥ̈ܠ] ܐܘܪܫܠܡ — *concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem*
G: περὶ τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ περὶ Ιερουσαλημ — *concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem*

2:6 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; Pr2 [explicitness change])[56]
M: [מקדם] כי מלאו [= 1QIsa[a]] — *For they are full (of diviners) from the east*
S: [ܡ̈ܢ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ] ܐܝܟ ܡ̈ܠܝ ܗ̈ܘ — *For they were filled as from before*
G: ὅτι ἐνεπλήσθη [ὡς τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς] — *For (their country) was filled as from the beginning*
T: [כיד] אתמליאת ארעכון טעון — *Your land is filled with idols as from the*

[56] This Hebrew passage constitutes a formidable *crux* in the history of biblical scholarship. For a detailed summary of the problems inherent to the Hebrew, see Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 190-93.

מלקדמין *beginning/East*

The similitude between S-Isa's addition of ܡܢ and G-Isa's ὡς led Warszawski to suggest that both translators possibly read כמקדם. However, that both versions rendered מקדם with the temporal expression "from before" instead of the expected sense "from the east" convinced him that G-Isa had influenced S-Isa's rendering of this whole sentence.[57] Strangely, though, Warszawski also noted T-Isa's comparable reading (כיד מלקדמין, "as from the beginning/East"), which weakens the possibility of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa. Additionally, Troxel shows convincingly that both G- and S-Isa elsewhere analyze מקדם with a temporal sense (9:11; 45:21; 46:10).[58] It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that S-Isa read כמקדם, since S-Isa elsewhere explicitated prepositions when he thought they were implied in his Hebrew ST (G8.2.1; Pr2.1). With the comparative expression that immediately follows (ועננים כפלשתים, "and soothsayers like the Philistines"), it is possible that S-Isa assumed an elided comparative כ before מקדם. Or, the translator simply could have supplied the common Syriac idiom ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ, based on his temporal understanding of the Hebrew phrase מקדם. Either way, these lower-level explanations in S-Isa's translation technique much more easily account for the translation than an appeal to influence from G-Isa.

2:6 (cf. S10.1.1 [Aramaism])

M:	וביל֣די נכרים ישפיקו	*and they clasp (their hands) with foreigners*
S:	ܘܝܠܕ̈ܐ ܟܢ̈ܝܢ ܣܓ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ	*and they raised a multitude of foreign sons*
G:	καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα	*and many foreign sons were born to them*

[57] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12. However, that S-Isa read כקדם cannot be ruled out entirely (cp. Jer 30:20, כקדם || ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ).

[58] Troxel, *A Commentary*, 2:6.

ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς

Here the appeal to Aramaic as an explanation for the LXX's rendering has been made by several scholars.[59] Warszawski was the first to draw attention to S- and G-Isa's similar understanding of the Hebrew root √שׁפק, which both translate with the Aramaic meaning "abundance." From this, he suggested that S-Isa relied on G-Isa. Bodor, too, argues that S-Isa's addition of ܣܓܝ̈ܐ (ʿsagyê, "multitude") cannot be explained by the extant Hebrew text but "only by the dependence on the Greek πολλά."[60] However, this conclusion is unlikely given the translator's tendency to Aramaize when he encountered unfamiliar lexis (cf. S10.1.1).[61] Since both translators clearly missed the Hebrew idiom "to strike a deal" (lit. "to clasp [one's hands, as in a deal]") and instead rendered the form under the influence of the Aramaic √ספק ("to be enough, sufficient"), there is no reason to believe that S-Isa translator needed lexical assistance from G-Isa to arrive at this understanding.

2:7 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])[62]

M:	ותמלא ארצו	*Its land is filled* (lit.)
S:	ܕܥܡܗ̇ܘܢ ܐܪܥܗ̇ܘܢ	*Their land was filled*
G:	ἐνεπλήσθη γὰρ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν	*For their land was filled*

[59] Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 336; Byun, *The Influence of Biblical Hebrew*, 229; and Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12.

[60] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 29.

[61] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 12.

[62] Plural suffixes are used throughout this verse and verse 8 in all three translations, with few exceptions. Each translator aimed to achieve some consistency in number.

T:	ואתמליאת ארעהון	*Their land was filled*

2:9 (cf. G5.2.2)[63]

M:	בוא בצור	*Enter into the rock!*
S:	ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ ܥܠ	*Enter into the rocks!*
G:	εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὰς πέτρας	*Enter into the rocks!*

2:10 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S10.4 [drudge/slot word])

M:	מהדר גאנו	*from the glory of his majesty*
S:	ܡܢ ܗܘܕ ܬܘܩܦ ܕܝ	*from the glory of his strength*
G:	ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ	*from the glory of his strength*

This particular lexical congruence between S- and G-Isa is rather weak, since both translators often translated גאון and other words from √גאה with "strength," and sometimes in the same place (cf. 2:19; 2:21).[64] Hebrew גאון has both positive and negative denotations: majesty versus pride. The translators were most often sensitive to these nuances and translated with similar lexemes,[65] but not always.[66] The variation is significant and demonstrates the autonomy of the Syriac translator in 2:10.

2:12

M:	כל־נשא וְשָׁפֵל	*(against) all that is lifted up and low*
S:	ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܡܬܪܡܡ ܘܢܬܫܦܠ	*(against) everyone who lifts himself up, so that he will be humbled*
G:	καὶ μετέωρον, καὶ	*(against) the lofty, and they shall be*

[63] The plural is maintained in both S- and G-Isa throughout the verse (הטמן || ܐܬܛܡܪ || κρύπτεσθε).

[64] As mentioned in S10.4, Syriac words for "strength" (e.g., ܬܘܩܦ) were often used as drudge words.

[65] The negative sense is retained in 13:3 (ὑβρίζοντες; ,ܡܬܓܐܐ); 16:6 (ὕβριν; ܡܓܐܘܬܐ; ὑπερηφανίαν || ܡܓܐܐ).

[66] See, for example, 25:11: השפיל גאותו עם ארבות ידיו || ταπεινώσει τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἃ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε; ,ܡܬܒܥܝ ܠܓܐܘܬܗ ܥܡ ܡܬܚܬ ܝܕܘܗܝ.

	ταπεινωθήσονται	*humbled*
T:	וימאכון כל תקיפיא	*(against) all the strong, and they will be low*

M's שפל follows a long list of words meaning "pride," leading most commentators to believe that the word in M is clearly misplaced.[67] However, all the versions (including 1QIsa[a] and 4QIsa[b]) attest the reading in M, so the misplacement must have been early. The different translators understood ושפל to be a *w[e]qatal* verb and translated likewise. S-Isa's solution is consistent with the typical ways he handled ambiguous Hebrew forms.

2:16 (cf. S10.1.1 [Aramaism])

M:	ועל כל־שכיות החמדה	*and against all the beautiful boats*[68]
S:	ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܣܟܘܬܐ ܕܚܡܕ̈ܐ	*and against all the desirable watchmen*
G:	καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους	*and upon every view of fine ships*

In this example, M's שכיות, a *hapax*, caused some difficulty for the translators. While both S- and G-Isa seem to have associated שכיות with something involving "sight," assuming √שכה ("to look at"), which is attested in later Hebrew, Aramaic (סכי), and Syriac (ܣܟܐ), each translator seems to have arrived at his translation independently.[69] G-

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[67] See Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 198, for a discussion of the problems. He suggests that the original text had נשא וגבה, but a marginal gloss (ישפל) intended for 2:11 was accidentally included in 2:12 by a later copyist.

[68] Exegetes are now agreed that שכיות is related to Egyptian *śkty* and Ugaritic *ṯkt*. Both words refer to some sort of ship (see the summary and bibliography in Williamson, *Isaiah* 5, 199-200). Also, the semantic parallelism in the verse suggests a similar meaning.

[69] G-Isa's θέαν (|| שכיות) has been considered an Aramaism by Byun (*The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew*, 191-200); F. Delitzsch (*Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, vol. 1 [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1881], 124); and R. R. Ottley (*The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint [Codex Alexandrinus]*, vol. 2, *Texts and Notes* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906], 114). Byun also considers S-Isa's

Isa's θέαν πλοίων constitutes a double-rendering (θέαν [from √שכה], and πλοίων [a contextually apt rendering]), demonstrating the translator's unfamiliarity with the form.[70] S-Isa's ܢܛܘܪܐ ("watchmen"), however, reflects the association of שכיות with Aramaic סכוי, meaning "watchmen" or "watchtower."[71]

2:18 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	האלילים כליל יחלף	*the idols will completely pass away*
S:	ܐ̈ܢܝ̈ܢ ܕܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܢܫܬܡܕ̈	*as for idols, they will completely vanish*
G:	τὰ χειροποίητα πάντα κατακρύψουσιν	*they will hide all (their) hand-made things*

2:20

M:	אלילי כספו ואת אלילי זהבו	*their idols of silver and their idols of gold*
S:	ܨ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕܕ̈ܗܒܐ ܘܕ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ܦ̈ܐ	*idols of gold and of silver*
G:	τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ	*his silver and gold abominations*

G-Isa's omission of the second occurrence of אלילי here reflects his tendency to produce distributive renderings in parallel phrases.[72] S-Isa, however, usually translated isomorphically and frequently added linguistic elements to explicitate the parallelism implied in his ST (see Pr2.1). This contrast can be seen by comparing those places where G-Isa has distributive renderings and S-Isa retains the linguistic element in his source (cf.

ܢܛܘܪܐ an Aramaism (p. 199).

[70] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 154.

[71] T-Isa's בירנית ("palaces") || שכיות might also reflect a similar lexical association. Warszawski seems to suggest that S-Isa's reading was influenced by the Syriac √ܫܟܚ, which is possible (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 13). However, the morphological and semantic agreement with Aramaic סכוי seems more likely.

[72] Several examples of this tactic have been adduced by van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 206-207.

20:4; 26:6; 30:9, 22; 36:17; 37:13; 65:7). In light of these different tactics (and the fact that S-Isa rendered a noun [ܟܣܦܐ] and G-Isa supplied an adjective [ἀργυρᾶ]), it is difficult to imagine that S-Isa's reading in 2:20 reflects any kind of dependence on G-Isa. Rather, S-Isa's transposed reading (כספו … זהבו || ܟܣܦܐ ܘܕܗܒܐ) suggests a case of parablepsis whereby the translator (or transmitter) accidentally jumped to אלילי זהבו first and, upon realizing he had skipped אלילי כספו, simply added ܟܣܦܐ. This suggestion is supported also by the observation that the normal order in Isaiah is "silver and gold," which S-Isa always rendered with serial fidelity (cf. 2:7; 13:7; 30:22; 31:7; 39:2; 60:9). Thus, S-Isa's reading in 2:20 is anomalous.

2:20 (cf. S5 [abstraction change])

M:	לחפר פרות ולעטלפים	*to the moles and to the bats*
S:	ܠܛܘܪܝܐ ܘܠܗܒܠܐ	*to vanity, to the bats*
G:	τοῖς ματαίοις καὶ ταῖς νυκτερίσιν	*to the vain ones and the bats*
1QIsa[a]:	לחפרפרים ולעטלפים	*to the moles and to the bats*
T:	לטעותא ולצלמניא	*to idols and to statues*

Here Warszawski noted that both S- and G-Isa rendered the Hebrew phrase לחפר פרות as one word, but 1QIsa[a]'s reading לחפרפרים suggests that both translators might have read only one word in their *Vorlagen*.[73] The semantic cohesion between S-Isa's rendering "to vanity" (ܠܛܘܪܝܐ) and G-Isa's "to the vain ones" (τοῖς ματαίοις) also struck Warszawski as indicating S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa.[74] However, S-Isa's ܛܘܪܝܐ has an extended

[73] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 13.

[74] Ibid. Warszawski is unclear about S-Isa's ܠܛܘܪܝܐ for ולעטלפים and whether the translator also relied on G-Isa for his rendering. It seems clear, however, that S-Isa knew the meaning of the Hebrew or interpreted the latter on the basis of Aramaic

denotation of "idol," in which case S-Isa's reading is not semantically closer to G-Isa than to the reading in T-Isa (לטעותא, "to idols"), which is found frequently in Isaiah to refer to idol worship (cf. 10:10; 17:11; 57:5; 65:11).[75] Moreover, both translations differ syntactically, with S-Isa employing an abstract substantive and G-Isa an adjective.[76] It seems more likely that both translators rendered the Hebrew *hapax* עטלפים by means of a common shift in abstraction (i.e., vanity) intuited by the context of idolatry, or both translators (along with T-Isa) relied on an exegetical tradition.[77]

2:21 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change])

M:	לבוא בנקרות הצרים ובסעפי הסלעים	*to enter into crevices of rocks and into clefts of stones*
S:	ܠܡܥܠ ܒܚܪ̈ܒ̈ܬ ܟ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܒ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܟ̈ܐ̈ܦ̈ܐ	*to enter into caves of rock and into crags of stone*
G:	τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς τρώγλας τῆς στερεᾶς πέτρας καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν	*to enter into the holes of solid rock and into the clefts of rocks*

Isaiah 3

3:3

M:	וחכם חרשים	*the skillful magician*
S:	ܘ̈ܚ̈ܟ̈ܝ̈ܡ ܚ̈ܪ̈ܫ̈ܐ	*the skillful carpenters*

(Jastrow, *DTTBYML*, s.v. עטלף ["bat"]; and *CAL*, s.v. עטלף ["bat"]).

[75] See *CSD*, s.v. ܠܛܥܘܬܐ. Goshen-Gottstein (*HUB*, 9) considers T-Isa's לטעותא a case of "contextual exegesis" not derivative of the reading לחפר פרות.

[76] This difference is also pointed out by Troxel, *A Commentary*, 2:20.

[77] The lexical parallel between G- and T-Isa's renderings for חפרפרים (|| τοῖς ματαίοις || לטעותא) suggested a "traditional custom" to Seeligman, *The Septuagint Version*, 196. He did not appeal to the reading in S-Isa, but its closeness to the other translations supports Seeligman's hypothesis.

G: σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα *the skillful builder*

M's חֹכֵם חָרָשִׁים occurs in a list of leaders, falling in between the counselor (יועץ) and expert charmer (נבון לחש). Both S- and G-Isa provide readings as if the vocalization were חָרָשִׁים, referring to skilled craftsmen. However, this assumed vocalization makes little sense in context, which is why many have rightly proposed that √חרש here has a different etymology, with the meaning "magic, sorcery."[78] Since both translators consistently rendered the noun חָרָשׁ with "carpenters" (ܢܓܪ̈ܐ) and "craftsmen" (τέκτων) elsewhere (cf. 40:19, 20; 41:7; 44:12, 13), there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa relied on G-Isa in 3:3.

3:4 (cf. S1 [synonymy])[79]

M: ונתתי נערים שריהם *And I will set youths as their leaders*

S: ܘܐܩܝܡ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܫ̈ܝܗ *And I will establish youths as their noblemen*

G: καὶ ἐπιστήσω νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν *And I will establish youths as their rulers*

T: ואמני ינקיא פרנסיהון *And I will appoint youths as their leaders*

3:4 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S7 [emphasis change])

M: תעלולים ימשלו־בם *they will rule over them with caprice/childishness*

S: ܘܣܟ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܢܫܠܛ̈ܘܢ ܒܗ̈ *mockers will rule over them*

G: ἐμπαῖκται κυριεύσουσιν αὐτῶν *mockers will rule over them*

As has been noted by scholars, both the morphosyntax of this clause and the semantics of תעלולים are unclear and subject to different interpretations.[80] Both translators assumed

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[78] See חָרָשׁ (s.v.) in *HALOT*; BDB; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 232-33.

[79] This example is discussed above under 1:26 (Chapter 5).

[80] I follow Williamson (*Isaiah 1-5*, 233-34) in viewing תעלולים as an adverbial accusative with the meaning "childishness" (from the denominative √עלל ["to be or play like a child"]), especially because the previous clause speaks of how "youths" (נערים) will

that, in light of the previous clause (נתתי נערים שריהם), תעלולים was the subject of the sentence and a reference to people, despite the abstract form of the word.[81] The form's association with √עלל ("to deal with someone wantonly"; "to play a trick") is apparent in how other translators rendered its verbal attestations in the Dt-stem (cf. Num 22:29, התעללת || ܐܫܟ, "you mocked"; ἐμπέπαιχάς, "you have mocked").[82] Both S- and G-Isa followed similar paths here. Congruences as such should be interpreted in view of S-Isa's typical ways of rendering rare lexemes and his regulative norms. One such maneuver was to etymologize on the basis of the perceived Hebrew root, a tactic he employed in many places where G-Isa either went his own way or provided a reading consonant with M (see S1 and S7).

3:5

M:	נגש העם	*And the people will be oppressed by one another*
S:	ܥܡܐ ܢܦܠ	*And the people will fall*
G:	καὶ συμπεσεῖται ὁ λαός	*And the people will fall*
T:	ויתגרון עמא	*And the people will oppress one another*

The Hebrew verb נגש ("to press, drive, oppress, exact") was usually translated by the Peshiṭta translators with ܥܠܝܐ ("ruler"),[83] the *Shaphel* of √ܥܒܕ ("to enslave, make

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be appointed by the LORD.

[81] On abstract forms, see GKC §85r.

[82] Similar examples are found in 1 Sam 6:6; 31:4; and Jer 38:19.

[83] See Exod 5:6, 10, 13, 14; Isa 3:12; 14:4; 60:17; Zech 10:4; Job 39:7. The equivalent ܢܓܫ || נוגש in Dan 11:20 is slightly different.

serve"),[84] or it was confused with נגשׁ ("to draw near" [ܩܪܒ]).[85] In view of these equivalents' semantics, the specific sense of "oppress" or "give harsh treatment" seems not to have been known by S-Isa and, arguably, G-Isa.[86] T-Isa's ויתגרון ("they will oppress one another") agrees with M, though in every other place where נגשׁ occurs, the translator chose lexemes similar to S-Isa (3:12; 9:3; 14:2; 58:3; 60:17). Such semantic limitations created difficulties for S- and G-Isa when they encountered נגשׁ העם, since the context of Isaiah 3 did not permit their default renderings.[87] Both translators chose a lexical equivalent that was sensitive to the context of Isaiah 3 in which the Hebrew verb נפל is found a couple times, referring to the "fall" (3:8) of Jerusalem and how the men of Jerusalem will "fall by the sword" (3:25). S-Isa explicitated this idea of falling again in 3:26: לארץ תשב || ܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ, "[Jerusalem] will fall to the ground" (cp. G-Isa's τὴν γῆν ἐδαφισθήσῃ). Thus, S-Isa's reading here is perfectly explicable without appealing to G-Isa.[88]

3:5 (cf. G5.10 [preposition change])

M:	ירהבו הנער בזקן והנקלה בנכבד	*the youth will be insolent to old men, and the dishonorable to the honorable*

[84] See Exod 3:7; Isa 9:3; 14:2; Zech 9:8; Job 3:18.

[85] See 1 Sam 14:24; 2 Kgs 23:35; Isa 53:7; 58:3.

[86] G-Isa's choices of πράκτορες (3:12), τῶν ἀπαιτούντων (9:3), ὁ ἀπαιτῶν (14:4) make clear that the translator understood the sense of "exact" in נגשׁ.

[87] Williamson suggests that the versions read נגשׁ as if it were in the G-stem, but this seems unlikely.

[88] For this reason, Warszawski, who is otherwise inclined to view such agreements as evidence of dependence, is right to note only the translations' similarity (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 13).

S:	ܥܛܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܛܝܪܐ ܘܥܬܝܩܐ ܒܐ ܥܛܝܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܬܝܩܐ ܘܝܩܪܐ	*youths will contend with the elderly, and the dishonorable with the honorable*
G:	προσκόψει τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην, ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς τὸν ἔντιμον	*the child will stumble against the elder, the dishonored against the honorable*

3:6

M:	שמלה לכה	*You have a garment!*
S:	ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܘܫ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ	*He will say to him, "You have a garment!"*
G:	λέγων Ἱμάτιον ἔχεις	*saying, "You have a garment!"*
T:	למימר כסו אית לך	*to say, "You have a garment!"*

The syntax in M includes no marker for direct speech, such as לאמר (כי־יתפש איש באחיו בית אביו שמלה לכה), which the translators did not prefer. All of them explicitated the speech act, albeit in different ways. All three translators did the same at 14:16 and 21:8. G-Isa was much more prone to add direct speech markers (cf. 10:9; 30:16; 39:6; 48:5; 49:1, 15; 58:6).[89]

3:6 (cf. G5 [phrase structure change]; G6.3 [clause structure change])

M:	קצין תהיה־לנו	*You will be a leader for us!*
S:	ܠܢ ܠܫܠܝܛ ܗܘܐ	*Be a leader for us!*
G:	ἀρχηγὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ	*Be a leader for us!*

This morphosyntactic parallel is insignificant in light of S-Isa's tendency to draw out the implied syntax (see G5), which sometimes affected the clause-level (see G6). The context of Israel's desperate and urgent sense to appoint a leader indicates that the rhetorical force of תהיה is nearly imperatival. Had S-Isa taken his cue from G-Isa, we would expect greater morphosyntactical congruity, but here S-Isa's transposition (contra G-Isa's serial

[89] Both G- and T-Isa added direct speech markers where S-Isa did not (8:17; 45:14; 58:3). In one place, both S- and G-Isa added a direct speech marker where T-Isa did not (22:15-16).

fidelity) reveals his independence.

3:7		
M:	ישא	*he will lift up (his voice)*
1QIsa[a]:	וישא	*and he lifted up (his voice)*
S:	ܘܢܥܢܐ	*and he will answer*
G:	καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς	*and he answered*
T:	יתיב	*he will answer*

The verb in M assumes an elided object קול (see also 2:9; 42:2, 11), which none of the translators understood.[90] The verb signifies the response of the man with a mere "garment" (שמלה) in 3:6 whom Israelites command to be their leader. The verb ישא (or וישא) did not make sense to the translators, so all of them defaulted with an equivalent approximating the sense of "to say in response." Since the same strategy is evident in T-Isa and the elliptic context of the Hebrew accommodated S-Isa's choice of lexeme, there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa relied on G-Isa here.

3:7		
M:	לא־אהיה חבש	*I am not a healer*
S:	ܪܫܝܫ ܠܐ ܐܗܘ ܐܢܐ	*I am not a chief*
G:	Οὐκ ἔσομαί σου ἀρχηγός	*I will not be your leader*
T:	ריש לית אנא כשר למהוי	*I am not skilled to be a chief*

S-Isa was familiar with the meaning of חבש, which he consistently translated with √ܚܒܫ ("to bandage, bind up"; cf. 1:6; 30:26; 61:1). Such a meaning does not obviously suggest itself here, since the people just demanded the speaker to be their "leader" (קצין). This expected response is clear in G-Isa, which supplied ἀρχηγός for both קצין and חבש. Both S- and T-Isa chose different lexemes: ܡܫܠܡܢܐ/ܪܫܝܫܐ; and רב/ריש. The similar ways the

[90] On this rhetorical device, see GKC §117g.

translators handled חבש suggest that all relied on a common exegetical tradition.

3:11		
M:	כי־גמול ידיו יעשה לו	*for with the dealing of his hands, it will be done to him*
S:	ܡܬܦܪܥ ,ܥܒܕ̈ܝܗ ܕ̈ܝܕ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܒܪ̈ܐ ܠܗ	*for the work of his hands is repaid*
G:	πονηρὰ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ συμβήσεται αὐτῷ	*Evil things will happen to him according to the works of his hands*

Elsewhere in Isaiah both translators regularly translated the noun גמול with nouns meaning "recompense" (S-Isa: ܦܘܪܥܢܐ; G-Isa: ἀνταπόδοσις),[91] and sometimes with verbs denoting the act of "recompensing" (S-Isa: ܦܪܥ; G-Isa: ἀνταποδίδωμι).[92] This demonstrates that each translator was familiar with the semantics of גמול. While S-Isa's translation in 3:11 is a slight paraphrase of the Hebrew, the idea of recompense is explicit in his choice of ܡܬܦܪܥ ("it is repaid"). G-Isa's πονηρὰ, however, reflects the translator's understanding that רע in his ST's former clause (אוי לרשע רע) actually begins the subsequent clause. Such an analysis required him to translate כי freely with κατὰ. Both translators here analyzed גמול as referring to the actual deeds that rendered judgment necessary on Israel's guilty ones. This sense of "deeds" or "dealings" for גמול is found occasionally in the Hebrew (cf. Isa 59:18; Obad 1:15), especially when found in the collocation גמול ידים (cf. Judg 9:16; Prov 12:14). While the equivalents ܥܒܕ and τὰ ἔργα for גמול might appear to be a lexical parallel, each translator arrived at his choice by

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[91] See 59:18 and 66:6 (for S-Isa).

[92] See 59:18 and 35:4 (for G-Isa). S-Isa does not translate the noun גמול in 35:4, and G-Isa condenses its double-attestation in 59:18 with ἀνταπόδοσις.

slightly different means, as evidenced by the translations' morphosyntax.

3:12 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change]; G5.6 [addition of object]; Pr2.4 [explicitness change])

M:	עמי נגשיו מעולל	*O my people, oppressors deal harshly (with them)!*[93]
1QIsa[a]:	עמי נגשו מעולל	*O my people, oppressors deal harshly (with them!)*
S:	ܠܐ ܡܚܚܢ ,ܡܚܚ ,ܡܥܠܝ	*The leaders of my people are rooting him up*
G:	λαός μου, οἱ πράκτορες ὑμῶν καλαμῶνται ὑμᾶς	*O my people, your exactors gather you up!*
T:	עמי דסרכוהי בזזוהי כמעללי כרמא	*O my people whose commanders plunder it like the gleaners of a vineyard*

As I argued in 3:4 above, the translators of S- and G-Isa produced no equivalents for √נגש with the sense of "oppression." Quite frequently they rendered the lexeme generally with "leaders," as they did here. The Hebrew √עלל has different semantic nuances, depending on the context ("to deal severely with" [*poel*]; "to deal with someone wantonly, play a dirty trick on someone" [*hithpoel*]). The verb is also a denominative of עוללות ("gleanings") and has both a literal and metaphoric connotation. All three translators analyzed מעולל as deriving from the denominative verb ("to glean") and functioning metaphorically. T-Isa's solution (כמעללי כרמא) is freer, providing the specific image of a vineyard. This lexical congruity in the translations suggests that the translators relied on a common exegetical tradition. Only a few verses before (3:4), both S- and G-Isa rendered תעלולים with ܡܚܫܟ ("mockers") and ἐμπαῖκται ("mockers"). These "mockers" would "rule over Israel" (ימשלו־בם), indicating a corrupt leadership. This theme is clearly at play

[93] This translation reflects the widely adopted emendation עוללו נגשים, which is proposed and explained at length in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 261-62.

in 3:12, so it is surprising that both translators depart from the earlier sense of "mocking" and change it to "gleaning." The idea that all the translators employed an extrinsic mediation at this point has good plausibility. The other common phrase structure changes here in both S- and G-Isa, such as their explicitation of the object (ܐ || ὑμᾶς) and plural verbal elements (ܢܬܚܠܝ || καλαμῶνται), are easily explained on the basis of each translator's translation technique (see G5.2.2; G5.6; Pr2.4).[94]

3:13 (cf. G5.2.1 [number change]; G5.6 [addition of object])

M:	עמד לדין עמים	*he stands to judge the peoples*
S:	ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܥܡܗ ܩܐܡ	*he stands to judge his people*
G:	στήσει εἰς κρίσιν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ	*he stands to judge his people*

M's עמים is unexpected in light of verse 12 (where the LORD refers to "my people" [עמי] two times) and verse 14 (where a statement similar to 3:13 occurs: יהוה במשפט יבוא עם־זקני עמו). On this basis, and the fact that the verbs ריב and דין consistently refer to the idea of pleading or judging on behalf of a specific group,[95] numerous exegetes have proposed emending M.[96] While the readings in S- and G-Isa (ܥܡܗ; τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ) would seem to support the variant עמו, both translators frequently changed the number on nouns and added suffixes (see G5.2.1; G5.6), making it impossible to retrovert their *Vorlagen*.[97] The

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[94] For additional examples of explicitation of the object in G-Isa, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 53, 271-72.

[95] On this point, see P. Bovati, *Re-Establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 105 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 43, 211.

[96] For the proposals and bibliography, see Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 265-66.

[97] Although van der Vorm-Croughs lists fifty-six instances where G-Isa added

question of whether we should emend M here, however, does not need to be decided. S-Isa's parallel reading with G-Isa is either a case of common translation technique or evidence of common *Vorlagen*, not a case of S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa.

3:14 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; Pr2.1 [explicitness change])

M:	עם־זקני עמו ושריו	*with the elders of his people and his princes*
S:	,ܥܡ ܩܫܝܫ̈ܝ ܥܡܗ ܘ ܥܡ ܪܫ̈ܝ ܥܡܗ	*with the elders of his people and* with *his noblemen*
G:	μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ	*with the elders of his people and* with *his rulers*

3:14 (cf. S1 [synonymy]; S5 [abstraction change]; S7 [emphasis change]; S9 [trope change])

M:	אתם בערתם הכרם	*You yourself destroyed the vineyard*
S:	ܐܢܬ ܐܫܪܬ ܐܬ ܟܪܡܐ	*You yourself* burned *the vineyard*
G:	Υμεῖς δὲ τί ἐνεπυρίσατε τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου	*But you, why have you* burned *my vineyard?*

Both translators rendered √בער in its literal sense "to burn" (cf. Lev 6:5; 1 Kgs 14:10; Isa 44:15), rather than its figurative sense (cf. Deut 13:6; Judg 20:13; 2 Sam 4:11). They do the same in 4:4 and 6:13, even though the figurative sense obtains in all these places in the Hebrew.[98] These kinds of abstraction and trope changes in S-Isa, however, are not uncommon (see S5 and S9) and should not be used in an argument for the translator's dependence on G-Isa.

3:15 (cf. S5 [abstraction change]; S9 [trope change])

M:	מלכם תדכאו עמי[K]	*What do you mean by crushing my people?*
S:	,ܠܡܐ ܐܫܬܠܚ ܠܟ	*Why* have you harmed *my people?*
G:	τί ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε τὸν	*Why* have you harmed *my people?*

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a substantive noun or pronoun in the genitive, she notes that G-Isa's τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ in 3:13 reflects a case of "variant translation" (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 36).

[98] As noted by Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 14).

λαόν μου

While S- and G-Isa's translations correspond well with M on the morphosyntactic level, S-Isa's ܐܬܚܒܠ (“you have harmed”) seems quite close to G-Isa's ἀδικεῖτε on the semantic level. Elsewhere in Isaiah, G-Isa possibly shows familiarity with √דכא, translating it with συντετριμμένοις in 57:15. However, he also used lexemes with the meanings “pain” (ὀδύνῃ; 19:10), “be sick” (μεμαλάκισται; 53:5), and “cleanse” (καθαρίσαι; 53:10).[99] Likewise, S-Isa associated the root with “humiliation” (√ܚܫܚ; 19:10; 53:5) and “suffering” (√ܥܡܠ; 57:15).

A few other observations possibly attesting S-Isa's unique lexical relation to G-Isa here are worth mentioning. First, the Syriac √ܚܒܠ (“to harm, injure, pain”) is uncommon in the Peshiṭta, occurring only twice in the prophets (Isa 3:15; Zech 3:1). Second, T-Isa's ממסכנין (“those who impoverish”), while still departing from the semantics of the Hebrew, reflects the translator's independent analysis of his ST. And third, S- and G-Isa agree uniquely in the clause that immediately follows, פני עניים תטחנו, providing similar lexical equivalents for the Hebrew verb תטחנו (“you grind”; || ܦܢܝ ܥܢܝܐ ܐܬܟܠܡܬ ܕܡܣܟܢ, “the faces of the poor you put to shame”; τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν πτωχῶν καταισχύνετε, “you shame the face of the poor”). Thus, it could seem that the Syriac translator rendered his ST with an eye to the Greek text as well. However, these congruences should be examined in light of the *Übersetzungsweisen* of the translators,

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[99] Troxel rightly notes that in 53:10 G-Isa translated דכאו on the basis of the Aramaic √דכא/י (*LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 206 fn. 32).

both of whom often translated metaphors, tropes, and other figurative expressions literally (see S5 and S9 and especially 1:22, 25; 3:12, 15 above).[100] Had a demetaphorized translation been S-Isa's preference here, then his lexical choices are apt and explicable without recourse to G-Isa. That both translators relied on a common exegetical tradition, however, is also possible, but there is no additional cross-linguistic support to substantiate the hypothesis.

3:15-16 (cf. S10.5 [stock equivalent]; Pr1.3 [cultural filtering])

M:	אדני יהוה צבאות ויאמר יהוה	*the Lord, the LORD of hosts. And the LORD said*
1QIsa[a]:	אדוני יהוה צבאות ויאמר יהוה	*the Lord, the LORD of hosts. And the LORD said*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ̈ܐ	*the Lord, the strong one*
G:	κύριος σαβαωθ	*the Lord Sabaoth*

S-Isa's varied readings for M's אדני יהוה צבאות (or a similar epithet) was noted above in S10.5 and is summarized below:

האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝ̈ܐ ܡܪܝ̈ – 1x
האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝ̈ܐ ܡܪܝ̈ – 1x
האדון יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪ̈ܐ ܡܪ̈ – 2x
אדוני יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪ̈ – 4x
אדוני יהוה צבאות || ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪ̈ܐ ܡܪ̈ – 3x

Because of this variety, it is difficult to retrovert S-Isa's *Vorlage* in particular cases. 1QIsa[a]'s supralinear reading (אדוני) most likely reflects an assimilation to other epithets (cf. 1:24; 3:1; 30:15; 49:22; 52:4; 65:13) and indicates that the reading could have been

[100] Ziegler listed 3:15 as an example of this tendency (*Untersuchungen*, 81). Note also that at Isa 47:2 where טחן clearly takes its literal sense, both translators provided renderings that lexically appromixated their ST: ܐܫܕ (“Grind!”); and ἄλεσον (“Grind!”).

present in S- and G-Isa's *Vorlagen*.[101] In light of S-Isa's varied expressions for the combinations of the Lord's name and G-Isa's tendency to collapse אדוני יהוה into κύριος almost everywhere else, it is probably best to view the common omission in 3:15 as due to the translators' translation technique.[102] Similarly, S- and G-Isa's common omission of the speech formula at the beginning of verse 16 (ויאמר יהוה) reflects both translators' condensation of the redundant speech expressions in M (אדני יהוה צבאות ויאמר יהוה).[103] S-Isa's desire to provide a smooth and acceptable TT is evident elsewhere in the translator's many phrase structure and cohesion changes (see G5 and G8).

3:16 (cf. G8.2.1 [cohesion change])

M:	ותלכנה נטוות גרון	*And they walked with outstretched necks*
S:	ܘܗܠܟ̈ܝ ܒ̈ܪܡ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܬ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܐ	*And they walked* ***with*** *a proud neck*
G:	καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὑψηλῷ τραχήλῳ	*And they walked* ***with*** *an uplifted neck*[104]

3:17 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	ושפח אדני קדקד בנות ציון	*And the Lord will make bald the crown of the heads of the daughters of Zion*[105]

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[101] It is also quite conceivable that a Qumran copyist accidentally skipped אדוני and secondarily included it supralinearly (see Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 267).

[102] On this tendency in G-Isa, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 66-68.

[103] Ibid., 503.

[104] Both versions employ the same syntax in the following phrase: משקרות עינים (|| ܘ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ܢ, "with a wink of the eyes"; νεύμασιν ὀφθαλμῶν, "with a gesture of the eyes").

[105] The meaning of M's שפח is disputed. Traditional translations assume √שפח to be the denominative verb of ספחת (see Lev 13:2; 14:56) with the meaning "afflict with scabs" (see *HALOT*, s.v. שפח). However, cognate evidence from both Akkadian (*sapāḫu*, "to dissolve, scatter") and Arabic (*ʾaṣfaḥu*, "bald on the front of the head") could provide the meaning "to make bald," which is contextually superior in 3:17. See the bibliography

S:	ܘܡܪܝܐ ܡܟܝܟ ܪܫܐ ܕܒܢܬ ܨܗܝܘܢ	*The Lord will lay low the heads of the daughters of Zion*
G:	καὶ ταπεινώσει ὁ θεὸς ἀρχούσας θυγατέρας Σιων	*And God will bring low the ruling daughters of Zion*
T:	וישעביד יוי יקירת בנת ציון	*And the Lord will enslave the nobles of the daughters of Zion*

It is possible that any one of the translators read שפח as שפל or שחח,[106] but it is also possible that none of the translators understood the *hapax legomenon* and chose a lexeme that suited the context.[107] G-Isa levelled the semantics of his ST elsewhere with ταπεινόω (cf. 2:9, 11, 12, 17). Such a decision here likely influenced him to render קדקד freely with ἀρχούσας (= T-Isa). S-Isa also translated somewhat fluidly with ܡܟܝ, rendering lexemes such as יצא (14:11; 58:5), דכא (19:10; 53:5, 10), יגה (51:23), מוש (54:10), and נוס (59:19). Many of these equivalents constitute guesses at the what the underlying Hebrew root meant in context, a tactic the translator employed frequently (see S7). And with T-Isa's reading (וישעביד יוי יקירת בנת ציון) basically approximating the sense of both S- and G-Isa, the latter should not be claimed to have informed the former.

3:17 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	פתהן יערה	*he [the LORD] will lay bare their forehead*[108]

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for this proposal in *HALOT* (s.v. שפח) and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5,* 276.

[106] Goshen-Gottstein argued against an etymologization on the basis of √שחח, preferring √שפל instead (*HUB,* 12).

[107] S-Isa used √ܡܟܝ to render שחח in 2:9, 11, 17; 5:15; 26:5; 51:23; 60:14. The translator used the same root to render שפל in 2:11, 12; 5:15; 13:11; 25:11, 12; 26:5; 29:4; 32:19; 40:4; 57:9. Ziegler argues that G-Isa did not know the verb שפח (*Untersuchungen,* 137).

[108] While the semantics of the collocation פתהן have been disputed, most commentators follow Driver ("Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isaiah i-xxxix," *JTS* 38

S: ܟܫܦ ܠܡܨܒܗܝ *he [the LORD] will expose their form*
or *he [the LORD] will put their dress to shame*
G: ἀποκαλύψει τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν *he [the LORD] will reveal their form*

S-Isa's ܠܡܨܒܗܝ, a Greek loan, prompted both Gesenius and Barnes to interpret G-Isa's τὸ σχῆμα as the basis for S-Isa's choice.[109] The Antioch Bible also provides the translation, "he [the Lord] will expose their form," which seems to cohere with G-Isa's reading. Notably, however, this parallel did not make it into Warszawski's list of S-G agreements, and for good reason. Both translators most likely did not understand the Hebrew *hapax* פתהן ("forehead") and translated according to the broader context in which the LORD castigates Zion's haughty women and the opulence they acquired at the expense of the poor (Isa 3:15-24).[110] While Syriac ܨܒܗ can mean "form" and occurs only once in S-Isa, the word's usage outside S-Isa often denotes material objects, such as "attire, raiment, and dress."[111] And while the Syriac verb ܟܫܦ does carry the denotation "to lay bare, reveal, uncover," it also frequently means "to put to shame."[112] This idea in S-Isa of "putting their dress to shame" is consistent both with the previous stanza, which

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[1937]: 38; and "Hebrew Notes," *VT* 1 [1951]: 241-42), who compared the form to Akkadian *pūtu(m)*, which means "forehead." For a discussion on other proposals regarding this verse, see Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 276-77.

[109] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 82; Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," 195.

[110] Ziegler makes this claim for G-Isa (*Untersuchungen*, 81).

[111] Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܨܒܗ.

[112] Ibid., s.v. ܟܫܦ.

recounts the LORD's "laying low the heads" (ܪܫܐ ܟܘܣ ܡܟܟ) of the women of Zion, and following the verse, which states that the LORD will "remove the ostentation of their garments" (ܠܒܫܗܘܢ ܫܒܚܐ ܟܘܣ ܢܚܬ).[113] Thus, S-Isa's reading here seems to reflect the translator's educated guess, based on his own contextual interpretation, rather than dependence on G-Isa.

3:18 (cf. G5.6 [addition of object]; S7 [emphasis change])

M:	העכסים	*anklets* (?)[114]
S:	ܠܒܫܗܝ	*their garments*
G:	ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν	*their garments*

Both S- and G-Isa's addition of the pronominal suffix is easily explained by their translation techniques (cf. G5.6) and context.[115] Clearly, neither translator knew the meaning of √עכס, which S-Isa translated with ܟܥܣ ("provoking anger"), as if he read √כעס.[116] G-Isa translated העכסים in 3:16 with "being playful" (παίζουσαι). Whether

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[113] Far less likely, S-Isa rendered the Hebrew consonants פ־ת with the meaning derived from the Syriac root √ܦܬܚ ("to be enlarged"), which as a passive participle often denotes a "broad" or "spacious" area or outline for streets, houses, territories, etc.

[114] "Anklets" is the traditional translation for העכסים, but the gloss lacks firm etymological support. Arabic *ʿks* ("to hold back the head of a camel, or of some other animal, when it is being broken in or slaughtered; to turn back, in the opposite sense of to turn into") and *ʿikās* ("to hobble for a camel") are listed in *HALOT* (s.v. עכס) as cognates, but admittedly, it is a stretch to derive "anklet" from these meanings. The connection with the feet is clearer in 3:16 where the denominative verb is found (ברגליהם תעכסנה).

[115] Both translators explicitated the syntax of a former clause which is marked with suffixes (e.g., 3:16, ברגליהם תעכסנה). S-Isa continues this syntactical expression (plural noun + plural 3mp suffix) through verse 23, whereas G-Isa stops it at the end of verse 19. See van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 48-55 for a long list of explicitations through the addition of an object.

[116] S-Isa's reading of √כעס was suggested (correctly) by Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 14). The translation "exciting the imagination" in Brock et al. comes from an unsubstantiated gloss in *CSD* under the *aphel* stem (s.v. ܐܟܥ).

ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν is G-Isa's equivalent for העכסים, however, is questionable. Ziegler argued that G-Isa's τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κόσμους αὐτῶν has no correspondence with its *Vorlage*; rather, the translator—prompted by the following names for garments (והשהרנים העכסים והשביסים)—added the content and translated the whole section (3:18-24) according to Greek expression. G-Isa's equivalents for העכסים והשביסים והשהרנים come afterwards (καὶ τὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ τοὺς κοσύμβους καὶ τοὺς μηνίσκους, "and the hairpins, tassels, and crescents").[117] The CATSS database, too, indicates that G-Isa's τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κόσμους αὐτῶν has no counterpart in the Hebrew and could possibly attest a variant (= לבושיהן ועדיהן).[118] If it is true that G-Isa's ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν reflects an addition and S-Isa's translation agrees with it, then this could provide evidence that S-Isa depended on G-Isa. However, I find this conclusion indefensible for a few reasons.

First, since העכסים stands at the beginning of a long list of women's accoutrements and the Syriac translator did not know the meaning of √עכס, his choice of ܕܫܒܝܫܝ ("their

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However, this gloss is not listed in Sokoloff (*A Syriac Lexicon*), Brock and Kiraz, eds., *Pocket Gorgias Syriac-English Dictionary* [*SED*] (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2017), or *CAL*.

[117] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 203-204. Van der Vorm-Croughs considers this section "the most famous example of enumeratio in Isaiah" in which "the Hebrew adornments are often replaced in Greek by names of other kind of luxuries, which may have been more familiar to the Hellenistic public … It seems as if [the translator] wished to divide the women's property into three categories: jewelry that hangs down, jewelry in the form of a ring, and garments" (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 255).

[118] The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text (accessed by the Accordance electronic edition, version 12).

garments") is quite sensible in context and is consistent with his tendency to flatten the semantics of his ST when he was unfamiliar with certain lexemes (see S7).[119] Second, it would be odd for S-Isa to follow G-Isa only here and neither in G-Isa's other addition (τοὺς κόσμους αὐτῶν) or in the remaining verse. While he departs semantically from his ST, he still maintains serial fidelity to it (contra G-Isa). Third, there are no striking lexical correspondences between S- and G-Isa's solutions to the remaining obscure Hebrew words in verse 18: השביסים (|| ܥܡܕ̈ܝ, "their adornment"; τοὺς κοσύμβους, "hair-nets"; השהרנים (|| ܥܡܠ̈ܐ, "their tresses/necklaces"; τοὺς μηνίσκους, "crescents").[120] And fourth, if there were any place where we might expect S-Isa to rely on G-Isa, Isa 3:18-24 would be it, given the many *hapax legomena* in this section. However, the translator more often provided lexemes that depart from G-Isa (and often with M) than agree with it. Therefore, while G-Isa's ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν is morphosyntactically and lexically close to S-Isa's ܥܡܢܐ, the latter's reading is defensible without appealing to the former's.[121]

3:20(19)		
M:	?	
S:	ܥܡܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܝܗ[20]	*and the decoration of their faces*
G:	[19] καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν	*and the adornment of their face*

[119] The Syriac translator chose ܠܒܫܐ ("garment") to render other rare lexemes that seem to relate to clothing (e.g., 3:23, הגלינים || ܥܡܢܐ; 63:3, מלבושי || ,ܠܒܫ).

[120] The apparent similarity in the translators' renderings for השהרנים is due to the fact that השהרנים most likely refers to amulets or jewelry with "little moons" on them (see *HALOT*, s.v. שהרנים).

[121] It also possible that the translators associated the biradical combination כ־ס in העכסים with Aramaic (א)כסת ("clothing") or (תא)כסו ("garment"). See (א)כסת and (תא)כסו (s.v.) in *CAL* and Jastrow, *DTTBYML*.

S-Isa's ܒܫܦܪ ܐܚ̈ܝ here occurs at the beginning of verse 20, whereas G-Isa's καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν occurs at the end of verse 19. What both correspond to in the Hebrew is unclear and might suggest that S-Isa has been influenced by G-Isa. The phrase in G-Isa seems to be an addition that connects thematically with two other additions in its *enumeratio* (3:18, τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κόσμους αὐτῶν; 3:20, τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου).[122] In light of how faithfully S-Isa followed the word-order in verse 18-19, one expects his ܒܫܦܪ ܐܚ̈ܝ to be the equivalent for הפארים, which could be the case. The translator could have associated the word with √פאר, which means "to beautify, glorify" and provided a contextually-based paraphrase. Equally possible is that ܒܫܦܪ ܐܚ̈ܝ was the translator's equivalent for הצעדות, which immediately follows הפארים in verse 20. The biradical collocation of ע־ד could have caused an association with the word עדי ("ornament"),[123] which he rendered elsewhere with ܐܚ̈ܝ (cf. Isa 49:18).[124] Another option is that ܒܫܦܪ ܐܚ̈ܝ is a free translation of והצעדות הפארים. The lack of semantic adherence between S-Isa and the Hebrew of the rest of verse 20 makes it

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[122] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 255-56. The CATSS database suggests that καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν might constitute a free rendering of השירות in 3:19, but this is difficult to determine in light of how many omissions, additions, and variant translations occur in 3:18-24. Similarly, Ziegler mapped τὸν κόσμον with השירות and τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν with הרעלות, but this seems unverifiable (*Untersuchungen*, 205).

[123] See S7 for similar examples where the translator of S-Isa chose lexemes on the basis of a biradical combination.

[124] The translator of S-Ezekiel also rendered עדי with ܐܚ̈ܝ (cf. Ezek 7:20; 16:11; 23:40).

exceptionally difficult to map his equivalents with ST lexemes. If the phrase ܥܒܕ ܝܘ ܕܐܦܝܗܘܢ is a translation of G-Isa's καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν, then the influence does not appear to be direct. We would expect the placement of the addition to correspond with G-Isa and other semantic parallels, but everywhere else in this passage the Syriac translator seems to have acted independently.[125]

One last alternative solution to understanding this S-G agreement is that S-Isa's ܕܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܥܒܕ ܝܘ is secondary, reflecting a reading from G-Isa that was added marginally but inserted into the text at the wrong location by a later copyist. This hypothesis would explain the reading's correspondence with G-Isa and its misplacement.

3:20-23(19-22)

M:	הפארים והצעדות והקשרים ובתי הנפש והלחשים [21] הטבעות ונזמי האף [22] המחלצות והמעטפות והמטפחות והחריטים [23] והגלינים והסדינים והצניפות והרדידים	*the headdresses, armlets, ribbons, amu-* *-lets, and charms;* [21] *seal-rings, and* *nose-rings;* [22] *the festal robes, mantles,* *shawls, and wraps;* [23] *the coats,* *fine linen tunics, turbans, and flowing veils*
S:	ܕܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܥܒܕ ܝܘ ܕܩܕܥܝܗܘܢ ܕܚܩܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܩܫܝܗܘܢ ܕܫܝܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܣܚܠܦܘܗܝ [21] ܕܣܚܠܛܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܛܫܚܝܗܘܢ [22] ܕܒܘܨ ܫܝܪܐ ܘܕ ܣܒܐ ܕܡܛܠܛܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܛܫܢ [23]	*and the decorations of their faces, earrings,* *necklaces, and ankle-chains;* [21] *and their bracelets, and bangles;* [22] *and their coats, robes,* *fine linens, and purple garments;* [23] *and their garments,*[126] *purple robes,*

[125] For example, G-Isa's τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δόξης at the beginning of verse 20 seems to be a double-rendering for הפארים (Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 205).

[126] Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 15) contended that S-Isa translated הגלינים with ܕܡܛܫܢ on the basis of Syriac ܟܠܐ ("coat"), which is possible, although √ܟܠܐ is also a possibility (cf. s.v. ܟܒܠܐ ["cloak"] in *CSD* and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*). However, the word in Hebrew may in fact relate to Akkadian *gulēnu/gulīnu/gulānu* which means "over-garment" and Hebrew גלום (= Aramaic גְּלִימָא), which means "wrapping, garment" and occurs in Ezek 27:24 (see Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 155; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 282-83, who follows Wildberger). BDB also cites Arabic جَلْوَةٌ (*ğalwatu-n*, "fine garment") as a possible cognate, but I have not successfully

	ܫܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܒܪ̈ܝܫܐ ܟܠ̈ܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ̈ܘܢ	*scarlet robes, and purse* *(for) all their adornments*
G:	[19] καὶ τὸ κάθεμα καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν [20] καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δόξης καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὰ ψέλια καὶ τὸ ἐμπλόκιον καὶ τὰ περιδέξια καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια [21] καὶ τὰ περιπόρφυρα καὶ τὰ μεσοπόρφυρα [22] καὶ τὰ ἐπιβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικὰ [23] καὶ τὰ βύσσινα καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα καὶ τὴν βύσσον σὺν χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ συγκαθυφασμένα καὶ θέριστρα κατάκλιτα.	*and the necklaces, and the adornment of their face;* [20] *and the collection of glorious adornment, and bracelets, and armlets, and braidings, and bangles, and rings, and earrings;* [21] *and garments with purple borders, and (garments) mixed with purple;* [22] *and house--coats, and transparent Laconian fabrics;* [23] *and garments of fine linen, both the blue ones and the scarlet ones, and the fine linen embroidered with gold and blue (thread), and the garments flowing downward*

According to Warszawski, the words in S-Isa "entsprechen zum Teil denen der LXX V.19 u. 20."[127] He included Isa 3:20-21 among his list of places where S-Isa's translation is inexplicable without the translator having been influenced by G-Isa.[128] However, he did not explain what the precise semantic parallels are between the two versions, stating in his commentary at verse 22 that S-Isa's translation is "also eine ganz freie und willkürliche Wiedergabe."[129] Similarly, Weitzman claimed that in Isa 3:18-23:

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located this specific Arabic lexeme in the most reliable Arabic dictionaries.

[127] Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 15).

[128] Ibid., 9.

[129] Ibid., 15.

> P has to render 21 items of ladies' finery. After two vague renderings ('clothes', 'ornament'), he attempts a logical progression, from four hairstyles, through decorations of the temples and face, and a nose-ring, to four types of chain (cf. שירות earlier in the sequence) and eight types of robe, distinguished partly by colour. Here and there the influence of LXX is detectable: thus the hairstyles (for the 3rd to 6th items) recall ἐμπλόκια for the 2nd, and LXX too has some (but fewer) coloured robes.[130]

Weitzman is slightly more specific than Warszawski in claiming that G-Isa's ἐμπλόκια influenced S-Isa's choice of "hairstyles" and that both translators included different types of robes. However, it is difficult to see how Weitzman arrived at the conclusion that the translator attempted a "logical progession." First, after S-Isa's "two vague renderings" (ܠܒܘܫܗ̈ ܘܣܝܡܢܗ̈, "their garments and their adornment"), the translator has ܘܓܠ̈ܕ̈ܝܗ̇ ܘܣܝܡ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܘܣܒ̈ܟ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܗ̇ ܘܣܒ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܗ̇ ܘܩ̈ܦ̈ܠ̈ܘܗ̇ ܘܣܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܗ̇, "and their curls,[131] and the coils of their hair, and their plaits,[132] and their temples." While these four accoutrements could refer to hairstyles, the meanings of two of these Syriac words could just as easily refer to some kind of necklace.[133] It is also not clear why Weitzman considered ܘܣܒ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܗ̇ ܘܩ̈ܦ̈ܠ̈ܘܗ̇ to reflect two different hairstyles. That the translator of S-Isa chose all four alleged

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[130] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 47.

[131] The meaning "curl, braid" for ܓܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ comes from Sokoloff (*A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܓܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ). However, *CSD* also includes the gloss "a necklace or chain" (s.v. ܓܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ), and *SED* provides "necklace" (s.v. ܓܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ).

[132] ܩ̈ܦ̈ܠ̈ܐ could also mean "chains, bracelets" (see *CSD*, s.v. ܩ̈ܦ̈ܠ̈ܐ).

[133] Kiraz et al. render ܘܓܠ̈ܕ̈ܝܗ̇ with "their necklaces." The question of whether ܘܣܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܗ̇ refers to physical temples or ornate hairstyles that rest over a woman's temples is difficult to say. Interestingly, Palmyrene portraiture actually does depict hair on women's temples in a striking manner. I owe this observation to J. Hutton (personal communication).

hairstyles on the basis of G-Isa's ἐμπλόκια is speculative, especially given that it is not obvious what the Syriac words were intended to convey.

Second, I am not sure why Weitzman considered שירות to be the prompt for S-Isa's list of four chains. While it seems correct that S-Isa provided a sequence of four chain-like pieces of jewelry (ܘܡܫܩܪܗ ܘܡܫܩܕ ܘܡܫܥܪܥ ܘܡܫܚܠܩܐ, "and their necklaces, and their ankle-chains, and their bracelets, and their bangles"), the prompt just as easily could have been הצעדות ("armlets"). Or, the translator simply could have produced the list without any prompt.[134] Third, Weitzman counts ܡܣܛ̈ܝ ܘܠܚ ܟܪܒ̈ܝ as the eighth item in a list of robes, but the meaning of ܟܪܒ̈ܝ is not clear[135] and could refer to a "purse" or "casket" that holds various "adornments" (ܡܣܛ̈ܝ).[136] If the latter meaning was intended by S-Isa, then both S- and G-Isa include the same number of garments (contra Weitzman). And last, while it is a reality that both S- and G-Isa produced a list of garments that includes some colored ones, this hardly constitutes evidence for S-Isa's

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[134] Aside from verse 20 where S-Isa provided four items of beautification where M has five, S-Isa does seem to have provided an item for each one in his ST, though he departed significantly from the semantics of his ST in 3:21-22. If one is to map his equivalents sequentially, then ܡܫܥܠܬ ("their plaits/bracelets") would seem to be his equivalent for השירות. If ܡܫܥܠܬ here does in fact refer to a type of hairstyle, then the translator could have been prompted by the graphemic promixity of השירות to שער ("hair").

[135] Sokoloff is explicit about the uncertain meaning of ܟܪܒ̈ܝ (*A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܟܪܒ̈ܝ).

[136] More recent lexicons list ܟܪܒ̈ܝ as having the denotations "purse" (*SED*) and "casket [to cover bridal array]" (*CSD*). *CSD* also lists the meaning "a wrapper or cloak worn over full dress" (s.v. ܟܪܒ̈ܝ).

reliance on G-Isa since the Hebrew list refers to seven or eight different types of clothing.[137] Neither does the sequence of S-Isa's list betray any semantic or morphosyntactic correspondence with G-Isa's list nor do both lists contain the same list of colors. Therefore, it would seem that the only possible correspondence between the two translations is the logical ordering of the women's accessories. It must be admitted, however, that S-Isa's translation includes several lexemes that could be understood in different ways, thus problematizing the idea that the translation provides a logical order. And even if the notion of logical progression was evident in S-Isa, I see no reason why the prompt for it could not have been the Hebrew text itself, which contains something of a progression, even if a very general one (jewelry → kinds of luxurious clothing).[138]

3:24 (cf. S8 [paraphrase]; Pr2 [explicitness change])

M:	והיה תחת בשם מק יהיה	*And it shall come to pass that instead of perfume, (there will be) the stench of rottenness*[139]
S:	ܘܗܘ ܚܠ ܥܠ ܚܠ ܕܥܘܬ	*And there will be vinegar/dust instead of their fragrant scent*
G:	καὶ ἔσται ἀντὶ ὀσμῆς ἡδείας	*And instead of pleasant scent there will be*

[137] Warszawski, too, noted that G-Isa "may have been present" to S-Isa since G-Isa's καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα is congruent with S-Isa's ܚܡܪܩܡܩ ܚܡܪܫ ܚܡܟ ܕ ܚܠ ܕܪ ܕ ܚܡܪܘܬ.

[138] Due to the uncertain meaning of many *hapax legomena* in 3:18-23, it is wise to see the list as indicating only a general progression (Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 151; Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 287-88).

[139] Both translators lack an equivalent for M's יהיה, but in light of the minus here in 1QIsa[a], יהיה may not have been in their *Vorlagen* (see Ziegler, "Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta [LXX] und die erste Isaias-rolle von Qumran [1QIsa[a]]," *JBL* 78 [1959]: 43-45; Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 547-55; and van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 499).

κονιορτός	*dust*

The lexical obscurity of מק here caused problems for the translators. S-Isa's ܫܠܚ in the Mosul edition is pointed as ܫܽܠܚ, which can mean "dust, powder," "a garment of fine linen," "a white film in the cataracts of eyes (i.e., trichoma)," or a "scabbard."[140] Of all these options, the first ("dust") would seem to be the least disruptive to the context. However, Leiden's ܫܠܚ could also be pointed as ܫܽܠܚ ("vinegar"), which contrasts better with ܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ("fragrant scent") than "dust" if the emphasis is on a putrescent smell (= M). The overall context in S-Isa, however, is one of mourning, in which case the choice of "dust" is *apropos*. Both translators also rendered מק in 5:24 with "dust." The context is clearer in 5:24, with מק being in semantic parallelism with אבק, which both translators clearly knew (ܥܦܪܐ, "fine dust"; χνοῦς; cf. 29:5).[141] With knowledge of this context in 5:24, both translators could have relied on it in rendering מק in 3:24.

Another S-G parallel in this verse is both translators' addition of a word for "fragrant" (S-Isa: ܪܝܚܐ; G-Isa: ἡδείας), drawing out the basic sense of "smell" in בשם. This particular agreement is unique in that the Peshiṭta translators consistently rendered בשם with its cognate ܪܝܚܐ, and never with modifers.[142] Likewise, the LXX translators

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[140] See *CSD*, s.v. ܫܠܚ; and #1-2 in Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 451.

[141] It is quite possible that in the first instance of מק in Isaiah, both translators could have associated the lexeme with Aramaic דקה ("dust") or, in the case of S-Isa, Syriac ܕܩܐ ("fine dust, powder"; see S-Exodus 32:20).

[142] For a sample of these equivalences, see Exod 25:6; 35:28; 1 Kgs 10:2; 2 Kgs 20:13; Isa 39:2; Ezek 27:22; 1 Chron 9:29; 2 Chron 32:33.

most often translated בשם with ἄρωμα (15x) or ἥδυσμα (7x). In fact, ἡδείας is found in only one other place in the LXX (cf. Isa 44:16), and there it is clearly a free rendering. In light of this correspondence, it is striking that those who are most inclined to see evidence of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa do not see it here. I think this is because the clarification naturally suggests itself after a long list of women's finery. To clarify the contrast between בשם (which without much context could indicate some sort of spice) and מק, both translators added "fragrant." It would seem quite odd for S-Isa to have relied on G-Isa here if he clearly understood the meaning of בשם. The morphosyntactic differences (e.g., S-Isa transposed מק with תחת בשם and added a 3fp suffix in ܒܣܡܗ) between the translations also suggests that S-Isa worked independently. Attestations of explicitating pluses and paraphrases are found elsewhere in S-Isa (see S8 and Pr2).

3:24 (cf. G5.7 [phrase structure change]; G6.7 [clause structure change]; G11 [texts with many formal changes]; Pr2.3 [explicitness change])

M:	ותחת חגורה נקפה	*and instead of a girdle—a rope*
S:	ܘܬܚܘܬ ܚܨܝܢ ܒܣܡ ܙܢܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܚܓܪ̈	*and instead of the girdle of their loins, they will gird course garments*
G:	καὶ ἀντὶ ζώνης σχοινίῳ ζώσῃ	*and instead of a girdle, you will gird yourselves with a rope*

Isa 3:24 includes a list of punishments that will replace (תחת) the women of Israel's glamorous jewelry, hairdos, and clothing. G-Isa's ζώσῃ in this clause seems to have replaced an assumed Hebrew verb "to be," which the beginning clause includes (והיה תחת בשם מק).[143] S-Isa employed a similar strategy, choosing a verb with similar semantic

[143] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 57. G-Isa follows the same syntactical format in the following two clauses (καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ χρυσίου φαλάκρωμα ἕξεις διὰ τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος τοῦ μεσοπορφύρου

content, prompted by חגורה (|| ܚܨ̈ܝ̈ ܕܡ̈ܬܢ̈ܝ̈ܗ, "the girdle of their loins"). The illocution of the translators' verbs differs, however, with G-Isa having supplied a 2nd person plural verb and S-Isa a 3rd person plural verb. Both translators also chose different lexemes for נקפה, which they understood as referring to some act of exile (σχοινίῳ, "with a rope") or torture (ܣܩ̈ܐ, "course garments").[144] The tendency for S-Isa to add predication where M has a verbless clause was noted above (see G5.7; G6.7; G11; Pr2.3). If that strategy applies here, the translator did not employ it consistently, since he did not continue the same syntactical locution in the following clause (ܠܐ ܕܩ̈ܦ̈ܘ̈ܬ ܣ̈ܩ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܠܐ, "instead of plaits [there will be] bald patches"). S-Isa added predication again in the last clause of running items that will replace the women's adornments (ܣ̈ܡ̈ܩ̈ ܚ̈ܡ̈ܛ̈ܠ̈ܚ̈ ܐ̈ܠܐ ܚ̈ܨ̈ܥ̈ ܒ̈ܣ̈ܩ̈ܐ, "instead of their violet (garments) they will cover themselves with sackcloth"). In this last clause, G-Isa too added predication (καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος τοῦ μεσοπορφύρου περιζώσῃ σάκκον, "and instead of the tunic blended with purple, you will gird yourselves with sackcloth"), but the translator's choice of lexeme was quite different. Thus, while both translations exhibit some morphosyntactic and semantic agreements, they also demonstrate many disagreements. If the translator of S-Isa had a copy of G-Isa beside him, then his appropriation of it would seem to have been completely arbitrary. The insiginificance of the parallels in this verse and the way S-Isa typically handled elliptic syntax and

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περιζώσῃ σάκκον).

[144] Sokoloff notes that ܣܩ̈ܐ (s.v.) were used as a means of torture (*A Syriac Lexicon*).

unfamiliar lexemes elsewhere strongly suggests that these S-G agreements are due to common translation technique.

Isaiah 4

4:1 (cf. G6.3 [transposition])

M:	רק יקרא שמך עלינו	*only let your name be called over us*
S:	ܚܠܝ ܫܡܟ ܢܬܩܪܐ ܥܠܝܢ	*only let your name be called upon us*
G:	πλὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ σὸν κεκλήσθω ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς	*only let your name be called upon us*

4:2 (cf. S10 [Aramaism])

M:	ביום ההוא יהיה צמח יהוה לצבי ולכבוד	*On that day the vegetation*[145] *of the LORD will be beautiful and glorious*
S:	ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܙܝܘ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܝܩܪܐ ܠܡܪܝܡܘ ܕܐܪܥܐ	*On that day the rising of the Lord will be for glory and honor*
G:	Τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ θεὸς ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ δόξης	*On that day God will shine gloriously (on the earth) with counsel*

While G-Isa's ἐπιλάμψει has been argued by some scholars to reflect the reading צחח (cf. Lam 4:7 where G-Isa has ἔλαμψαν for צחו), most scholars now believe that the translator analyzed צמח on the basis of √צמח ("to shine") in Aramaic.[146] Whether the translator rendered צמח in accordance with the Aramaic meaning in order to make a theological point is debated. Troxel argues that G-Isa's appeal to Aramaic suggests that the translator "interpreted the verse in the light of the theme of the glory of the LORD shining on the

[145] On this translation, see W. H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period*, JSOTSup 304 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 91-106; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 300.

[146] See Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 107-108; Goshen-Gottstein, *HUB*, 14; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 77; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 301-302.

land, as described in 40:5 and 60:1–2."[147] This observation seems correct, especially in light of G-Isa's ἐν βουλῇ (|| צבי), which reflects the translator's analysis of צבי as if it were from √צבא ("to be willing") in Aramaic. Others also have noted how the idea of God's plan or counsel is a major theme in G-Isa (cf. 14:25-27; 25:1, 7),[148] perhaps a concept that influenced the translator to translate צמח with the verb ἐπιλάμψει and make God (ὁ θεὸς) the subject, resulting in a theophanic rendering.[149] Determining precisely why G-Isa deviated from his ST to advance a theological agenda should be avoided. On this note, Williamson's advice is fitting:

> [A]lthough LXX departs significantly from MT, it can all be explained on the basis that the translator was working within the parameters of the language as he understood it at the time and that he was making intelligent use of the immediate context of the verse within the overarching framework of his presupposed theological outlook as known from elsewhere. There is no point at which we are obliged to postulate a different *Vorlage*.[150]

Most recently, Bodor suggested that both S- and G-Isa's renderings for צמח here and in 58:8 (|| ܬܗܘܐ, "[your righteousness] will rise"; ἀνατελεῖ "[your healings] will rise") offer compelling evidence that G-Isa's theology influenced S-Isa. These two congruences address a theological problem, constitute a pattern, and "point to the figure of the

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[147] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 77.

[148] See Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 110, 116; van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 43; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 302.

[149] On this point, see L. H. Brockington, "The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in ΔΟΞΑ," *VT* 1 (1951): 28-29; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 301.

[150] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 302.

Messiah."[151] In defense of this claim, Bodor argues that G-Isa's choice of ἀνατέλλω ("to rise") for Hebrew צמח (cf. 42:9; 43:19; 44:4; 45:8; 61:11) constitutes both the translator's "standard translation" and "an important tradition within the LXX in Isaiah." Because of S-Isa's lexical relatedness to this tradition in 4:2 and 58:5, Bodor concludes that "it is also clear that this tradition filtered into P from LXX and not from elsewhere."[152] Immediately after this observation Bodor notes that S-Isa's Messianic interpretation of צמח is suggested by T-Isa's משיחא דיוי, two S-G agreements in Zech 3:8 and 6:12 where S-Zecharaiah has ܙܟܝ and G-Zechariah has ἀνατέλλω,[153] and the similar ways the translators of S- and G-Numbers rendered דרך כוכב מיעקב in Num 24:17 (|| ܙܟܝ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܡܢ ܝܥܩܘܒ, "a star will rise from Jacob"; ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ιακωβ, "a star will rise from Jacob").[154] According to Bodor, the evidence from Isa 4:2 and 58:8 suggests the following scenario:

> This result suggests that the LXX translation was known for the P version of Isaiah. Its author(s) made use of it in different ways, but they normally followed their Hebrew *Vorlage* and borrowed from LXX only sporadically. However, the P translation of Isaiah represents an early witness to the text, interpretation, and theology of the LXX version, showing how the Greek translation enriched the first Syriac rendering of the Book of Isaiah.[155]

Since this claim has fairly far-reaching implications, it deserves a thorough evaluation.

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[151] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 30-31.

[152] Ibid., 31.

[153] T-Isa's reading in Zech 6:12 is Messianic: הא גברא משיחא שמיה עתיד דיתגלי ויתרבי ויבני ית היכלא דיוי.

[154] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 31-32.

[155] Ibid., 32.

First, Bodor seems to assume that G-Isa's ἐπιλάμψει in 4:2 and ἀνατέλλω in 58:8 (and 42:9; 43:19; 44:4; 45:8; 61:11) mean the same thing, which is simply not the case. This semantic conflation is best seen in one of his footnotes (fn. 34) where he rebuts Ziegler's idea that G-Isa's ἐπιλάμψει in Isa 4:2 is based on Aramaic צמחא.[156] In Bodor's view, this same explanation does not work for G-Isa's choice of "the reading" elsewhere. This argument is not clear to me, since the other readings Bodor provides are where G-Isa supplied ἀνατέλλω, not ἐπιλάμπω.

Second, Bodor does not provide the different equivalents S-Isa used to render the verb צמח; he only notes that G-Isa regularly rendered the same verb with ἀνατέλλω (which is *not* the case in 4:2). In contrast to G-Isa's standard translation for צמח, S-Isa chose different verbs (e.g., 42:9 [ܐܫܬܝ]; 43:19 [ܡܨܡܚ]; 44:4 [ܢܨܚ]; 45:8 [ܐܬܥܒܝ]; 61:11 [ܡܨܚ]). Third, the fact that Bodor admits that a similar Messianic reading occurs in T-Isa in Isa 4:2 seems to fulfill his own criterion *against* dependence: "If a parallel between LXX and P is attested by other textual witnesses of the Bible such as a different Hebrew manuscript, the Qumran scrolls, or the Targum (Tg), one cannot suppose that the only reason for the P variant is its literary dependence upon LXX."[157] And last, Bodor does not give adequate attention to the hypothesis that both translators were influenced in 4:2 by the meaning of צמח in Aramaic. This hypothesis seems more probable for S-Isa, who rendered צמח as a noun (contra G-Isa), which is its syntactical function in its ST.[158]

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[156] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 107.

[157] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 25.

[158] This syntactical analysis is also not considered by Bodor. In Isaiah צמח only

Since Aramaizing is a tendency of both translators (see S10), there is no reason to assume dependence (or even influence) of G-Isa on the translator of S-Isa in this instance. Moreover, T-Isa's Messianic rendering significantly weakens the possibility that S-Isa received the idea from G-Isa in particular.

4:3 (cf. G5 [phrase structure change]; G11 [texts with many formal changes])

M:	קדוש יאמר לו	*(Whoever is left in Zion) will be called holy*
S:	ܩܕܝܫ ܢܬܩܪܐ ܠܗ	*(And he that remains in Zion) will be called holy*
G:	ἅγιοι κληθήσονται	*(And what is left behind in Zion) will be called holy*

4:4 (cf. G5 [phrase structure change])

M:	דמי	*blood*
S:	ܕܡܐ	*blood*
G:	τὸ αἷμα	*blood*

4:4

M:	וברוח בער	*and by a spirit of destruction*[159]
S:	ܘܒܪܘܚ ܡܘܩܕܐ	*and by a burning spirit/wind*
G:	καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως	*and by a spirit of burning*

Warszawski argued that S-Isa is dependent on G-Isa here, presumably on the basis that M's בער here probably means something closer to destruction rather than "burning," which does not fit well contextually in light of רחץ ("to wash away") and דוח ("to rinse away") mentioned in the same verse. Also, T-Isa's מימר גמירא ("command of destruction") seems lexically closer to M. However, S-Isa's ܡܘܩܕܐ ܪܘܚܐ corresponds both morphosyntactically and semantically with its ST on the translator's assumption that

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functions as a noun in 4:2, which could explain S-Isa's Aramaism.

[159] As noted by Williamson, the nuance of בער in 4:4, as in 3:14 where the same verb is used, is on destruction (*Isaiah 1-5*, 266, 302-303).

בער means "to burn," which is reasonable.[160] Also, whereas S-Isa rendered the Hebrew consonants ב־ע־ר with the adjective ܒܥܝܪܐ (reading בַּעַר), G-Isa produced the genitival expression πνεύματι καύσεως (= ברוח בָּעַר). Thus, the probability that G-Isa's reading influenced S-Isa here is extremely low.

4:5		
M:	וברא יהוה על כל־מכון הר־ציון ועל־מקראה ענן יומם	*And the LORD will create over the whole site of the Mount of Zion and over its place of assembly a cloud by day*
S:	ܘܒܪܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܨܝܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܟܢܘܫܬܗ ܥܢܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܡܐ	*And the Lord will create on its whole foundation, for the mountain of Zion on its surroundings, a cloud by day*
G:	καὶ ἥξει, καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιων καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας	*And he will come, and as for every site of Mount Zion and all that surrounds it, a cloud will overshadow it by day*

If how S-Isa handled מקרא in 1:13 (ܟܢܫܬܐ, "congregation") and how other translators customarily rendered מקרא elsewhere (e.g., G pass. ptc. of ܩܪܐ, "convocation" [Exod 12:16; Lev 23:2; Num 28:18]) are any indication of S-Isa's understanding of the noun's meaning here, then the translator may have felt like supplying such a meaning would be redundant in view of כל־מכון הר־ציון, a phrase that would seem to encompass a sanctuary or congregation on Mount Zion. The same process of analysis could obtain in G-Isa's τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς. Interestingly, however, the equivalents ܣܘܓܝܐ and περικύκλῳ commonly render Hebrew סביב (cf. Exod 28:33; Deut 13:8; Judg 2:12), and some Peshiṭta translators also used ܣܘܓܝܐ to render מגרש (cf. Num 35:2; Ezek 27:28), which has close graphemic

[160] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 16.

affinity to מקדש.[161] Moreover, מגרש sometimes occurs side by side with סביב (cf. Josh 21:11; 21:42; 1 Chron 6:40), referring to villages or open spaces *surrounding* a designated site, a reading that could easily apply in Isa 4:5 if מקדש was misread as מגרש. The suggestion that G-Isa perhaps read מגרש in Isa 4:5 was suggested early on by R. Kittel.[162] Such an explanation makes sense of both translators' deviation from M. S-Isa's dependence on G-Isa need not be entertained.

4:5		
M:	כי על־כל־כבוד חפה	*for over everything glory (will be) a canopy*
S:	ܠܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܟܠ ܟܠ ܢܗܘܐ	*for over all glory it will give shade*
G:	πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται	*With all glory it will be covered*

Both translators here rendered חפה as if it were a verb. However, as Williamson notes, the Masada Scroll has חפתה,[163] and Ben Sira seems to have analyzed the word as a verb.[164] In light of M's first word in 4:6 (וסכה) and its semantic relation to חפה, וסכה probably ends the sentence in verse 5, thus confirming that M's חפה is a noun.[165] G-Isa condensed both nouns into the single equivalent σκεπασθήσεται (contra S-Isa). The attestation of the verbal form in another early Hebrew text and the analysis of חפה as a verb in an early

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[161] The LXX translators used the related adverb κύκλῳ far more often to render Hebrew סביב.

[162] See *BH*, 558.

[163] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 304.

[164] See P. C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, VTSup 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 160.

[165] Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 163.

extrabiblical source suggests that S-Isa did not rely on G-Isa in this passage.

Isaiah 5

5:1 (cf. S5 [abstraction change]; Pr2.4 [explicitness change])

M:	בקרן בן־שמן	*on a very fertile ridge*[166]
S:	ܒܩܪܢ ܒܪ ܫܡܢ	*on the corner of a fertile place*
G:	ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι	*on a hill, on a fertile place*

The unique topographical meaning of קרן and the translators' concern to produce a readable TT required them to find a functional equivalent for בן־שמן, which denotes a specific attribute of קרן.[167] While their morphosyntactic strategies clearly differed, both translators preferred a more concrete lexeme, a tactic evidenced elsewhere in S-Isa when G-Isa often went its own way (see S5 [esp. 1:6]; Pr2.4).[168]

5:2 (cf. G5 [phrase structure change]; S7 [emphasis change]; Pr2 [explicitness change])

M:	ויעזקהו ויסקלהו	*And he dug it and cleared (its stones)*
S:	ܘܩܛܝܪ ܡܚܝܪ ܘܡܫܕ	*And he tilled it and surrounded it with a hedge*
G:	καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα καὶ ἐχαράκωσα	*And he put a hedge around it and fenced it in*

It could be argued that G-Isa's idea of hedging and fencing had an influence on S-Isa's choice of ܘܩܛܝܪ ܡܚܝܪ ("he surrounded it with a hedge") for ויסקלהו. Both translators

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[166] The image of a vineyard in Isaiah 5 makes it difficult to understand how one could be atop a "mountain," the traditional translation of קרן here. More likely, קרן refers to some sort of "ridge," or "spur," as argued by K. Budde, "Zu Jesaja 1-5," *ZAW* 50 (1932): 55; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 180; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 318.

[167] On the Hebrew construction בקרן בן־שמן, see GKC §128v.

[168] See also similar concrete renderings for Hebrew expressions with בן (Deut 25:2; Lam 3:13).

understood the meaning of √סקל (D-stem) in 62:10 where M also includes מאבן, specifying the verb's semantic context. Ziegler argued that the Greek translator was probably influenced in 5:2 by his understanding of contemporary viticultural terminology, which has attestation in the papyri from that time.[169] This observation seems correct to me. There is little reason to doubt that the Syriac translator, too, intuited a sense of ויסקלהו that fit the larger vineyard metaphor. If there were any relation between S- and G-Isa due to the latter's influence on the former, then it would have been indirect at best, since S-Isa's ܫܠܫ was the translator's equivalent for יעזקהו, whereas G-Isa had φραγμὸν περιέθηκα. More likely, S-Isa's semantic deviation has its explanation in verse 5 where the LORD declares that he will "break down its (i.e., the vineyard's) wall (פרץ גדרו), which S-Isa translated with ܐܦܪܨ ܓܕܪܗ ("And I will break up its hedge"). Moreover, S-Isa's rendering for ויסקלהו coincides well with the standard ways the translator dealt with unclear lexis (see S7). Oftentimes, his limited understanding of his ST's semantics required other morphosyntactic (e.g., G5, phrase structure change) and pragmatic changes (e.g., Pr2, explicitness change).

5:3 (cf. G5.2 [number change]; G6.3 [transposition]; Pr1.3 [assimilation])

M:	ועתה יושב ירושלם ואיש יהודה	*And now, O inhabitant of Jerusalem and man of Judah*
S:	ܗܫܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܘܓܒܪ ܝܗܘܕܐ	*Now, O men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem*
G:	καὶ νῦν, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ιουδα καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν	*And now, O man of Judah and inhabitants in Jerusalem*[170]

[169] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 179. Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 318, follows Ziegler.

[170] As noted in the Göttingen edition, G-Isa's B-text includes the order in M,

Ιερουσαλημ

In light of 1QIsa[a]'s יושבי, both translators could have had a similar *Vorlage* with יושבי, rendering it faithfully with a plural noun. However, S-Isa frequently changed the number of collective nouns (see G5.2). While transpositions are frequent in S-Isa (see G6.3), the reason for it here could have been because M's order is not the ordering earlier in Isaiah ("Judah … Jerusalem"; cf. 1:1; 2:1).[171] These kinds of assimilations are not uncommon in S-Isa (see Pr1.3).

5:4 (cf. G5.10 [preposition change)

M:	ולא עשיתי בו	*and I have not done it?*[172]
S:	ܠܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܗ	*and I have not done for it?*
G:	καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ	*and I have not done for it?*

5:4

M:	מדוע קויתי	*Why did I expect … ?*
S:	ܕܣܒܪ	*who waited … ?*
G:	διότι ἔμεινα	*Because I waited …*

S-Isa's agreement with G-Isa would be stronger if διότι functions here as a nominalizer (= ὅτι, "that"), rather than as a conjunction, but this sense in G-Isa is not clear and no verb of perception precedes it. While this is the only place in G-Isa where the translator provided διότι with no כי in M, it is possible that the translator read the previous word in M (בו) as כי and collapsed the collocation כי מדוע into διότι. However, G-Isa's αὐτῷ would

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but this is probably a secondary revision.

[171] Exceptions to this order occur (cf. Isa 22:21).

[172] In light of two Masoretic manuscripts that have לוֹ (see *BH*, 558), both S- and G-Isa could have read לו instead of בו.

seem to be the translator's equivalent for בו. It is also possible that an original כי dropped out of M due to parablepsis and the form's orthographic similarity to בו (cf. Jer 8:22). Even without consideration of these conjectures, it is easy to see how the translator may have drawn out the interrogative sense of "on what account?" with the conjunction διότι.

Contra S-Isa's translation in *The Antioch Bible* ("For I waited …"), the function of the relative ܕ in 5:4 refers back to the interrogative ܡܢܐ at the beginning of the sentence (ܡܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟܪܡܝ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܒܗ, "What more was it fitting to do for my vineyard, and I have not done it?"), giving the sense of "who" or "the one who."[173] The Syriac relative clause can refer to the 1st person, as is the case here.[174] Since elsewhere the Syriac translator accurately rendered the Hebrew interrogative מדוע with ܠܡܢܐ (cf. Isa 50:2; 63:2), it is clear the translator knew the meaning of it in 5:4 yet chose to depart from literal translation and produce a TT consistent with TL text-linguistic conventions. Thus, although both S- and G-Isa appear morphosyntactically and semantically similar in this example, the appearance is merely coincidental.

5:5		
M:	והיה לבער	*And it will be destroyed*
S:	ܠܫܠܝܠܐ ܗܘܝ	*And it will be for spoil*
G:	καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγήν	*And it will be for plundering*
T:	ויהון למיבז	*And they will be for plundering*

The versions' common semantic deviation from M here might be considered to suggest

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[173] Kiraz et al., *Isaiah*, 21.

[174] For some examples, see Nöldeke, *CSG* §350.

that all the translators read לבז, but this conjecture has been rejected by most scholars.[175] Regarding G-Isa, Ziegler argued that the translator chose διαρπαγήν in light of the larger context in which plundering would naturally follow a case of breaking down walls.[176] Troxel effectively rebuts Zeigler's argument by noting how the translator rendered בער in 3:14 (|| ἐνεπυρίσατε) where the vineyard imagery is similarly explicit. According to Troxel, the translator of G-Isa "was predisposed to the theme of officials plundering the people" and thus chose διαρπαγήν to give expression to this overall *leitmotif*.[177] As to the relation of G-Isa's reading to the other versions, Troxel gives preference to the idea that each arrived at their choice of lexeme independently, with T-Isa's being "attributable to its own exegetical tack in the passage" and S-Isa's "driven to ܒܙܙܐ by a similar logic."[178] Recently, Williamson expressed hesitation to accept Troxel's idea that all the versions arose at their readings independently. While he concedes that T-Isa could have done so, he believes it is more probable that S-Isa "has been influenced by LXX," though he does not say why.[179] Since this specific S-G parallel has attestation elsewhere (T-Isa)

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[175] 1QIsa[a] reads בער (without ל).

[176] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 180.

[177] Troxel, "Economic Plunder as Leitmotif in LXX-Isaiah," *Biblica* 83 (2002): 387-90.

[178] Ibid., 388. Troxel notes in a footnote (fn. 61) how a literal translation of בער would not have been appropriate in T-Isa since the translator already removed the image of a vineyard by substituting it with God's people (לכרמי || לעמי). Similarly, the translator of S-Isa's ܒܙܙܐ "may have been his perception of an outcome suited to the destruction of a ܟܪܡܐ, in which case ܒܙܙܐ for לבער would reflect exegetical reasoning similar to T" (fn. 62).

[179] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 322. For justification for this view, Williamson

and S-Isa's rendering has adequate explanation in translation technique, it is not necessary to view S-Isa's reading in light of G-Isa. I find Troxel's alternative hypothesis more convincing: "[I]t is likely these versions reflect a common exegetical tack or even a common tradition of understanding לבער."[180]

5:6 (cf. G5.6 [addition of pronominal suffix]; G8.2.1 [addition of a preposition]; Pr2 [explicitness change])

M:	ועלה שמיר ושית	*And briers and thorns will spring up*
S:	ܘܣܢܐ ܘܟܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܢܣܩ	*And thorns and a briar will spring up in it*[181]
G:	καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς χέρσον ἄκανθα	*And a thorn will come up into it as into a wasteland*

5:7 (cf. S7 [emphasis change]; S10.1.1 [Aramaisms]; S10.3 [double-renderings])

M:	נטע שעשועיו	*his pleasant planting*
S:	ܘܚܒܝܒܬܐ ܘܚܕܬܬܐ ܢܨܒ ܕ	*a fresh and beloved planting*
G:	νεόφυτον ἠγαπημένον	*a beloved young plant*

Here the semantics of the Hebrew phrase שעשועיו provided difficulty for both translators. Warszawski claimed that S-Isa's reading here is in "striking agreement" with the G-Isa.[182] However, the similarities should not shroud the differences. While G-Isa rendered נטע שעשועיו with a substantival adjective + perfect particle (used adjectivally), S-Isa used the two attributive adjectives "fresh" and "beloved" (ܘܚܕܬܬܐ ܘܚܒܝܒܬܐ) to modify the substantive "planting" (ܢܨܒ ܕ). The semantic congruence between S- and G-Isa can be

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cites Weitzman's chapter in *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* called "The Peshitta and Other Versions" (pp. 68-86).

[180] Troxel, "Economic Plunder," 388.

[181] For many other examples where G-Isa explicitated a pronominal object, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 49-52.

[182] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 16.

explained more easily by the hypothesis that both translators independently analyzed שעשועיו as if it were from √שעע, meaning "to sport, take delight in," which is the same meaning for the root √ܫܥܫܥ in Syriac.[183] S-Isa's additional adjective "fresh" (ܚܕܬܐ) appears similar to G-Isa's νεόφυτον, which is the latter's equivalent for Hebrew נטע. The hypothesis that S-Isa partially translated both his Hebrew source and G-Isa ("a fresh [G] and beloved plant [M]") is less likely than the alternative that the translator preserved a double-translation of שעשועיו. S-Isa's ܚܕܬܐ reflects the translator's additional perception of the root √עוש in שעשועיו (cf. Prov 8:30), which the translator then processed in light of Aramaic, providing the meaning "to be refreshed."[184] The fact that S-Isa betrays no other sign of influence from G-Isa elsewhere in this context strongly suggests that he relied on *ad hoc* translation strategies (i.e., Aramaizing; providing a double-rendering) to overcome the lexical obscurity in his Hebrew source text.

5:8 (cf. G5.10 [preposition change])

M:	בית בבית	*house to house*
S:	ܒܝܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ	*house to house*
G:	οἰκίαν πρὸς οἰκίαν	*house to house*
T:	בא על בא	*house to house*

5:8 (cf. G3.5 [transposition]; G5.4 [tense change]; [Pr5 illocution change])

M:	שדה בשדה יקריבו	*they join field to field*
S:	ܡܩܪܒܝܢ ܚܩܠܐ ܠܚܩܠܐ	*(who) join field to field*
G:	ἀγρὸν πρὸς ἀγρὸν	*(who) bring field next to field*

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[183] See שעע (s.v.) in BDB and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*. Cp. S-Jeremiah 31:20.

[184] Note also Aramaic עסיס ("must, young wine") in Jastrow, *DTTBYML*. Less convincingly, the Aramaic √עסי means "to press, tread" and could connote the fresh commodities that result from such a process. Syriac √ܚܝܐ ("to revive") is too semantically divergent to explain S-Isa's ܚܕܬܐ in light of שעשועיו.

ἐγγίζοντες

5:8		
M:	עד אפס מקום	*until (there is) no more room*
S:	ܕ̈ܢܬܦܣ ܐܬܪܐ	*that you may seize a place*
G:	ἵνα τοῦ πλησίον τι ἀφέλωνται	*in order that you may take something from (your) neighbor*
T:	עד דנחסין כל אתר	*until we take possession of every place*

It is possible that all the translators read (or thought they read) אסף (or אספו) instead of אפס and translated it somewhat freely with the sense of "take."[185] Goshen-Gottstein challenged the idea that G-Isa read אסף, noting how the verb was rarely translated with ἀφαιρέω. Rather, the translators understood √אפס to mean "to take (by force)."[186] Williamson rightly criticizes Goshen-Gottstein's view that G-Isa could not have understood √אפס as meaning "to take," since the translator rendered אסף חרפתנו in 4:1 with ἄφελε τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν ("Take away our disgrace!").[187] Since all the versions read similarly in Isa 5:8, there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa relied on G-Isa. Either all the translators analyzed אפס as if it were from √אסף and translated it with the sense of "take" or, more likely in my opinion, all the translators relied on a common exegetical tradition.

5:8		
M:	והושבתם לבדכם בקרב הארץ	*And you will be made to dwell alone amidst*

[185] This idea was mentioned first by Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 125. He also suggested that G-Isa's πλησίον might reflect an underlying רע instead of עד.

[186] Goshen-Gottstein, *HUB*, 17.

[187] Williamson, *Isaiah 1*-5, 347. S-Isa reads similarly at Isa 4:1: ܕ̈ܢܬܦܣ ܥܠܒܢ, "Remove our reproach!"

		the land
1QIsa[a]:	וישתם לבדכם בקרב הארץ	*And you will dwell alone amidst the land*[188]
S:	ܘܐܬܝܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܒܕܟ ܒܓܘ ܐܪܥܐ	*and you will dwell, you alone, in the midst of the land*
G:	μὴ οἰκήσετε μόνοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;	*Will you dwell alone on the earth?*
T:	ומדמן דיתבון בלחודיהון בגוה דארעא	*—and thinking that they will dwell alone in the midst of the land*

While M's הושבתם is slightly awkward and found in only one other place (Isa 44:26), it is sensible, requiring no emendation. In light of 1QIsa[a]'s וישתם (a corruption of וישבתם), the various translators could have read a *qal* verb, rather than a *hophal*, or all show the same preference as the Qumran scribe to change the *hophal* to a *qal*.[189] Another possibility is that G-Isa's question (μὴ οἰκήσετε = V's *numquid habitabitis*) suggests that the translator misread M's הושבתם as הישבתם, a process of analysis that both S- and T-Isa could have undergone.[190] Either of these possibilities accounts for the readings in all the translations.

5:9		
M:	באזני יהוה צבאות	*In my hearing the Lord of hosts (has revealed himself)*
S:	ܐܬܫܡܥ ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܒܐܕܢܝ	*In my ears the mighty Lord was heard*
G:	ἠκούσθη γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὦτα κυρίου σαβαωθ ταῦτα	*For these things were heard in the ears of the Lord Sabaoth*
T:	אמר נבייא באודני הויתי שמע	*The prophet said, "When I was hearing with my ears*

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[188] 1QIsa[a]'s וישתם is corrupt and must reflect the *qal* of √ישב (= וישבתם). It also shows the scribe's preference for the *qal* in Isa 44:26 (M: תושב || תשב). See the discussion of this in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 347.

[189] Goshen-Gottstein seems to hold this opinion (*HUB*, 16).

[190] As argued in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 347.

Here all the translators included a verb where one is lacking in M.[191] Whether a verb stood in their *Vorlagen* is impossible to say, but the many morphosyntactic and contextual disparities between S- and G-Isa's readings suggest that S-Isa operated independently. While S-Isa refers to how the Lord was heard in the prophet's ears, G-Isa speaks of some "things" that the Lord himself heard. Moreover, the similarity of T-Isa's שמע הויתי also weakens the possibility that S-Isa consulted G-Isa. Either all the translators read a verb in their *Vorlagen* (i.e., נשמע)[192] or they explicitated an implied verb in light of the context and similar locutions in Isaiah (cf. 14:24 [נשבע]; 22:14 [נגלה]).[193] Thus, there is no need to assume that S-Isa relied on G-Isa.

5:11 (cf. G3.5 [transposition]; G5.4 [tense change])

M:	הוי משכימי בבקר שכר ירדפו	*Woe to those who rise up early in the morning and pursue strong drink*
S:	ܘܝ ܠܡܕܡܟܪܝ ܒܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܡܪܕܦ ܒܬܪ ܚܡܪܐ	*Woe to those who rise up early in the morning and run for strong drink*
G:	οὐαὶ οἱ ἐγειρόμενοι τὸ πρωὶ καὶ τὸ σικερα διώκοντες,	*Woe to those who rise early and pursue strong drink*

5:12 (cf. G3 [transposition]; G5.2.2 [number change]; G6 [clause structure change]; S7 [emphasis change])

M:	והיה כנור ונבל תף וחליל ויין משתיהם	*And there is lyre and harp and tambourine pipe and wine (at) their feasts*
S:	ܒܟܢܪܐ ܘܒܣܒܟܐ ܘܒܬܦ	*With harps and with lyres and with*

[191] There is no shortage of proposed emendations for this passage in M (e.g., באזני → באדני; + נשבע; כי כה נשמע +; + נגלה). See the concise summary of emendations in Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 347-48.

[192] Note that T-Isa reads the same in Isa 22:14 where M has ונגלה באזני יהוה צבאות.

[193] This latter explanation was adopted by Goshen-Gottstein (*HUB*, 16), whereas Wildberger argues that, in light of the threat and oath that begin in 5:9, the original text and that of the translators read כי נשבע באזני (*Isaiah 1-12*, 190).

	ܒܥܠ ܘܥܢܒ ܘܟܢܪ ܘܚܒܪ	*tambourines and with timbrels they drink wine*
G:	μετὰ γὰρ κιθάρας καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ αὐλῶν τὸν οἶνον πίνουσι	*For with lyre and harp and drums and flutes they drink wine*

The ambiguous syntax of M allows for different interpretations: 1) משתיהם functions as the sentence's subject ("Their feasts are …"); and 2) משתיהם functions as an adverbial accusative ("And there are … *at* their feasts").[194] Both translators, however, analyzed משתיהם as a plural participle from √שתה and rendered it with verbal forms (ܒܥܠ; πίνουσι) that served as the sentence's predication and made the connection with the subjects in the former clause (הוי משכימי בבקר שכר ירדפו מאחרי בנשף יין ידליקם) more explicit.[195] In light of this, the translators omitted an equivalent for והיה and converted the list of instruments into a circumstantial clause (*with* harps, lyres, etc.). These kinds of morphosyntactic and semantic changes are common in both translations (see G3; G5.2.2; G6; S7).[196] And since S-Isa is explicable without recourse to G-Isa, there is no need to assume dependence in this case. The translations' parallels reside in the translators' common analysis of ambiguous elements in their *Vorlagen*.

5:12 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	ואת פעל יהוה לא יביטו	*and the work of the LORD they do not understand*

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[194] As noted by Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 358.

[195] Possibly, Isaiah's motif of eating, drinking, and experiencing joy (cf. 5:22; 21:5; 22:13; 23:18; 49:26) influenced the translators' reading of משתיהם. See also Isa 25:6 where G-Isa rendered two instances of משתה with πίονται (contra S-Isa's ܡܫܬܐ, "feast").

[196] As regards G-Isa, for example, Williamson notes that "the lack of a formal equivalent of והיה is unexceptional, of course" (*Isaiah 1-5*, 358).

S:	ܘܠ ܥܒܕܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܨܪܝܢ	*and the works of God they do not understand*
G:	τὰ δὲ ἔργα κυρίου οὐκ ἐμβλέπουσι	*but the works of the Lord they do not understand*

5:13 (cf. G5 [phrase structure change]; S7 [emphasis change]; S8 [abstraction change]; S9 [trope change])

M:	כבודו מתי רעב והמונו צחה צמא	*their nobles are men of famine, and their multitude is parched with thirst*
S:	ܡܝܬ ܒ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܣܓܝܗܘܢ ܡܝܬ ܒ ܡܥܘܬܐ	*their dead increased from famine, and (their dead) increased from thirst*
G:	καὶ πλῆθος ἐγενήθη νεκρῶν διὰ λιμὸν καὶ δίψος ὕδατος	*they have become a multitude of corpses, because of famine and thirst for water*
T:	ויקיריהון מיתו בכפנא וסגויהון בבוצרתא בצהותא	*and their nobles died by hunger and their increase by drought, by thirst*

Warszawski tersely pointed out S-Isa's resemblance to both G- and T-Isa, presumably based on their common understanding of the Hebrew word מתי from √מות ("to die").[197] Strikingly, though, each translator demonstrated this understanding through different means. Viewing מתי as the subject and reading כבדו (a 3mp intransitive verb) instead of M's כְּבוֹדוֹ, S-Isa translated √כבד ("to be heavy") non-metaphorically by applying the verb ܡܥܝ ("to increase"). S-Isa also understood Hebrew המונו ("their multitude") as a 3mp verb, extrapolating from the meanings "abundance" or "multitude" semantically inherent to המון in certain contexts.[198] In contrast, G-Isa rendered כבודו with πλῆθος in genitival relation with νεκρῶν (= מֵתֵי), thus omitting an equivalent for המונו, or the translator interpreted כבודו and המונו in the same sense and collapsed the expressions into πλῆθος.[199]

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[197] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 17.

[198] The translator of S-Isa frequently rendered the Hebrew nominal המון with ܫܪܝ ܥܡܐ (see 16:14; 29:7, 8; 31:4).

[199] The possibility of the collapsed expression comes from van der Vorm-

G-Isa then made the copula explicit in what it interpreted as a Hebrew nominal clause. And finally, the T-Isa's מיתו suggests that it understood the Hebrew constituent מ־ת־י to be the verbal component of the sentence, or it simply analyzed the consonants as מֶתוּ. Therefore, on the criteria that all the versions evaluate Hebrew מתי with the meaning "death" and S-Isa is straightforwardly explicable on the basis of its translation technique, there is no reason to suggest that S-Isa was influenced by G-Isa.

5:14 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	וירד הדרה והמונה ושאונה ועלז בה	*and her nobility and multitude go down, her throng and the exultant in her*
S:	ܘܢܚܬ ܒܗ ܝܩܪܐ ܘܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܥܬܝܪܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܬܐ	*and the glorious, honorable, and powerful ones will descend into [Sheol]*
G:	καὶ καταβήσονται οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ λοιμοὶ αὐτῆς	*and her glorious, great, rich, and pestilent ones will go down*
T:	ונחתו יקיריהון וסגויהון ואתרגושתהון ודתקיף בהון	*and their honorable ones, their multitude, their throng, and he who is strong among among them go down*

5:16 (cf. G5.4 [tense change])

M:	ויגבה יהוה צבאות במשפט והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה	*And the LORD of hosts is exalted by justice, and the holy God shows himself sacred in righteousness*
S:	ܘܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܝ ܢܬܪܡܡ ܒܕܝܢܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܬܩܕܫ ܒܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	*And the mighty Lord will be lifted up in judgment, and the holy God will be consecrated in righteousness*
G:	καὶ ὑψωθήσεται κύριος σαβαωθ ἐν κρίματι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δοξασθήσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ	*And the Lord Sabaoth will be lifted up in judgment, and the holy God will be glorified in righteousness*

5:18 (cf. G5.2 [number change])

M:	הוי משכי העון בחבלי השוא	*Woe to those who drag along iniquity with*

Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 24. It is possible, though, that G-Isa rendered כדודו with τὸν κύριον, as the CATSS database suggests. However, Seeligmann views εἰδέναι τὸν κύριον as a "free interpretation of ידע" (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 187).

cords of falsehood[200]

S: ܘܝܠ ܠܡܐܪܟܝ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܐܪܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܒܠܐ ܕܣܓܝ ܐܪܟ ܚܛܝܬܐ *Woe to those who lengthen their sins as a long cord*

G: οὐαὶ οἱ ἐπισπώμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὡς σχοινίῳ μακρῷ *Woe to those who drag sins as with a long rope*

G-Isa's lexical deviation from M's השוא (|| μακρῷ) has been explained in different ways: 1) the translator actually read שרוע (from √שרע, "to extend");[201] 2) the translator engaged in midrashic interpretation;[202] and 3) G-Isa's μακρῷ reflects an inner-Greek corruption of an original ματαίῳ, which was the translator's equivalent for Hebrew שוא elsewhere (cf. Isa 1:3; 30:28; 59:4).[203] Likewise, S-Isa departed from the semantic range of its other equivalents for שוא (= ܒܛܠܐ, "empty, vain" [1:3; 30:28]; ܒܛܠܢܘܬܐ. "emptiness" [59:4]), leading Williamson to argue that the translator "merely followed the LXX."[204] The lexical deviation of both translators had its roots in Hebrew שוא, which does not make sense in the context. Based on the following clause and its imagery (כעבות העגלה חטאה), we expect something comparable in the former clause, something that denotes material

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[200] In light of passages like Prov 5:22 (חבלי חטאתו), 2 Sam 22:6 (חבלי שאול), Pss 18:5 (חבלי־מות), and 116:3 (חבלי־מות), I am in agreement with Wildberger that M's חבלי השוא requires no emendation (*Isaiah 1-12*, 192).

[201] Williamson lists Houbigant, Lowth, and Duhm in this camp (*Isaiah 1-5*, 377).

[202] Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism: The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint," *Textus* 3 (1963): 139-141.

[203] Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 128. Ottley also notes that Symmachus reads ὡς σχοινίῳ ματαιότητος.

[204] Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 377. Both translators also read בחבלי as כחבלי, but this kind of graphemic confusion is quite common.

sturdiness, not שוא. For this reason, exegetes have either analyzed this lexeme on the basis of other cognates or emended M.[205]

While S-Isa's ܐܪܘܟ (“long”) is semantically congruent with G-Isa's μακρῷ, it must be conceded that each translator used the lexeme to produce a different metaphor.[206] Whereas S-Isa speaks of those who lengthen sins as a long cord, G-Isa refers to those who drag their sins with a long rope. This suggests that the translator of S-Isa did not consult G-Isa directly. If he did, then the purpose would have been solely to adopt its lexical content. However, the idea of G-Isa as a “lexicon” fails to explain the numerous places where the Syriac translator lexically deviated from both M and G-Isa, especially at places where M has *hapax legomena* and other irregular words. Rather, it seems more likely that S-Isa either relied on a common exegetical tradition or was influenced by G-Isa indirectly. The *realia* of translation and the constraints on human memory render it entirely possible that the Syriac translator had a vague recollection of the reading μακρῷ in G-Isa, borrowed it here, and construed the text and metaphor in a way that seemed acceptable to his target audience.

5:21 (cf. G4 [unit shift]; G5 [phrase structure change]; Pr2.4 [explicitness change])[207]

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[205] Since none of these proposals would explain S- and G-Isa's renderings, I see no reason to list them here. See ibid. (377-78) for a concise summary of the different proposals. Williamson himself emends השוא to השור (“bulls-leather cords”).

[206] Warszawski noted this lexical similarity, but he did not view it as evidence of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 17).

[207] Weitzman (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 107) used this example to demonstrate how both the Peshiṭta and Targum expanded their STs with a common idiom that serves the purpose of clarity (cf. Num 13:33; 1 Sam 15:17; 2 Sam

M: הוי חכמים בעיניהם *Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes*
S: ܘܝ ܠܡܚܟܡ̈ܝ ܒܥܝܢ̈ܝ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ *Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes*
G: οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς *Woe to those who are wise in themselves*[208]
T: ווי דחכימין בעיני נפשהון *Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes*[209]

5:22 (cf. G3 [transposition]; G5 [phrase structure change]; G8 [cohesion change])
M: ואנשי־חיל למסך שכר *and strong men at mixing strong drink*
S: ܘܓܒ̈ܪܐ ܕܚܝܠ ܠܡܫܩܠ ܚܡܪܐ *and strong men who mix strong drink*
G: καὶ οἱ δυνάσται οἱ κεραννύντες τὸ σικερα *and the powerful ones who mix the sikera*

5:23 (cf. G3.5 [transposition]; G5.2.2 [number change]; G5.4 [tense change])
M: וצדקת צדיקים יסירו ממנו *and the acquittal of the righteous they turn aside from him*
S: ܘܙܟܘܬ̈ܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩ̈ܐ ܫܩܠ̈ܘ ܡܢܗ̇ *and the acquittal of the innocent they set aside from them*
G: καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ δικαίου αἴροντες *and the right of the righteous one they take away*

5:24 (cf. G4 [unit shift]; G8.2.1 [addition of preposition])
M: כאכל קש לשון אש *like the devouring of stubble (by) the tongue of fire*
S: ܐܝܟ ܕܩܫܐ ܡܬܐܟܠ ܒ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ *like the stubble is consumed by the tongue of fire*
G: ὃν τρόπον καυθήσεται καλάμη ὑπὸ ἄνθρακος πυρὸς *just as stubble will be burned by a coal of fire*

5:24 (cf. G4 [unit shift]; G5.2.2 [number change]; G8.2.1 [addition of preposition]; G10 [scheme change]; S10.2 [Syriacism])
M: וחשש להבה ירפה *and (as) grass sinks down in a flame*

4:10; 6:22; Prov 26:12).

[208] G-Isa never reproduced the semi-preposition בעיני literally (38:3; 43:4; 49:5; 59:15; 65:12; 66:4). The translator always supplied a reflexive pronoun (cf. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 123-24).

[209] M rarely indicates the reflexive nature of עין + pronominal suffix (or עיני in the construct state) by adding נפש. In every place where this occurs in T, M does not supply נפש.

1QIsa[a]:	ואש לוהבת ירפה	*and (as) fire that burns sinks down*
S:	ܟܕ ܢܬܟܠ̈ ܘܠܗܒܬܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܝܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ̈	*by the flame that is left they will be consumed*
G:	καὶ συγκαυθήσεται ὑπὸ φλογὸς ἀνειμένης	*and (the straw) will be burned by a weakened flame*[210]

The possibility that one or both translators read a Hebrew text corresponding to 1QIsa[a]'s וחשש להבה ירפה is unlikely.[211] Both translators struggled with the meaning of חשש and, in light of the context of conflagration, assumed that the lexeme meant something close to "to burn" (ܢܬܩܛܠ̈; συγκαυθήσεται).[212] Their common choice of the future tense probably reflects an assimilation to the tense of the following verb (יהיה);[213] however, G-Isa simply may have chosen the future here to correspond with the tense of its former

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[210] G-Isa's ὑπὸ φλογὸς ἀνειμένης stands in parallel with the locution ὑπὸ ἄνθρακος πυρὸς in the previous line. For other examples where G-Isa added parallelism, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 270-83.

[211] As Weitzman argues, both the Qumran scribe and the Syriac translator provided contextually-informed guesses for חשש, "because of the occurrence of אש in the parallel line and the succeeding להבה" (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 56). See a similar argument in Kutscher for the reading in 1QIsa[a] (*Isaiah Scroll*, 36, 221).

[212] This explanation better explains S-Isa's ܢܬܩܛܠ̈ and G-Isa's συγκαυθήσεται (|| וחשש) and problematizes Weitzman's idea that the "tautology created by this identification [חשש = "fire"] was relieved by the change of להבה to a kindred verb" (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 56). A similar interpretation exists in the rabbinic literature (see S. Speier, "Zu drei Jesajastellen: Jes 1,7; 5,24; 10,7," *TZ* 21 [1965]: 311-12). S-Isa rendered חשש in 33:11 with ܩܘܣ̈ (“thorns”), which would have been an appropriate lexeme here. However, חשש in 33:11 is in semantic parallelism with קש, thus delineating a more specific range for חשש. G-Isa provided an etymological rendering (αἰσθηθήσεσθε, "you will perceive") on the basis of √חוש.

[213] Cf. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 130; and Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 389.

verb (καυθήσεται).[214] But whereas S-Isa understood the subject to be implied in the inflection of an assumed verb חשש, G-Isa understood the subject to be the "stubble" (קש) mentioned earlier in the verse. If this analysis holds, it would mean that S-Isa's ܫܬܩܦ (“be left”) was the translator's equivalent for ירפה, which is perfectly intelligible, since the Syriac √ܫܒܩ carries this denotation in its D- and C-stems and the translator is known to Syriacize elsewhere (see S10.2).[215] Thus, the idea that S-Isa is dependent on G-Isa here is merely illusional; both translators arrived at their readings independently based on their uncertainty of חשש.[216]

5:25 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	ויט ידו עליו ויכהו	*and he stretched out his hand against him and struck him*
S:	ܒܗܘܢ ܐܝܕܗ ܕܫܒܩ ܘܡܚܐ ܒܗܘܢ	*and he raised up his hand against them, and he struck them*
G:	καὶ ἐπέβαλε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτούς	*and he laid his hand on them and struck them*

5:25 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	ותהי נבלתם כסוחה	*and their corpse was like refuse*
S:	ܘܗܘܬ ܦܓܪܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܙܒܠܐ	*and their corpses were like mire*
G:	καὶ ἐγενήθη τὰ θνησιμαῖα	*and their corpses became like dung*

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[214] As suggested by Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 9-10.

[215] This solution more easily explains S-Isa's rendering than Warszawski's suggestion: “Hier scheint keine andere Lesart vorgelegen zu haben, sondern es wird der Satz nur mit freier Umgestaltung der Konstruktion und der Ausdrucksweise wiedergegeben, indem חשש, das 33, 11 mit ܚܫܫ übersetzt wird, hier als ‘das von der Flamme Ergriffene’ bezeichnet und mit ܐܝܟ ܕܢܘܪܐ das zweite Glied des Vergleiches ergänzt wird, vgl. auch LXX” (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 18).

[216] J. Koenig's argument that all the translators analyzed חשש on the basis of the root's meanings in Aramaic is strained (*L'Herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe*, VTSup 33 [Leiden: Brill, 1982], 389).

αὐτῶν ὡς κοπρία

5:25 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	בכל־זאת	*in all this*
S:	ܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ	*and in all these things*
G:	ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις	*in all these things*

5:26 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])

M:	ושרק לו מקצה הארץ והנה מהרה קל יבוא	*and he will whistle to them from the end of the earth; and behold, quickly, swiftly, they will come*
S:	ܘܫܪܩ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܣܦܝܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܗܐ ܠܩܠ ܘܒܣܪܥܘ ܐܬܝܢ	*and he will whistle to them from the ends of the earth so that quickly and swiftly they might come*
G:	καὶ συριεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ταχὺ κούφως ἔρχονται	*and he will whistle for them from the end of the earth; and behold, quickly, swiftly, they are coming!*

5:27 (cf. G3 [transposition]; G4 [unit shift]; G5.2.2 [number change]; G6 [clause structure change])

M:	אין־עיף ואין־כושל בו	*There is no weary one, and there is no one who stumbles in it*
1QIsa[a]:	אין־עיף ואין־כושל	*There is no weary one, and there is no one who stumbles*
S:	ܠܐ ܢܬܥܝܦ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܟܫܠ	*They will not be weary, and they will not stumble*
G:	οὐ πεινάσουσιν οὐδὲ κοπιάσουσιν	*They will neither hunger nor grow weary*

As demonstrated in the immediately preceding changes, both translators preferred to keep the number consistent throughout this passage. Their decision to render their verbs in the future tense was probably influenced by the series of imperfects that immediately follow in their Hebrew ST (לא ינום ולא יישן ולא נפתח). 1QIsa[a]'s omission of בו (= M) suggests that either translator could have had a ST lacking בו. However, both translators omitted prepositions elsewhere, especially when their function in the ST was unclear (see

G8.2.2).[217] The differences in lexis between the translations here strongly suggests that the Syriac translator arrived at his reading independently.

5:27 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change])		
M:	לא ינום ולא יישן ולא נפתח אזור חלציו ולא נתק שרוך נעליו	*none slumbers or sleeps, not a loincloth is loosened, and not a sandal-thong is broken*
S:	ܘܠܐ ܢܬܢܡܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܪܐ ܚܙܝܡ ܡܬܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܪܟ ܫܪܟ ܣܢܝܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܒܙܥ ܚܛܝܦ ܣܘܣܝܗܝ	*and they will not slumber, and they will not sleep; and they will not loosen the girdle of their loins, and the straps of their sandals will not be broken*
G:	οὐδὲ νυστάξουσιν οὐδὲ κοιμηθήσονται οὐδὲ λύσουσι τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ μὴ ῥαγῶσιν οἱ ἱμάντες τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτῶν	*nor will they slumber nor sleep, nor will they will loosen their girdles from their waist, nor will the thongs of their sandles be broken*

There are too many number changes in this passage to demarcate clearly. S-Isa made seven number changes, and G-Isa made eight. The reason for all them is that both translators preferred to keep the number consistent throughout this whole pericope.[218]

5:28		
M:	וכל־קשתתיו דרכות	*and all of their bows are bent*
S:	ܘܟܠ ܩܫܬܬܗܘܢ ܡܬܠܝܢ	*and their bows are full*
G:	καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν ἐντεταμένα	*and their bows are stretched tight*

While both translators lack an equivalent for כל, it is difficult to know whether both had a *Vorlage* without כל or both chose not to translate it. Van der Vorm-Croughs argues that the translator of G-Isa here "may have thought [its] lexical presence not absolutely

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[217] Van der Vorm-Croughs is probably right to argue that G-Isa's οὐδὲ κοπιάσουσιν is a case of variant translation of ואין־כושל בו (*Old Greek of Isaiah*, 499).

[218] For the sake of space, I will not list the remaining common number changes in both translations that continue through Isa 5:30.

necessary," listing a total of thirty-three places where the translator omitted the Hebrew lexeme.[219] More recently, Troxel performed an extensive analysis of +/-כל in G-Isa, using +/-כל agreements with S-Isa as an additional control. After noting that S-Isa has thirteen plusses of כל in comparison to M and shares seven minuses with G-Isa (5:28; 14:18, 22:3, 24; 30:5; 37:17; 38:16), Troxel argues that it would not have been awkward for S-Isa to render כל in 5:28 in light of its TL conventions. Moreover, G-Isa elsewhere rendered כל or added it where doing so created an "imbalance" (cf. 29:21). Troxel concludes,

> The most we can say about +/-כל in 5:28, then, is that we lack sufficient evidence to render judgment about its presence or absence in the *Vorlage* of OG and S. We should not assume that its absence is more likely due to the translators than their *Vorlagen*.[220]

While there are different ways of explaining the translational and text-critical problems of +/-כל in the versions, the idea that S-Isa relied on G-Isa here should not be one of them.

5:29 (cf. S7 [emphasis change]; Pr1.3 [assimilation]; Pr2 [explicitness change])

M:	ככפירים וינהם	*like young lions, and they roar*
1QIsa[a]:	וככפירים ינהם	*and like young lions they roar*
S:	ܘܐܝܟ ܓܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ	*and like the cub of a lion which roars*
G:	ὡς σκύμνος λέοντος	*like the cub of a lion*
T:	וינהום כבר אריון	*and (like) a young lion he will roar*

All the translations here explicitate the lion's youthfulness implied in the Hebrew lexeme כפיר by adding nouns that mean either "cub" or "young."[221] Both S- and G-Isa provided

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[219] Ibid., 71-73.

[220] Troxel, "Appendix" in *A Commentary* (forthcoming).

[221] For several other examples of where G-Isa added substantive genitive nouns to explicitate what is implied by the underlying Hebrew words, see van der Vorm-

similar locutions in Isa 30:6 for the Hebrew phrase לביא וליש (|| λέων καὶ σκύμνος λέοντος; ܐܪܝܐ ܘܓܘܪܐ). However, they differ in 31:4 (האריה והכפיר || ὁ λέων ἢ ὁ σκύμνος; ܐܪܝܐ ܘܓܘܪܐ), where S-Isa maintained the same expression.[222] Thus, S-Isa's ܐܪܝܐ ܘܓܘܪܐ should be seen as an assimilation to the common ways of rendering Hebrew nouns that could denote young lions. Its proximity to both G- and T-Isa is explicable on the basis of their common translation technique.

Isaiah 6-39

The remaining S-G agreements below are listed in Gesenius, Warszawski, Barnes, van der Kooij, and Weitzman as constituting evidence of S-Isa's dependence on G-Isa. These congruences will be evaluated in the light of the same criteria and in view of the many agreements analyzed thus far in Isaiah 1-5.[223]

Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 36-37.

[222] This expression is found eighteen times in the whole Peshiṭta, rendering nouns or phrases such as: גור אריה (Gen 49:9; Deut 33:22; Nah 2:12); לביא (Gen 49:9; Num 24:9; Ezek 19:2; Joel 1:6); כפיר אריות (Judg 14:5); כפיר (Ps 17:12; Isa 11:6; Hos 5:14; Mic 5:7); שחל (Job 4:10); and ליש (Prov 30:30).

[223] I will not include parallels exclusive to S- and G-Isa that exist because the reading in S-Isa is clearly secondary (e.g., by inner-Syriac corruption) or was clearly revised toward a specific recension of G-Isa. For example, Barnes includes 9:5(6) as an example of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa, but he is clear that the influence is secondary ("On the Influence of the Septuagint," 194-95). For M's אביעד, several Syriac manuscripts (6h5^{mg}; 7a1; 8a1*; 9a1^{mg}) provide a double-rendering (ܐܒܝ ܥܕ ܗܘ ... ܥܠܡ) on the basis of the secondary reading πατηρ του μελλοντος αιωνος in many Greek manuscripts (see the Göttingen apparatus). Likewise, Barnes included 16:1 as another example of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa, but Leiden's BTR text rightfully does not include the inferior editions on which Barnes relied in this case (e.g., Lee and Urmia), a fact he admitted. Relatedly, Warszawski included Isa 33:21 as a place where S-Isa relied on G-Isa, but he provided no explanation in his commentary. I think he probably meant 33:23 (where he noted some places where G- and S-Isa are "ebenso," but I cannot find any

7:9 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו	*If you do not believe, surely you will not be confirmed*
S:	ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܝܡܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܬܬܒܢܘܢ	*And if you do not believe, you also will not understand*
G:	καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε	*And if you do not believe, neither will you understand*

This particular semantic S-G parallel is mentioned by Warszawski and van der Kooij, with the former constrasting the S-G parallel with T-Isa's תתקיימון ("you shall [not] be established").[224] A close analysis of how S-Isa translates √אמן elsewhere suggests that the translator understood the root basically to mean "faithful" (when used adjectivally)[225] and "to believe" (when used verbally).[226] The difference in the context of 7:9 is that the specific semantics of the two Hebrew verbs (תאמנו ... תאמינו) cannot be the same, or else the sentence becomes intelligible ("If you do not believe, surely you will not be believed"). Recognizing this, the translator supplied a non-standard lexeme for תאמנו that made sense in the context of the prophet's denouncing Israel's inability to hear and understand though they listen and try to understand (cf. Isa 6:9, שמעו שמוע ואל־תבינו וראו ראו ואל־תדעו). This was a possible explanation R. R. Ottley proposed for the similar

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unique parallels in that passage (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 9, 56-57).

[224] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 19; and van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[225] S-Isa always used the adjective ܗܝܡܢܬܐ ("faithful") to render the *niphal* participle of אמן (1:21, 26; 8:2; 22:23, 25; 28:16; 33:16; 49:7; 55:3).

[226] S-Isa's always used the verb ܗܝܡܢ (43:10; 53:1).

reading in G-Isa.[227] This proposal takes seriously how the translators operated when they met lexemes that did not make sense because of their limited understanding of the lexemes' semantic range (see S7).[228] While influence from G-Isa on S-Isa cannot be definitively disproven in this case, the fact that the parallel does not continue in the two translations suggests that either both translators relied on common problem-solving translation tactics, or S-Isa indirectly relied on G-Isa, perhaps even unwittingly.

7:20		
M:	יגלח אדני בתער השכירה בעברי נהר במלך אשור את־הראש	*The Lord will shave with a razor hired beyond the River, with the king of Assyria, the head*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܒܪܟ ܒܡܪܝ ܥܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܗ	*The Lord will shave with a razor the watered (area), on the further shores of the river, the king of Assyria, from his head*
G:	ξυρήσει κύριος τῷ ξυρῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ μεμεθυσμένῳ, ὅ ἐστι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, τὴν κεφαλήν	*The Lord will shave with the great and drunken razor—which is beyond the river of the king of the Assyrians—the head*

On the assumption that G-Isa's βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων modifies τὴν κεφαλήν rather than τοῦ ποταμοῦ, Gesenius noted a parallel between S- and G-Isa here.[229] However, the Greek makes better sense if the phrase βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων modifies τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Additionally, S-Isa construes its text differently, viewing בעברי and במלך as the subjects of the verb יגלח (+ ב complement). The Syriac translator then transformed את־הראש into a

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[227] Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 141.

[228] *Pace* Wildberger who argues that the translators must have read תבינו (*Isaiah 1-12*, 285).

[229] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 82.

prepositional phrase (ܡܢ ܪܝܫܗ ܥܕ ܣܥܪ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ, "from his head to the hair of his feet"), modifying ܐܝܬ. Thus, there is no reason to think that the translator S-Isa here relied on G-Isa.

8:20		
M:	אין־לו שחר	*they will have no dawn*
S:	ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܠ ܥܠ	*there is none to give a bribe concerning it*
G:	οὐκ ἔστι δῶρα δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ	*there are no gifts to give for it*

That both translators read שחד instead of M's שחר was pointed out by Warszawski; however, he (rightly) did not claim that S-Isa depended on G-Isa here.[230] Van der Kooij lists this example as a S-G agreement indicating dependence, though he provides no commentary.[231] Common ר/ד graphic confusion is a much simpler explanation. Once both translators read שחד in context, they both supplied an infinitive (ܠܡܬܠ; δοῦναι) to explicitate the sense of the overall clause,[232] interpreting לו as a retrospective pronoun.[233] Given the different ways the translators arranged their morphosyntax and the fact that there are no other significant parallels nearby, it is unlikely that G-Isa served as S-Isa's direct informant.

9:12(13)		
M:	עד־המכהו	*to the one who struck (them)*

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[230] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 22. Both translators use the same lexemes to render שחד elsewhere (Isa 1:23; 5:23; 33:15; 45:13).

[231] Van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[232] Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 231 fn. 131.

[233] G-Isa rarely produced equivalents for retrospective pronouns. See the few exceptions in van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 107.

S: ܕܢܬܟܐ ܥܕ̈ *until they were beaten*
G: ἕως ἐπλήγη *until they were smitten*

Gesenius lists this example as evidence of S-Isa's reliance on G-Isa.[234] What appears to be a parallel in exegesis and lexis here, however, must be examined in light of each translator's translation technique and the possibility that both translators could have analyzed the form and meaning of the Hebrew consonants in the same way. First, the temporal function of the Hebrew preposition עד ("until") is found frequently in Isaiah, which both translators clearly understood and rendered literally (cf. Isa 6:11; 9:6; 22:14; 30:17). Thus, S-Isa's choice of ܥܕ̈ and G-Isa's ἕως are understandable renderings, even if they expose a limitation in each translator's understanding of the morphosyntax of the Hebrew expression עד־המכהו.[235] And second, the form המכהו is graphically similar to the Cp masculine plural participle of √נכה (= המכים; "those who were stricken") and easily could have been interpreted as such if עד were understood by the translators as functioning temporally.[236] It light of these observations, Warszawski was correct to claim that S-Isa is only "ahnlich" to G-Isa in 9:12.[237]

10:13 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])
M: ואוריד כאביר יושבים *And like a bull I will bring down those who*

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[234] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 82.

[235] On this point in G-Isa, see Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 203.

[236] One Masoretic manuscript reads המכה, and 1QIsa[a] has the final ה interposed supralinearily.

[237] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 23.

		sit (on thrones)[238]
S:	ܘܚܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܒܣܡ	*And I have subdued the inhabited cities*
G:	καὶ σείσω πόλεις κατοικουμένας	*And I will shake inhabited cities*
T:	ואחיתית בתקוף ית יתבי כרכין תקיפין	*And I have brought down by strength the inhabitants of strong cities/fortresses*

Both Warszawski and van der Kooij note S-Isa's lexical parallel (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ) with G-Isa's πόλεις.[239] Clearly, both translators struggled with the meaning of אביר in this context,[240] and Warszawski argued that neither rendered the word, pointing to how T-Isa "correctly" provided תקיפין.[241] What he failed to point out, however, is that all three translations have the reading "cities." Bodor recently addressed this reading in the versions by asserting the following:

> On the one hand, it may be presupposed that all three versions read a different text with a reference to "cities." On the other hand, it is also probable that the versions reflect a different exegetical tradition that sought to stress the destruction of the cities by the enemies. In any case, whatever the reason for the agreement examined here, since it is not supported by LXX and P alone but also by the targumic tradition, the explanation for the divergence of P from the Hebrew text is not limited

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[238] As many commentators have noted (cf. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 413; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ABC 19A [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 252), M's ואוריד כאביר יושבים is most likely corrupt but still sensible.

[239] Ibid., 24-25; van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[240] Modern exegetes also are uncertain of the word's meaning in context, partly because M provides two readings: כְּאַבִּיר (K) and כַּבִּיר (Q). For a lengthy discussion on Isa 10:13, see S. A. Irvine, "Problems of Text and Translation in Isaiah 10.13bb," in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*, ed. M. P. Graham, W. P. Brown, and K. K. Kuan, JSOTSup 173 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 133-44.

[241] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 24-25.

to the possibility that the translator of P consulted LXX.[242]

I am in agreement here with Bodor's methodology and analysis of this passage, though I lean more strongly toward the view that all three translations reflect an exegetical tradition, because of many common exegetical agreements noted above in Isaiah 1-5. Many of these exist at points where the Hebrew is lexically obscure (see S7).

10:33 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	יהוה צבאות מסעף פארה במערצה	*The Lord of hosts is about to lop off the boughs with terrifying power*
S:	ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܒܪ ܠܬܫܒܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ	*The mighty God demolishes the glorious ones in strength*
G:	κύριος σαβαωθ συνταράσσει τοὺς ἐνδόξους μετὰ ἰσχύος	*The Lord Sabaoth will confound the glorious ones with strength*

Warszawski was the first to note how S-Isa's translation here is "wörtlich wie LXX," highlighting specifically how both translators read פארה as if it were פְּאֵר with the meaning "Berühmte."[243] Apparently in agreement with Warszawski's analysis, van der Kooij lists 10:33 in his examples of where S-Isa relied on G-Isa.[244] While Warszawski's observation is correct, it hardly invites the conclusion that S-Isa depended on G-Isa. Each guessed at the meaning of מסעף, providing disparate lexemes. Moreover, the apparent lexical congruence between S-Isa's ܚܝܠܐ ("strength") and G-Isa's ἰσχύος ("strength") is easily explicable in light of S-Isa's association of the *hapax* מערצה with √ערץ. In fact, the

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[242] Bodor, "The Reception of the Septuagint in the Peshitta of Isaiah," 26.

[243] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 26. Ziegler, too, noted how both translators analyzed פארה as if it were from a √פאר with the meaning "be glorious" (*Untersuchungen*, 82).

[244] Van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

Syriac translator regularly rendered the adjective עריץ with ܥܪܝܨܐ (or ܚܣܝܢ; cf. 13:11; 25:3, 4, 5; 29:5; 49:25). Thus, the resemblance of S-Isa's translation here to G-Isa's reflects both translators' common ways of handling unfamiliar lexis (see S7).[245]

11:15 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])			
M:	בעים רוחו		*with his scorching wind*
		or	*with the power of his wind*
S:	ܥܡ ܪܘܓܙ ܩܝܛܐ		*with the force of his wind*
G:	πνεύματι βιαίῳ		*violent wind*

While Warszawski included this alleged parallel in his list of cases where S-Isa depended on G-Isa, van der Kooij did not, and probably for good reason.[246] Some lexicons (e.g., *HALOT*) and commentators (cf. Wildberger; Blenkinsopp) opt for the meaning "power, might" for Hebrew עים.[247] Or, it could have been that both translators rendered בעצם or בעז, were influenced by the motif of "strong wind" (cf. Exod 14:21), or provided an etymologization on the basis of √עי with the meaning "strong."[248] The different ways each translator construed his translation morphosyntactically also suggest that S-Isa either operated independently here or relied on a reading or exegetical tradition shared by the

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[245] In light of this translational analysis, I am not inclined to view G-Isa's ἐνδόξους here as a reflex of the translator's socio-ethical agenda (*pace* Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 270-71). This is not to deny that the translation conveys such a *leitmotif*; it is only to say that here the translator's choice of ἐνδόξους only inadvertently serves such a theme.

[246] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 26; and van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[247] See *HALOT*, s.v. עים; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 488; and Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 266.

[248] These options are listed in Goshen-Gottstein's apparatus (*HUB*, 47).

translator of G-Isa.

13:9 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	אכזרי	*cruel*
S:	ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ	*for which there is no healing/cure* (lit.)[249]
G:	ἀνίατος	*incurable*

Warszawski claimed that the translator of S-Isa relied on G-Isa here.[250] However, Warszawski's investigation into how the other Peshiṭta translators rendered אכזרי (or אכזר) was insufficient. While he noted that the Syriac translator of Proverbs rendered אכזרי as ܕܠܐ ܪܚܡܐ ("without mercy") in Prov 11:17 and מלאך אכזרי ישלח־בו as ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܚܡܐ ("angel which has no mercy") in 17:11, he did not consider whether the translators may have associated אכזרי with the idea of "lacking compassion."[251] There are other translations in the Peshiṭta that betray this same understanding (cf. Prov 5:9 [ܕܠܐ ܡܬܪܚܡܝܢ]). In light of this lexical continuity in the Peshiṭta (≠ M) and the fact that the LXX reads similarly at each place (Prov 5:9 [ἀνελεήμοσιν]; 11:17 [ὁ ἀνελεήμων]; 17:11 [ἀνελεήμονα]), Weitzman argued that these are indisputable examples of where the translators were directly influenced by the LXX. Additionally, he argued that both translators' renderings in 13:9 and in Lam 4:3 for (י)אכזר (|| ἀντιστάς; ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܚܡܐ) suggests that the Peshiṭta's renderings are "calques" of the Greek words, which we can

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[249] *CSD* lists the locution ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ as meaning "incurable," perhaps on the basis of this passage (s.v. ܪܚܡܐ).

[250] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 28. Van der Kooij, too, lists this verse a S-G agreement revealing the Syriac translator's reliance on G-Isa (*Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*), 288.

[251] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 28.

recognize by how the Syriac readings are "too long in relation to the Hebrew, and by corresponding quantitatively instead with the Greek, given that each element within a Greek compound word needs to be represented in Syriac."[252] Moreover, since these expressions in the Peshiṭta had not been "naturalized" in Syriac, their origins must be in the Greek text.[253]

Admittedly, of all the S-G agreements evaluated thus far, 13:9 seems to betray influence from G-Isa the clearest. However, I think Weitzman goes too far when he views 13:9 as revealing literary dependence. It seems to me perfectly reasonable that in a socioreligious, scribal culture of translation the calque ܕܠܐ ܐܫܐ already could have been naturalized and thus influenced by Greek ἀνίατος *indirectly*. In fact, the regularity with which the Peshiṭta translators rendered (י)אכזר with either ܠܐ ܡܬܫܒܩ or ܕܠܐ ܐܫܐ indicates that the calque was tied specifically to the Hebrew form, rendering it unnecessary for a Syriac translator to have consulted a Greek manuscript. (Are we to believe that at each of these places during the translation process, the different Syriac translators happened to consult the LXX?) Additionally, in view of the bilingual nature of the Peshiṭta translators, it is quite possible that the cognitive association between the form (י)אכזר and the meaning "without mercy/healing" was virtually automatic, in which case

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[252] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 78.

[253] Ibid. He argues that the Greek rendering ἀνίατος "was coined at Deut. 32:33, where it suits the context (of snake poison), though P there has the vague ܚܡܐ" (p. 78 fn. 37). Note that אכזרי was translated elsewhere with "evil" (Deut 32:33; Jer 6:23; 50:42), "strength" (Jer 30:14), and "enemy" (Job 30:21; contra ἀνελεημόνως).

G-Isa would have played no specific role at all in S-Isa's translation.[254] Therefore, it is best not to argue for direct dependence here, especially in the absence of comparable attestations of this same phenomenon.

13:22		
M:	איים	*wild animals*
S:	ܫܥܛܢ̈ܐ	*screech-owls*
G:	σειρῆνες (from 13:21)	*sirens*
T:	וינצפון חתולין	*the cats will squeal*

G-Isa actually has ὀνοκένταυροι ("donkey-centaurs") for איים; its use of σειρῆνες occurs in the previous verse (|| יענה בנות) where S-Isa has ܬܢ̈ܢܝܐ ܚܣܐ ("ostriches"). Weitzman considered this a situation where "P's loanword appears in LXX at a neighbouring but not identical point."[255] Explaining S-Isa's process of translation, Weitzman says, "LXX and P can hardly have alighted independently on the same meaning for the two different words. Rather, it seems that P, searching for an equivalent for איים, adopted the words just used by LXX for יענה בנות in the previous verse."[256] He also notes a similar situation at Jer 50[27]:39, where M's ציים את־איים is translated by S-Jeremiah as ܫܥܛܢ̈ܐ and G-Jeremiah as ἰνδάλματα ἐν ταῖς νήσοις; however, G-Jeremiah has σειρήνων later in the verse for יענה.[257] What Weitzman does not point out, however, is how each translator

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[254] Some Peshiṭta translators provided ܐܪܟܘܬܐ for Hebrew ארכה (or ארוכה, "healing, health"), which is similar in form to אכזרי (Jer 8:22; 30:17), but this is the opposite meaning typically given for אכזרי (i.e., "without healing").

[255] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 77.

[256] Ibid., 78.

[257] Ibid., 78 fn. 35.

intended a different semantic nuance for their choice of lexeme. While Syriac ܣܥܪܝܢ can mean "siren," it certainly does not mean that here, since the word occurs in a list of animals (as in Jer 50:39 too), which the translator clearly recognized. In contrast, G-Isa's σειρῆνες in 13:21 refers to a type of noise-making demon, perhaps stemming from a popular belief of Hellenistic Jews.[258] Thus, if there is any relation between S-Isa's ܣܥܪܝܢ and G-Isa's σειρῆνες, it hardly seems direct (*pace* Weitzman). Given what would be a rather haphazard usage of G-Isa here, the parallel seems much more likely to have been accessed *indirectly* by S-Isa. Or, both relied on an exegetical tradition involving "sirens" but incorporated it into their translations in different ways. Also, T-Isa's ינצפון ("they will squeal") for Hebrew ענה at the beginning of 13:22 is semantically close enough to S-Isa to render S-Isa's specific reliance on G-Isa improbable.

14:21

M:	ומלאו פני־תבל ערים	*and (let them never) fill the face of the earth with cities*
S:	ܘܢܡܠܝ ܦܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܒܠ ܩܪܒܐ	*and (let them not) fill the face of the earth with war*
G:	καὶ ἐμπλήσωσι τὴν γῆν πόλεων	*and they will (not) fill the earth with war*
T:	וימלון אפי תבל בעלי דבב	*and they will (not) fill the face of the earth with enemies*

While Warszawski noted how the translators here derived the sense of "aufregen" from ערים as if were from √עור, he also claimed that S-Isa relied on G-Isa, but this conclusion is not logically necessary.[259] While it remains possible that the translators analyzed ערים

[258] See H. Kaupel, "Sirenen in der Septuaginta," *BZ* (1935): 158-65; and Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 264.

[259] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 30. Van der Kooij, *Die*

in this way, they more likely relied on a common exegetical tradition that emphasized the cessation of Babylon's warfare. Speaking of G-Isa in particular, Troxel notes how the Greek translator underscored the notion of the king's and his sons' downfall by transforming בל־יקמו וירשו ארץ ומלאו פני־תבל ערים into a purpose clause (ἵνα μὴ ἀναστῶσι καὶ τὴν γῆν κληρονομήσωσι καὶ ἐμπλήσωσι τὴν γῆν πόλεων), which is not how the translator customarily rendered בל.[260] Thus, "His use of this construction in 14:21 clearly means to emphasize that the tyrant's ability to wage warfare will come to an end with his death and that of his sons in battle."[261] S-Isa begins this same clause with ܕܠܐ, which can indicate the result or purpose of the former clause (ܩܛܘܠܐ ܠܒܢܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܩܘܡܘ ,ܥܠ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܕܐܒܝܗܘܢ, "Prepare slaughter for your children, for the iniquity of their father").[262] However, this is quite often how S-Isa rendered בל.[263] While T-Isa's בעלי דבב is slightly different from S- and G-Isa's "war," it points to a similar exegetical tradition that deviated from M's ערים to accentuate Israel's enmity with Babylon, thus weaking the hypothesis that S-Isa relied

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Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches, 288, follows Warszawski.

[260] Troxel says, "The translator's deliberateness in this rendering is demonstrated by his more common translation (17x) of בל by οὐ/οὐκ/οὐχ, οὐδὲ μή, and οὐ μή (ἀλλά occurs twice in 26:18), while he uses ἵνα μή for בל again only in 26:10" (*LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 218).

[261] Ibid. Van der Kooij arrives at a very similar conclusion in *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 42. Ottley, too, points to a similar Greek rendering of עיר in Dan 9:19(16): τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου (*The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 180).

[262] Kiraz et al. translate as "such that" (*Isaiah*, 73).

[263] Cf. 14:21; 26:10, 18; 33:20, 21, 23 (2x); 44:8, 9. More frequently, S-Isa rendered simply with ܕ (cf. 26:10, 11, 14 (2x), 18; 30:20 (2x), 24; 35:9; 40:24 (3x); 43:17; 44:9.

on G-Isa.

15:4		
M:	חֲלֻצֵי מואב	*the equipped ones of Moab*
S:	ܚܫܝܢ̈ܐ ,ܡܘܐܒ	*the strong ones of Moab*
G:	ἡ ὀσφὺς τῆς Μωαβίτιδος	*the loins of Moab*
T:	מזרזי מואב	*the strengthened/armed ones of Moab*

Warszawski analyzed S-Isa's ,ܚܫܝܢ̈ܐ as the noun "loins" and claimed that its proximity to G-Isa's ἡ ὀσφὺς demonstrates another case of S-Isa's literary dependence on G-Isa.[264] He also noted how both translators read חלצי as if it were חַלְצֵי ("loins of"). However, a common analysis of an ambiguous Hebrew form by no means indicates a case of dependence. Moreover, S-Isa's ,ܚܫܝܢ̈ܐ most likely is the D-stem plural participle of √ܚܫܢ ("strengthened ones"), which corresponds semantically with T-Isa's מזרזי.[265] And even if S-Isa's ,ܚܫܝܢ̈ܐ is the noun "loins," it very well could be that the original Hebrew phrase meant the same thing (cf. NRSV's "the loins of Moab quiver").[266]

18:2		
M:	גמא	*papyrus*
S:	ܦܦܝܪܘܣ	*papyrus*
$G^{\theta'\sigma'}$:	παπύρου	*papyrus*

Barnes was the only one to claim that the Greek *hexaplaric* readings influenced the

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[264] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 31. Not surprisingly, van der Kooij does not follow Warszawski here (*Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288).

[265] This is precisely how Kiraz et al. take it: "the strong men of Moab will cry out" (*Isaiah*, 77).

[266] Contra Blenkinsopp's "Moab's warriors cry out" (*Isaiah 1-39*, 294).

Syriac translator at this point.[267] Warszawski only noted how "ebenso" the readings are.[268] Since גמא means "papyrus"[269] and ܟܐܦܐ was a Greek loan that had been naturalized in Syriac, there is no reason to claim that S-Isa relied on Theodotion here, especially since the translator of S-Isa was almost certainly bilingual.[270] These same considerations also should be taken into account when evaluating Isa 19:6 (קנה וסוף || ܣܝܡ ܟܐܦܐ ܘܓܘܡܐ; καλάμου καὶ παπύρου),[271] which Barnes lists as another example of LXX influence on S-Isa.[272]

19:10		
M:	והיו שתתיה מדכאים כל־עשי שכר אגמי־נפש	*And its weavers will be crushed, all who work for a wage (will be) grieved.*
S:	ܘܟܠ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܠܫܟܪܐ ܢܬܒܥܪ ܘܢܬܡܟ ܠܢܦܫܐ	*And all who make strong drink for the feast of the soul will be brought low.*
G:	καὶ ἔσονται οἱ διαζόμενοι αὐτὰ ἐν ὀδύνῃ, καὶ πάντες οἱ τὸν ζῦτον ποιοῦντες λυπηθήσονται καὶ τὰς	*And those who weave it will be in pain, and all those who make beer will be grieved, and they will afflict their souls.*

[267] Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," 196.

[268] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 35.

[269] *HALOT*, s.v. גמא.

[270] See the many citations in Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, s.v. ܟܐܦܐ.

[271] G-Isa's rather free translation of the Hebrew here makes it difficult to know which underlying lexeme παπύρου translates (cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen,* 190). The CATSS database maps παπύρου with סוף.

[272] Barnes, "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Pešitta," 196. He also allowed for the possibility that S-Isa's ܟܐܦܐ could have been added by "very early transcribers," which was Warszawski's view on the placement of ܟܐܦܐ in 19:6, since S-Isa has three lexemes for only two underlying Hebrew lexemes (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 36). This explanation has some probability to it.

ψυχὰς πονέσουσι

Warszawski was the only scholar to claim that S-Isa relied on G-Isa in this passage, arguing that S-Isa analyzed שתתיה as if it were from √שתה ("to drink") on the basis of G-Isa's τὸν ζῦτον.[273] However, this assertion is hardly necessary, since both translators could have analyzed שכר as if it were שֵׁכָר, which could have been the meaning in the original Hebrew.[274] Moreover, each translator transformed its ST in very different ways, with S-Isa envisioning the humiliation of those Egyptians who make strong drink for a soul feast and G-Isa stressing the pain and affliction of those who make ζῦθος,[275] the national drink of Egypt at that time.[276]

19:13

M:	נואלו שרי צען נִשְּׁאוּ שרי נף	*The princes of Zoan have become foolish; the princes of Memphis have been beguiled*
S:	ܪܒ̈ܪ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ ܕ̈ ̈ ̈

אנש מפיס *the men of Memphis have wandered.*

Again, Warszawski alone viewed these S-G agreements as evidence that the Syriac translator relied on G-Isa, even though he conceded that both translators read נָשְׁאוּ.[277] Similarly, he noted that T-Isa's מפיס agrees with S-Isa's ܡܚܦ and G-Isa's Μέμφεως, but נף is clearly a name for Memphis in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Jer 2:16; 44:1; 46:14-19; Ezek 30:13-16).[278] Thus, S-Isa's readings in this verse are easily explicable without recourse to G-Isa.

21:13 (cf. G5.2 [number change]; G8.2.1 [cohesion change])

M:	ארחות דדנים	*O caravans of Dedanites!*
S:	ܒܐܘܪܚܬ ܕܕܥܡ	*on the road of the Dedanim*
G:	ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Δεδαν	*in the way of Dedan*

Constrating S- and G-Isa's parallel with T-Isa's שירת בני דדן ("the caravan of the sons of Dedan"), Warszawski included this verse in his list of readings in S-Isa that betray influence from G-Isa.[279] The cause for S- and G-Isa's lexical deviation here was the translators' difficulty in understanding ארחות and its syntactic function in the sentence.[280] Whereas in M the phrase ארחות דדנים constitutes a vocative expression, explicitating the subjects in the former clause ביער בערב תלינו, both translators interpreted ארחות as if it

[277] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 37.

[278] *HALOT*, s.v. נף.

[279] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 39.

[280] The noun ארחה occurs elsewhere only at Gen 37:25, which S-Isa rendered with ܐܘܪܚܬܐ ("caravan") and G-Isa with ὁδοιπόροι ("travelers").

were from אֹרַח.[281] The common prepositional addition of both translators (ܒܐܘܪܚܐ; ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ) is accounted for by both translators' tendency to add such cohesive elements (see G8.2.1) and the fact that the Hebrew itself at Isa 21:13 is marked with a series of prepositional phrases (בערב ביער בערב).[282] Thus, the S-G parallels in this passage are more easily explained by the translators' common translation strategies.

22:14 (cf. Pr2 [explicitness change])

M:	ונגלה באזני יהוה צבאות		*The Lord of hosts revealed himself in my ears*
S:	ܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܟܪܝܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ		*It was revealed in my ears (by) the mighty Lord*
		or	*It was revealed in the ears of the mighty Lord*
G:	καὶ ἀνακεκαλυμμένα ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶ κυρίου σαβαωθ		*And these things are revealed in the ears of of the Lord Sabaoth*

Warszawski interpreted S-Isa's ܒܟܪܝ as being in construct with ܕܡܪܝ ܚܝܠܐ, rather than as a noun with a 1cs suffix ("my ears"). The similarity of this analysis to G-Isa's ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶ κυρίου σαβαωθ then led him to conclude that S-Isa relied on G-Isa. As made clear in my translation (= Kiraz et al.'s), such an evaluation of S-Isa's ܒܟܪܝ is limited. The phrase ܒܟܪܝ could just as easily be "in my ears" (= M). Even if the Syriac translator intended "in the ears of the mighty Lord," he could have concluded as much on the basis of the

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[281] Goshen-Gottstein notes how T-Isa's שירת agrees in number with S- and G-Isa's readings (*HUB*, 79).

[282] S-Isa's translation is more faithful to the Hebrew here (and thus includes more prepositions), but this may be because the Greek translation reflects a case of parablepsis (משא בערב ביער || ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ). On this possibility, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 475. Ziegler allows for the possibility that the phrase משא בערב may not have stood in the translator's *Vorlage* (*Untersuchungen*, 48).

ambiguous Hebrew phrase אזני alone (i.e., without assistance from G-Isa). Moreover, the translator of G-Isa clearly moved away from M's יהוה צבאות as the subject of נגלה and instead added ταῦτά, thus making the punishment (אם־יכפר העון הזה לכם עד־תמתון || ὅτι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνητε) become the clause's subject as something revealed to God (cp. 5:9).[283] However, as with S-Isa' ,ܡ ܐܬܓܠܝ ("it was revealed"), both translators simply understood the form נגלה non-reflexively, requiring the explicitation of the subject (cf. Pr2).[284]

26:10		
M:	יֻחַן רשע	*(If) the wicked one is shown favor*
S:	ܪܫܥܐ ܐܪܚܩ	*The unjust has fled far away*
G:	πέπαυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσεβής	*For the ungodly one has come to an end*

Both Warszawski and van der Kooij include this S-G parallel as evidence of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa.[285] However, Warszawski seems to have concluded that both translators had a *Vorlage* that read רֻחַק רשע. The problem with this solution is that none of the LXX translators used παύω to render √רחק.[286] Additionally, Warszawski and van der Kooij assume more semantic congruency between the translations here than is actually

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[283] This point is made in Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 152.

[284] For several more examples of this in G-Isa, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 48.

[285] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 46; van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[286] The same could be said for Goshen-Gottstein's suggestion that G-Isa perhaps read ו/ינח (*HUB*, 98) and Ottley's alternative proposals (*The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 229): 1) חנה (used of the day declining in Judg 19:9 [|| ἠσθένησεν]); and 2) נוח (where the Cp-stem is translated with ἀνεπαύθημεν in Lam 5:5).

apparent. While neither Warszawski nor van der Kooij say as much, it could be contended that S-Isa was influenced here by G-Isa's theology on the basis of both translations' emphasis on the wicked man's fate (contra M's idea that the wicked may be shown favor). However, since Psalm 37(36)—with its juxtaposition between the righteous who trust God and the wicked (רשע) who will perish—is very likely the origin of G-Isa's reading here (cf. Ps 37[36]:9-10, 20, 35-36, 38), it is perfectly conceivable that the Syriac translator, too, was influenced by the same source.[287] However one explains the individual readings in S- and G-Isa, the alleged parallel is not unique or significant enough to warrant the conclusion that S-Isa's reading is explicable only on the basis of G-Isa.

30:4(5) (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	מלאכיו חנס יגיעו	*his messengers reach Hanes*
S:	ܠܐܠܗ̈ܝ ܫܠܚ̈ܝ ,ܡܗܝ̈ܠ̈ܐ	*his profane messengers will grow weary*
G:	ἄγγελοι πονηροί	*evil messengers* [5] *will become weary in vain*
	[5] μάτην κοπιάσουσι	

Gesenius first noted the similarity between S- and G-Isa's translation here.[288] Warszawski followed suit, explaining that both translators either read חנם יגעו or חנף יגעו or that S-Isa produced its translation by adopting G-Isa's πονηροί, opting for the latter explanation in

[287] On the role that Ps 37(36) possibly played in G-Isa's translation at 26:10, see van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 397. She also allows for the possibility that "[the translator] changed the text of Isa 26:10 on his own initiative, independently of Ps 37, perhaps for the reason that he thought the Hebrew text of this verse too lenient on the ungodly ones" (p. 397).

[288] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 82.

addition to the translator's having read ייגעו.[289] Van der Kooij rightly does not list this verse as a case of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa, since the parallel is more easily explained by the translators' common ways of handling the *hapax* חנס.[290] S-Isa solved the lexical problem by associating חנס with חנף, which the translator almost always rendered with ܫܠܚ (cf. 9:16; 10:6; 30:4).[291] In contrast, the Greek translator provided μάτην (|| חנס), which presumes חנם (cf. Ps 35:7; Prov 3:30; Ezek 14:23).[292] It was probably these lexical solutions that led both translators to analyze יגיעו as if it were from √יגע ("to grow weary"); it would not have been intelligible for them to translate: "his godless messengers arrive (in vain)." Thus, while S- and G-Isa's solutions to חנס bear some semantic similarity, the Syriac translator operated independently and in accordance with the typical ways he handled unfamiliar lexis (see S7) and ambiguous forms.

30:15 (cf. G3.6 [transposition]; G5 [phrase structure change])

M:	בשובה ונחת	*in returning and rest*
S:	ܕܐܬܬܝܒ̈ܬ ܘ ܐܬܚܢ̈ܬ ܐܢ	*when you have returned and groaned*[293]
G:	Οταν ἀποστραφεὶς	*when you turn back and groan*

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[289] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 51.

[290] Van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

[291] Once he used the cognate ܫܚܦ (Isa 33:14).

[292] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 69; Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 201; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 398-99; and Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 189. Contra Ziegler who thinks G-Isa's πονηροί μάτην is a double-translation, πονηροί is probably the translator's equivalent for הבאיש, which immediately follows (see Goshen-Gottstein who notes that "πονηροί may reflect aram exeg הבאיש" [*HUB*, 102]; and van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 399).

[293] Kiraz et al.'s "and rested" assumes ܕܐܬܬܝܒ̈ܬ, but the form in the Mosul edition lacks the *yod* (*Isaiah*, 143).

στενάξῃς

Warszawski notes S-Isa's similarity to G-Isa here and lists the verse as evidence of the Syriac translator's reliance on G-Isa.[294] S-Isa's morphosyntactic changes can be accounted for by the translator's *Übersetzungsweise* (cf. G3.6 and G5). The S-G lexical parallel (ܐܬܬܢܚܚ; στενάξῃς) indicates that both translators analyzed נחת as if it were from √אנח ("to groan"), which in Aramaic texts is often written with an elided א.[295] G-Isa supplied στενάζω elsewhere for אנו (19:8), אבלו (19:8), אנחתה (21:2), and נאנחו (24:7). Also, στενάζω is used outside of G-Isa to render √אנח (cf. Lam 1:8, 21; Ezek 21:11, 12).[296] The Peshiṭta translators, too, customarily rendered √אנח with its Syriac cognate ܐܢܚ (cf. Exod 2:23; Isa 24:7; Jer 22:23; Ezek 9:4; 21:11, 12; Joel 1:18; Prov 29:2; Lam 1:4, 8, 11, 12). Thus, there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa produced ܐܬܬܢܚܚ in light of G-Isa's στενάξῃς.

30:20

M:	ולא־יכנף עוד מוריך	*and your teacher will no longer hide himself*
S:	ܘܠܐ ܢܟܢܫ ܠܗ ܥܘܕ ܠܡܠܦܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܬܠ ܠܟ ܠܡܬܬܥܝ	*and he will no longer assemble those who lead you astray*
G:	καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ἐγγίσωσί σοι οἱ πλανῶντές σε	*and those who led you astray will not come near you anymore*

Concerning this S-G parallel, Gesenius was the first to mention that G-Isa's οἱ πλανῶντές

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[294] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 52.

[295] See the citations in Jastrow, *DTTBYML*; and *CAL* (s.v. אנח).

[296] In view of these equivalences, Ottley's suggestion (*The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 255) that G-Isa assumed the verb נהה ("to lament, wail") is improbable (cf. 1 Sam 7:2 [ἐπέβλεψεν]; Ezek 32:18 [θρήνησον]; Mic 2:4 [θρηνηθήσεται]).

σε probably reflects the translator's analysis of מוריך as if the form were a verb (+ 2ms suffix) from √מרה (to rebel).[297] While this is possible, nowhere else is πλανάω the equivalent for מרה. However, πλανάω does render other verbs that can mean "to rebel, disobey, err": סור (Deut 11:28); פשע (Isa 46:8); תלל (Judg 16:10, 13, 15; Isa 44:20); and שגה (Deut 27:18; Job 6:24; 19:4; Prov 28:10; Isa 28:7).[298] Arguing that πλανάω was "ein Lieblingswort" of the translator of G-Isa, Ziegler suggested that the translator here probably had false prophets in mind because of comparable passages in the prophetic writings (cf. Isa 3:12; Jer 21:1; Mic 3:5).[299] While Ottley also interpreted this passage in G-Isa as referring to false teachers, he argued that the translator read מנדי (from √נדד , "to wander"), influencing him to analyze יכנף with the sense "to withdraw."[300] And van der Vorm-Croughs argues that G-Isa 30:20-21 comprises an *epiphoria* (i.e., the repetition of the final word or group of words in successive verses or cola), with πλανάω serving as the pericope's focus:

> [20] καὶ δώσει κύριος ὑμῖν ἄρτον θλίψεως καὶ ὕδωρ στενόν, καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ἐγγίσωσί σοι οἱ πλανῶντές σε
> ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται τοὺς πλανῶντάς σε,
> [21] καὶ τὰ ὦτά σου ἀκούσονται τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὀπίσω σε πλανησάντων

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[297] Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*, 82. Warszawski (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 53) and van der Kooij (*Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288) list this verse as a case of influence from G-Isa on S-Isa.

[298] The default equivalent for πλανάω is תעה (37x).

[299] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 121. Warszawski argued similarly for the translator of S-Isa (*Die Peschitta zu Jesaja [Kap. 1-39]*, 53).

[300] Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 257.

Since σε πλανησάντων is an addition, the translator has intentionally "produced a set of three cola that end with a participle of πλανάω. The third participle phrase relates in a chiastic way to the first and second ones, as the object comes before rather than after the verb."[301] Van der Vorm-Croughs's argument is not entirely inconsistent with Ottley's, for an inadvertent misanalysis of מוריך could still be used in service of a rhetorical device. However, it is difficult to reconstruct the translator's process of translation in light of these options.

The question of whether S-Isa followed G-Isa in this instance is difficult to answer. First, while S-Isa does agree with G-Isa's πλανῶντάς σε at the end of verse 20 (where M has מורה again), the translator did not add the phrase ܡܫܠܚܢܗ ܠܟ in verse 21 like G-Isa did. Also, the Syriac translator went his own way in rendering יכנף with ܢܚܕ, keeping the Lord as the subject of the sentence (contra G-Isa's οἱ πλανῶντές σε). The question, then, naturally arises: Why would the Syriac translator rely on G-Isa only for מוריך and not elsewhere? Whereas S-Isa focuses on how the Lord will no longer assemble those who lead the Israelites astray and how the people will no longer look upon those same false teachers, G-Isa accentuates the activity of the false teachers themselves: "they will not come near you any more." It seems odd that the translator would adopt lexemes from G-Isa with little to no consideration of how they are applied both contentually and morphosyntactically in that same source. Thus, it is more realistic that if the Syriac translator was influenced by G-Isa, then that influence was indirect. Or, as Gesenius and

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[301] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 237.

Ottley pointed out for G-Isa, the Syriac translator could have read (or thought he read) מנדי or assumed מוריך was from √מרה.[302] The possibility that both translators relied on a common exegetical tradition is a viable option as well. This S-G parallel must be weighed in light of all the others.

30:22 (cf. G5.2.2 [number change]; G8.2.1 [cohesion change]; S7 [emphasis change])

M:	כמו דוה צא תאמר לו	*like a filthy rag. "Away with you!" you will say to them.*
S:	ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܬ̈ܫ̈ܕ̈ܪ̈ ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ ܗ̈ܢ̈ܘ̈ ܐ̈ܝ̈ܟ ܡ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ	*like menstruous waters, and you will cast them out like refuse*
G:	ὡς ὕδωρ ἀποκαθημένης καὶ ὡς κόπρον ὥσεις αὐτά	*like water of a menstruating woman, and like dung you will throw them out*
T:	כמא דמרחקין ית טומאתא כין תרחקונונון	*like those who banish the menstruant, so you should banish them*

The ambiguity of צא created some lexical difficulty for all the translators. As Warszawski observed, both S- and G-Isa interpreted צא as צֹאָה ("filth, excrement").[303] From this he concluded that S-Isa relied on G-Isa, but as mentioned above, common analysis of an ambiguous or unfamiliar Hebrew form does not necessitate that the Syriac translator arrived at his reading through G-Isa.[304] After analyzing צא as the noun "refuse," both

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[302] The Peshiṭta translators most often rendered the verb מרה with ܡ̈ܪ̈ܕ̈ (~30x), but never with ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈.

[303] Strikingly, Warszawski did not point out how both translators also read כמו as if it were כמי (like the waters of), as noted by Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 121), Goshen-Gottstein (*HUB*, 125) and Seeligmann for G-Isa (*The Septuagint of Isaiah*, 187). I do not follow van der Vorm-Croughs who thinks G-Isa's "addition" of ὕδωρ comes from Exod 32:20 (ויזר על־פני המים || καὶ ἔσπειρεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ), the backdrop of Isaiah 30:22 (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 382-83, 388).

[304] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 53.

translators added the preposition "like," viewing the phrase as a continuation of the former comparison in the Hebrew (כמו דוה).[305] This also required that they translate תאמר freely, since a literal translation of צאה תאמר לו ("you will say 'Refuse!' to them") could have been offensive.[306] Since all three translators rendered תאמר with the notion of throwing something out (ܫܕܦ; ὥσεις) or banishing (תרחקונונון), there is no reason to suppose that S-Isa relied on G-Isa here.[307] More likely, all three translators relied on a common exegetical tradition. Additionally, M's צא could very well be euphemistic, "an attempt to soften the unpleasant image," in which case both S- and G-Isa are far less congruent than was originally supposed by Warszawski.[308]

30:33		
M:	כי־ערוך מאתמול תפתה	*for his burning place is already prepared*
S:	ܡܢ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܡܙܕܡܢ ܠܗ̇ ܡ̈ܐܟܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܝܠ̈ܗ̇ ܡ̈ܐܟܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܝܠ̈ܗ̇	*for his food was prepared from days of old*
G:	σὺ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἀπαιτηθήσῃ	*for before (those) days you will be deceived*
T:	ארי מסדרא מן עלמין	*For Gehenna was prepared from eternity*

[305] G-Isa frequently created similes where his ST did not include one. See the many examples in van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 91-92. For similar tactics in S-Isa, see G8.2.1).

[306] *Pace* Ottley who argued that G-Isa read תמאם (*The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint*, 257) and Goshen-Gottstein who contended that καὶ ὡς κόπρον ὥσεις αὐτά is a double-translation of צא (*HUB*, 125).

[307] Because of S- and T-Isa's agreement with G-Isa here, I cannot espouse Ziegler's suggestion that G-Isa arrived at this translation by reading סור in מר(א)ת (*Untersuchungen*, 102). Conversely, J. Fischer's conjecture that the original Hebrew text read צוֹאָה but G-Isa translated תאמר freely ("You will say 'Filth!' to them") is quite likely (*In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor?*, 92).

[308] This quotation is from Blenkinsopp, who translates 30:22 as "You will refer to them as filth and throw them out like a thing unclean" (*Isaiah 1-39*, 419).

לקביל חוביהון גיהנם *according to their sins*

After claiming that all the translators read מֵאָתְמוֹל instead of M's מֵאָתְמוּל and that S-Isa's ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝ is similar to G-Isa's πρὸ ἡμερῶν, Warszawski claimed that S-Isa relied on G-Isa.[309] However, מֵאָתְמוּל is simply a variant pointing of מֵאָתְמוֹל, and all the translators easily could have assumed the vocalization of the latter.[310] Moreover, S- and G-Isa differ so dramatically in this passage that the idea that the Syriac translator relied on G-Isa is entirely unwarranted.

32:9 (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	נשים שאננות	*you women who are at ease*
S:	ܥܬܝܪܬ ܢܫ̈	*rich women*
G:	Γυναῖκες πλούσιαι	*rich women*

The Hebrew lexeme שאננות posed difficulty for the translators here, but I cannot agree with both Warszawski and van der Kooij that S-Isa's ܥܬܝܪܬ depends on G-Isa πλούσιαι.[311] First, both translators choice of "wealthy, rich" is explicable in light of the immediate context in which the prophet castigates Jerusalem's noble women (32:9-17). Second, the Syriac translator used the adjective ܥܬܝܪ elsewhere as his equivalent for שאנן (cf. 32:11 [contra G-Isa]; 33:20 [= G-Isa]). Third, the Hebrew noun שאנן is used often in contexts that speak of luxuries and attitudes that attend a noble lifestyle, including security, comfort, wealth, and pride (cf. Ps 123:4; Amos 6:1; Zech 1:15).

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[309] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 53.

[310] *HALOT*, s.v. אתמול.

[311] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 54; van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 288.

Last, the broad yet recurrent themes of salvation and repatriation of the diaspora Jews at the hands of foreigners in the Book of Isaiah is particularly prominent (especially in Isaiah 60-62), though specific nuances of what that feat practically entails are, arguably, at tension with one another.[312] Chapters 40-55 envision broad scale repatriation, with Jews returning from both the "east" (ממזרח) and "west" (ממערב; 43:5), but chapters 56-66 exhibit a distinct cultic focus with foreigner participation (56:3-7; 60:7; 66:18-21, 22-23)[313] and Sabbath observance (56:4-7; 58:11-14).[314]

Subservient to this larger theme is the future anticipation of Jerusalem's swift reception of the nation's wealth (חיל).[315] The scope of "nations" here reflects Jerusalem's

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[312] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ABC 19C (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 209-14. Blenkinsopp notes, as an argument against the unity of authorship for Isaiah 60-62, how the text is inconsistent with respect to who will rebuild the temple (cp. 61:4; 62:6) and whether the temple is still standing (see p. 214). For the opposite view, that 60-62 are a distinct unit, see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 296-97. For the theme of repatriation in general in Isaiah, see 11:12; 14:1-2; 45:13-14; 49:22-23; 66:20.

[313] J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, ABC 20 (New York: Doubleday, 1968), lxvii-lxviii; Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 298. As an aside, Deutero-Isaiah uses זרים (Isa 61:5) in a sense different than Num 18, where "strangers" are equated to non-Aaronides. Here זרים refers to non-Judeans, as is made clear by the context; see B. D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 146; M. Weinfeld, "Universalism and Particularism in the Period of the Return to Zion," *Tarbiz* 37 (1968): 239.

[314] M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 478-79, makes this point, though viewing Isa 58:11-14 as reinterpretation of Deut 32:9-13. See also Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 134-36, who follows Fishbane.

[315] McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, lxix; Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 297-98.

traditional Arabian trade partners (Midian, Sheba, Kedar, and Edom), as made explicit in 60:4-7.[316] Not only will the Jews use this tribute to rebuild a resplendent temple (60:13), offer sacrifices (60:6-7), and luxuriate in their new acquisitions (אכל, 61:5), the nations' kings will venture to Jerusalem in order to witness Jerusalem's illumination (אור, 60:3)—a reference to what Blenkinsopp labels an "intense liturgical experience" (cf. Isa 2:2-5; 58:10; 59:9; Pss 27:1; 36:10)—and bear (בשר) the good news of the LORD's universal reign.[317] Additionally, Jerusalem's gates will remain open (ופתחו שעריך תמיד יומם ולילה) for the constant flow of caravans with the nations' precious commodities in tow (60:6-13). Consequently, Jerusalem will "milk" (ינק) the nations of their resources by "sucking the breast of kings" (ושד מלכים תינקי), which is a vivid metaphor depicting Jerusalem's sponsorship by royal resources, leading to fructification and luxury.[318]

Clearly, these themes in Isaiah accentuate a reversal of fortunes for Israel. They contrast with the nobles in Isaiah 32 who will lament despite their security (vv. 9-20). Thus, contra Warszawski and van der Kooij who view S-Isa's as being explicable only on the basis of G-Isa, it seems perfectly reasonable that the overall themes of salvation and repatriation of the diaspora Jews in the Book of Isaiah could have informed the Syriac translator here (and 32:11; 33:20) as much as the theme in G-Isa.[319]

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[316] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 212-13.

[317] Ibid., 211-12.

[318] Ibid., 216.

[319] There is in G-Isa a clear *leitmotif* of a post-exilic inheritance of the nations' wealth that is surfaced by the translator's varied maneuvers in rendering his Hebrew ST. First, he supplied πλοῦτος (wealth, riches), or one of its cognates (e.g., πλούσιος), as a

33:4

M:	כמשק גבים שוקק בו	*like the roving of locusts, they roved upon him*
S:	ܐ ܟܡܚܝ ܕܐܣܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ	*and like the gathering of the locust which is gathered*
G:	ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ ἀκρίδας οὕτως ἐμπαίξουσιν ὑμῖν	*even as someone might gather grasshoppers, so they will mock you*
T:	כמא דכנשין ית זחלא	*like those who gather the catepillar*

Warszawski argued that S-Isa must have translated משק and שוקק as is they were from √קשש ("to gather"); however, he also listed this verse as another place where the translator relied on G-Isa's συναγάγῃ.[320] While it may be that S-Isa translated משק and שוקק as if they were from √קשש, it seems more likely that the Syriac translator did not know the meaning of the words and assumed they meant something similar to the immediately preceding verbs (ואסף שללכם אסף החסיל).[321] Even though this decision resulted in a highly redundant translation (ܥܠܝܐ ܕܐܣܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ ܐ ܟܡܚܝ ܕܐܣܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ ܗܫܬܐ ܢܬܟܢܫ ܫܠܠܟ ܐܣܦ ܫܠܠܟ ܐܣܦ ܗܚܣܝܠ, "Henceforth your booty will be *gathered* like the *gathering* of the crawling locust, and like the *gathering* of the locust which is *gathered*"), the translation

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stock equivalent for המון and as a contextually fitting gloss for other lexemes (כבוד, אוצר, שוד, שאון, שאנן), including instances where the corresponding Hebrew word does not denote "wealth." Notably, this use of πλοῦτος/πλούσιος for המון is unique to G-Isa within the Greek Bible. Second, he rendered his ST with πλοῦτος in a place where the Hebrew appears to have been difficult for him, but the context, despite having no clear markers of wealth, yielded his discovery of that theme (29:2). Last, he used πλοῦτος to re-metaphorize his ST (60:16). Despite these changes, I believe that G-Isa's theme of inheriting the nations' wealth reflects no specific literary or ideological concern; rather, the *leitmotif* arose from normal translation processes.

[320] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 56.

[321] S-Isa did not provide an equivalent for שוקקה in Isa 29:8.

evidences similar semantic flattening elsewhere (cf. 1:19-20; and the examples under S10.5). In contrast to S-Isa, the translator of G-Isa rendered שוקק בו with οὕτως ἐμπαίξουσιν ὑμῖν, possibly assuming a form from √שחק.[322] And while it is possible that his choice of συναγάγῃ (|| משך) assumes √קשש,[323] he used the same verb earlier in the verse (συναχθήσεται) to render אסף (see also Isa 17:5).[324] In light of these considerations, I see no good reason to assume that S-Isa's translation here is sensible only in view of G-Isa.

35:8

M:	לא־יעברנו טמא והוא־למו הלך דרך	*the unclean will not travel (on it), but it is for him who walks on the way*
S:	ܠܐ ܢܥܒܪܝܢܘܗܝ ܛܡܐ ܘܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܟ ܒܗ ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܘܪܚܐ	*no abomination will pass by in it, and there will be no path in it*
G:	καὶ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἐκεῖ ἀκάθαρτος, οὐδὲ ἔσται ἐκεῖ ὁδὸς ἀκάθαρτος	*and the unclean will not pass by there, and there will not be an unclean way there*

Here Warszawski only tersely pointed out how S-Isa's *Vorlage* must have read differently from M yet similar to G-Isa.[325] However, all the versions deviate from M here (T-Isa: ולא יפסקון עדי אורחא, "and wayfarers will not cease"; V-Isa: *et haec erit nobis directa via*), possibly indicating a corruption in the Hebrew.[326] Additionally, S- and G-Isa

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[322] Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 97 (contra Goshen-Gottstein, *HUB*, 137, who considers G-Isa's οὕτως ἐμπαίξουσιν ὑμῖν an adaption).

[323] This was argued first by Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor?*, 49. See also Goshen-Gottstein, *HUB*, 138.

[324] Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 345. Ziegler believes G-Isa chose συναγάγῃ in light of אסף mentioned earlier (*Untersuchungen*, 97).

[325] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 59.

[326] Blenkinsopp says the Hebrew here is "unintelligible" and "looks like a

are far more different than they are alike in this whole verse. Departing further from M, G-Isa states earlier in the verse that this "path" will be "pure" (καθαρὰ || מסלול), establishing a strong contrast with the "unclean" (ἀκάθαρτος || טמא) who will not pass by it. G-Isa also has ἀκάθαρτος twice in 35:8b where M has טמא only once. In contrast, S-Isa is borderline nonsensical and arguably contradicts itself: ܟܘܝܢܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܟܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܟܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܡܗ ܠܐ ܕܝܥܒܪ, "There will be a path there, and 'the way of holiness' it will be called; no abomination will pass by in it; there will be no path in it." Notably, there is no mention of a "pure" path in S-Isa that contrasts with the "unclean" mentioned explicitly in G-Isa. Thus, this S-G parallel, if it can be called that, is only coincidental and evidence of both translators having tried to make sense of the problematic Hebrew before them.[327]

37:21 (cf. G6.2 [voice change])

M:	וישלח ישעיהו בן־אמוץ אל־חזקיהו	*And Isaiah son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah*
S:	ܘܫܕܪ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܘܨ ܠܘܬ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ	*And Isaiah son of Amos was sent to Hezekiah the king*
G:	Καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ησαίας υἱὸς Αμως πρὸς Εζεκίαν	*And Isaiah son of Amoz was sent to Hezekiah*

This is another example where Warszawski thought that S-Isa betrays influence from G-

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gloss identifying the *derek haqqōdeš* as a pilgrim route" (*Isaiah 1-39*, 456). Kittel suggested that perhaps למו was originally לעמו and transposed with דרך, but this is speculative (*BH*, 595). The proposed emendation in *BHS* is equally speculative: וְהָאֱוִיל מְהַלֵּךְ בְּ(לְ)דַרְכּוֹ.

[327] Van der Vorm-Crough notes how in 35:8-9 the Greek translator employed the rhetorical device of repetition, rendering ἐκεῖ five times (once as a plus) and a preposition phrase with αὐτή three times (twice as a plus). Other repetitions include the words καθαρός/ ἀκάθαρτος (once as a plus), ὁδὸς (once as a plus), and πορεύσονται (*The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 246). Such a device is not at all evident in S-Isa.

Isa.[328] However, not only did the Syriac translator often change the voice of verbs in his ST (see G6.2), he easily could have read וַיִּשְׁלַח. For these reasons, there is no reason to suppose that the Syriac translator relied on G-Isa.

38:14(-15) (cf. S7 [emphasis change])

M:	אדני עשקה־לי ערבני	*O Lord, I am oppressed; be my security!*
S:	ܡܪܝ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܦܨܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܘܗܒ ܠܝ ܚܕܘܬܐ	*Lord, save me, give me cheer!*
G:	κύριον, [15] ὃς ἐξείλατό με καὶ ἀφείλατό μου	*Lord, who rescued me and took away*
T:	יוי קביל צלותי עבד בעותי	*the Lord accepted my prayer, he fulfilled my request*

For this last example, Warszawski rightfully qualified his analysis, arguing that S-Isa either followed G-Isa here or guessed.[329] Significantly, all three translators rendered the *hapax* עשקה as a verb and provided translations with a more positive tone (contra M's "I am oppressed"). These decisions could have been influenced by the following verb (+ 1cs suffix) ערבני, which is an imperative and carries the semantic denotation of "security." However, it is just as likely that the translators read עָשְׁקָה, which in Aramaic (and other Semitic languages) would mean "contend (for another), occupy oneself with, take care of."[330] Moreover, the translations' differences in morphosyntax suggest that S-Isa operated independently. G-Isa construed עשקה־לי as a relative clause (|| ὃς ἐξείλατό με), and T-Isa, though more paraphrastic, provided a verb in the perfect tense (קביל צלותי). Conversely, S-Isa rendered the expression as an imperative ܦܨܐ ܢܦܫܝ ("save me!") probably

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[328] Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39)*, 9, 59-60.

[329] Ibid., 9, 61.

[330] See *HALOT*, s.v. עשׂק. I owe this observation to Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah 1-39*, 481), who translates as "O Lord, take up my cause, by my surety!"

under the influence of the syntax of ערבני (|| ܚܫܚܢ). Either the Syriac translator guessed at the meaning of עשקה—which is quite often how the Syriac translator operated at places in his ST with difficult lexis (see S7)—or he analyzed the form on the basis of the Aramaic √עשׁק.

Summary of Results and Conclusion

The majority of S-G agreements examined above are explicable in light of the customary ways both translators transformed their STs in order to adhere to the text-linguistic norms of their target cultures.[331] When their Hebrew STs presented a lexical difficulty (e.g., *hapax legomena*; other rare or unfamiliar lexemes), an ambiguous form, or obscure morphosyntax, quite often both translators analyzed the unvocalized Hebrew and handled the linguistic problems in similar ways.[332] For many of these S-G agreements, it was necessary to evaluate how the Syriac translator dealt with similar problems elsewhere in order to measure the degree to which his translation bears a relation to G-Isa (e.g., 1:24; 3:5; 5:29; 11:15). Significantly, many S-G agreements (≠ M) proved not to be significant or unique in view of comparable readings in T-Isa, 1QIsa[a],

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[331] Cf. 1:1 (2x), 2, 3 (2x), 4 (2x), 5 (2x), 6 (2x), 12 (2x), 15 (2x), 16 (2x), 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (4x), 24, 25 (2x), 26 (3x), 29, 30 (2x), 31 (2x); 2:1, 2, 7, 10, 18, 21; 3:5, 13, 14, 15, 15-16, 16, 18, 24 (2x); 4:1, 2, 3, 4; 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (2x), 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 (3x), 26, 27 (2x), 28 (?), 29; 21:13; 30:15, 22; 37:21; 38:14.

[332] 1:7, 8, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27; 2:6 (2x), 12, 16, 20; 3:3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 17 (2x), 20(19); 3:20-23(19-22), 24 (2x); 4:2, 4, 5; 5:4, 7, 12, 13, 24, 28 (?), 29; 7:9; 8:20; 9:12; 10:33; 11:15; 15:4; 19:10, 13; 21:13; 22:14; 26:10; 30:4, 15, 22, 33; 32:9; 33:4; 35:8.

and other extrabiblical sources.[333] Some of these cross-linguistic agreements reflect translation, exegetical, and reading traditions common to two or more versions.[334] And only two (1:9, 29), possibly four (3:13; 5:28), of those S-G agreements listed above attest a Hebrew variant.[335]

In contrast to the widespread claim that G-Isa's influence on S-Isa is a certainty, it must be pointed out that not a single S-G agreement above provides indisputable evidence that S-Isa relied on G-Isa. S-Isa 1-39 contains no mistranslations of G-Isa. Only a small handful of agreements could be explained as amalgamations of both M and G-Isa (e.g., 5:7), but as I have argued, even these have better explanations in each translator's standard ways of dealing with problematic lexical constructions and unfamiliar lexis. Likewise, indications of Greek influence on S-Isa by way of calques and loans (cf. 1:23; 3:17; 13:9; 18:2; 19:6) hardly necessitate the conclusion that S-Isa relied on G-Isa, especially in view of the bilingual nature of the translator and the strong possibility that many (or all) of these loans and calques were naturalized by the time S-Isa was translated.

The very few "significant" S-G agreements in Isaiah 1-39 that (questionably) fulfill the criteria developed in this project (1:22; 3:15, 17, 18, 20[19], 24; 5:18; 7:9; 13:9,

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[333] 1:6, 8, 20, 23 (2x), 25, 26, 29; 2:6, 12, 20; 3:4, 6, 7 (2x), 12, 17; 4:5; 5:5, 8 (2x), 13, 14, 21, 29; 10:13; 13:22; 14:21; 15:4; 19:13; 30:22, 23; 33:4; 38:14.

[334] 1:20, 22, 23, 25, 26; 2:20; 3:7, 12, 15; 5:5, 8, 18; 10:13; 11:15; 13:22; 14:21; 30:20, 22.

[335] Obviously, there are more variants attested by S- and G-Isa in Isaiah 1-39, but my analysis after Isaiah 5 included only those S-G agreements noted by scholars.

22; 30:20) suggest that G-Isa was not directly consulted by the translator of S-Isa during the process of translation.[336] Rarely does S-Isa's immediate linguistic environment continue the parallel with G-Isa. While S-Isa often does agree with G-Isa at places where M is difficult or corrupt (i.e., places where one would expect the translator to rely on a MT/L), there is no clear pattern that emerges from these agreements aside from: 1) the Hebrew is difficult; and 2) the agreement is primarily lexical in nature.[337] And even though the strongest S-G congruences are lexical, the ways the translators construed their TTs semantically was sometimes quite dissimilar. This is not the kind of evidence one expects if a Greek copy of Isaiah sat beside the Syriac translator's Hebrew scroll of Isaiah unless that Greek text functioned solely as a lexicon. But then how do we explain the Syriac translator's more customary practice to go his own way (≠ M/G-Isa) when faced with difficult ST lexemes? How do we account for such autonomy and confidence if an alternative, authoritative source were immediately accessible?[338]

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[336] Far more often agreements exclusive to S-G that cannot be explained solely by common translation technique are still insignificant (cf. 1:15, 24; 2:10, 20; 3:3, 5, 6, 11, 14; 3:15-16, 18-23; 4:2, 4, 5 (2x); 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 27, 28; 8:20; 9:12; 10:33; 11:15; 18:2; 19:6; 26:10; 35:8; 37:21).

[337] Cf. 1:5, 6, 17, 22, 25; 2:6; 3:4, 11, 18, 20(19), 18-23, 24; 5:7, 12, 24; 7:9, 20; 10:33; 11:15; 13:9, 22; 14:21; 19:10; 21:13; 22:14; 26:10; 30:4(5), 15; 32:9; 35:8.

[338] For example, of the forty-six *hapax legomena* in Isaiah 1-10, the Syriac translator rendered sixteen with contextually-apt guesses, seven with meanings that correspond lexically with the Hebrew, another seven that are etymologizations of the perceived Hebrew root, and six with semantics that approximate the Hebrew but the Hebrew itself is understood only by means of Aramaic cognates. Only two are renderings that are sensible only on the basis of the forms' meanings in Aramaic. Of the remaining six *hapax* unmentioned, one was simply untranslated by the translator; the other five are subject to different explanations (e.g., possible influence from Greek or G-Isa).

The solution of indirect ITr naturally suggests itself here. That is, *if* there is a relation between S- and G-Isa, it is indirect in terms of *means* or *access*. And wherever S-Isa may have translated G-Isa (intentionally or unintentionally), S-Isa's relation to M is also indirect. Perhaps the most compelling reason to entertain the idea of G-Isa's indirect influence on the translator of S-Isa is that it accounts for the sporadic (and oftentimes conspicuous) lexical similarity between the translations yet the very low number of attestations of the phenomenon and how differently the translators sometimes rendered that lexical content in their respective TT/Ls. Moreover, the hypothesis of an indirect relation between the translations takes seriously the *realia* of translation in ancient cultures in which the (imperfect) memorization of sacred texts played a prominent role.

The argument that most of the agreements unique to S- and G-Isa have adequate explanation in the translators' common *Übersetzungsweisen* and that S-Isa bears only an *indirect* relation to G-Isa has implications for drawing up on the Syriac translator's preliminary and operational norms. First, the data observed in this chapter reinforce the perceived operational norms laid out in Chapter 4, especially as regards the translator's routine and *ad hoc* strategies for overcoming lexical problems posed by his ST. More often than not, the translator of S-Isa operated independently when he encounted a semantic difficulty by: 1) adjusting nearby morphosyntactic content to accommodate his assumed vocalization and/or the semantic requirements of his choice of lexeme; 2) intuiting the sense of an obscure lexeme in light of the context; 3) inferring a (bi- or tri-radical) root's semantic meaning by way of Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac; and 4) choosing a slot word that did not obscure the overall sense of the passage. Second, the data demonstrate that the translator infrequently deviated from his ST to incorporate a reading

or tradition attested elsewhere (i.e., a form of mediation extrinsic to autonomous translational processes). Strikingly, over half of S-Isa's agreements with both G- and T-Isa (and other extrabiblical sources) occur at places in the Hebrew that are lexically obscure.[339] The other half of these agreements were due either to common translation technique or common analysis of some ambiguous element in the Hebrew (cf. 1:20, 23, 26; 2:12; 3:4, 6, 7; 5:5, 8, 14, 21, 29; 19:13; 30:33; 38:14).[340] Third, this reveals that the Syriac translator (and his audience) tolerated interference from mediations other than his Hebrew *Vorlage* at the micro-level (i.e., at the word- or phrase-level). Such tolerance was warranted on the expectation that the translator would need assistance at some point during the act of translation. This expectation need not require any lengthy premeditation concerning *how* the translator would overcome problems and *where* he would turn to for aid. In a bilingual target culture where translation played a major role, such translation norms simply could have been assumed, not deliberated. Nevertheless, wherever linguistic interference from other MT/Ls may be identified in S-Isa, that linguistic content is always integrated in such a way as to conform to the standards of linguistic well-formedness required by the target culture. Without other contemporary Syriac translations available for comparison, it is difficult to remark on S-Isa's textual and literary well-formedness.

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[339] Cf. 1:6, 8, 23, 25; 2:6, 20; 3:7, 12, 17; 4:5; 5:5, 8, 13; 10:13; 13:22; 14:21; 15:4; 30:22; 33:4.

[340] As I argued above, the versional agreement (≠ M) at 1:29 attests a Hebrew variant.

And last, the readings adopted from elsewhere indicate that they were acceptable to S-Isa's target culture. While it is certainly possible that the translator employed some of these readings unintentionally (e.g., he had them memorized and assumed that his ST communicated them), the nature of some deviations (≠ M) suggest that a decision was made to opt for an acceptable reading that was not transparent to his ST. And the nature of the S-G agreements evaluated above indicates that when the translator relied on other influences, he accessed them *indirectly*.

With all these considerations in mind, the following constitutive norms can be articulated for S-Isa in light of its relation to G-Isa: 1) grammatical well-formedness highly favored; 2) semantic well-formedness favored; 3) atomism highly favored; 4) isomorphism highly favored; 5) maximalism favored; 6) linguistic interference from ST permitted; 7) linguistic interference from G-Isa possibly permitted *indirectly* (but not necessarily intentionally); 8) linguistic interference from exegetical traditions occasionally permitted; 9) textual linguistic ill-formedness permitted; and 10) localized intratextual elaboration infrequently permitted.[341]

An indirect relation between S- and G-Isa is still a relation, requiring an explanatory hypothesis and a description of what the relation signifies. The final chapter attempts to offer both, drawing implications from ancient Bible translations for modern translation scholars working in ITr and for biblical scholars who use translation theory and methods to illumine the complex relations between ancient translations.

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[341] These categories of analysis come from Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 33-54.

CHAPTER 6: FORMULATION OF AN EXPLANATORY HYPOTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

Explanatory Hypothesis

Any hypothesis that seeks to explain S-Isa's alleged relation to G-Isa should begin by acknowledging the dearth of positive evidence to demonstrate: 1) G's material existence in the region of Osrhoene during the first three centuries CE; 2) the appropriation of G by Jews (or Jewish Christians) in the Eastern diaspora during this period; 3) the role of Greek in the Christian (or Jewish) liturgy within this region and time period; 4) the existence of an Edessan "school" in which recitation of G was practiced during this period; and 5) indisputable cases of G-Isa's influence on S-Isa. The nature of the very few "significant" S-G agreements in Isaiah 1-39 (1:22; 3:15, 17, 18, 20[19], 24; 5:18; 7:9; 13:9, 22; 30:20) that may fulfill the criteria developed in this project for detecting G-Isa's influence on S-Isa does not suggest the view that G-Isa was directly consulted by the translator of S-Isa during the process of translation. However, the nature of these agreements still betrays an indirect relation worth explaining. This relation comes into better focus in light of *all* the parallels exclusive to S-G as well as S-Isa's deviations from M that agree with both G- and T-Isa (e.g., common exegetical traditions). When these data are considered in light of S-Isa's preliminary, operational, and constitutive norms (articulated in Chapters 4 and 5), the following scenario emerges.

The simplest explanation that accounts for all the data is that S-Isa was translated by an educated, multilingual Edessan Jew who wanted to render the Hebrew Book of Isaiah into the idiom of his people in light of the increasing prominence and spread of the

Syriac language and culture.[1] This translator was only vaguely familiar with the interpretive tradition of G and more influenced by the model of translation that characterizes it. Many observations point in this direction. First, S-Isa's *Vorlage* was undoubtedly Hebrew, and the translator's command of Hebrew was fairly advanced. The problem with assuming that a non-Jewish Christian translated S-Isa is that such an individual would not have known Hebrew, and we would expect him to have used G as his ST (unless, of course, a copy was unobtainable). Relatedly, S-Isa includes no definitively Christian readings. The idea that the translator (or the community of which he was a part) only recently converted to Christianity and thus lacked the time and experience to incorporate Christian exegesis into the translation is attractive, but speculative.[2] The pluralistic religious environment of Edessa wherein the boundaries between Jewish and Christian were not always palpable would seem to render it nearly impossible to be any more specific about the religious affiliation of the translator of S-Isa.

Second, the translator of S-Isa was an adept translator, as evidenced by the consistency with which he adhered to his constitutive norms (e.g., isomorphism; serial fidelity; morphosyntactic correspondence; stock pairing; lexical correspondence;

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[1] I would not go as far as saying that ancient Edessa was a globalized culture. However, it did participate in the international trade market, and primary sources indicate that Jews in particular were known for their involvement in the silk industry (see Guidi, *Chronia Minora*, 6; and Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 89-90).

[2] Alternatively, it is conceivable that the community behind S-Isa was Jewish-Christian but had a relatively low Christology. Modern theological categories obviously should not be assumed to have existed among these early Jewish-Christian communities.

grammatical well-formedness; semantic well-formedness). As a general rule, he operated autonomously when he deviated from his ST, executing standard problem-solving strategies at lexically difficult or obscure places in his Hebrew ST. His most common problem-solving strategies at these points were as follows: 1) He adjusted nearby morphosyntactic content to accommodate his assumed vocalization and/or the semantic requirements of his choice of lexeme; 2) He intuited the sense of an obscure lexeme in light of the context; 3) He inferred a root's semantic meaning by way of Aramaic or Syriac; and 4) He chose a slot word that did not obscure the sense of the passage. Where his renderings deviate significantly from M, they frequently agree with both G- and T-Isa (and sometimes another extrabiblical source). Infrequently, his deviations agree uniquely with G-Isa.

Third, the numerous agreements exclusive to S- and G-Isa that have their explanation in common translation technique indicate that the Syriac translator frequently analyzed his ST and produced his TT in ways similar to the translator of G-Isa. This does not at all imply that the Greek Scriptures played a prominent role in East Syria or that G-Isa was consulted as a "support translation," since the model of translation that characterizes G could have come to Edessa with the spread of Judaism to the East, the developing culture of translation (Greek → Syriac; Syriac → Greek) that was emerging in East Syria shortly after 200 CE (but must have begun earlier), and the strong influence of Greek language and culture in Osrhoene, which is particularly evident in the Greek calques and loans in S-Isa (cf. 1:23; 3:17; 13:9; 18:2; 19:6). As I argued in Chapter 5, these calques and loans were most likely naturalized in Syriac by the time S-Isa was translated, revealing a scribal culture where Greek was not only known but appropriated

by the Syriac translator in his renderings of certain Hebrew words.[3] Thus, the very Greek-Syriac bilingualism of the translator accounts for not only the appearance of Greek constructions in the Syriac translation (many of which unquestionably were due to Greek's influence on the Syriac language), but also the inclusion of Syriac lexemes whose meanings align closer to their counterparts in G-Isa than M.[4] This is not to deny the significance of the lexical parallels between S- and G-Isa that pass the criteria adumbrated above (cf. 1:22; 3:15, 17, 18, 20[19], 24; 5:18; 7:9; 13:9, 22; 30:20); it is only to draw attention to the "Rosetta Complex" described by Hagerty[5]—the fact that parallels between S- and G-Isa could be reflexes of the translator's bilingual brain more than a case of indirect ITr.[6] Those unique S-G congruences that cannot be explained by this bilingual phenomenon, however, should be interpreted along the same lines as S-

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[3] *Pace* Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 181.

[4] This claim is quite similar to the observation that many Hebrew forms were interpreted by the translator of S-Isa on the basis of the form's meaning in Aramaic, including cases where the Aramaic lexeme had no cognate in Syriac (see S10.1 in Chapter 4).

[5] See the discussion of Hagerty's idea of the Rosetta Complex above in the section "Macro-Structural/Micro-Textual Comparison – Stage 3" in Chapter 2.

[6] Obviously, I am assuming a model of bilingualism that cannot be delineated in detail here. For helpful summaries of how bilingual processing works, see M. S. Smith and J. Truscott, *The Multilingual Mind: A Modular Processing Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 181-211; A. Pavlenko, *The Bilingual Mind and What It Tells Us about Language and Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and A. M. B. de Groot, "Bilingual Memory," in *The Psycholinguistics of Bilingualism*, ed. F. Grosjean and P. Li (West Sussex: Blackwell, 2013), 171-91; and A. Pavlenko, "Conceptual Representation in the Bilingual Lexicon and Second Language Vocabulary Learning," in *The Bilingual Mental Lexicon: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. A. Pavlenko, Bilingual Education & Bilingualism (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2009), 125-60.

Isa's many exclusive parallels with T-Isa. As van der Kooij observed with respect to these S-T parallels, most of them can be explained more readily by a shared reading tradition or similarity of cultural milieus.[7] There are far more lexically significant deviations from M in S-Isa that agree with both G- and T-Isa than there are those that agree exclusively with G-Isa. That many of these S-G-T agreements[8] constitute translation, exegetical, and reading traditions indicates a socioreligious scribal context wherein these traditions were both preserved and employed.

Last, the centrality of the Syriac language and the prestige it held in the region of Osrhoene could have played a role in the translator's decision not to rely on Greek manuscripts for support (assuming they were available to him). I suspect that previous scholars could not clearly envision this possibility in view of the widely held opinion that Syriac was considered by Jews to be the language of "pagans." However, as I argued in Chapter 3, this claim cannot be supported by the attestation of a few Jewish inscriptions at Edessa written in the Aramaic block script.[9] Moreover, although G constituted literature from a stronger polysystem, was deemed sacred and authoritative by many communities outside East Syria, and was written in a language that carried its own degree of prestige and authority even at Edessa, it still was not chosen to serve as the ST of any

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[7] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 267.

[8] Cf. 1:20, 22, 23, 25, 26; 2:20; 3:7, 12, 15; 5:5, 8, 18; 10:13; 11:15; 13:22; 14:21; 30:20, 22.

[9] *Pace* Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," 28-29. For my rebuttal to Romeny's argument, see the section "Was There an LXX in East Syria around 200 CE?" in Chapter 3.

Peshiṭta book. Rather, the Hebrew Scriptures were chosen to serve as the ST of every Peshiṭta book. This could suggest that the religious identity of the translator and his target audience was more closely tied to the Hebrew Scriptures than the Greek Scriptures. However, the choice of rendering Hebrew Scriptures could have been entirely pragmatic: simply put, there may not have been any physical copies of Greek Isaiah available at the time of S-Isa's production.[10] The relative weakness of the parallels unique to S-G in S-Isa and the projected date of the translation allow for either possibility. If the argument holds that Antiochian Christianity did not reach Edessa until around 150 CE, or slightly later, and that Isaiah was among the earliest books to be translated, then it seems perfectly reasonable that copies of the Greek Scriptures may not have been at the disposal of the earliest Syriac translators. As mentioned above, if a copy of G-Isa were accessible to S-Isa, then one would have to argue that early Christian missionaries (who quite possibly did not know Syriac) brought copies of G-Isa into Osrhoene before the Syriac translation took place. This hypothesis is not improbable (especially if the translation occurred more around 200 CE), but it remains unverifiable. Nevertheless, the organization of a translation project such as S would at least have required effective proselytization of educated, bilingual Jews who also could read ancient Hebrew at an advanced level.[11]

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[10] Obviously, other hypotheses exist, but I think they are unlikely. For example, the Hebrew Scriptures could have been chosen as the STs on the model of G's STs. Or, Jewish-Christians could have used Hebrew *Vorlagen* to better proselytize Jews who might not have regarded Greek STs as properly or equally authoritative.

[11] Interestingly, Weitzman, relying on Haefeli (*Die Peschitta des Alten Testamentes*), claims that the texts revealing the most frequent parallels with G are Ezekiel, the Dodekapropheton, and the Solomonic books (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 181). Could it be that the translation of these books was not considered to be as important or urgent as, say, the Torah, Psalms, and Isaiah, and thus were translated at a

Conclusion

As a culturally relevant phenomenon, ITr theory and methodology provide an expedient means of reconstructing the motivations behind observable relations between translations. Although ancient Bible translations pose unique problems for TS scholars and require certain reconstructions to be made (e.g., the original STs of all the versions [G, S, T, V]) to evaluate them through the prism of ITr, it is still worthwhile to explore the juncture where the norms of the different translations intersect and correlate.[12] Of chief interest here is the overlap in S- and G-Isa's operational norms. Both translators regularly defaulted to common problem-solving tactics in order to resolve a problem in their respective *Vorlagen*. It is no coincidence that most of the parallels between these versions (including the most significant parallels) are at points of difficulty in the Hebrew.[13] Whereas the Greek translator had fewer extrinsic mediations on which to rely during the process of translation, the Syriac translator presumably had more. But both frequently departed from M in concert with T-Isa![14] The only detectable pattern among these deviations (aside from the minor transpositions, phrase structure changes, cohesion changes, and explicitness changes that characterize translations universally) is the

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slightly later time when G was more accessible in Edessa?

[12] See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 161-62.

[13] 1:7, 8, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27; 2:6 (2x), 12, 16, 20; 3:3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 17 (2x), 20(19), 3:20-23(19-22), 24 (2x); 4:2, 4, 5; 5:4, 7, 12, 13, 24, 28 (?), 29; 7:9; 8:20; 9:12; 10:33; 11:15; 15:4; 19:10, 13; 21:13; 22:14; 26:10; 30:4, 15, 22, 33; 32:9; 33:4; 35:8.

[14] 1:6, 8, 20, 23 (2x), 25, 26, 29; 2:6, 12, 20; 3:4, 6, 7 (2x), 12, 17; 4:5; 5:5, 8 (2x), 13, 14, 21, 29; 10:13; 13:22; 14:21; 15:4; 19:13; 30:22, 23; 33:4; 38:14.

obscure nature of the Hebrew. It would seem, then, that at the operational level all the translators customarily relied on *common* problem-solving tactics and frequently chose the exact same solution, albeit in a different language. Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrated that S-Isa executed these same problem-solving tactics elsewhere in many more places than where it agrees with G-Isa. Therefore, the processes involved in how these translators routinely solved more difficult ST problems (*hapax legomena*; unfamiliar lexis; ambiguous forms; highly elliptic morphosyntax) should constitute their *Übersetzungsweisen* as much as their standard maneuvers in rendering words and constructions that are far less problematic.

The relation that obtains between S- and G-Isa in those S-G agreements that are simply too specific to be coincidental exists in the socioreligious and scribal milieu of the Syriac translator who had access to a wide variety of extrinsic mediations during the process of translation. Without more epitextual evidence, it is difficult to know whether the influence came *via* the translator's training, school curriculum, traditions (translation, reading, exegetical, liturgical), or common lore.[15] Most likely, all these influences played some role in the translator's production of his TT. Given the prominence of Edessa and the renowned academy that developed there in later centuries CE, it could have been in these educational settings, in their fledgling form, that the exegetical traditions evident in S-Isa were preserved, taught, recited, and memorized. What is less clear is that the Syriac translator knew the origin of the readings he employed that agree exclusively with G-Isa.

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[15] Similarly, without more epitextual evidence it is difficult to know whether any political or economic concerns played a role in the alleged relation between the translations.

The nature of these S-G agreements is too weak to suggest that G-Isa was consulted directly. Also, S-Isa's tendency toward adequate translation seems to indicate a preference for source-oriented translation. Put another way, the nature of the profile of S-Isa is such that the act did not require the consultation of G-Isa. The Greek translation may have been acceptable to the author of S-Isa, but not necessarily valued by him or the community for which he produced the translation.

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