VOCABULARY FOR WRONGDOING AND FORGIVENESS
IN THE GREEK TRANSLATIONS OF JOB

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The purpose of this paper is to offer a description of the vocabulary used for wrongdoing and forgiveness in the Greek translations of Job. It is a contribution to the understanding of the theology of the book in its Greek forms, especially in its LXX form. It will be shown that the vocabulary for wrongdoing and forgiveness in LXX Job is consistent with that in other books of the LXX, with one exception.

As the readers of Job will know, there is a great deal more about wrongdoing than about forgiveness in Job so that the former will occupy most of our attention. We are fortunate that Origen preserved for us some 800 lines of Theodotion's translation of Job and that small fragments of Aquila and Symmachus are extant by the same means. This study will incorporate an examination of the evidence of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus as it is presented in J. Ziegler's recent edition of the Greek text(s) of Job.1

The Hellenistic Background of LXX Job
According to Skehan, LXX Job was translated in the second century B.C.E.2 This took place presumably in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. Egypt in the Ptolemaic period was a place of considerable religious tolerance. On the one hand there was a cult of the Emperor, on the other private worship; the worship of Serapis offered a bridge between Egyptian (Osiris-Apis) and Greek religious traditions; furthermore, a number of Oriental cults which had settled in Egypt found prac-


2In H. Heater, Jr., A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job (CBQMS 11; Washington 1982) xi.
tioners in Egypt. Amongst the latter was Judaism, represented by many synagogues spread throughout the country. Alexandria, with its sizeable Jewish population, must have had many synagogues, aside from the great synagogue known from the Talmud (Suk. 51b; cf. Tos. Suk. 4:6), perhaps the same one called μεγίστη καὶ περισσοτέρη by Philo (Legat. 20, 134). Hengel calls the city the spiritual center of the Hellenistic world and it seems only natural that it should have been in such a climate that the Scriptures were translated from Hebrew into Greek, as described in the legendary Letter of Aristeas. In Alexandria, 'wisdom' offered Jews the opportunity to understand their knowledge of God and piety in terms of philosophy. Jewish piety became the true paideia and the synagogue, which non-Jews also frequented, became the nursery for the teaching of such true paideia.

It is in Alexandria where we get our first evidence for the apologetic position that Greek philosophy drew on the wisdom of Moses and the Patriarchs. Israel's destiny to be a light to the nations was being realized through the LXX and its philosophical exposition by Philo and similar learned interpreters. The Ptolemies were known as patrons of learning and the arts: the great library at Alexandria had amassed some 700,000 papyrus scrolls. Their Egypt was the old

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5 Schürer, Vermes-Millar-Black, The History (above, n. 1) 443, n. 68. Among the list of inscriptions given on pp. 425f. are two from Alexandria. For a description of the Jewish quarter in Alexandria see Josephus, Against Apion 2, 33f.; cf. Ant. 12, 93.


8 Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism (above, n. 6) 1, 90.

9 Hegermann, "Judentum," (above, n. 7) 329.
land of the pyramids and the past, but also of the relatively new — Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great — where the building of intellectual bridges was now possible. It is in this context that LXX Job took life.

The book of Job does not stand at the center of the Hebrew canon: that ground is held by the Law and the Prophets. Swete is probably correct in his assertion that the Writings, except maybe for the Psalms, stood on a "much lower level" and that "such books as Job, Esther, and Daniel were perhaps viewed by the Alexandrians as national literature which was not yet classical and might be treated with the freedom allowed by custom in such cases to the interpreter and scribe."10 The fact is that, for whatever reasons, LXX Job is some 1/6th shorter than its Hebrew parent text. The translator has treated the Hebrew text with a great deal of freedom.11 The abbreviation of Jason of Cyrene's historical work in 2 Maccabees and the expansion of the story of Esther in Greek Esther tempts one to place the abbreviation (and expansion) of LXX Job in a broad context relating to the treatment of existing texts by authors and 'epitomaters' in the Hellenistic period.12

10 H.B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (rev. R. R. Ottley; repr. New York 1968) 318. Similarly, J. Barr attributes the 'free' character of LXX Job and Proverbs to the fact that these books are "near the edge of the biblical canon" in The Typology of Literalism (NAWG, I. Phil.-Hist. Kl. 11, MSU XV; Göttingen 1979) 15f.


12 See Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism (above, n. 6) 1, 95-101. Suggestive also is Hengel's remark about the anonymous Samaritan and Eupolemus: "Common to both is their great freedom towards the biblical text, which they both expand or alter at will in an effort to make the biblical tradition correspond with non-Jewish history writing or to give it an even more splendid appearance." (p. 95) The Greek translator's addition to the Epilogue of Job connects the figure of Job with the days of the Patriarchs: the identification with Jobab makes Job a fifth generation descendant of Abraham (cf. Gen 36:31-35). In the same context the LXX translator chose to translate the names of Job's daughters. The third one, Kerennapu, becomes Amaltheias Keras ("Horn of Amaltheia" or "Horn of Plenty"). It was Amaltheia who suckled Zeus so it is likely correct to see this 'translation' as an indication of the translator's attempt to give the book of Job Hellenistic colouring. Cf. E. Dhorme, A Commentary on the Book of Job (tr. H. Knight; Nashville 1967) cxcvi.
The Theological Outlook of LXX Job

The dilemma of LXX Job, like his Hebrew ancestor, is that, though blameless, he has suffered calamity. This turn of events flies in the face of the old doctrine of retribution: wrongdoing and suffering should go hand in hand. Then why is Job suffering? In LXX Job it is made clear that Job is in dire straits because he has broken the Law of Moses, at least that is the accusation (see 34:27). In keeping with that accusation of Job as a wrongdoer, the book contains a great deal of vocabulary about wrongdoing; much less about forgiveness. There are also two extended passages about wrongdoing: Eliphaz’ description of the disastrous fate of the wicked (15:20-34) and Job’s ‘negative confession’ (31:1-34, 38-40). Each of these deserves a more detailed examination than can be given within the confines of this study. Here we are concerned with vocabulary rather than the exegesis of specific passages.

Vocabulary for Wrongdoing in the Greek Translations of Job: LXX

In LXX Job there is a circle of vocabulary employed for wrongdoing. The words which occur most frequently include the following words and their cognates: ἀδικία (wrongdoing, offence, injustice), ἀμαρτία (sin), ἁνομία (lawlessness), ἁσβεία (ungodliness, impiety), ἁτοπος (improper, wrong), κακία (evil, badness), and παράνομος (transgressor). That these words form a circle of words becomes clear when one notices how they are used in LXX Job in parallel relationships: ἁδικος // ἁσβῆς (16:11); ἁμαρτάνω // ἁνομέω (33:9; 35:6); ἁνομία // ἁμαρτία (7:21; 10:6) and ἁμαρτάνω (10:14); ἁνομός // ἁδικία (11:14) and ἁδικος (27:4); ποιεῖν (participle) τὰ ἁνομία // ἁσβῆς (34:8); ἁσβής // παράνομος (20:5; 27:7); κακία // ἁμαρτία (22:5); and cf. ἁσβείν // ταράσσειν τὸ δίκαιον (34:10) with ἁτοπα ποιεῖν // ταράσσειν κρίσιν (34:12). Outside this ‘inner circle’ of vocabulary one finds the following parallels pertinent to our subject: ἁδίκων // τῶν μὴ εἰδότων τῶν κύριων (18:21); ἁσβῆς // δυνάστης (15:20; 27:13); ἁσβεῖας // δικαιοδοκητῶν (15:34); ἁτοπος // ἁδύνη (4:8); γελοιαστῶν // δόλων (31:5); καταλαλέω // ἐπίκειμαι (19:3); ἁδύνη // κενά // δόλων (15:35); πονηρός // παροργίζω (12:6); ὑπερήφανος // ἁσβῆς (40:12).

(The appearance of δυνάστης in this list is surprising and we will return to it below.) Aside from the conjuncture by parallelism, the circle of words noted appears in lists of words for wrongdoing: ἁμαρτία and ἁνομία (13:23); ἁμαρτάνω, ἁσβέω, ποιεῖν τὰ ἁνομία, and ἁσβῆς (34:8). The result of the use of the vocabulary in this way is that these words take on the character of synonyms. Of course, these
words appear where they do for the most part because they represent words in the Hebrew parent text. There, similarly, various words become ‘almost synonymous’, as Dhorme points out in his comment on 10:6: ‘ἴσιον’ ‘fault’, ἁμάν ‘sin’, ἔρρη ‘transgression’ will figure side by side in 13:23. They are almost synonymous, as is to be seen further from 14:16-17, where ‘my sin’, ‘my transgression’, ‘my fault’ follow after each other in the same context.”13 However, while the proximate appearance of these words may be determined by the parent text, it is also true that this circle of words for wrongdoing is to be found together outside the biblical canon, in Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri, in Philo and in Josephus. The following examples may be cited: ἀδικία and ἁσβεία (Jos. War 7,260; Apion 2,217); ἀδικία and παρανομία (Jos. Ant. 8,314); ἁδικος and ἁσβής (Ant. 6,151); ἁδικος and πονηρός (Ant. 6,366); ἀδικεω and ἁμαρτία (Ant. 6,151); ἀνόμια and ἀδικία (Philo, Conf. Ling. 108);14 ἀνομος and ἁδικος (P Lond 358,13 [ca. 150 C.E.]);15 ἁσβεία and ἀδικία (in a decree by King Lysimachus [306-281 B.C.E.]);16 ἁσβεία and πονηρία (Jos. Ant. 8,287) or παρανομία (Ant. 9,27; 10,104) or κακά (in the text of the Rosetta Stone, 196 B.C.E.);17 ἁσβής and πονηρός (War 2,156; Ant. 8,243; 12,252,385; 13,34) or ἁδικος (Ant. 8,299; 9,1) or παράνομος (Ant. 9,234); ἁσβέω and ἁμαρτάνω (Ant. 7,266) or παρανομέω (Ant. 8,253); κακός and παρανομία (Ant. 8,251).18 These examples demonstrate that the language of wrongdoing in LXX Job is that widely attested in the book’s Hellenistic environment. There too these words have a synonymous character.

13Dhorme, A Commentary (above, n. 12) 148.
15Cited in J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek NT Illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources (London 1914-1930) 45.
16W. Dittenberger, Syllgo Inscriptio Graecarum (Lipsiae 1917) no. 190, line 10, cited in Moulton-Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek NT (above, n. 15) 83.
18Data concerning the use of these words in Josephus were collected from K. H. Rengstorf, ed., A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus (Leiden 1973-1983).
If one compares the translation of this group of words with that in other books of the LXX corpus, one finds that in general the Hebrew words have been rendered in the same way. That is, ἀδικος translates the root רע; ἀμαρτία is used for בָּשָׂם and רֵעֵץ; ἀνομία for רע and ἀσφαλίζομαι; ἀνομός for רע (ἁνομός elsewhere in the LXX for ἀσφαλίζομαι, twenty-five other words); ἀσεβής for ἐερᾶς; κακία and κακός for רע; πονηρός for רע.19 There are, however, one or two points of interest to note.

ἁμαρτάνομαι ("wicked men") at 34:26 is translated ἐνορτονεῖς ("foolish men") and there is the literal translation of the euphemistic רע at 1:5, 11, 2:5 by εὐλογέω, but at 2:9e by the same circumlocution εἶπον τι ἁμάρτῃ εἰς κύριον. (Compare the translation of רע by βλασφημέω at 2:5 by 'ho Hebraios'.) Really striking is the LXX translator's use of the word δυνάστης at 9:22; 15:20; 27:13. δυνάστης, "ruler, prince, petty chief," appears alongside ἁγεμόν and βασιλεὺς in Polybius' Fragmenta 9.23.5 (cf. 10.34.2),20 and with βασιλεὺς in Antiochus I Commagene's rescript of the mid-first century B.C.E.21 as well as several times in Josephus (War 2.67; 6.438; Ant. 16.30; 19.291). At Job 9:22 Job is complaining that God destroys innocent and wicked alike: "It is all one; therefore I say, he destroys both the blameless and the wicked (ראה סנה)" (RSV). The translator interprets רע as μέγαν καὶ δυνάστην: "Therefore I said, 'Sure, (God's) wrath destroys the great and the powerful, (23) because lowly people are destroyed in an undeserved death while (ἀλλὰ) the righteous are mocked." Job sees no difference. At 6:23, 15:20 and 27:13 רע, "ruthless," is rendered by δυνάστης. In the first case Job is pleading for deliverance from his "adversary's hand" and "the hand of oppressors" (RSV) and in the last two passages Eliphaz and Zophar, respectively, are describing the lot of "the wicked man" and "the ruthless" (15:20), and "the wicked man" and "oppressors" (27:13) (RSV). At both 15:20 and 27:13 רע; in the LXX in both cases ἀσεβής // δυνάστης. The Hebrew רע could refer to any class of people but the LXX translator thinks of 'rulers' and 'chiefs'
when rendering ἰοῦ. The 'powerful, rulers, chiefs' are added to that circle of people which includes the wicked. It is instructive to note that ἱγμόν, which is associated with δυνάστης in Hellenistic texts, is used with ἀσεβῆς by Josephus in Ant. 10.114. In this passage Josephus is relating the situation of his people in the days of Jeremiah, the prophet. Most of the people, he says, believed Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the Exile, "but their leaders and impious men (οί δὲ ἱγμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς) ridiculed him."22 The LXX translator has given his translation a sociologically significant nuance by translating ἰοῦ and ἰοῦ by δυνάστης. 'Rulers, chiefs, and powerful people' are added to those designated by terms like ἀσεβῆς and ἀδίκος. We can add δυνάστης to the circle of words used for wrongdoing in LXX Job, ἀδικία, ἀμαρτία, ἀνομία, ἀσεβεία, ἀτόπος, κακία, παράνομος, πονηρός.

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and 'ho Hebraios'

Thanks to Origen’s work on the Hexapla, we possess Greek fragments of four other translators or revisers of the text of Job: Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and 'ho Hebraios’. For Theodotion these fragments include, in the first instance, some 800 lines which Ziegler has included, marked by asterisks, in the text of Job which he edited.23 The small fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, 'ho Hebraios' and other small pieces of Theodotion's work, preserved mostly in the margins of a number of witnesses, he has conveniently placed in a second apparatus.24 We will not enter here into the complicated discussion of these shadowy figures but will be satisfied to place Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in the first and second centuries and to state that Aquila is dependent at points upon Theodotion.25 Our purpose is to describe the vocabulary which these translators and revisers use for wrongdoing and forgiveness in Job. The simplest way to do this is to present the evidence of the various translations/revisions over against the Hebrew terms. (For 'ho Hebraios' we have only two relevant fragments, where we find ἀσεβῶν at 20:5a and αὐτῶν [ἀνόμων Schleusner I 403] at 20:5b.)

23See above, n. 1.
24We need not then refer to F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt (Oxonii 1875).
25Barthélemy believes that the Theodotionic fragments of Job belong to an extension of the kaige text. D. Barthélemy, Les Devanciers d’Aquila (SVT 10; Leiden 1963) 47.
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We can make the following observations on the basis of the information set out above:

1. There are similarities among the translators in their choice of renderings for the Hebrew words. These are expected, e.g. κακία for וַעַר (20:12 Th), πονηρός (20:12 Th) or κακός (30:26 Sym) for יָרֵע: they are standard equivalences in the LXX corpus; ἁσβής is used as the common equivalence for יָרֵע by all the translators/revisers, LXX, Aq, Sym, Th, and Hebr (cf. 9:24).

2. It is at this very point, the translation of יָרֵע, that Symmachus' liking for variation can be clearly seen. He uses not only ἁσβής (9:24; 20:5a; 40:12) but also ἀντιλογία (20:29), ἄνομα (34:10b), and παρανομία (35:8). It is unfortunate that more of Symmachus' work has not been preserved. His choice of κακοῦργος for מֵרְעִי (8:20), ἐνοχός for פֶּה (15:34), and the participle ἀδικούμενος – a technical term in Hellenistic legal proceedings for a complainant who has been unjustly wronged26 – for דָּבָר (19:17) displays a freedom of translation second only to the

26 See E. Mayser, Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemaerzeit, II, 2 (Berlin/Leipzig 1933) 300f., with examples cited by location, and II, 3 (1934) 122 (examples from el Hibeḥ and Zenon papyri); Moulton-Milligan (above, n. 15) 10 (examples from Tebtunis and Elephantine papyri).
LXX translator whose free style can be observed in examples cited above at 14:17; 34:10c; 40:8.

3. Aquila's literalism is noticeable in his use of ἀνωφελής for Ἡ (4:8), πονηρεύεσθαι for ἥ (8:20), and ὑποκριτὴς for ἤ (15:34; 20:5b). Aquila would have felt LXX's ἁσθής or παράνομος for ἤ too inexact, possibly even misleading; at any rate, those translations would be contrary to his 'this equals that' principle of translation.27

4. It appears that Aquila has followed Theodotion at 8:20 and 15:34. At 35:15 (read ἥβες instead of ἥβες) and 36:9 Theodotion translates ἥβες with παράπτωμα. Symmachus also has παράπτωμα at 35:15. The only example of vocabulary linked by parallelism among the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion is found at 31:3 where in Theodotion ἀδίκος // ἁνομία.

Vocabulary for Forgiveness in the Greek Translations of Job

LXX

In a book which deals at such great length with wrongdoing, it may come as a surprise to the reader that there is so little said in Job about forgiveness. Then again, Job nowhere indicates any need for forgiveness and the Epilogue overlooks his humbling in chapters 38:1-42:6 and then makes him an intercessor for his friends. The LXX translator has made additions to both Prologue and Epilogue relative to the issue of forgiveness.

In the Prologue, the LXX translator has added 5d: καὶ μόσχον ἕνα περὶ ἁμαρτίας περὶ τῶν νησθίων αὐτῶν, "and one young bull for the sins of their souls." Job is making offerings for his children, just in case they might have sinned. To these, faithfully reproduced in 5c, the translator adds another, based on Lev 4:14, which applies to sins committed in ignorance.28

At the end of Job, in the Epilogue, the LXX enhances the religiosity of Job in 42:8-10. In v. 8 the friends are commanded to bring animals for sacrifice and Job,

27 Aquila's equivalents for Ἡ are ἁνομία, ἁνομία, ἁνωφελεῖα, ἁνωφελής, and λόπῃ; for ἥβες they are κακοῖς, κακοῖς, κακοῖς, κακοῖς, κακοῖς, and συναθροίζειν; for Aquila ἤ and ὑποκριτὴς are the equivalences of one another. See J. Reider, An Index to Aquila (completed and revised by N. Turner, SVT 12; Leiden 1966).

28 G. Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint, I. Book of Job (Lunds Universiteits Arsskrift, N.F. Avd., Bd. 43, Nr. 2; Lund 1946) 12; Heater, A Septuagint Translation Technique (above, n. 2) 14-17.
according to the LXX, "will make sacrifices on your behalf" (MT: "you will offer up for yourselves"). Again, in v. 9 we are told that they all did just as the Lord directed and (LXX) "he (the Lord) did away with their sin on account of Job" (MT: "and YHWH had regard for Job"). In the next verse we are informed in the LXX that the Lord gave Job increase "and when he prayed concerning the friends he (the Lord) forgave their sin" (MT: "when he had prayed for his friends" [RSV]). The translator's additions in vv. 8, 9, 10 make Job an intercessor like Abraham (Gen 20:7), Moses (Num 21:7; Deut 9:20), Samuel (1 Sam 7:5; 12:19, 23), and Jeremiah (Jer 37:3).29

The LXX translator employs the phrases λῶ ἡν ἁμαρτίαν σύν οὐτωίς (v. 9) and ἀφίησι αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτίαν (v. 10) for forgiveness. The verb ἀφίησι is used some sixteen times in the LXX with respect to the forgiveness of ἁμαρτία, in Exod 32:32; Num 14:19; Ps 24(25):18; Isa 22:14; 33:24; 55:7; Sir 2:11; above all in Lev 4:20 (cf. vv. 26, 31, 35); 5:6 (cf. vv. 10, 13, 16, 18; 6:6); 19:22. Given his allusion to Lev 4:14 in the Prologue (1:5), it is very likely that the translator is making reference again to Lev 4 and 5. The verb ἀφίησι is also used with ἀδικία (Gen 50:17, where ἁμαρτία follows), ἀνομία (Ps 84:3), ἁσβεία (Ps 31:5), and ἀγνόημα (1 Macc 13:39), the first three of which words are used in LXX Job (ἀγνόημα is the translation of 'the rest', i.e. 'the Three' at 19:4). The connection with Lev ensures that it is ἁμαρτία for which the friends require forgiveness and that the issue of forgiveness is kept within the framework of the sacrificial system of the Law of Moses.

The use of λῶ with ἁμαρτία is very unusual. This construction occurs only twice elsewhere in the LXX corpus, at Isa 40:2 and Sir 28:2. In both of these cases ἁμαρτία is the subject and λῶ is passive. The two are used together once in the NT at Rev 1:5 where λῶ has the form of an active participle and ἁμαρτία follows the preposition ἐκ, so "from sin." The translation at Job 42:9 was initiated by the occurrence of the verb נאיב in the Hebrew text. This verb is used there with ות in the sense of 'have regard for'. The verb itself is used sometimes for taking away sin in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gen 50:17; Exod 32:32; Num 14:19, all noted above) and that is how the LXX translator takes it here. נאיב becomes διὰ Ἰωβ!

29Dhorme, A Commentary (above, n. 12) 649.
Theodotion

No fragments of Aquila or Symmachus are preserved pertinent to the issue of forgiveness in Job. We have fragments of Theodotion’s translation for chapters 22 and 33 which promise Job deliverance under certain conditions but which do not use words for forgiveness. If Job will accept God’s instruction (22:21f.), Eliphaz advises, his situation will turn around because God saves (σῴζω) the humble (22:29), and delivers (ῥύπωμαι) the innocent (30a); Job will be rescued (διασῴζω) (30b). In 33:28, Job implores God to save (σῴζω) his life, in a context where vv. 28-29Th fit very roughly between LXX vv. 27 and 30.

Conclusions

This description of the vocabulary for wrongdoing and forgiveness in the Greek translations of Job has revealed the following: (1) there is a circle of words in LXX Job that includes ἀδικία, ἀμαρτία, ἀνομία, ἁστεία, ἀτομος, κακία, παράνομος, and πνημός. (2) The LXX translator, by using δυνάμε를 to translate עונש, adds δυνάμες to that list of words. (3) These words occur together in Job but they also occur together outside the biblical corpus; they take on a synonymous character. This synonymity is reinforced in the poetry of Job where they frequently are found parallel to one another. (4) The fragments that remain of the work of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion reflect the approach to translation taken by those translators/revisers, e.g. Aquila’s literalism and Symmachus’ penchant for variation. All the translators, including ‘ho Hebraios’, use ἁστεία for עונש. (5) The additions of the LXX translator at 1:5 and 42:9,10 keep the issue of forgiveness in LXX Job within the limits of the sacrificial system of Leviticus. (6) In the LXX, Job becomes an intercessor for the friends (cf. 42:8 ‘he will make sacrifices on your behalf’). (7) No fragments relating to forgiveness are preserved for Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, though in chapters 22 and 33, in Theodotion’s translation, God is pictured as one who saves the humble and the innocent.