

Studia Biblica Slovaca

Ročník 12

2020

Číslo 2

Offprint



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Ročník XII (2020), číslo 2

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Časopis je registrovaný a abstrahovaný v Atla Religion Database, EBSCO, *New Testament Abstracts* ISSN 0028-6877 a *Old Testament Abstracts* ISSN 0364-8591.

S povolením Arcibiskupského úradu v Bratislave zo dňa 3. júna 2014

Prot. N. 2229/2014

Studia Biblica Slovaca

Printed in Slovakia, 6/2020

Vychádza dvakrát do roka.

Cena: 6 €

ISSN 1338-0141

e-ISSN 2644-4879

EV 3744/09

Law Terms in the Versions of Jeremiah

Johanna Ezberger

Introduction

The meaning of the term תורה in the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible has been widely discussed from the perspective of the mutual influence of the formation of the תורה and the prophetic books¹. In the context of the book of Jeremiah, the semantics of the term תורה have been thoroughly discussed in Christl Maier's *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora. Soziale Gebote des Deuteronomiums in Fortschreibungen des Jeremiabuches* (2002), in which Maier investigates the meaning of the term תורה in Jeremiah^{MT}.

The standard equivalent of תורה in the LXX is νόμος (sg.), but there are many instances in which Jeremiah^{LXX} deviates from this correspondence. Occasionally, scholars have debated the implications of individual deviations for understanding the theologies of the two versions. For example, the difference between the grammatical numbers of תורה (sg.) and νόμοι (pl.) in Jer^{MT} 31:33//Jer^{LXX} 38:33 has been the subject of intense debate between Adrian Schenker and Hermann-Josef Stipp².

However, the semantics of the legal terms that are used as equivalents of תורה in Jer^{LXX} and their implications for understanding the orientations, views and ideologies behind the text have yet to be thoroughly discussed in a broader context.

¹ Cf. even a broad range of introduction literature; SCHMID, La formation, 405-406; ZENGER, Heilige Schrift, 25-27. Cf. on the other hand, the focus of the SBL Isaiah-section during the last couple of years.

² This debate has been pursued in various publications between 2006 and 2010. SCHENKER, *Das Neue*; STIPP, *Die Perikope*, 1-25; SCHENKER, *Welche Argumente*, 113-124. According to SCHENKER, *Das Neue*, the deviation from the standard correspondence in the use of the plural νόμοι in Jer^{LXX} 38:33 vis-à-vis the singular תורה in Jer^{MT} 31:33 reflects the distinct theologies or ideologies of the two versions, particularly in relation to their understandings of the covenant, which is the subject of the immediate context. STIPP, *Die Perikope*, denies any significant difference of meaning between the versions on an ideological or theological level based on a difference in grammatical number.

This article analyzes the semantics of the legal terms that Jeremiah^{LXX} uses as equivalents of the term תורה in Jer^{MT} against the background of the semantics of תורה in Jer^{MT}. In order to complete the picture, Hebrew terms with Greek equivalents that are elsewhere used as equivalents of תורה will be taken into account as well. The article concludes with a discussion of the relationship between the two versions' legal terminology from a diachronic perspective. It must be borne in mind that in any given case, the use of a particular equivalent for תורה in Jer^{LXX} may reflect either the presence of a particular Hebrew term in the *Vorlage* or a decision on the part of the translator. Therefore, the relationship between the legal terms in the two versions does not necessarily directly reflect the relationship between Jer^{MT} and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jer^{LXX}. While the use of legal terms in the first part of Jer^{LXX} largely accords with Jer^{MT}, the use of legal terms in the second part of Jer^{LXX} differs significantly from Jer^{MT}. This change of terminology roughly accords with Tov's hypothesis that the second part of Jer^{LXX} was revised, and calls for an explanation that takes this hypothesis and the observations behind it into account.

1 The Inadequacy of Hebrew and Greek Terms

As noted above, the standard equivalent of תורה within the LXX is νόμος. In Jeremiah, seven of eleven occurrences (2:8; 6:19; 8:8; 9:12; 16:11; 18:18; Jer^{MT} 31:31 [Jer^{LXX} 38:31]) of תורה have νόμος as their equivalent. This correspondence always includes equivalence of grammatical number, with the exception of תורה (sg.) in Jer^{MT} 31:33 corresponding to νόμοι (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 38:31.

2:8	<p>οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐκ εἶπαν ποῦ ἐστὶν κύριος καὶ οἱ ἀντεχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου οὐκ ἠπίσταντό με καὶ οἱ ποιμένες ἡσέβουν εἰς ἐμέ καὶ οἱ προφήται ἐπροφήτευσον τῇ Βααλ καὶ ὀπίσω ἀνωφελοῦς ἐπορεύθησαν</p> <p>The priests did not say, “Where is the Lord?” and those who hold the law did not know me, and the shepherds sinned against me, and the prophets</p>	<p>הכהנים לא אמרו איה יהוה ותפשי התורה לא ידעוני והרעים פשעו בי והנביאים נבאו בבעל ואחרי לא-יועלו הלכו</p> <p>The priests did not say, “Where is YHWH?” And those who hold the law did not know me; and the shepherd sinned against me;</p>
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	prophesied by Baal and went after what does not profit.	and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and went after things that do not profit.
6:19	<p>ὅτι τῶν λόγων μου οὐ προσέσχον καὶ τὸν νόμον μου ἀπώσαντο</p> <p>because they did not pay attention to my words and they rejected my law</p>	<p>כי על-דברי לא הקשיבו ותורתִי וימאסו־בה</p> <p>because they did not pay attention to my words; and they rejected my law</p>
8:8	<p>πῶς ἐρεῖτε ὅτι σοφοὶ ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ νόμος κυρίου ἐστὶν μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς μάτην ἐγενήθη σχοῖνος ψευδῆς γραμματεῦσιν</p> <p>How will you say, that we are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? A false pen has become in vain to scribes.</p>	<p>איכה תאמרו חכמים אנחנו ותורתִי יהוה אתנו אכן הנה לשקר עשה עט שקר ספרים</p> <p>How do you say, we are wise, and the law of YHWH is with us? Surely, behold, the scribes' pen of falsehood has made it to a lie.</p>
9:12	<p>διὰ τὸ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον μου ὃν ἔδωκα πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς μου</p> <p>because they have forsaken my law that I set before them, they also have not obeyed my voice</p>	<p>על-עזבם את-תורתִי אשר נתתי לפניהם ולא-שמעו בקולי ולא-הלכו בה</p> <p>because they have forsaken my law that I set before them, and have not obeyed my voice, or walked in accordance with it</p>
16:11	<p>ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγκατέλιπόν με οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν λέγει κύριος καὶ ὄχοντο ὀπίσω θεῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἐδούλευσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμὲ προσεκύνησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον καὶ τὸν νόμον μου οὐκ ἐφυλάξαντο</p> <p>it is because your fathers have forsaken me, says the Lord, and were going after foreign gods</p>	<p>על אשר-עזבו אבותיכם אותי נאס-יהוה וילכו אחרי אלהים אחרים ויעבדום וישתחוו להם ואתי עזבו ואת-תורתִי לא שמרו</p> <p>it is because your fathers have forsaken me, says YHWH, and were going after other</p>

	and served them and worshipped them and have forsaken me and have not kept my law	gods and served and worshipped them, and have forsaken me and have not kept my law
18:18	ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολείται νόμος ἀπὸ ἱερέως καὶ βουλή ἀπὸ συνετοῦ καὶ λόγος ἀπὸ προφήτου because law shall not perish from a priest, and counsel from a wise, and a word from a prophet	כי לא־תאבד תורה מכהן ועצה מחכם ודבר מנביא because law shall not perish from a priest, and counsel from a wise, and a word from a prophet
Jer ^{LXX} 38:33 (Jer ^{MT} 31:33)	διδούς δώσω νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς giving I will give my laws in their mind, and I will write them on their hearts	נתתי את־תורתִי בקרבם ועל־לבם אכתבנה I will give my law in their inner part, and I will write it on their heart

Four occurrences, however, do not follow the standard correspondence:

Jer ^{LXX} 33:4.5 (Jer ^{MT} 26:4.5)	⁴ ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσητέ μου τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις μου οἷς ἔδωκα κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ⁵ εἰσακούειν τῶν λόγων τῶν παίδων μου τῶν προφητῶν οὓς ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ⁴ if you will not listen to me, to walk in my precepts that I have given before you, ⁵ to hear the words of my servants the prophets whom I send to you	אם־לא תשמעו אלי ללכת בתורתִי אשר נתתי לפניכם ⁵ לשמע על־דברי עבדי הנבאים אשר אנכי שלח אליכם ⁴ if you will not listen to me, to walk in my law that I have given before you ⁵ to hear the words of my servants the prophets whom I send to you
Jer ^{LXX} 39:23 (Jer ^{MT} 32:23)	καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασί σου οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ἅπαντα ἃ ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐποίησαν	ולא־שמעו בקולך (ובתרותך) [ובתורתך] לא־הלכו את כל־ אשר צויתיה להם לעשות לא עשו

	and they did not obey your voice and did not walk in your ordinances; all you commanded them they did not do	and they did not obey your voice and did not walk in your law; all you commanded them to do, they did not do
Jer ^{LXX} 51:10 (Jer ^{MT} 44:10)	καὶ οὐκ ἀντείχοντο τῶν προσταγμάτων μου ὧν ἔδωκα κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν	ולא־הלכו בתורתִי ובחקתי אשר־נתתי לפניכם ולפני אבותיכם
	and they have not clung to my ordinances that I gave before their fathers	and they have not walked in my law and my ordinances that I gave before you and before your fathers
Jer ^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer ^{MT} 44:23)	καὶ οὐκ ἠκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου καὶ ἐν τοῖς <u>προστάγμασι</u> αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ <u>νόμῳ</u> αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπορεύθητε	ולא שמעתם בקול יהוה ובתרתו ובחקתיו ובעדותיו לא הלכתם
	and you did not obey the voice of the Lord and did not walk in his ordinances and in his law and in his testimonies	and you did not obey the voice of YHWH and did not walk in his law and in his ordinances and in his testimonies

תורה (sg.) in Jer^{MT} 26:4 corresponds to νόμμοι (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 33:4. תורה in the plural (*ketiv*) or in the singular (*qere*) in Jer^{MT} 32:23 corresponds to *προστάγματα* (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 39:23. In two cases, the equivalents are not clear: in Jer^{LXX} 51:10 (Jer^{MT} 44:10), *προστάγματα* (pl.) corresponds to both תורה (sg.) and חקות (pl.), and in Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23), *προστάγματα* (pl.) and νόμος (sg.) correspond to תורה and חקות, respectively, implying a reversal of standard equivalents.

To get a more accurate picture, the uses of νόμος, *προστάγματα*, and νόμμοι elsewhere in the LXX and the use of חק³/חקה, their only other Hebrew equivalent besides תורה, need to be taken into account. In Jer 10:3, חקות (pl.) corresponds

³ The difference between חק and חקה seems insignificant.

to νόμιμοι (pl.), while in Jer^{LXX} 38:37 (Jer^{MT} 31:36), νόμοι (pl.) corresponds to חקים (pl.). חק (sg.) in Jer 5:22 and חקים (pl.) in 5:24 correspond to προστάγματα⁴.

5:22	<p>τὸν τάξαντα ἄμμον ὄριον τῆ θαλάσσης πρόσταγμα αἰώνιον καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτό who sets sand as a boundary for the sea, a perpetual ordinance, and it will not transgress it</p>	<p>אשר-שמתי חול גבול לים חק עולם ולא יעברנהו I, who set the sand as a boundary for the sea, a perpetual barrier, and it will not transgress it</p>
5:24	<p>τὸν δίδοντα ἡμῖν ὑετὸν πρόιμον καὶ ὄψιμον κατὰ καιρὸν πληρώσεως προστάγματος θερισμοῦ καὶ ἐφύλαξεν ἡμῖν who gives us rain, early rain and late rain, according to the season of the satisfaction of the ordinance of harvesting, and he kept it for us</p>	<p>הנתן גשם (ויררה) [יורה] ומלקוש בעתו שבעות חקות קציר ישמר-לנו who gives us rain, early rain and late rain, according to its season, he keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest</p>
10:3	<p>ὅτι τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν μάταια because the precepts of the nations are vain</p>	<p>כי-חקות העמים הבל because the ordinances of the nations are vain</p>
Jer ^{LXX} 38:37 (Jer ^{MT} 31:36)	<p>ἐὰν παύσωνται οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι ἀπὸ προσώπου μου φησὶν κύριος καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ παύσεται γενέσθαι ἔθνος κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας if these laws cease from before me, says the Lord, also the <i>genos</i> of Israel will cease to be a nation before me all the days</p>	<p>אם-ימשו החקים האלה מלפני נאם-יהוה גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי לפני כל- הימים if these orders cease from before me, says YHWH, also the seed of Israel will cease to be a nation before me all the days</p>

⁴ Other than in the first-mentioned group of occurrences, where תורה corresponds to νόμος, the use of singular and plural is irregular and does not follow any recognizable rules or conventions.

2 MT and LXX: A Synchronic Reading

2.1 *The Meaning of תורה in the MT*

According to Christl Maier, whose observations will be summarized and evaluated below, Jeremiah^{MT} is characterized by a tendency to understand תורה as a general designation for the entirety of God's will ("genereller Ausdruck für die gesamte Willensoffenbarung JHWHs"⁵). According to Maier, the final version of Jer^{MT} largely presupposes a written corpus and presents Jeremiah as its teacher⁶.

Like the majority of Jeremiah scholars, Maier believes that Jer^{LXX} and Jer^{MT} share a common *Vorlage*, to which Jer^{LXX} is closer. Maier occasionally refers to Jer^{LXX} while discussing the text history of Jer^{MT}. The terminology of Jer^{LXX} is not the focus of Maier's research.

2.1.1 Stereotyped Language

The vast majority of occurrences of the term תורה are characterized by stereotyped language. תורה is generally referred to as God's תורה. Where God is the speaker, תורה takes a first-person singular suffix (6:19; 9:12; 16:11; 26:4; 31:33 and 44:10), and where the prophet is the speaker, it takes a second-person (32:23) or third-person (44:23) singular suffix, depending on whether the speech is addressed to or deals with God (32:23 and 44:23, respectively).

In Jer 6:19; 9:12; 16:11; 26:4; 32:23 and 44:10:23, תורה is the direct object of a verb that signifies the abandonment of the תורה by the prophet's audience or by the "fathers" (מאס, 6:19; עזב, 9:12; עזב, 16:11; לא שמע ללכת, 26:4; לא הלך, 32:23; לא הלך, 44:10.23).

2.1.2 A Written Corpus

Two passages explicitly refer to a written corpus. In Jer 2:8, those who handle the law are described as תפשי התורה. The verb תפש usually takes an object that designates a concrete, physical entity; in this context, תורה may refer to a scroll. Likewise, the use of ספרים and עט שקר in Jer^{MT} 8:8⁷, which states that the

⁵ MAIER: *Jeremia*, 351.

⁶ With the exceptions of Jer^{MT} 18:18 and eventually 44:10; cf. MAIER, *Jeremia*, 351.

⁷ BHS proposes reading עשה as inf. abs. and reading תורה as the object of עשה. According to this reading, the scribes falsify the text of the תורה. See already DUHM, *Jeremia*, 88; RUDOLPH, *Jeremia*, 60, and practically all more recent commentaries: see MCKANE,

scribes (ספרים), who invoke their special relation to the תורה, have turned into liars while executing their scribal office (“the pen of lie [עט שקר] has turned the scribes into a lie”), points to a written corpus.

In Jer 8:8-9, those responsible for תורה are in parallelism with other leading groups, all of which have betrayed their mission. (The same occurs in 2:8⁸.) In the larger context of 8:8-9, the תורה of the scribes is opposed by the words of the wise⁹, suggesting an opposition between written תורה and oral teaching.

A similar opposition can be found in Jer 6:19 and 9:12, where God’s תורה on the one hand and God’s voice (קול, 9:12) or God’s words (דברים, 6:19) on the other figure as complementary elements of a parallelism¹⁰. If תורה is not used as a synonym of דברים and קול, it is presented as a complement to oral teaching and

Jeremiah, II, 1072; CARROLL, *Jeremiah*, 228; but not HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah 1*, 274. Jer^{MT}, however, makes sense, and Jer^{LXX} supports Jer^{MT}; see MAIER, *Jeremia*, 298, 300.

⁸ In Jer^{MT} 2:8, the priests, those who handle the תורה, the shepherds, and the prophets are all in parallelism. The title “shepherds” is elsewhere used to designate either the kings or, in a more general way, the leadership of the people (see 3:15; 10:21; 12:10; 22:22; 23:1.2.4; 25:34-36). Whether those who handle the תורה are to be identified with the priests, who are mentioned immediately beforehand, or with a subgroup of the priests, or whether they represent another independent group, is controversial. Duhm and Rudolph identify those who handle the תורה with the priests; see DUHM, *Jeremia*, 19; RUDOLPH, *Jeremia*, 16; see also HERRMANN, *Jeremia*, 122. Hyatt identifies them as a subgroup of priests; see HYATT, *Torah*, 386. Maier argues that they are an independent group; see MAIER, *Jeremia*, 293; see also MCKANE, *Jeremiah*, I, 32. Maier proposes to identify those who handle the תורה, which she imagines to be a written object, with those who are responsible for writing and teaching תורה following the example of Ezra in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In Jer^{MT} 8:8-9, the scribes, who handle the תורה, are compared with the sages.

⁹ MAIER, *Jeremia*, 302.

¹⁰ In Jer^{MT} 6:19, the first part of the parallelism comprises דברים with a first-person singular suffix as the grammatical object of קבש (*hif.*), third-person plural, linked to a negation. The second part consists of תורה with a first-person singular suffix as the grammatical object of מסא in the third-person plural. Both דברים and תורה are therefore connected with God.

In 9:12, תורה with a first-person singular suffix determined by a relative phrase is the grammatical object of an infinitive introduced by על, which expresses a reason whose consequence (introduced by לכן) does not appear until v. 14. The giving of the reason is continued by four elements comprising three finite verb forms (one of which has a double function) that at the level of meaning parallel the infinitive. The grammatical object of the following verb, שמע with negation, is קול with a first-person singular suffix. Here also, תורה and קול are attributed to God.

consequently as a written corpus¹¹. In Jer 26:4, God's תורה and the words of the prophets rather than God's voice or God's words figure as complementary elements of a parallelism¹².

According to Maier, Jer 18:18, which parallels the תורה of the priests with the counsel of the wise and the word of the prophet, refers to the priests' oral teaching, which it relates to the oral teaching of sages and prophets¹³. Maier's argument, however, is based on controversial inner-biblical parallels¹⁴. One of the parallel texts invoked by Maier, Hos 4:6, has frequently been read as referring to a written corpus and even to the Pentateuch¹⁵. Jeremiah 18:18 might therefore refer to the priests' teaching of the written תורה, and Maier's hypothesis of the underlying idea of a written corpus might reach further than she herself assumes.

2.1.3 Apparent Exceptions

The use of the plural תורות in Jer 32:23 (*qetiv*) is striking, although the use of the second person in a speech of the prophet addressed to God, the subordination of תורות to a verb signifying abandonment, and the parallelization of תורות with God's voice¹⁶ closely connect the use of תורות here with the stereotypical use of תורה (sg.) in 6:19; 9:12; 16:11; 26:4. The plural תורות (*qetiv*) as well as its equivalent *προστάγματα* in Jer^{LXX} 39:23 leads Maier to the suggestion that Jer^{MT} 32:23, in contrast to 6:19; 9:12; 16:11, might attest to an original plural and point to a plurality of laws¹⁷. However, in light of 44:10.23, where the equivalences are unclear, *προστάγματα* might well be considered an equivalent of תורה (sg.).

¹¹ See MAIER, *Jeremia*, 316, 321; see also THIEL, *Jeremia*, 101; FISCHER, *Jeremia*, 275.

¹² The request to listen to God (who is the speaker) is explained by two parallelized infinitive propositions. לִכְךָ is followed by its grammatical object, תורה, which is determined by a first-person singular suffix and a relative phrase that marks it as a gift of God; שִׁמְעֵהוּ is followed by its grammatical object דְּבַרֵי עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִאִים, which is likewise determined by a relative phrase that characterizes the prophets as having been sent by God.

¹³ MAIER, *Jeremia*, 311.

¹⁴ MAIER, *Jeremia*, 311.

¹⁵ KESSLER, *Micha*, 194.

¹⁶ In the first part of the parallelism of Jer 32:23, which תורה is part of, שִׁמְעֵהוּ in the third-person plural is linked to a negation and followed by the grammatical object of God's voice. תורה constitutes the grammatical object of the second part and is followed by הִלֵּךְ in the third-person plural and linked to a negation.

¹⁷ Within the MT, the plural of תורה appears only twelve times.

In Jer 44:10 תורה is part of a two-part expression with חקות, and in 44:23 it is part of a three-part expression with חקות and עדות. In 44:10.23 תורה seems to be used either as a generic term or as a synonym for חקות and עדות¹⁸. The tripartite expression in 44:23 is in parallelism with God's voice in much the same way as תורה is in 6:15 and 9:12¹⁹.

Excursus: Diachrony according to Meier

Meier's observations remain valid on a synchronic level, regardless of whether her conclusions on a diachronic level are followed. However, it is worth summarizing her diachronic conclusions here.

Based on the understanding that Jer^{MT} 31:33 and 32:23 constitute exceptions, Meier proposes a multistage text history. At the first stage, תורה designated a collection of laws in a deuteronomistic tradition, as they might have appeared in an early version of the book of Deuteronomy²⁰. The second stage, which uses a wider range of terms, had a less clearly defined perspective. Maier considers 32:23, which, following the *ketiv*, features a plurality of תורות, and 44:10.23, where תורה (sg.) is part of a list featuring other legal terms in the plural, to be relatively late²¹. At the third stage, תורה in 31:33 designated the Pentateuch.

2.2 חקה/חק

In the context of an analysis of the meaning of the terms that correspond to תורה in Jer^{LXX}, it will be useful to consider the utilization of two other Hebrew terms, חקה/חק, which correspond to Greek terms that elsewhere correspond to תורה.

¹⁸ The relationship between, and any more specific semantics of, these three expressions is hardly ever discussed; see MAIER, *Jeremia*, 334, who understands תורה as a synonym.

¹⁹ Within a speech of the prophet, which is addressed to the people, שמע in the second-person plural with a negation is (in the first element of the parallelism) followed by its grammatical object, the voice of YHWH. In the second element of the parallelism, the tripartite expression consisting of תורה, חקות, and עדות, which are all determined by first-person singular suffixes attributing them to God, functions as the grammatical object of הלך in the second-person plural with negation.

²⁰ MAIER, *Jeremia*, 293.

²¹ MAIER, *Jeremia*, 328, 336.

2.2.1 Order of Nature

Jeremiah^{MT} uses חק/קה in two fundamentally different ways. One group of occurrences refers to the order of nature²². This meaning of חק and קה is obvious in 5:22.24.

Jer 5:22	I, who set the sand as a boundary for the sea, a perpetual barrier, and it will not transgress it	אשר-שמתי חול גבול לים חק-עולם ולא יעברנהו
Jer 5:24	who gives us rain, early rain and late rain, according to its season, he keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest	הנתן גשם (וירה) [יורה] ומלקוש בעתו שבעות חקות קציר ישמר-לנו

In context, חקים (pl.) in Jer 31:36 likewise refers to the order of nature. Jeremiah 31:36 is part of a passage (31:35-37) according to which the stability and inaccessibility of the order of heaven and earth guarantee the stability of God's covenant with Israel. The reference to the order of nature is underlined by the use of חקות in the preceding v. 35:

Jer 31:35	Thus says YHWH, who gives the sun for light by day and the order of the moon and the stars for light by night, who stirs up the sea and its waves roar – YHWH of hosts is his name.	כה אמר יהוה נתן שמש לאור יומם חקת ירח וכוכבים לאור לילה רגע הים ויהמו גליו יהוה צבאות שמו
Jer 31:36	If these orders cease from before me, says YHWH, also the seed of Israel will cease to be a nation before me all the days.	אם-ימשו החקים האלה מלפני נאם-יהוה גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי לפני כל-הימים
Jer 31:37	Thus says YHWH: If the heavens above are measured, and the foundations of the earth below are explored, then I will also reject all the offspring of Israel because of all they have done, says YHWH.	כה אמר יהוה אם- ימדו שמים מלמעלה ויחקרו מוסדי-ארץ למטה גם-אני אמאס בכל-זרע ישראל על- כל-אשר עשו נאם-יהוה

²² In this meaning, the use of חק/קה seems close to an often-assumed original meaning of the root. According to *ThWAT*, the original meaning of חק/קה/חקק is "demarcation"; see RINGGREN, 151, חקק.

In Jer 33:25 – part of vv. 14-26, which has no equivalent in Jer^{LXX} – חקות also designates the order of nature. The passage is heavily based on 31:25-27, which it quotes. The use of חקות is part of the quote:

Jer 33:25	thus says YHWH: if my covenant is not with day and night, I haven't established ordinances of heaven and earth	כה אמר יהוה אִם-לֹא בְרִיתִי יוֹמָם וּלְיָלֵהָ חֻקֹּתַי שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ לֹא-שָׁמַתִּי
Jer 31:36	if these orders cease from before me, says YHWH, also the seed of Israel will cease to be a nation before me all the days	אִם-יִמְשָׁו הַחֻקִּים הָאֵלֶּה מִלְּפָנַי נִאֲסִי-יְהוּהוּ גַם זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁבְּתוּ מֵהַיּוֹת גּוֹי לְפָנַי כְּלַיְהִימִים

2.2.2 Guidelines

The only places where the use of חק/חקה designates Israel's laws are Jer 44:10,23, where חקות appears alongside תורה (as part of a two-part expression with תורה in 44:10 and as part of a three-part expression with תורה and עדות in 44:23)²³.

Jer 44:10	and they have not walked in my law and my ordinances that I gave before you and before your fathers	וְלֹא-הִלְכּוּ בְּתוֹרָתִי וּבַחֻקֹּתַי אֲשֶׁר-נָתַתִּי לְפָנֵיכֶם וּלְפָנֵי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם
Jer 44:23	you did not obey the voice of YHWH and did not walk in his law and in his ordinances and in his testimonies	וְלֹא שָׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקוֹל יְהוָה וּבַתְּרַתּוֹ וּבַחֻקֹּתָיו וּבַעֲדוֹתָיו לֹא הִלַּכְתֶּם

חקות either functions as a synonym or as a definition of the generic term תורה. In 10:3, חקות refers to the laws of the nations.

2.3 The Equivalents of תורה in the LXX

2.3.1 νόμος: God's Instructions for Israel

The signification of νόμος (sg.) within Jer^{LXX} is largely congruent with the signification of תורה in Jer^{MT}. As an equivalent of תורה (sg.), νόμος (sg.) is restricted to the stereotyped material of Jer 1–18, where תורה is presented either

²³ חק/חקה as a law term seems to be largely interchangeable with other law terms in biblical texts; see RINGGREN, 155, 153, חקק.

as God's abandoned תורה or as the responsibility of a specific group that betrayed its mission.

Jeremiah^{LXX} 38:37 has νόμοι (pl.), while the corresponding verse, Jer^{MT} 31:36, has חקים. However, Jer^{LXX} 38:35-37 and Jer^{MT} 31:35-37 differ concerning both the form and the content of the individual verses and their order²⁴, resulting in different semantics for the two terms in their respective contexts.

It has already been mentioned that חקים in Jer^{MT} 31:36 refers to חקות in the preceding verse, supporting the view that the passage presents the stability of the order of heaven and earth as guaranteeing the stability of the covenant between God and Israel. חקים in Jer^{MT} 31:35 has no equivalent in the corresponding verse, Jer^{LXX} 38:36.

In the context of Jer^{LXX}, νόμοι (pl.) recalls the previous use of νόμοι (pl.), in Jer^{LXX} 38:33, where it corresponds to תורה (sg.) in Jer^{MT}. In Jer^{LXX} 38:33, νόμοι (pl.), as well as its equivalent תורה (sg.), refers to the law (or the laws) given to Israel at Sinai. If νόμοι (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 38:37 takes up νόμοι (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 38:33, it does not designate the order of nature – in contrast to its equivalent, חקים, in Jer^{MT} 31:36 – but rather refers to the law(s) that were given to Israel at Sinai.

In Jer^{LXX} 51:23 νόμοι is used with προστάγματα, just as תורה is used with חקות in Jer^{MT} 44:23. However, in Jer^{LXX} it is προστάγματα that refers to the laws given to Israel at Sinai, by creating a link to 51:10, where προστάγματα stands on its own.

Excursus: Diachronic Aspects of Jer^{MT} 31:35-37 (Jer^{LXX} 38:35-37)

The deviation from the standard equivalent in Jer^{LXX} 38:35 (Jer^{MT} 31:37) is one of many differences between the versions. Jer^{MT} 33:14-26 quotes Jer^{MT} 31:35-37, maintaining its order and form. Jer^{MT} 33:14-26, which has no equivalent in Jer^{LXX}, is largely considered to be an addition on the part of Jeremiah^{MT25}. The differences between the versions, in both the order of vv. 35-37 and the parallel between Jer^{LXX} 38:35 and Jer^{MT} 31:37, are best explained as adaptations of Jer^{MT} 31:35-37 to Jer^{MT} 33:14-26 by whoever added the latter. Concerning the relationship between the Greek and Hebrew legal terms, there are two

²⁴ The first verse of this passage in Jer^{LXX} (Jer^{LXX} 38:35) corresponds to the last verse in Jer^{MT} (Jer^{MT} 31:37). Jeremiah^{LXX} 38:35//Jer^{MT} 31:37 is also the verse that is marked by the most far-reaching differences, Jer^{MT} 31:37 being quoted in Jer^{MT} 33:14-26, which is a zero-variant of Jer^{LXX}.

²⁵ BOGAERT, Urtext, 237-247; see ERZBERGER, Jer 33:14-26, 663-683.

possibilities: (1) Jeremiah^{MT} has broken a link between 31:33 and 31:36 by utilizing different terms in the two verses. If this is the case, Jeremiah^{MT} might either have added חקות in 31:35 in order to emphasize the subject of the order of nature or have chosen חקים in Jer^{MT} 31:36 in order to correspond to an already existing חקות in 31:35. In either case, the question remains why Jeremiah^{MT} chose a similar term rather than the same term in order to create a link between v. 35 and v. 36. (2) If the link between Jer^{LXX} 38:33 and Jer^{LXX} 38:37 was created by Jeremiah^{LXX} or its Hebrew *Vorlage*, חקות in v. 35 might easily be imagined to have been eliminated after having lost its reference point.

2.3.2 νόμιμος: Guidelines of Changing Valence

νόμιμος (pl.) is used in Jer 10:3 and 26:4:

Jer 10:3	ὅτι τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν μάταια because the precepts of the nations are vain	כי- חקות העמים הבל because the ordinances of the nations are vain
Jer 26:4-5 (Jer ^{LXX} 33:4-5)	⁴ ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃτέ μου τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις μου οἷς ἔδωκα κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ⁵ εἰσακούειν τῶν λόγων τῶν παιδῶν μου τῶν προφητῶν οὓς ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ⁴ if you will not listen to me, to walk in my precepts that I have given before you, ⁵ to hear the words of my servants the prophets whom I send to you	⁴ אִם-לֹא תִשְׁמְעוּ אֵלַי לְלַכַּת בְּתוֹרָתִי אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְפָנֵיכֶם ⁵ לְשִׁמְעַת עַל-דְּבָרֵי עַבְדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ אֵלֵיכֶם ⁴ if you will not listen to me, to walk in my law that I have given before you ⁵ to hear the words of my servants the prophets whom I send to you

In Jer^{LXX} 33:4, νόμιμοι corresponds to תורה in Jer^{MT} 26:4²⁶. The use of νόμιμοι in Jer^{LXX} 33:4 accords with the stereotyped use of νόμος in 6:19; 9:12; 16:11. Jeremiah^{LXX} 33:4 uses νόμιμοι with a first-person singular suffix in a verbal phrase that warns not to abandon the laws as part of a parallelism in which God's directives for Israel are parallel to the words of the prophets. Like νόμος in 6:19; 9:12 and 16:11 and νόμοι in 32:23, the νόμιμοι in Jer^{LXX} 33:4 are directives

²⁶ Some minuscule have νομοις, which seems to reflect an alignment with Jer^{MT} but keeps the plural; see ZIEGLER (ed.), *Jeremias*, 331.

for Israel. In Jer 10:3, νόμιμοι, which corresponds to חקות, refers to the laws of the nations.

2.3.3 προστάγματα: Sinai and the Order of Nature

προστάγματα appears in Jer^{LXX} 5:22.24; 39:23; 51:10.23:

Jer 5:22	τὸν τάξαντα ἄμμον ὄριον τῆ θαλάσσης πρόσταγμα αἰώνιον καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτό who sets sand as a boundary for the sea, a perpetual ordinance, and it will not transgress it	אשר-שמתי חול גבול לים חק- עולם ולא יעברנה I, who set the sand as a boundary for the sea, a perpetual barrier, and it will not transgress it
Jer 5:24	τὸν διδόντα ἡμῖν ὑετὸν πρόιμον καὶ ὄψιμον κατὰ καιρὸν πληρώσεως προστάγματος θερισμοῦ καὶ ἐφύλαξεν ἡμῖν who gives us rain, early rain and late rain, according to the season of the satisfaction of the ordinance of harvesting, and he kept it for us	הנתן גשם (וירה) [יורה] ומלקוש בעתו שבעות חקות קציר ישמר-לנו who gives us rain, early rain and late rain, according to its season, he keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest
Jer ^{LXX} 39:23 (Jer ^{MT} 32:23)	καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασί σου οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ἅπαντα ἃ ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐποίησαν and they did not obey your voice and did not walk in your ordinances; all you commanded them they did not do	ולא-שמעו בקולך (ובתרותך) [ובתורתך] לא-הלכו את כל- אשר צויתיה להם לעשות לא עשו and they did not obey your voice and did not walk in your law; all you commanded them to do, they did not do
Jer ^{LXX} 51:10 (Jer ^{MT} 44:10)	καὶ οὐκ ἀντείχοντο τῶν προσταγμάτων μου ὧν ἔδωκα κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν	ולא-הלכו בתורת [ובחקתי] אשר-נתתי לפניכם ולפני אבותיכם

	and they have not clung to my ordinances that I gave before their fathers	and they have not walked in my law and my ordinances that I gave before you and before your fathers
Jer ^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer ^{MT} 44:23)	καὶ οὐκ ἠκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπορεύθητε	ובתרתו יהוה בקול יהוה ולא שמעתם ובחקתיו ובעדותיו לא הלכתם
	and you did not obey the voice of the Lord and did not walk in his ordinances and in his law and in his testimonies	you did not obey the voice of YHWH and did not walk in his law and in his ordinances and in his testimonies

In Jer^{MT} 5:22.24, *προστάγματα* is equivalent to חק (v. 22) and חקה (v. 24) and signifies the order of nature. In Jer^{LXX} 39:23 (Jer^{MT} 32:23), the use of *προστάγματα* strongly recalls the use of νόμος in 6:19; 9:12; 16:11. As in 6:19; 9:12 and 16:11, the *προστάγματα* in 32:23 are attributed to God within God's speech and presented as the direct object of a verb that signifies their abandonment by the people. As in 9:12, they are part of a parallelism and are paralleled by God's voice.

Whereas Jer^{LXX} 51:10 is limited to the term *προστάγματα* – in contrast to the parallel verse Jer^{MT} 44:10, which contains a two-part expression consisting of תורה (sg.) and חקות (pl.) – Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23) has νόμος and *προστάγματα*. As has already been mentioned, it is *προστάγματα* (pl.) in 51:23 that, by creating a link to 51:10, refers to the laws given to Israel at Sinai.

Excursus: Diachronic Aspects of Jer^{MT} 44:10.23 (Jer^{LXX} 51:10.23)

In Jer^{LXX} 51:10 (Jer^{MT} 44:10), one Greek equivalent (*προστάγματα*) corresponds to two Hebrew equivalents (תורה [sg.] and חקות [pl.]). In Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23), *προστάγματα* (pl.) and νόμος (sg.) correspond to תורה and חקות, respectively, a reversal in the order of elements vis-à-vis what would have been expected given the standard equivalents even outside the book of Jeremiah. A majority of scholars maintain that *προστάγματα* (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 51:10 translates חקות (pl.) in Jer^{MT} 44:10 and that תורה (sg.) was added later following the

example of Jer^{MT} 44:23²⁷. However, in light of other deviations from standard equivalents in Jer^{LXX}, it is equally possible that *προστάγματα* (pl.) corresponds to תורה (sg.) in Jer^{LXX} 51:10.23 (Jer^{MT} 44:10.23), which would be supported by the order of the terms in Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23), and that חקות was added to Jer^{MT} 44:10 based on the model of Jer^{MT} 44:23.

2.4 Semantics and Orientations

The tendency observed by Meier to use תורה as a general designation for the entirety of God's will toward Israel is confirmed by semantic oppositions within and outside Jer^{MT}. Jeremiah^{MT} makes a clear distinction between the law exclusively given to Israel and other kinds of laws or regulations. חקה/חקק designates either the order of nature or the law for the nations or for Israel and is used for God's instructions for Israel only in combination with תורה. תורה (as well as תורות in Jer^{MT} 32:23) exclusively designates God's instructions for Israel.

The way legal terms are used differs considerably between the first and second parts of Jer^{LXX}. Jeremiah^{LXX} 1–18 is dominated by the use of νόμος in the singular to designate the law of Israel, corresponding to the use of תורה in Jer^{MT}. While there is no other term for directives for Israel and νόμος is exclusively used for Israel's law throughout Jer^{LXX} 1–18, the employment of law terms in the subsequent chapters of Jer^{LXX} is characterized by far greater variety and some interchangeability of terms, and those terms are always in the plural, with the exception of νόμος, which is used alongside *προστάγματα* in Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23).

In addition to νόμοι (pl.) in Jer^{LXX} 38:33 (Jer^{MT} 31:33), the law given to Israel is designated by the terms νόμιμοι and *προστάγματα*, the latter of which is the standard equivalent of חוקים/חוקות and elsewhere in Jer^{LXX} (5:22.24) refers to the order of nature in the same way as חוקים/חוקות does in Jer^{MT}. *προστάγματα* designates the law given to Israel in Jer^{LXX} 39:23 (Jer^{MT} 32:23) and the law given to Israel at Sinai in Jer^{LXX} 51:10.23 (Jer^{MT} 44:10.23) and appears in combination with νόμος in Jer^{LXX} 51:23. In Jer^{LXX} 33:4 νόμιμοι, which in Jer^{LXX} 10:3 designates laws for the nations, refers to God's directives for Israel.

²⁷ HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah* 2, 278; MCKANE, *Jeremiah*, II, 1072; MAIER, *Jeremia*, 332. This hypothesis, however, starts from an assumption that would first have to be proven: that νόμος is the standard equivalent of תורה throughout Jer^{LXX} as well.

The distinction between a law for Israel and a law for the nations is less clear in Jer^{LXX} than in Jer^{MT}. While νόμος is exclusively used for Israel, νόμιμος can be used to designate either the laws of the nations (Jer^{LXX} 10:3) or Israel's laws (Jer^{LXX} 33:4 [Jer^{MT} 26:4]). By using προστάγματα on its own in Jer^{LXX} 39:23; 51:10 (Jer^{MT} 32:23; 44:10) and with νόμος in Jer^{LXX} 51:23 (Jer^{MT} 44:23) to describe the expression of God's will toward Israel, and in Jer^{LXX} 5:22.24 to describe the order of nature, Jeremiah^{LXX} creates a link between God's law for Israel and the order of nature.

The second part of the book is characterized by an almost uniform use of plural forms (with the exception of νόμος appearing alongside προστάγματα in Jer^{LXX} 51:23 [Jer^{MT} 44:23]). Particularly striking is the use of the plural form νόμοι in Jer^{LXX} 38:31 (Jer^{MT} 31:33) and προστάγματα in Jer^{LXX} 51:10 (Jer^{MT} 44:10) wherever the laws of Sinai are referred to²⁸.

The different semantics of law terms in the two versions of the book of Jeremiah as well as the orientations related to them concern both the relationship between Israel's law and laws for those who are not Israel, and the shape and character of Israel's law. In contrast to Jer^{MT}, which uses תורה as a general designation for the entirety of God's will toward Israel, which is more or less clearly identified with a written corpus, the plural terms in Jer^{LXX} suggest a less defined plurality of laws. Jeremiah^{MT} draws a far clearer distinction between the law given to Israel and the laws of the nations than the second part of Jer^{LXX}, which for its part establishes a link between Israel's laws and the order of nature.

3 A Diachronic Rereading

While the question of dependency is under debate, a majority of researchers regard Jer^{LXX} as the translation of a Hebrew text that is closer to a common *Vorlage* of both Jer^{LXX} and Jer^{MT} than Jer^{MT}, as noted above. However, even if this is the case, the choice of a specific Greek equivalent for a Hebrew word might still be due to the translator.

The shift in the use of law terms in Jer^{LXX}, which takes place after Jer^{LXX} 18 – with the next occurrence of a law term coming in Jer^{LXX} 33 (Jer^{MT} 26) – points to two different approaches in the two parts of Jer^{LXX}. This suggests either

²⁸ In light of these findings, Schenker's analysis of the plural in Jer 31:33 as creating an opposition between the law given at the Sinai and the laws that will be given in the future should be reconsidered; see SCHENKER, *Das Neue*, 33, 59.

a change in the disposition of the author or two different authors, translators, or revisers. If Jer^{LXX} came closer to the common *Vorlage* with regard to the semantics of legal terms, Jer^{MT} must have adjusted the terminology of the second part to the first.

Maier's hypothesis, according to which the use of תורה in Jer^{MT} reflects a deuteronomic context and thus precedes the common *Vorlage*, would be seriously challenged if the terminology of Jer^{MT} represented a revision of the less uniform terminology in the second part of Jer^{LXX}.

However, the shift in the utilization of law terms in Jer^{LXX} accords with the observation that there is a change in the standard equivalences. A similar change between the first and second half of Jer^{LXX} has been observed with regard to other terms as well, leading Thackeray to posit two translators²⁹ and Tov to posit that the book's second part was revised³⁰.

If Tov is correct that the second part of Jer^{LXX} was revised, the more coherent system of terminology observed in Jer^{LXX} 1–18 and – correspondingly – in Jer^{MT} must have been deliberately undone³¹. By opting against further uniformity in favor of stronger diversification, Jeremiah^{LXX} apparently rejected the specific understanding of תורה in its *Vorlage*, which was upheld by Jeremiah^{MT}. This reconstruction undermines the widely held view of a unidirectional development toward a conception of Israel's law as an expression of God's will that took the form of a literary entity called תורה.

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²⁹ THACKERAY, Jeremiah, 245-266; see also THACKERAY, *The Septuagint*, 29-37.

³⁰ TOV, *The Septuagint Translation*, pass. (and more specifically 42, 77-78). Both Thackeray's and Tov's hypotheses are criticized by Stipp; see STIPP, *Offene Fragen*.

³¹ A particular choice of words within the LXX's second part could then be even less an indication of its Hebrew *Vorlage* and a more original Hebrew text.

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Zhrnutie

Príspevok analyzuje sémantiku legislatívnych termínov, ktoré Jeremiáš^{LXX} používa ako ekvivalenty slova תורה. Dané termíny sú skúmané vo svetle sémantiky výrazu תורה a hebrejských termínov s ich gréckymi ekvivalentmi, ktoré sú na iných miestach použité ako ekvivalenty תורה. Zatiaľ čo použitie výrazov pre zákon v prvej časti Jeremiáša^{LXX} prevažne súhlasí s Jeremiášom^{MT}, ich použitie v druhej časti Jeremiáša^{LXX} sa líši od použitia v Jeremiášovi^{MT}. Zmena terminológie v Jeremiášovi^{LXX} zhruba súhlasí s hypotézou E. Tova, že druhá časť Jeremiáša^{LXX} bola zrevidovaná.

Kľúčové slová: Jeremiáš, Septuaginta, masoretský text, legislatívne termíny, Tóra.

Summary

The present article analyzes the semantics of legal terms that Jeremiah^{LXX} uses as equivalents of the term תורה. These terms are examined in light of the semantics of the term תורה and of Hebrew terms with Greek equivalents that are elsewhere used as equivalents of תורה. While the use of legal terms in the first part of Jeremiah^{LXX} largely accords with Jeremiah^{MT}, the use of legal terms in the second part of Jeremiah^{LXX} differs significantly from Jeremiah^{MT}. The change of terminology in Jeremiah^{LXX} roughly accords with Tov's hypothesis that the second part of Jeremiah^{LXX} was revised.

Keywords: Jeremiah, Septuagint, Masoretic Text, law terms, Torah.

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