



## The Social Background of the Translator of Chronicles

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### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The question of the identity of the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible has long been debated without agreement,<sup>2</sup> The reliability of the letter of Aristeas, which described the background of the translators of the Pentateuch, has been disputed, and there is no historical or direct source portraying the

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1 This is the revised version of a paper written under the guidance of Prof. Jan Joosten and presented at the SBL International Meeting 2018 in Helsinki. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of *KJOTS* for their helpful comments.

2 For a history of scholarship on the origin and identity of the translators, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Brill: Leiden; Boston, MA; Köln, 2000), 35-105; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 29-44.

identity of the translators of the later translated books. In the lack of external evidence, translation techniques or linguistic features in the Septuagint (LXX)<sup>3</sup> have been employed as clues to know the translators' identity.<sup>4</sup> For the LXX-Chr, a wealth of transliterations and a literal translation technique have been employed to support the claim the LXX-Chr is confined to Kaige-Theodotion.<sup>5</sup> However, after Gerleman most scholars have adopted the view that the LXX-Chr originated in Alexandria (Egypt) in the second century BCE, for two reasons: the citations of the LXX-Chr in Eupolemus (ca. 150 BCE) and Josephus; and the Egyptian and Ptolemaic coloring in the LXX-Chr.<sup>6</sup>

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- 3 The term "Septuagint (or LXX)" is derived from the legendary story in the Letter of Aristeas, which describes how seventy-two elders from Jerusalem embarked on translating the Torah into Greek. More specifically, "Septuagint" indicates the Greek version of the Pentateuch. However, this paper employs the term "Septuagint (or LXX)" as the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, including Pseudepigrapha.
- 4 Jan Joosten, "Language as Symptom, Linguistic Clues to the Social Background of the Seventy," in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 191-4. Recently, in light of linguistic features of the LXX Pentateuch, Joosten has argued that the translators of the Pentateuch may be Jewish soldiers.
- 5 Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644), 367; Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 38; Charles Cutler Torrey, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah," in *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, ed. Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, George Foot Moore (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2:60-3; Peter J. Parsons, "The Scripts and Their Date," in *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll From Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*, by Emanuel Tov, R. A. Kraft and P. J. Parsons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 19-26; Siegfried Kreuzer, "Toward the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige Recension)," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Ljubljana, 2007*, ed. M. H. Peters (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 239-53; reprinted in Siegfried Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*, SBLSCS 63 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 113-28; Jong-Hoon Kim, "Betrachtungen zu den griechischen Textformen der Paralleltexte zwischen 1Kön 8,1-53 und 2Chr 5,2-6,42," *The Korean Journal of Old Testament Studies* 22.2 (2016): 10-37. After Nahal Hever was discovered, it has been assumed that Kaige-Theodotion is dated in the later 1 BCE.
- 6 Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint, II, Chronicles* (LUÅ I, 43, 3; Lund, 1946), 45; Leslie C. Allen, *The Translator's Craft*, vol. 1 of *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 123; Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme*

While the place and time of the LXX-Chr were investigated through examining the linguistic clues, the identity of the translator seems still to be concealed within his own literal translation technique. However, paradoxically, the literal translation technique gives a possibility to presume the translator's social background. Exceptional rendering might not be significant in translated books having a free translation tendency, but in the literally translated book. In this regard this paper aims to uncover a social background of the Chronicles' translator by examining the exceptional renderings of  $\psi\pi\iota$ , especially focusing on the three linguistic clues -  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\eta$ , and  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ . To understand the semantic value and significance of these Greek words the document papyri - Zenon, Fayum, Oxyrhynchus, and Tebtunis papyri, which were found in Egypt and were assumed to be written from the third century BCE to the second century CE - are examined.<sup>7</sup> Through this process this paper suggests that the Chronicles' translator was someone who had experienced the military world,

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*ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 83-111; Roger Good, "1-2 Chronicles (Paraleipomena)," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (Bloomsbury: London; New York, NY, 2015), 169. Allen (1974, 137-41) maintain that it is "blatantly obvious that the translator had nothing in common with a systematic reviser producing KR [kaige-recension] material on consistent and dogmatic lines." He reaches this conclusion by thorough examination and comparison based on the criteria of kaige-recension, which were found by Barthélémy and Shenkel. Only four of the nineteen criteria of kaige-recension appear in the LXX-Chr.

- 7 One helpful approach to studying the LXX vocabulary may be to understand the semantic value of the Greek word in the context of Greek culture and thought. The importance of the documentary sources had already been proven by some scholars. G.A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions, Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909); J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SBLSCS 14 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); Jan Joosten, "The Vocabulary of the Septuagint," in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*, eds. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, SBLSCS 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 2-5. For the comparative study of the three texts (MT, LXX, and SP), see Jin Myung Kim, "Whose story is Exodus 4:24-26? - A Textual Comparative study of the Masoretic Text(MT), Septuagint(LXX) and Samaritan Pentateuch(SP)," *The Korean Journal of Old Testament Studies* 25.4 (2019): 253-281.

## 2. Evidence 1: καταλογισμός

The late biblical Hebrew (LBH) term  $\text{שׁנִי}$ , which means “being enrolled by genealogy,” appears only twenty-one times in the MT.<sup>8</sup>  $\text{שׁנִי}$  is rendered as twelve distinct Greek words in the LXX, and the translator of the Chr employed seven different renderings.<sup>9</sup>

**Table 2.1. Renderings of  $\text{שׁנִי}$ <sup>10</sup>**

MT	LXX	MT	LXX
Ezra 2:62	μεθωεσ(ε)μι (*transliteration)	1 Chr 5:1	γενεαλογέω (trace a pedigree)
Ezra 8:1	ὁδηγός (guide, leader)	1 Chr 7:5, 7, 9, 40	ἀριθμός(number)
Ezra 8:3	σύστρεμμα (crowd)	1 Chr 9:1	συλλοχισμός (roll, list)
Neh 7:5, 64 Neh 7:5 (noun)	συνοδ(ε)ία (group)	2 Chr 12:15	πράξις (deed)
2 Chr 31:18	καταλογία (register)	2 Chr 31:16	ἐπιγονή (offspring)
1 Chr 4:33; 5:7 17; 9:22; 2 Chr 31:17	καταλογισμός (register, enrolment)	2 Chr 31:19	καταριθμέω (to enumerate, count)

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- 8 Avi Hurvitz, *A concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Brill: Leiden; Boston, MA, 2014), 122-4. It appears in the literature of the Second Temple period: Ezra 2:62; 8:1, 3; Neh 7:5, 64; 1 Chr 4:33; 5:1, 7, 17; 7:5, 7, 9, 40; 9:1, 22; 2 Chr 12:15; 31:16-19. Hurvitz points out that “ $\text{שׁנִי/סנִי}$  does not seem to be attested in non-Jewish sources. Even if the Arabic root adduced in halot II 408a is etymologically related to  $\text{שׁנִי}$ , semantically it does not have the specific genealogical meaning found in the Jewish texts” (p. 124).
- 9 Allen, *The Translator’s Craft*, 57. As Allen rightly points out, “the translator can be either flexible or stereotyped in his approach to individual words and to words of similar meaning.” In this regard, the translator of the Chr seems to give a more exact meaning in context without losing the basic meaning of  $\text{שׁנִי}$ .
- 10 The renderings in Table 2.1. is based on the edition of Rahlfs and Hanhart. Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006); Robert Hanhart, ed., *Paralipomenon Liber II*, vol. VII, 2 of *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

καταλογισμός appears six times (1 Chr 4:33, 5:7, 17, 9:22; 2 Chr 31:17; 1 Esd 5:39) in the LXX, and its equivalent is שׁנן. In other Greek literature and papyri, καταλογισμός does not seem to be an ordinary but a technical term, employed in a distinct context.<sup>11</sup>

## 1) A Treaty Between Smyrna and Magnesia—by—Sipylos

A treaty was drawn up in 242 BCE in the reign of Seleucus II Callinicus to mitigate the tension between Smyrna and Magnesia, where soldiers had revolted against Seleucus II.<sup>12</sup> This treaty, representing a policy of appeasement, was designed to assimilate the citizenry of Magnesia into that of Smyrna.<sup>13</sup> This treaty shows that (at least) two social class existed at that time: a κάτοικος (military settler)<sup>14</sup> and the others. In addition, the kind of official record seems to depend on their social class.

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Also, it consulted a concordance, Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (including the Apocryphal Books), 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897); Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint*, (Louvain: Peeters, 2010). For the meaning of Greek, this paper refers to three Greek lexicons, Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). Hereafter LSJ; Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003). Hereafter LEH; Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009). Hereafter MSL.

- 11 <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>, TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae) statistics. This lemma is attested in the corpus fifteen times.
- 12 W. Dittenberger, ed., *Oriente Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig, 1903-5), 369-70 (OGI 229.45); Hatto H. Schmitt, ed., *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums III Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.* (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), 165 (Staatsverträge 492.45); For the similarity of the concept of the loyalty oath between the Hebrew Bible and this treaty, see Moshe Weinfeld, *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (London: New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2005), 30-4.
- 13 Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, eds., *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation, New Edition of Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period* (Chicago, IL: CA: Scholars Press, 1981; repr., Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 56.
- 14 This term usually appears in the plural form, κάτοικοι.

Citizenship in Smyrna, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, is to be given to the katoikoi in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp. Citizenship is likewise to be given to the others [who] live in Magnesia, as many as may be free and Greeks.<sup>15</sup>

Let those who are secretaries of the (military) divisions deliver to the demos the registers of the cavalry and infantry in Magnesia (τοὺς μὲν καταλοχισμ[οὺς] [τ]ῶν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν), both those in the city and those in open camp, and (let) the men appointed by the katoikoi in Magnesia (deliver to the demos) the list of the other inhabitants (τὴν γραφὴν τῶν ἄλλων).<sup>16</sup>

In these passages καταλοχισμός is used for soldier; a term qualified by the two genitive nouns of “ἰππεύς (cavalry)” and “πεζός (infantry).” On the other hand, for the others, a general term, “γραφὴ (list),” is employed. Although it is uncertain whether the citizenship of a soldier was different from the citizenship of an “other,” it seems that two kinds of official record for the two social classes were being circulated at the time: 1) καταλοχισμός for κατοίκος and 2) γραφὴ for the others. In this context καταλοχισμός might be defined as a “register”<sup>17</sup> or “official record” used to prove one’s identity, especially as a soldier.

## 2) The Flinders Petrie Papyri (P.Petr)

καταλοχισμός appears once in the Flinders Petrie Papyri, which reveal life at Arsinoite nome (now Fayum in Egypt) during the period of Ptolemy

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<sup>15</sup> Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 59.

<sup>16</sup> Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 59.

<sup>17</sup> LSJ, 899. MSL, 376.

(third century BCE). One of these papyri (PPetr v.3: 93) reported a payment, calculated by a number of men and women in different ratio. καταλοχισμός appears in the last part (lines 21-24) of the papyri.<sup>18</sup>

εστιν ο δ[ει] υπολο[γ]ηθηναι [α]πο των εκτιθεμενων οψωνιων φυλακιτων  
και εφοδων των εν καταλοχισμωι σωματων ριε

there is a deduction from the fixed ὀψώνιον (payment) of φυλακίτης (police  
official in Egypt) and ἔφοδος (inspector) των εν καταλοχισμωι σωματων ριε (115  
men)

As Mahaffy and Smyly point out, the phrase “των εν καταλοχισμωι σωματων” is hard to translate. It could be regarded as a genitive depending on φυλακιτων και εφοδων; or it could function as an adjectival phrase qualifying φυλακιτων και εφοδων and σωματων ριε in apposition.<sup>19</sup>

This papyrus reports the number of men and women in each village and their payments. In this context καταλοχισμός may be defined as a differentiated register or record (or list) indicating a specific social class and containing the identifications or names of 115 officials and inspectors. καταλοχισμός may be used to distinguish government (or military) employees from others. As such καταλοχισμός may have been used in the same way as καταλοχισμός in the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia,

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18 John P. Mahaffy and J. Gilbert Smyly, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri with Transcriptions, Commentaries and Index*, 3 vols. (Dublin: The Academy House, 1905), 3:228-31; W. Clarysse, *The Petrie Papyri Second Edition* (P. Petrie2):theWills (Brussels: WLSK, 1991), 12.

19 Mahaffy and Smyly, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri with Transcriptions*, 3:230-1.

### 3) The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (P.Oxy)

καταλογισμός appears in P.Oxy 45 (95 CE), 46 (100 CE) and 47 (late first century CE), which are letters concerning “land distribution.”<sup>20</sup> In these letters καταλογισμός indicates “the title given to the distribution of parcels of land (κλήρος) to the κάτοικοι, a privileged class of settlers who were exempt from the poll tax (Wilcken, *Hermes*, xxviii, 249).” In addition, P.Oxy 3482 (73 BCE) is the earliest attestation of a καταλογισμός official’s administering the (property) register of the land of κάτοικος.<sup>21</sup> In the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods καταλογισμός was used as a special register to record the ownership of the land of κάτοικος.<sup>22</sup>

While in the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia-by-Sipylos the term καταλογισμός indicated a register for κάτοικος as a social group, in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri it seems to be narrower, denoting the “register of grants of land”<sup>23</sup> to military settlers (κάτοικος).

### 4) The Tebtunis Papyri (P.Teb)

καταλογισμός appears in P.Teb 357 (197 CE), and is a receipt for tax on grants of land. This text says that the owner of καταλογισμός pays a tax to the state.

…δημοσιῶναι τέλους καταλογισμῶν…

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20 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part I: Edited with Translations and Notes* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898), 101-5.

21 Bülow Jacobsen and J.E.G. Whitehorne, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XLIX (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1982), 170, see n6.

22 Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 46; Andrew Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 94-5.

23 LSI, 899. MSL, 376.

famers of the tax upon enrolments

…διεγρά(ψατέ) μοι εἰς ἃ ὀφείλ(ετε) τέλ(η) περι κώμην Μαγδῶλ(α)  
ἀμπελῶνο(ς) κατοικ(ικοῦ) (ἀρούρας) α ἧσ ἀνεκομίσασθε διὰ τῆς  
βιβλ(ιοθήκης)

…You have paid to me for the taxes which you owe upon 1 aroura of catoecic  
vine-land at the village of Magdola, which land you received through the record  
office…<sup>24</sup>

In this context καταλοχισμός designates a register or enrolment of the  
granted land on which the tax payment is required, and it seems to be used in  
the same manner as the term καταλοχισμός in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.<sup>25</sup>

### 5) The Significance of καταλοχισμός in the LXX Chronicles

It seems likely that ψπ as an equivalent of καταλοχισμός (1 Chr 4:33, 5:7,  
17, 9:22; 2 Chr 31:17) indicates a genealogy or a genealogical record, not a  
register of grants of land. Its usage is similar to that of the term καταλοχισμός  
in P.Petr and of the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia, both of which were  
written before the second century BCE.

Although the linear transformation of καταλοχισμός cannot be  
oversimplified, καταλοχισμός seems semantically to have developed and  
changed in ancient times: 1) the early meaning indicated a register of a  
specific social class (κάτοικος); and 2) the later meaning (in the first century

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24 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Tebtunis Papyri: Part II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 193-4.

25 Another example of this usage appears in BGU 340: τέλη καταλοχισμῶν appears. BGU: *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu berlin, Griechische Urkunden* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1985).

CE) was more detailed and nuanced and may have meant a register of grants of land to *κάτοικος*. This semantic development could suggest a method of dating the book which contains the term *καταλογισμός*. In the LXX Chr the term *καταλογισμός* is used in the sense of its early meaning. The LXX Chr thus seems to have been translated at least before the first century BCE, and this may constitute more internal evidence that the LXX Chr is not from Theodotion's recension.

Given that the translator knew the military term *καταλογισμός*, which relates to a military settler (*κάτοικος*), and employed it as an equivalent of *שׂר*, he may have been someone who belonged to the military circle or had some knowledge of the military world. However, one may argue that the term *καταλογισμός* was not unknown to civilians, who are not in *κάτοικος*, because they lived in this hierarchical society. Someone familiar with his own class would also know about the class to which he did not belong. If we look at other examples, *ἐπιγονή* and *συλλογισμός*, the social background of the translator will be revealed more clearly.

### 3. Evidence 2: *ἐπιγονή* and *συλλογισμός*

#### 1) *ἐπιγονή*

*ἐπιγονή* appears three times (2 Chr 31:16, 18; Am 7:1) in the LXX, and its equivalents are *שׂר* and *שׂר* in the LXX Chr. In the third century BCE, *ἐπιγονή*, which literally means “offspring,” indicates the younger or second generation of the foreign soldiers organized by Ptolemy in Egypt.<sup>26</sup> Even Jews “were

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26 LSI, 628; MSL, 270; John P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 211; Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 14-21.

members of the ἐπιγονή, and, as a consequence of their service, had the right to be settled in fortresses and military cleruchies.”<sup>27</sup>

The expression especially of τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (2 Chr 31:16), which is employed to designate men not women, seems to be an equivalent of the Demotic “ms n Kmy,” which means “born in Egypt.”<sup>28</sup>

In the LXX Chr the translator employed this military term in a non-military context without losing its basic concept as “offspring.” What is the significance of using the military term in a non-military context?

## 2) συλλογισμός

Another equivalent of שׁנׁי is συλλογισμός (1 Chr 9:1), which appears once in the whole LXX. שׁנׁי in 1 Chr 9:1a (all Israel was enrolled by genealogies) is the decisive term summing up the registration of the Israelites and their territories in 1 Chr 2-8.<sup>29</sup> It does not merely indicate the listing or numbering of the Israelites, but also the “collection or gathering of the list.” What is the significance of this hapax legomenon, συλλογισμός, which was chosen by the translator?

συλλογισμός is scarce, not only in the LXX, but also in Greek literature, including papyri.<sup>30</sup> Hesychius of Alexandria, who “composed in the fifth or sixth century AD a lexicon of obscure words,”<sup>31</sup> included this rare word in his

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27 Victor A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, by Harvard University Press, 1957), 13.

28 Christelle Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 184.

29 Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (London: SCM, 1993), 206.

30 In TLG statistics, this lemma is attested in the corpus 13 times.

31 Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 88.

lexicon and defined it as “ὄνομα τακτικόν.”<sup>32</sup> συλλοχισμός, which appeared in Asclepiodotus’ Tactics in the second or first century BCE, was designated as a technical term for a tactic and was defined as the “assembly of the files in parallel formation, constituting the phalanx.”<sup>33</sup>

Ὅτ’ ἂν δὲ λόχω λόχος παρατεθῆ, ὥστε λοχαγὸν λοχαγῷ καὶ οὐραγὸν οὐραγῷ καὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ τοῖς ὁμοζύγοις παρίστασθαι, συλλοχισμὸς ἔσται τὸ τοιοῦτον, οἱ δὲ ὁμόζυγοι τῶν λόχων πρωτοστάται ἢ ἐπιστάται διὰ τὸ παραλλήλους ἵστασθαι παραστάται κεκλήσονται. Ὁ δὲ ἐκ πάντων συλλοχισμὸς φάλαγξ...

Now when one file is placed beside another, so that file-leader stands beside file-leader, file-closer beside file-closer, and the men in between beside their comrades-in-rank, such an arrangement will be a formation by file (syllochismos), and the men of the files forming the same rank, front-rank-men, and rear-rank-men, will be called comrades-in-rank because they stand side by side. The assembly (syllochismos) of all the files constitutes a phalanx...<sup>34</sup>

It seems likely that συλλοχισμός was a highly technical term exclusively used in a military context. In the LXX Chr, however, it was employed in non-military context, excluding the military nuance of συλλοχισμός. This

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32 Hesychius of Alexandria, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (5th century), ed. Mauricius Schmidt (Jena, 1858-68), 1405.

33 Charles Henry Oldfather and William Abbott Oldfather, “Asclepiodotus,” in *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander with an English Translation by Members of the Illinois Greek Club*, ed. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1928; repr., 1948, 1962, 1977, 1986), 232-4, 339. For another usage of this word in the military context, See LSJ, 1673.

34 Oldfather, “Asclepiodotus,” 254.

rendering represents exactly how the translator understood the implication of  $\psi\eta\iota$  in 1 Chr 9:1, interpreting it as a “gathering” or “assembly” of the registration of the Israelites. How did the translator know this specialized term, which might be known to one who had experienced military service and had a profound understanding of military tactics? As Joosten points out, the use of military vocabulary as professional jargon in a non-military context is a clue to inferring the social background of the translator.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, as scholars have pointed out, it seems likely that the translator was influenced from the LXX Pentateuch’s renderings.<sup>36</sup> This implies that the renderings of  $\psi\eta\iota$ , which does not appear in the Pentateuch, could be an indicator representing the translator’s own linguistic knowledge. Because the translation of the LBH term  $\psi\eta\iota$  is the pioneering work of the Chronicles’ translator, it would be more likely that the renderings of  $\psi\eta\iota$  expose the translator’s background.

Although more evidence is needed to make this argument convincing, these examples - the technical and military terms  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\eta$ , and  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  - are worthy of consideration to show its validity.

#### 4. Historical Context

Some historical questions can be raised against this argument. How did

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35 Joosten, “Language as Symptom,” 192.

36 Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 22-9; Allen, *The Translator’s Craft*, 49; Emanuel Tov, “The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, SVT 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183-94; Jan Joosten, “The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalm,” in *III Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 55 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 205.

Jewish soldiers settle in Egypt? If Jews served as soldiers, could they attain high military rank, and might they be able to acquire knowledge of some professional tactics? It is not difficult to access sources identifying Jewish soldiers in the second century BCE through Josephus' description,<sup>37</sup>

Again, Ptolemy Philometor and his consort Cleopatra entrusted the whole of their realm to Jews, and placed their entire army under the command of Jewish generals, Onias and Dositheus. Apion ridicules their names, when he ought rather to admire their achievements, and, instead of abusing them, to thank them for saving Alexandria, of which he claims to be a citizen (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2:48-49).<sup>38</sup>

The high priest Onias made his escape to Ptolemy and, obtaining from him a site in the nome of Heliopolis, built a small town on the model of Jerusalem and a temple resembling ours (Josephus, *J.W.* 1:33).<sup>39</sup>

Although it seems to be an exaggeration to suggest that Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra gave their whole kingdom and army to Onias<sup>40</sup> and Dositheus (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2:48.), Josephus<sup>41</sup> accounts are the substantive source of information on the Jewish soldiers who were living in Egypt and

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37 E. Gruen, "The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 16 (1997): 47-8.

38 Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2:48-49 (Thackeray, LCL).

39 Josephus, *J. W.* 1:33 (Thackeray, LCL).

40 Gruen, "The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple," 59. Although we cannot have a definite answer proven by historical evidence, most scholars do not cast in serious doubt the notion of Onias the soldier and priest. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 302. In Egypt "a renewal and increase of the configuration 'soldier-priests' takes place in the second part of the second century BC." The concept of "soldier-priest" was not new to the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt.

41 Bezalel Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1996); Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 147-8.

had served as soldiers in the Ptolemaic era.<sup>42</sup> In addition, numerous papyri attest that Jewish soldiers were settled in various regions. In particular, Tcherikover, in light of several papyri found in Fayum dealing with Jewish soldiers during the Ptolemaic era, suggests that “Yet in the case of the ‘Macedonian Jews’ of Alexandria the true meaning is that of a military unit: When a Jew styles himself in a document ‘Macedonian’, it shows only that this Jew (or one of his forefathers) served as soldier in a Macedonian unit.”<sup>43</sup> He also points out that “sometimes they attained high military rank, as, for example, Toubias, the head of a military cleruch in Transjordan in the third century, and the high priest Onias IV and his sons in the second century.”<sup>44</sup> Most recently, the graph, which is summed up by Christelle Fischer-Bovet, represents that most of Jewish soldiers, who lived in Egypt, were concentrated in the mid-third to second century BCE.<sup>45</sup>

This evidence indicates that the military life was not unfamiliar to Jews in Egypt in the third and second century BCE. In addition, it may not be unexpected that a soldier or someone who had experienced a military service had a task of translating the Hebrew sacred text into Greek.

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42 Kasher 1985, 40-1. Josephus quoted the saying of Hecataeus of Abdera (*Ag. Ap.* 1:186-205). Based on his description, Hezekiah's group seems likely to be a military in the reign of Ptolemy I.

43 Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 14-5.

44 Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 13.

45 Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 178.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to answer the question of the social background of the Chronicles' translator. Although outstanding studies of the LXX Chr have been conducted, there is a gap in examining the identity of the translator. Given the lack of external and direct evidence this paper has focused on internal evidence, a lexical choice of the translator, and tried to understand the equivalents of the late biblical Hebrew term שׁוּרִי - καταλοχισμός, ἐπιγονή, and συλλοχισμός - as sociolects, which "are commonly defined as varieties of language determined by social environments or associated with a particular social group."<sup>46</sup>

When the Chronicles' translator was confronted with the LBH term שׁוּרִי, an unprecedented word and rendering in the Hebrew and Greek Bible, he might have endeavored to translate it and to deliver a more exact meaning using all his linguistic knowledge. As a result he rendered שׁוּרִי as seven distinct Greek words, each suited to a specific context. In this process he used the technical and military terms καταλοχισμός, ἐπιγονή, and συλλοχισμός, which discloses his identity.

It does not conclude that my argument, that the translator was someone who had experienced the military world, is absolutely right. Rather this attempt indicates that we could know the identity or social background of the translator through the study of Septuagint vocabulary. Although additional examination is needed and it should be cautious not to overemphasize that argument, some evidence showing the social background of the translator

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46 Martin Durrell, "Sociolect" in *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 1:201. Sociolect is distinct from a regional dialect.

cannot be ignored. This possibility provides room to discuss the identity of the translators.

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## Keywords

the Septuagint

translator

Chronicles

sociolect

papyrus documents

Hellenistic Greek language

## 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경

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본 연구는 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경을 밝히는 데 목적이 있다. 대부분의 학자들이 역대기가 이집트의 알렉산드리아(기원전 2세기)에 거주하는 유대인에 의해 번역되었을 것이라는 의견에는 동의하지만, 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경에 대해서는 어떠한 합의도 이루어진 바가 없다. 이는 당연히 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경을 유추할 수 있는 외부 증거가 발견되지 않았기 때문이다. 그리고 번역상의 단어 선택에 있어서 역대기 번역가는 모세오경의 칠십인경의 영향을 받은 듯하고, 직역 형태의 번역 특징을 보여준다. 이와 같은 역대기 칠십인경의 특징은 역대기 번역가만이 가지고 있는 독특한 단어 선택 성향을 밝히는 것이 쉽지 않음을 보여준다. 하지만 역설적으로 이와 같은 특징이 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경을 유추할 수 있는 기반이 된다. 즉, 모세오경에 사용되지 않은 단어를 역대기 번역가가 번역했을 경우, 그리고 그 번역이 직역

형태가 아닌 의역 유형의 번역 형태라면, 더 나아가 역대기 번역가가 선택한 단어들에 유의미한 상관성이 있다면, 이를 통해 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경을 유추해 볼 수 있다. 이에 따라, 먼저 역대기 번역가가 모세오경에 나타나지 않는 후기 성서히브리어 단어인  $\omega\pi$ 를 역대기 번역가가 어떠한 단어들로 번역했는지 살펴보고자 한다. 그리고  $\omega\pi$ 에 상응하는 단어들 중에, 의역 유형에 해당하는 세 단어  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\eta$ , 그리고  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 의 의미를 칠십인경과 파피루스 문서들을 통해 고찰하고, 이 세 단어의 공통점이 역대기가 번역될 당시에 군인들이 사용했던 소시올렉트임을 보여주고자 한다. 특히,  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 는 병법에 국한되어 사용되었던 희소한 단어였음을 강조하고자 한다. 이러한 역대기 번역가의 독특한 단어 선택 성향은 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경이 군인(용병)이었을 가능성을 유추하고자 한다. 더 나아가 유대인들이 역대기가 번역될 당시 이집트에서 군인(용병)으로서 활동했다는 역사적 증거를 제시하고자 한다. 이 과정을 통해 본 연구는 역대기 번역가의 사회적 배경이 군인(용병)이었음을 밝히고자 한다.

## 검색어

칠십인역

역대기

번역자

사회 방언

파피루스 문서

헬레니스틱 그리스어

- 투고일: 2019년 11월 5일
- 심사일: 2020년 1월 4일
- 게재 확정일: 2020년 1월 19일

[www.kci.go.kr](http://www.kci.go.kr)