OLD LATIN, OLD GREEK AND OLD HEBREW
IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS (1 Ki. 18:27 and 2 Ki. 20:11)

Julio Trebolle

Whenever a passage or singular reading of the Old Greek translation has been altered by the hexaplaric or Lucianic revisions (not to speak of the \textit{kaige} recension), the Old Latin text, where extant, can be a very helpful, or even the only possible way of approaching the OG text. In some of these cases this OG text proves to be based on a Hebrew Vorlage different from the MT. This Hebrew text appears to preserve a textual form of Kings older and sometimes more original than the tradition of the textus "receptus". We are therefore entitled to speak of an "Old Hebrew" text, as suggested in earlier articles by Ulrich\textsuperscript{1} and the present author.\textsuperscript{2} This article provides two further examples, taken from each of the two sections of the Greek text of Kings (1 Ki. 2:12-21:43 non-\textit{kaige}; 1 Ki. 22:1-2 Ki. 25:30 \textit{kaige}). The first example refers to some phrases, and the second one to a single word. Both examples have wide implications for the understanding of the passages involved.

I. 1 Ki. 18:27

The first example is taken from 1 Ki. 18:27. This text is full of textual and literary difficulties, which modern authors often try to solve with the


help of parallels in the Canaanite mythology of Baal. It is often assumed that the expression

and is considered to be the counterpart of the Hebrew . But it must be said that according to the parallel in Jer. 25:30, (to be engag-


Lucifer  Vindobonensis  

pariter  ne forte  ne forte  xiμα  μη ποτε  

ocupatus sit  sortes dederit  

aut  dormiat  αυτος  μη ποτε  

ipse  et suscitabitur  kadeuδει  

et exsurget  και έξαναστησεται

ed") translated the Hebrew verb יוה שוקי. On the other hand, ἀδολεσχύα ("conversation", "idle talk") translates the Hebrew יוה; thus the Greek does not have any counterpart for ל י שוקי רד שור ("for he may be on a journey").

The OL text is considerably shorter than the MT and the Greek texts. The two different readings, occupatus sit (Lucifer) and sortes dederit (Palimpsestus Vindobonensis), reflect the two possible meanings of the same Greek verb.
χρησιμοποιεί: "Negotiate, have dealings...", or, relating to an oracle, "give a response to those who consult it". 7

The particle pariter (in the text of Lucifer) translates the Greek ζυμα of the Lucanian text. The same particle ζυμα is to be found in the standard Greek text (B). In the pre-Lucanian text there is a repetition of ζυμα μή ποτε... ζυμα μή ποτε. This may indicate that the enclosed text did not belong to the OG translation, as confirmed by its omission in the OL: (ότι) ἅθροεσχία (τος) ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ (ζυμα). 8 Similarly, the expression οτι θεός ἐστιν is omitted by the antiochean text and the OL. Its omission in the Ethiopic version is also significant, since this old version otherwise follows the B text very faithfully. 9

We conclude therefore that the whole passage wanting in the OL was also lacking in its pre-Lucanian original, as well as in the OG version.

If we now turn to the analysis of the Hebrew underlying the OG and OL texts, we observe that it is constructed according to a highly symmetrical structure:

Perhaps he is engaged,  אוֹלִיל שִׁים חוֹאָ א
or / perhaps he is asleep,  אוֹלִיל יָשֵׁר חוֹאָ א
and must be awakened.  יוֹכָר

The poetic effect is well accomplished. The parallelism is assured by the repetition of אָלֹל...אָלֹל... אָלֹל שִׁים. The three remaining verbs produce a strong antithesis: Baal must be busy, or he is perhaps sleeping and must be awakened. On the whole we have here a song of mourning, clear and transparent in its structure, with a characteristically unbalanced meter. The most common song of mourning is by far that used in a mocking sense ("Spottlied"). 10 The mocking qinah is almost invariably directed against non-Israelites, here in our case against the prophets of Baal and ultimately against Baal himself.

The phrase of MT v. 27a also shows a parallelistic structure, but of a very different type and not so felicitous in its form: two nominal phrases constructed

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9 The interpretation of J. Montgomery, The Books of Kings (1951) 310, that LXX Β Aeth omit "to avoid such a confession", does not seem appropriate.
with the particle כ (= probably used emphatically), a noun and a pronoun referred to Baal:

cים שית ל
כים דרר ל

Certainly, he is in a conversation,
or certainly, he is on a journey.

As we saw before, the Greek text knew only the first of these two phrases. In the Lucianic text, it is included among the repetition ἐμαύματα ὅτα...ἐμαύματα ὅτα
This proves that the OG text was as short as is reflected in the OL. The Lucianic text has no counterpart to the phrase in the MT כים אלוהים וואחר.

The present MT is the product of the juxtaposition of two different literary forms of the mocking words attributed to Elijah. The Hebrew original of the Septuagint seems to have known only the text of the Spottlited: "Perhaps he is engaged, perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened". To this was added a series of three nominal phrases with כ. The collision of the two series of phrases (כ ב - אל) caused the inconsistencies present in the MT. One of these inconsistencies is the juxtaposition of the similar phrases כים שית לヴוכ וינב יפל, that many authors consider a mere duplicate. These authors do not take into account the context and the textual history of this passage. Each of these verbs had its own place within one of the two literary forms distinguished above. At the collision-point of the two series of phrases, the beginning of the second was lost, partly transposed to the first series. Therefore the first stich of the כִּי-sequences is wanting in the MT. Its text (כִּי) has been incorporated into the foregoing כִּי-series. The textual difficulties of the MT do not put into question the ancient character of the expressions and motifs involved (כים שית לヴוכ וינב יפל), which may be as old as those of the following כִּי-sequences.

In conclusion, the shorter OL text translates an equally short OG text. This proves to reflect faithfully a Hebrew original which contained the integral text of a well-structured mocking song of mourning. Its text proves to be shorter and older than the MT.

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11The particle ἐμαύματα (parter), however, seems to imply a twofold series of phrases.

Methodologically we have shifted from the lower to the higher criticism.\textsuperscript{13} Arguments from both, the textual and literary criticism, converge here to confirm the suggestions.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
2 Ki. 20:11 & & \\
\hline
\multicolumn{3}{|c|}{Old Latin} \\
\hline
1. & \textit{ecce ego auerto} & \\
2. & \textit{umbram graduum} & \\
3. & \textit{ascensionis} & \\
4. & \textit{quae descendit} & \\
5. & \textit{in gradus} & \\
6. & & \\
7. & \textit{et detenta est} & \\
8. & & \\
9. & \textit{in sole} & \\
10. & & \\
11. & & \\
12. & καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν & יишעב
\hline
13. & η σκιὰ & ואת katıl
\hline
14. & ἐν τοῖς ἀναβαθμοῖς & במעלות
\hline
15. & & אשת וידיה
\hline
16. & & במעלות
\hline
17. & & אהוב
\hline
18. & εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω & אראית
\hline
19. & δέκα βασιλεία & עשר מעלות
\hline
20. & & \\
21. & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Comparison of Old Latin, LXX, and MT translations of 2 Ki. 20:11.}
\end{table}

II. 2 Ki. 20:11

The second example to be discussed is taken from 2 Ki. 20:11b and its parallel in Isa. 38:8.

The OL presents a special reading, *et detenta est*, translating the Hebrew יָנָה as a finite verb: "(the shadow) was detained". On the other hand, these same

Isa. 38:8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (ἴδον στρέφω)</td>
<td>תִּנְנָה מַשְׁבַּע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. τὴν σκλάν τῶν ἀναβασθῆν,</td>
<td>אַתָּ לְכֶלֶן לָעֲלוּת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. οὐς κατέβη ὁ ἡλιος,</td>
<td>ἀσχ ηρίδια</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. τοὺς δέκα ἀναβασθησίς</td>
<td>ἑμεύ σελοντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. τοῦ οἴκου</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. τοῦ πατρὸς σου,</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ἀποστρέψω</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. τῶν ἡλιου</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. τοὺς δέκα ἀναβασθησίς</td>
<td>ἑμεύ σελοντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. καὶ ἀνέβη</td>
<td>ὄντες θεοσ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ὁ ἡλιος</td>
<td>ὄντες θεοσ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>תַּחַת</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. τοὺς δέκα ἀναβασθῆν</td>
<td>ἑμεύ σελοντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>ἑμεύ σελοντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. οὐς κατέβη ἡ σκλά</td>
<td>ἀσχ ηρίδια</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

consonants, יָנָה, are read by the MT (and likewise all modern versions) as the name of the Judean king Ahaz. The story involved is well known. Isaiah gives to King Hezekiah a sign to confirm the prophet's oracle: "I will heal you. . . I will
add fifteen years to your life" (20:6). In v. 11b, the MT has the following text (according to the NEB version), "he made the shadow go back ten steps where it had advanced down the stairway of Ahaz."

The feminine form of the verb רָדָה ("advanced down") demands as subject a feminine noun. "Shadow" (צל) is a masculine noun in Hebrew; therefore it cannot be the subject of the relative phrase. Besides this, the phrase ארֶשׁ רָדָה בַּמַּעֲלוֹת אַחֲרֵיהוֹת ("which it has advanced down in the stairway of Ahaz") is lacking in the Greek, καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ή σκιά ἐν τοῖς ἀνάβασισι ἐς τὰ ὑπόσω δέκα βαθμοὺς. The hexaplaric revision fills in the gap in the Greek, according to the MT: σὺς κατῆ ή ἐν ἀνάβασισι ἄχρι. Consequently, the OG ignored any reference to king Ahaz. A marginal reading of Codex Legionensis preserves the following OL text: ecce ego auro umbram graduum ascensionis quae descendit in gradus et detenta est in sole. This OL reading does not correspond so much to the text of Kings but rather to the parallel text in Isaiah: הנני משיב את על המעלה אחר ירדה במעלות אחרוהו. The only Latin word that has no counterpart in the Hebrew is the word ascensionis. It is interesting to see that the first Isaiah scroll of Qumran cave 1 has exactly the needed Hebrew counterpart of the OL ascensionis, עליה. This Qumran reading עליה refers to the "stairway of Ahaz", alluded to in 2 Ki. 23:12. It has been proposed that the word מעלות should no longer be translated as "degrees" nor should it be imagined that the shadow was advancing along the degrees of a sun dial, as supposed by the Targum, נב שישועי, and the Vulgate


15Cf. C. Vercellone, Variae lectiones Vulgatae latinae bibliorum II (Romae 1864) ad locum; A. Rahlfis, Lucians Resension der Königsbücher, Septuaginta Studien III (Göttingen 1911) 157.


17M. Burrows-J.C. Trever-W.H. Brownlee, The Isaiah Manuscripts and the Habakkuk Commentary, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery, Vol. I (New Haven 1950), Plate XXXI, 1. 20. The different position of עליה in the OL and in 1QIs depends, no doubt, upon the repetition of the preceding word, מעלות...מעלות.
horologium. It is now thought rather that the story refers to the "steps" (מְעָלָה) of a staircase leading to an upper room, added by Ahaz to one of the temple buildings. The shadow advancing along the steps of such a staircase served as a primitive sun dial. The OL reading graduum ascencionis may confirm such a proposal. But the most intriguing fact presented by the OL is that it not only lacks like the OG any reference to Ahaz, but it makes such a reference impossible, since in it the consonants of the word הָרָה prove to correspond to the verb detenta est (הרא) rather than to a noun: "the shadow remained fixed by the sun". The "shadow" is here the subject of the phrase, as is also the case in the last phrase of the Greek text: οὗς κατέβη ἡ σκιά. In the same phrase, the Hebrew has, on the contrary, "the sun" as subject: "So the sun came back the ten steps it had advanced" (הדיר...שטועב הלה). In the first part of the verse, the Greek text specifies the subject as "the sun" (κατέβη δ ἡ λαμπρός); the Hebrew has here the verb in the feminine form; the subject should therefore be "the sun" (שמשה), but in fact the same incoherence that is present in the MT of Kings is to be found also in the MT of Isaiah, "the shadow" (לך) being the subject of הדרו.

The incoherences of these texts are due to the fact that two different versions of the story have been mixed. The sun was the subject in one form of the story,

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18 Isa. v. 8 τοὺς δέκα ἀναβασμοὺς τοῦ ὕκου ("the ten steps of the palace"). Cf. also Josephus, Ant. Jud. X 2,1.

19 S. Iwry, "The Qumran Isaiah and the End of the Dial of Ahaz", BASOR 147 (1957) 27-33; J. Gray, I and II Kings (London 1970) 699. According to Y. Yadin, we should in this case consider that the steps leading to the upper room were constructed in the form of a horologium, i.e., adjoined to the southern or northern wall and the upper room, and not simply leading up to it - Y. Yadin, "The Dial of Ahaz", Eretz-Israel 5 (Jerusalem 1958) 91-96 (Heb.). A.G. Stenberg concludes that there was an astronomical observatory on the Temple Mount: A.G. Stenberg, The Zodiac of Tiberias. The Steps of Ahaz and the Steps of the Temple Mount (Tiberias 1972) 145 (Heb.).

20 A. Catastini has correctly interpreted הָרָה as a verb. According to him ἀποστρέφω corresponds to תַּנָּה תַּנָּה and 1Qiq 4 בֵּית לֵשׁ תָּנָה is preferable to MT שְׁמַעְנָה. Similarly, the initial text תַּנָּה תַּנָּה is late and the Greek τοῦ πατρὸς νου is a harmonization that ignores Χρ. interpreting הָרָה as a proper name. The OL offers data for a different solution. See A. Catastini, "Osservazioni filologiche sulla cosiddetta 'Meridiana di Achaz'", Henoch 5 (1983) 161-178.
while the shadow was the subject in another.21 The story concluded according to a common schema: the announcement of a sign followed by its accomplishment (חנני משיב...ותשבי... והשבי). However, the most important conclusion so far is that, be it degrees of a sundial or steps of a staircase, neither the dial nor the staircase of the upper room have anything to do with king Ahaz (יהויה).22

The OL proves to be sometimes the only extant witness to a pre-Lucianic text very close to the OG. The Hebrew Vorlage of the OG represents, in many such cases, a textual form of Kings, older and more original than the tradition of the textus receptus.23 This conclusion has far-reaching implications for the literary and historical study of the books of Kings.

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22 On the origin of the Hebrews in the marginal readings of the Legionensis deriving either directly from a Hebrew source or, more likely, from a Greek translation, cf. A. Rahlfs, Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher (above, n. 15) 160; E. C. Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran" (above, n. 1) 147-150. For the further study of this difficult question, one should take into account some significant contacts of OL readings with the manuscripts M h (55) i (56) n (119) representing, according to Vaccari, the Hesychian recension in the historical books (cf. 1 Ki. 6:21; 2 Ki. 9:33; 10:23); A. Vaccari, "The Hesychian Recension of the Septuagint", Biblica 46 (1965) 60-66.

23 The Old Latin proves to be a reasonably faithful and controllable witness to the Old Greek, which in turn is not infrequently a witness superior to the Massoretic text for the ancient text of Samuel" - E.C. Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran" (above, n. 1) 156.