



**Topografie immateriali 2**

Romina Vergari

# **Toward a Contrastive Semantics of the Biblical Lexicon**

**The nouns of Rules and Regulations  
in Biblical Hebrew  
Historical-narrative Language  
and their Greek equivalents  
in the Septuagint**



# Topografie immateriali

*collana diretta da*

Marco Biffi e Isabella Gagliardi

La collana «Topografie immateriali» è destinata ad accogliere edizioni di testi e contributi in cui sia presente una forte attenzione a metodiche di indagine innovative e un approccio che tenda a privilegiare gli spazi di interazione culturale, linguistica e delle costruzioni simboliche. La collana dunque ospita saggistica di storia culturale e delle religioni, di storia della filosofia, di storia della letteratura e della lingua, che mostri un'attenzione speciale alla percezione degli spazi reali o immateriali, alla loro costruzione, decostruzione o trasformazione in contesti chiaramente identificati sotto il profilo tematico e cronologico, evidenziando i nessi di relazione tra i paradigmi culturali e interpretativi e la percezione della realtà nelle varie epoche storiche. «Topografie immateriali» è una collana *double-blind peer review*.

*Comitato scientifico*

Patrizia Bertini Malgarini (Università LUMSA, Roma)  
Lucia Felici (Università di Firenze)  
Catherine Lawless (Trinity College, Dublin)  
Paolo La Spisa (Università di Firenze)  
Vittoria Perrone Compagni (Università di Firenze)  
Stéphane Toussaint (Directeur de recherche CNRS, Sorbonne Université, Paris)  
Alessandro Vanoli (storico e scrittore, Bologna)  
Ugo Vignuzzi (Università La Sapienza, Roma)

*Comitato di redazione*

Francesca Cialdini (Università di Modena-Reggio Emilia)  
Simona Cresti (Firenze)  
Michele Lodone (Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia)  
Michele Petrone (Università di Milano, La Statale)

Romina Vergari

# Toward a Contrastive Semantics of the Biblical Lexicon

The nouns of Rules and Regulations  
in Biblical Hebrew Historical-narrative Language  
and their Greek equivalents in the Septuagint

Società  Editrice Fiorentina

*Il volume è frutto della ricerca svolta  
presso il Dipartimento di Formazione, Lingue, Intercultura, Letterature e Psicologia  
dell'Università degli Studi di Firenze*

© 2021 Società Editrice Fiorentina  
via Aretina, 298 - 50136 Firenze  
tel. 055 5532924  
info@sefeditrice.it  
www.sefeditrice.it

ISBN: 978-88-6032-604-1  
E-ISBN: 978-88-6032-724-6  
ISSN: 2724-5306  
DOI: 10.35947/SEF/978-88-6032-724-6

Proprietà letteraria riservata  
Riproduzione, in qualsiasi forma, intera o parziale, vietata

Publicato con licenza  
Creative Commons Attribuzione-Non Commerciale-Non opere derivate 4.0 Internazionale  
(CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0).

L'opera, comprese tutte le sue parti, è tutelata dalla legge sul diritto d'autore.  
L'Utente nel momento in cui effettua il download dell'opera  
accetta tutte le condizioni della licenza d'uso dell'opera previste e comunica sul sito  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>

La presente pubblicazione sarà disponibile in open access  
dopo un periodo di embargo di dodici mesi dal finito di stampare.

*Progetto di copertina*  
Lorenzo Norfini  
(Studio Grafico Norfini)

*To the memory of Fernando Conti,*

חֲבָלִים נָפְלוּ-לִי בְּנַעֲמִים אֲרֵ-נִחַלְתָּ שְׂפָרָה עָלַי

Psalm 16:6





# Table of Contents

11 Acknowledgements

13 Abbreviations

## INTRODUCTION

27 1. Lexicological Approach: Elaborating Structural Semantics

33 2. Ambiguity and Flexibility

43 3. Meaning-composition Operations

## CHAPTER 1.

### THE USE OF *MIŠPĀṬ* IN THE HISTORICAL-NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

49 1. Judgment

51 2. Divine Ordinance

52 3. Law

55 4. Right

56 5. Custom, Manner

59 6. Due Portion

61 7. The Idiomatic Combination *'āšâ mišpāṭ*

61 7.1. To do justice

62 7.2. To affirm the right

63 7.3. To Comply with the divine prescriptions

63 8. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents

## CHAPTER 2.

### THE USE OF *MIŠWĀ* IN THE HISTORICAL-NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

74 1. Expression of Divine Authority

74 1.1. The Teaching of Moses as Commandment

82	1.2. Commandment
87	1.3. Standing Order
87	2. Expression of Human Authority
88	2.1. Standing Order
89	2.2. Royal Regulation
92	2.3. Will
92	3. Peripheral Sense-nodules: Polysemy as a Window on Diachronic Change
93	3.1. Portion, claim
95	3.2. Obligation, duty
96	4. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents
105	4.1. The Verb συντάσσειν and its Nominal Cognates
109	4.2. The Verb προστάσσειν and its Cognate πρόσταγμα
114	4.3. The Verb ἐντέλλεσθαι and its Cognate ἐντολή
121	4.4. Remarks on Correspondence in Number between <i>miṣwâ</i> and ἐντολή

#### CHAPTER 3.

##### THE USE OF TÔRÂ IN THE HISTORICAL-NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

124	1. Instruction, Teaching
136	2. From Teaching to Torah
137	2.1. The Text Type <i>kakkâtûḥ bəṭōraṭ Mōšeh</i>
142	2.2. The Text Type <i>kakkâtûḥ bəṭōraṭ YHWH</i>
144	2.3. The Text Type <i>kakkâtûḥ battôrâ</i>
147	2.4. Other Relevant Text Types
148	3. The Development of the Reading Law from Operations of Meaning-composition
152	4. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents
153	4.1. Observations on the Use of the Noun νόμος in Greek
159	4.2. Less Frequent Equivalents
165	4.3. Syntagmatic Combinations

#### CHAPTER 4.

##### THE USE OF ḤŌQ AND ḤUQQÂ

##### IN THE HISTORICAL-NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

175	1. The Use of ḥōq
178	1.1. Allocation, Quota
180	1.2. Custom
181	1.3. Statute, Regulation
182	1.3.1. Expression of Human Authority
190	1.3.2. Expression of Divine Authority?
193	1.4. Divine Laws
195	1.5. The Idiomatic Combination <i>ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm</i>
197	2. The Use of ḥuqqâ

197	2.1. Purity Regulation
199	2.2. Priestly Allocation
199	2.3. Rule, Provision
200	2.3.1. The Text Type <i>ḥuqqat mišpāt</i>
201	2.3.2. The Text Type <i>ḥuqqat hattôrâ</i>
202	2.4. Custom
204	2.5. Divine Laws
205	3. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents
208	3.1. The Equivalence <i>ḥōq</i> – <i>δῶμα</i>
210	3.2. The Equivalence <i>ḥōq</i> – <i>τὸ νόμιμον</i> and <i>τὰ νόμιμα</i>
214	3.3. The Equivalence <i>ḥōq</i> – <i>πρόσταγμα</i>
217	3.4. The Equivalence <i>ḥōq</i> – <i>δικαίωμα</i>
225	3.5. The Equivalence <i>ḥuqqâ</i> – <i>διαστολή</i>

#### CHAPTER 5.

#### CONFIGURATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LINGUISTIC NOTION OF RULES AND REGULATIONS IN BH HISTORICAL-NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

228	1. Sense-nodes inventory
228	1.1. Quota
229	1.2. Right
229	1.2.1. Equity
229	1.2.2. Justice
230	1.2.3. Rights
230	1.3. Judgment
231	1.3.1. Dispute
231	1.3.2. Case
232	1.3.3. Judgment
232	1.3.4. Trial
233	1.3.5. Verdict
233	1.4. Manner, Habits, and Customs
233	1.4.1. Manner
234	1.4.2. Habits
234	1.4.3. Customs
235	1.5. Teaching
235	1.5.1. The Teaching of Moses
235	1.5.2. The Teaching of Moses as the Israelitic Law
236	1.5.3. The Torah of Moses as a norm
236	1.5.4. The Torah of God as a norm
237	1.6. Command
237	1.6.1. Order
237	1.6.2. Will
238	1.7. Rules and Regulations
238	1.7.1. Continuous Conceptualizations
238	1.7.1.1. Legislation

239	1.7.1.2. Law of Purity
239	1.7.1.3. Israelitic Legislation
240	1.7.2. Discrete Conceptualizations
240	1.7.2.1. Laws
240	1.7.2.2. Royal regulation
241	1.7.2.3. Rule, Prescription (hyperonym)
241	1.7.2.4. Specific Law
241	1.7.2.5. Divine Instructions
242	1.7.2.6. Divine Commandments
242	1.7.2.7. Divine Laws
243	1.7.2.8. Divine Ordinances
244	1.8. Obligation, Duty
244	2. Synopsis
246	3. Concluding Observations on the Sense-nodule Rules and Regulations
247	3.1. Multiplex Configurations
247	3.1.1. Discrete Configurations
249	3.1.2. Continuous Configurations
253	BIBLIOGRAPHY
	APPENDICES
279	Appendix 1: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun <i>mišpāt</i>
331	Appendix 2: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun <i>mišwâ</i>
357	Appendix 3: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun <i>tôrâ</i>
389	Appendix 4: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun <i>ḥōq</i>
415	Appendix 5: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun <i>ḥuqqâ</i>
431	Index of References

## Acknowledgements

I owe a large debt of gratitude to everyone who helped me during the years I spent preparing this volume, especially to the supervisor of my Ph.D. thesis, Professor Luciano Agostiniani (University of Perugia), who introduced me to the scientific study of the language as a semiotic code, and to Professor Ida Zatelli (University of Florence), whom I was very fortunate to meet early on in my career; her supervision in the semantics of Ancient Hebrew and advice have been crucial to the elaboration of the first core of my doctoral project.

A turning point for the development of my research was the period I spent in Israel as a Post-Ph.D. fellow at the Department of Biblical Studies of the University of Haifa, which hosted my project. My special thanks go to Professor Jonathan Ben-Dov, whose encouragement and support were essential in the early stages and whose friendship accompanies me to this day. I am also very grateful to Professor Emanuel Tov (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), who advised me and encouraged me to pursue my studies, especially in applying advanced Linguistics methodologies to the contrastive study of the biblical lexicon.

The Faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Strasbourg provided an excellent environment for advancing in my research during the years 2012–2015 as a Post-Ph.D. fellow. In Strasbourg I could also collaborate on the preparation of the first volume of the Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint (HTLS). During this time, my knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek biblical lexicon deepened, and my gratitude goes to all the members of the project and to the editor Prof. Eberhard Bons, from whom I received guidance and support. My research was then funded by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies (OCHJS). I am grateful to all the participants at

the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies (OSAJS) held in the first half of 2018, for the stimulating discussion on relevant sections of this work.

The work was completed at the Department of Formazione, Lingue, Intercultura, Letterature e Psicologia (FORLILPSI) of the University of Florence. My deepest thanks must go to the aforementioned Professor Ida Zatelli, whose advice and example, I can only hope, shall be to me life-long influential.

Lastly, a special thank you must go to Dr. Claudia Biagini, for assisting me in the English style, to Dr. Alberto Legnaioli (University of Florence), for his invaluable help in preparing the index, and to Professor Benjamin G. Wright (Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania) who read and annotated the first draft of the whole work, making helpful further comments and suggestions.

I should also like to record my thanks to the publishers, SEF Società Editrice Fiorentina, especially in the person of Francesco Sensoli, for his helpfulness in the publishing process.

Romina Vergari  
Florence, February 2021

## Abbreviations

ABH	Archaic Biblical Hebrew
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
BH	Biblical Hebrew
<i>k</i>	<i>kethiv</i>
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LBH1	Late Biblical Hebrew – Historical-narrative language
LBH2	Late Biblical Hebrew – Poetic Language
LBH3	Late Biblical Hebrew – Language of Job
LXX	Septuagint
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
MT	Masoretic Text
NPh	Noun Phrase
OG	Old Greek Version
pl.	plural
Pph.	Prepositional Phrase
<i>q</i>	<i>qere</i>
SBH	Standard Biblical Hebrew
SBH1	Standard Biblical Hebrew – Historical-narrative language
SBH2	Standard Biblical Hebrew – Poetic Language
SBH3	Standard Biblical Hebrew – Language of Hosea
SBH4	Standard Biblical Hebrew – Juridical-cultic language
sg.	singular
<i>Tg.Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
Vulg.	Vulgata (Latin Version)
WOS	Way-of-seeing

Α'	Aquila revision of the Septuagint
Θ	Theodotion revision of the Septuagint
Σ	Symmachus revision of the Septuagint

### Books of the Hebrew Bible

Gen	Genesis
Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
1 Sam (LXX 1 Kgdms)	1 Samuel (LXX 1 Kingdoms)
2 Sam (LXX 2 Kgdms)	2 Samuel (LXX 2 Kingdoms)
1 Kgs (LXX 3 Kgdms)	1 Kings (LXX 3 Kingdoms)
2 Kgs (LXX 4 Kgdms)	2 Kings (LXX 3 Kingdoms)
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Ezek	Ezekiel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jonah	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Job	Job
Cant	Canticles (Song of Songs, Song of Solomon)
Ruth	Ruth
Lam	Lamentations



Qoh	Qohelet (Ecclesiastes)
Esth	Esther
Dan	Daniel
Ezra	Ezra
Neh	Nehemiah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles (LXX 1 Paralipomena)
2 Chr	2 Chronicles (LXX 2 Paralipomena)

#### Further Books included in the LXX tradition

1 Esdr	1 Esdras
2 Esdr	2 Esdras (MT Ezra and Nehemiah)
Jdt	Judith
Tob	Tobit
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
3 Macc	3 Maccabees
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Ps Sol	Psalms of Solomon
Bar	Baruch
Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah
Sus	Susanna
Bel	Bel and the Dragon

#### Rabbinic Literature

<i>Av.</i>	<i>'Avot</i>
<i>B. Bat.</i>	<i>Baba Batra</i>
<i>Bekhor.</i>	<i>Bekhorot</i>
<i>Mek.</i>	Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael (followed by Exodus chapter and verse reference)
<i>Pes.</i>	<i>Pesaḥim</i>
<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Shab.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i>
<i>Yev.</i>	<i>Yevamot</i>

### Hebrew transcription

The Hebrew transliteration convention adopted in this work reflects a fully reversible academic style that allows the reader to reproduce the Hebrew characters exactly (consonants and vowels):

#### a) Consonants:

Hebrew Character	Transliteration
א	ʾ
ב	<i>b̄</i>
בּ	<i>b</i>
ג	<i>ḡ</i>
גּ	<i>g</i>
ד	<i>d̄</i>
דּ	<i>d</i>
ה	<i>h</i>
ו	<i>w</i>
ז	<i>z</i>
ח	<i>ḥ</i>
ט	<i>ṭ</i>
י	<i>y</i>
כ	<i>k̄</i>
כּ	<i>k</i>
ל	<i>l</i>
מ	<i>m</i>
נ	<i>n</i>
ס	<i>s</i>
ע	ʿ
פ	<i>p̄</i>
פּ	<i>p</i>
צ	<i>ṣ</i>
ק	<i>q</i>
ר	<i>r</i>
שׁ	<i>ś</i>
שׂ	<i>š</i>
ת	<i>t̄</i>
תּ	<i>t</i>

## b) Vowels:

Hebrew Character	Transliteration	
ֿ	<i>pataḥ</i>	<i>a</i>
ַ	<i>qameṣ gadol</i>	<i>ā</i>
ִ	<i>qameṣ ḥatuf</i>	<i>o</i>
ֵ	<i>final qameṣ-he</i>	<i>â</i>
ֶ	<i>səgol</i>	<i>e</i>
ַ	<i>şere</i>	<i>ē</i>
ֹ	<i>şere (scriptio plena)</i>	<i>ê</i>
ֺ	<i>səgol (scriptio plena)</i>	<i>ê</i>
ֻ	<i>ḥireq</i>	<i>i</i>
ּ	<i>ḥireq (scriptio plena)</i>	<i>î</i>
ֽ	<i>holem</i>	<i>ō</i>
־	<i>holem (scriptio plena)</i>	<i>ô</i>
ׁ	<i>qibbuṣ</i>	<i>u</i>
ׂ	<i>şureq</i>	<i>û</i>
׃	<i>ḥatef qameṣ</i>	<i>ö</i>
ׄ	<i>ḥatef pataḥ</i>	<i>ǎ</i>
ׅ	<i>ḥatef səgol</i>	<i>ě</i>
׆	<i>şəwà</i>	<i>ə</i>



## Introduction

The linguistic data presented in this work stem from a systematic corpus-based distributional analysis of a chosen group of nouns. I selected nouns relating to the biblical notions of *rules and regulations*, drawn from within the historical-narrative language of Standard (henceforth SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (henceforth LBH) and organized as a lexical structure. This structure includes the nouns whose meaning, be it prototypical or peripheral, falls under the definition of *statement* (teaching, verdict, prescription, decree, order, commandment), *which is issued in an authoritative manner* (by parents, by a judge, a priest, a king, a military leader, God), *and which implies a legal bond and a possible punishment for any shortcoming for the recipient*.

The nouns *mišpāṭ*, *mišwâ*, *tôrâ*, *ḥōq*, and *ḥuqqâ* constituted the scope of my investigation, which was then widened in a contrastive interlinguistic perspective, by extending the analysis to the equivalent expressions in the ancient biblical Greek versions.

In order to assess the degree of idiomaticity<sup>1</sup> of the translators' lexical choices in the *target* language and their possible interpretative implications,

<sup>1</sup> I will offer the following two definitions of idiomaticity: (i) nativelike selection of expression; based on Andrew Pawley and Frances Syder, "Two puzzles for linguistic theory: nativelike selection and nativelike fluency," in *Language and Communication*, ed. Jack C. Richards and Richard W. Schmidt (London: Longman, 1983), 191–226; and (ii) that which one has to know over and above rules and words; based on Charles J. Fillmore, Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor, "Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical constructions: the case of let alone," *Language* 64 (1988): 501–538. It must be added that, in terms of language-learning and language-acquisition, idiomaticity involves also knowledge of: (i) preferences for discourse structure; (ii) language-specific propositional expressions including so-called formal idioms and lexicalised sentence stems; (iii) expressions in social interaction; (iv) combinatory potentials of words; see Beatrice Warren, "A Model of Idiomaticity," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 4/1 (2005): 35–54.

a *corpus* of texts originally written in Greek, and therefore exemplifying the productive discourse<sup>2</sup> in this language, has been taken as a term of comparison of this contrastive analysis. This *corpus* consists of historical-narrative Greek texts broadly coeval with the LXX translations of two main types: on the one hand, writings composed originally in Greek and transmitted within the LXX tradition and therefore exemplary of Graecophone Hellenistic Jewish culture; on the other hand, texts in Greek whose origin and content are independent from this socio-cultural environment.

Before tackling the discussion on data, I must essentially explain the lexicological assumptions underpinning the analysis. The first concerns the conceptual approach to lexicon, specifically the notion of *variation* and *functional languages*.

The language, in addition to its diachronic change, exhibits a much wider range of variation that makes it a highly complex system.<sup>3</sup> Several variants (for example, the different contextual meanings of a given lexeme) can coexist in the same linguistic layer and their use can depend, among other factors, on geographic area (*dialects*), social stratification (*sociolects*), style (*registers*), and media (*oral language, written language*).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, in the case of literary corpora, such as the Hebrew Bible, each textual instance<sup>5</sup> should also be taken into consideration as a specimen of a particular *discourse tradition*,<sup>6</sup> with its

<sup>2</sup> The notion of *productive discourse* (*Technik der Rede*) involves the distinction between fully functional variants (as morphemes, lexemes) synchronically available for the speaker in one of the linguistic layers (system, norm, speech), and variants which underwent a process of crystallization and then are relevant to the *repeated discourse* (*wiederholte Rede*); see in this regard Horst Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1971), 179–191.

<sup>3</sup> Weinreich introduced the term *diasystem*; see Uriel Weinreich, “Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?” *Word* 10 (1954): 388–400.

<sup>4</sup> For the theoretical and methodological foundations of variationist linguistics, see Eugenio Coseriu, “Structure lexicale et enseignement du vocabulaire,” in *Actes du premier colloque international de linguistique appliquée, organisé par la Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l’Université de Nancy, 26-31 octobre 1964* (Nancy: Université de Nancy, 1966), 175–217.

<sup>5</sup> Coseriu describes text linguistics as hermeneutics (namely, *Hermeneutik des Sinns*); see Eugenio Coseriu, *Textlinguistik. Eine Einführung*, *Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik* 109 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994), 150–151. The text, in fact, being the most complex unit of linguistic combinatorics, constitutes an autonomous plan which cannot be studied exclusively in terms of semantic or pragmatic rules.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Koch includes the discourse tradition among the domains that must be taken into account in explaining linguistic data, namely: 1) the universal level of *speech activity*; 2) the historical level in the form of a *particular historical language*; and 3) the individual and actual level in the form of a *discourse*. Koch places the *discourse tradition* level between the latter two, with

idiosyncratic rules, developed on rhetorical, stylistic, cultural, and religious levels.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore necessary to ground any observation on the meaning of an expression a specific and homogeneous linguistic and discursive *variety*.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Ancient Hebrew, relevant studies on functional linguistics helped to identify and describe the following languages:<sup>9</sup>

---

the following remarks: “we can denominate the corresponding type of rules as *discourse rules* (comprising, besides linguistic rules, also literary, rhetorical, cultural, religious, and other types of rules). The entities described on this level are different genres and stylistic traditions such as the gothic novel, the editorial, the e-mail, the lecture, the small talk, the *genus humile*, the mannerism, etc. The communities of individuals concerned are cultural communities that are not necessarily – and in fact often are not – coextensive with speech communities”; Peter Koch, “Metonymy between Pragmatics, Reference and Diachrony,” *Metaphorik.de* 7 (2004): 6–54, in particular 11.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Rofé takes into account discourse traditions in his essential *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, JBS 9 (Jerusalem: Simor, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> A *language variety*, or *lect*, is any intra-linguistic cluster of phenomena that we tend to refer to as dialect, sociolect, stylistic varieties; see Dirk Geeraerts and Gitte Kristiansen, “Variationist linguistics,” in *Cognitive Linguistics. A Survey of Linguistic Subfields*, ed. Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak (Berlin/Boston, 2019), 133–158, here 150.

<sup>9</sup> For the identification of the Ancient Hebrew functional languages I refer to the following works: Angelo Vivian, *I campi lessicali della separazione nell'ebraico biblico, di Qumran e della Mishna: ovvero, applicabilità della teoria dei campi lessicali all'ebraico*, Quaderni di Semitistica 4 (Florence: Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientali, 1978); Ida Zatelli, *Il campo lessicale degli aggettivi di purità in ebraico biblico*, Quaderni di Semitistica 7 (Florence: Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientali, 1978); eadem, “Functional Languages and Their Importance to the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew,” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka, AbrNSup 4 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995), 55–63; and eadem, “The Study of the Ancient Hebrew Lexicon. Application of the concepts of lexical field and functional language,” *KUSATU* 5 (2004): 129–159. With regard to the debated topic of diachrony in BH, especially in the domain of lexical semantics, specific reference is made to the works of Avi Hurvitz, starting from his Hebrew University doctoral thesis *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew, A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972 [Heb.]); and subsequent works on corpus-based approach to the study of the BH lexicon as Avi Hurvitz, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical-Hebrew. The Case of Semantic Change in Post-exilic writings,” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka, AbrNSup 4 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1995), 1–11; idem, “The ‘Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts’: Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures,” in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit, LSAWS 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 265–280; idem, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, VTSup 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2014); see also Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSM 12 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); Elisha Qimron, “The Biblical Lexicon in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2/3 (1995): 295–329; Jacob Hoftijzer, “Holistic or Compositional Approach? Linguistic Remark to the Problem,” in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament*

1. Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH)
2. Standard Biblical Hebrew
  - a) Historical-narrative (SBH1)
  - b) Poetic (SBH2)
  - c) Language of Hosea (SBH3)
  - d) Juridical-cultic (SBH4)
3. Late Biblical Hebrew
  - a) Historical-narrative (LBH1)
  - b) Poetic (LBH2)
  - c) Language of Job (LBH3).

The analysis herein presented has taken into account the functional languages of Ancient Hebrew as well as distinct linguistic varieties, in order to better understand the main vectors of semantic variation in the use of the nouns in the Bible.

The second lexicological assumption is that the meaning of any linguistic expression cannot be determined solely through the description of its conceptual content; the analysis must take into account the grammatical structure itself in which the lexical item occurs, since it also confers meaning.<sup>10</sup> Grammar, in particular, provides the content with its structuring; it determines, in other words, its conceptualization.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, lexicon and grammar work together to guide the recipient in determining the reading and the reference of a given expression in each instance of usage. Hence, the semantic value of an expression can only be determined through a *corpus-based* analysis of its actual attestations.

---

*Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1995), 98–114; Talmy Givón, “Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum,” in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit, LSAWS 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 39–59. For a comprehensive fresh overview on this topic, see Ronald Hendel and Jan Joosten, *How Old is the Hebrew Bible? A Linguistic, Textual, and Historical Study*, ABRL (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> This pivotal principle of modern linguistics has been highly inspiring for the subsequent development of the discipline, mostly for cognitive semanticists; see Leonard Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, vol. 1 of *Toward a Cognitive Semantics* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000); and William Croft and Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> Talmy has insightfully described the mechanisms through which grammar structures the content of a lexeme in detail; see Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 21–96.



The semantic lexical study of translation equivalents represents a real challenge for the theoretical model of variation described so far.<sup>12</sup> When the object of investigation consists of translated texts, at least two other factors constitute important axes of variation and therefore, must be taken into account accurately. The variables that derive from the contact between the linguistic structures (morphosyntactic and semantic) of the source language (Hebrew) and target language (in the case of this work, Greek), constitute the first factor. The second factor consists of variables that depend on the translators' subjectivity, which can be expressed both linguistically—through the different degrees of competence in either languages of the translators—and stylistically, through diverse cultural and ideological approaches to the task of translating itself.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In this regard, Gideon Toury, pioneer of Descriptive Translation Studies, has posited a semiotic-cultural opposition between translational and non-translational literature, such that the evidentiary value of translational usage for lexicography would be categorically distinguished from that of non-translational usage; see an Gideon Toury, "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary," in *Translation and Lexicography. Papers read at the Euralex Colloquium held at Innsbruck 2–5 July 1987*, ed. Mary Snell-Hornby and Esther Pöhl (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989), 45–53 and idem, "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary," in *Meaning and Lexicography*, ed. Jerzy Tomaszczyk and Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Eastern Europe* 28 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 287–300 and mostly idem, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Two opposing approaches should be mentioned. On the one hand, the *translator-oriented approach*; the interlinear paradigm adopted by Pietersma, editor of the *NETS*, is a perfect example of such a perspective; see also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines: the Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, *BTS* 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), devoted to the development of interlinearity as a descriptive translation studies-informed paradigm for LXX studies. According to Pietersma "the Greek translation is mainly a semantic bridge which aimed to bring the reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to the reader; consequently, the Greek's subservients to the Hebrew may be seen as indicative of its aim"; see Albert Pietersma, introduction to *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), XIV. On the other hand, the *reader-oriented approach*; from this point of view "it is wrong to start with the assumption that Septuagintic Greek, being translational Greek, must necessarily deviate from the normal contemporary Greek"; see Takamitsu Muraoka, "Recent Discussions on the Septuagint Lexicography," in *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin A. Karrer et al., *WUNT* 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 221–235, here 221; Muraoka adduces, moreover, that the LXX, albeit being to a large extent a translation, "ought to be read as a text with its own interest and as a depository of the most ancient interpretation of the Old Testament"; see Takamitsu Muraoka, "Septuagintal Lex-

The model of lexical variation sketched above, therefore, needs a few methodological adjustments in order to be effective in an interlinguistic and translational perspective, and we can commence by reconsidering the notion of functional language. Identifying homogeneous linguistic varieties of Greek within the ancient biblical versions is a rather arduous operation, the complexity of which, however, should not discourage scholars from experimenting. It is first necessary to introduce some historical-critical considerations. The text of the LXX version of the Bible that arrived to us is in fact a collection of writings from different periods and origins, which cannot be treated as a homogeneous *corpus*, neither linguistically nor stylistically. As early as the first century BCE in fact, the ancient Greek translation, the core of which was the Pentateuch, dating back to the middle of the third century BCE, underwent an early process of revision,<sup>14</sup> the primary purpose of which was to bring it as close as possible to the Hebrew consonantal text (the basis of the MT to be), which was already advancing along the road of becoming canonical. The revisions had a considerable impact on the transmission of the LXX text, to the point that entire revised sections were incorporated into the manuscripts of the so called Old Greek version (OG), becoming part of the history of the LXX text's transmission.<sup>15</sup> All this contributed to increase further the heterogeneous and multifaceted nature of these texts' language.

From a linguistic point of view, we must carefully consider the studies aimed at grouping the LXX writings on the basis of style and at classifying textual units identified by homogeneous translation techniques.<sup>16</sup> This line of research was inaugurated by the British scholar St. John Thackeray, whose

---

icography," in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 85–90, in particular 85.

<sup>14</sup> One of the earliest revisions is commonly referred to as *καίτε*; for an overview of this topic see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2000), 142–152.

<sup>15</sup> For the identification and the stylistic description of these sections, see Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), especially 91–143.

<sup>16</sup> Such studies have adopted as analysis parameters those constructs particularly idiomatic in one of the two languages (Hebrew or Greek) that may possibly have no formal equivalent in the other language; the investigation of the Finnish school are particularly relevant in this regard, see for instance Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965); Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, AASF 19 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1970); Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Participium coniunctum as a criterion of translation technique," *VT* 32 (1982): 385–393.

contribution still remains a useful methodological starting point for any analysis. In comparing the linguistic data of biblical Greek with that resulting from the analysis of contemporary literary texts and documentary sources,<sup>17</sup> Thackeray managed to isolate, on the basis of the style of translation, six distinct groups of texts:<sup>18</sup>

1. Translations into Koinè Greek of good linguistic and stylistic level<sup>19</sup>
2. Translations of mediocre linguistic and stylistic level<sup>20</sup>
3. Literal versions tending to calque the morphosyntactic and semantic structures of the Hebrew.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> A fundamental contribution to this line of research has been given by the studies of Deissman; see the seminal work *Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (New York/London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910).

<sup>18</sup> See Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 13.

<sup>19</sup> According to Thackeray *Good Koinè Greek* translations include Pentateuch; Josh (partially); Isa, and 1 Macc, for which he postulates a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

<sup>20</sup> According to Thackeray *Indifferent Greek* translations include: Jer  $\alpha$  (1:1–28:64 [MT 51:64]); Ezek  $\alpha$  (1:1–27:36, and from 40:1 to the end of the book); Ezek  $\beta$  (28:1–39:29, excluding 36:24–38); Minor Prophets; 1–2 Chr (except for a few final chapters of 2 Chr); Kgdms  $\alpha$  (1 Sam); Kgdms  $\beta\beta$  (2 Sam 1:1–11:1); Kgdms  $\gamma\gamma$  (1 Kgs 2:12–21:43); Ps; Sir, and Jdt. Concerning the book of Judith, some scholars still align themselves with the Thackeray's appraisal and consider this writing a Greek translation from a lost Hebrew source. The evidence they adduce is mainly the Hebraic idioms and the syntax of the book, and alleged mistranslations from Hebrew; see Carey A. Moore, *Judith*, AB 40 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 66–67, and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Introduction to *Ioudith*, NETS, 441–443. However, the current trend in scholarship is more inclined to regard these phenomena as “Septuagintisms” rather than Hebraisms, and, consequently to consider the book an original Greek composition by an author who often intends to echo Septuagintal wording; see Jan Joosten, “The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith,” *Meghillot* 5/6 (2007): 159–176, here 2–9; Jeremy Corley, “Septuagintalism, Semitic Interference, and the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *Studies in the Greek Bible. Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, CBQMS 44 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 65–96, here 40–43.

<sup>21</sup> According to Thackeray's terminology, *Literal or unintelligent Greek* translations include: Judg (text B); Ruth; Kgdms  $\beta\gamma$  (from 2 Sam 11:2 to the end of the book, and 1 Kgs from the beginning to 2:11); Kgdms  $\gamma\delta$  (from 1 Kgs 22:1 to the end of the book, and 2 Kgs entirely); Dan  $\Theta$ ; 2 Esdr; Qoh; Cant; Jer  $\beta$  (29–51) with Bar  $\alpha$  (1:1–3:8); Lam; Ezek  $\beta\beta$  (36:24–38). Further remarks should be added on the book of Baruch; some recent scholarship has criticized the consensus over Baruch's Hebrew *Vorlage* and composite structure, stressing that Baruch could be read also as a unified Greek composition, similar to other late Hellenistic Jewish works particularly in terms of exilic setting, Deuteronomistic ideology, and the style of “rewritten Bible”; see Daniel Ryan, “Baruch,” in *The T&T Clark*

If Thackeray's analyses remain invaluable as a starting point, they must be critically weighed in the light of more recent sociolinguistic studies on Hellenistic Greek<sup>22</sup> and the increasing knowledge of the language of Ptolemaic papyri and documentary sources especially over the last decades.<sup>23</sup> In this particular field of research, the contribution of John Lee deserves a special mention, especially in terms of method. Lee's pioneering work highlighted aspects of convergence or innovation in the vocabulary of the LXX with respect to the papyri, coming to classify the lexemes into three distinct groups: new semantic developments in old words; new formations; and new words.<sup>24</sup>

---

*Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James Aitken (London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 487–499, here 488. For the sake of completeness, I will mention here three additional groups identified by Thackeray, namely: 1) *Paraphrases or free translations in literary style* (1 Esdr; Dan [Old Greek version]; Esth; Job; Prov); 2) *Original compositions in attic literary style* (Wis; Ep Jer; Bar β [from 3:9 to the end]; 2–4 Macc); 3) *Compositions in non-literary style* (Tob). Regarding the book of Tobit, it is useful to make a clarification. By the time of Thackeray's study, this book (both the text commonly referred to as GI, or "the short text", that has to be regarded as a secondary revision of the original Greek translation, and text commonly referred to as GII, or "the long text", which represent the Sinaiticus text) was still regarded as an original composition in Greek. The discovery of five fragmentary manuscripts of the book from Qumran, four in Aramaic (4Q196–199) and one in Hebrew (4Q200) radically changed the state of our knowledge requesting a new appraisal of the origin and the style of this work. Consensus among scholars today is that an early instance of the book of Tobit in Hebrew or Aramaic was translated into Greek and that, perhaps, the writing had circulated in two languages. This obviously means that Thackeray's position must be radically reconsidered. Modern scholars have evaluated the relationship between the Greek witnesses of the text and the Semitic fragments extant, coming to the conclusion that GI revised an early version (possibly GII) in order to make it more Greek idiomatic, while GII displays a higher level of one-to-one correspondence with the Semitic textual source; for a brief overview on this tricky issue, especially in text-critical terms, see Loren Stuckenbruck and Stuart Weeks, "Tobit," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. J. Aitken (London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 237–260, in particular 254.

<sup>22</sup> For example, the crucial work of Vit Bubeník, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a sociolinguistic Area*, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 57 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Many recent contributions have improved our knowledge on the language of papyri in sociolinguistics terms; for an overview see the edited volumes: Trevor Evans and Dirk Obbink, eds., *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Alex Mullen and Patrick James, eds., *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); see also Trevor Evans, "Linguistic and Stylistic Variation in the Zenon Archive," in *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin: Problems and Methods*, ed. Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho, and Marja Vierros (Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2012), 25–40; and idem, "Orality, Greek Literacy, and Early Ptolemaic Papyri," in *Oral Performance and its Context*, ed. C.J. Mackie (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 195–208.

<sup>24</sup> See John A. L. Lee, *A lexical study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch* (Chico, CA: Scholar Press, 1983); and his recently published volume: *The Greek of the Pentateuch. Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), especially 260, and 277–279.

It is difficult to underestimate the impact that these lines of research have had on the study of the LXX language,<sup>25</sup> particularly in the domain of lexicography.<sup>26</sup> In its contrastive analysis section, this investigation is an example of the results that can be achieved through the functional corpus-based method applied to the study of the LXX lexicon.

## 1. Lexicological Approach: Elaborating Structural Semantics

The following paragraphs will present the leading insights in lexical semantics that have had a significant impact on my choice of the method. The subject will not be treated as a systematic overview on lexical semantics, but rather in such a way as to trace the lines of development of ideas that were originated essentially in the framework of structural semantics and that have been elaborated, directly or indirectly, thanks to the contribution of the cognitive semantic movement. My appraisal will focus on three main phenomena concerning lexical meaning and the organization of the lexicon: lexical field; semantic variation; and polysemy.

The origins of the lexical field theory are habitually attributed to Jost Trier,<sup>27</sup> but while Trier's monograph may indeed be the first major descriptive work in

<sup>25</sup> See Trevor Evans, "Approaches to the Language of the Septuagint," *JJS* 56 (2005): 25–33; and idem, "The Use of Linguistic Criteria for Dating Septuagint Books," *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 7–24.

<sup>26</sup> Suffice to mention the important contributions of the Italian scholar Anna Passoni dell'Acqua; see in particular Anna Passoni dell'Acqua, "La versione dei LXX e i papiri: note lessicali," in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York 24-31 July 1980*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, Gerald M. Browne, Ann E. Hanson and Ludwig Koenen (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 621–632; eadem, "La terminologia dei reati nei προστάγματα dei Tolemei e nella versione dei LXX," in vol. 2 of *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25-31 May 1986*, 2 vols. (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 2: 335–350; eadem, "Innovazioni lessicali e attributi divini: una caratteristica del Giudaismo alessandrino?" in *La parola di Dio cresceva (At 12,24). Scritti in onore di Carlo Maria Martini nel suo 70° compleanno*, ed. Rinaldo Fabris, Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 33 (Bologna: EDB, 1998), 87–108; eadem, "Translating as a Means of Interpreting: the Septuagint and Translation in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D.) Wuppertal 23.-27. 7. 2008*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser; WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 322–339; see also Romina Vergari, "Signs of cultural adaptation from the Septuagint vocabulary: the lexical mapping of the Hebrew biblical imagery for 'protection' in the light of coeval documentary sources," *Estudios Bíblicos* 78/3 (2020): 405–423.

<sup>27</sup> See Jost Trier, *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes: Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: J. B. Metzner, 1931).

structuralist semantics, the first theoretical and methodological presentation of the new approach is already detectable in Leo Weisberger,<sup>28</sup> whose criticism of pre-structuralist historical semantics is mainly based on three arguments. The first is that the study of meaning should not be atomistic but should be concerned with semantic structures; secondly, it should be synchronic instead of diachronic; and finally, the study of linguistic meaning should proceed in an autonomous linguistic manner. Because the meaning of a linguistic sign is determined by its position in the linguistic structures of which it is part, linguistic semantics should deal with those structures directly, regardless of the way in which they may be present in the individual's mind. Because the subject matter of semantics consists of autonomous linguistic phenomena, the methodology of linguistic semantics must also be autonomous. In *Trends in Structural Semantics*, Eugenio Coseriu and Horst Geckeler present an overview of European structuralist scholarship at the beginning of the eighties. The authors' aim was to give greater visibility to the lexematic school of Tübingen and its epistemological approach to what a "proper structural semantics" or "the proper domain of structural semantics" represents.<sup>29</sup> According to the content-oriented structuralist conception, the science that studies lexical meanings as an autonomous system is Semasiology, while Semantics is concerned with the reality that the linguistic sign refers to.<sup>30</sup> This terminology parallels the opposition between Phonology and Phonetics and presupposes isomorphism between the plane of content and the plane of expression: Phonetics, which is concerned with the physical properties of speech sounds, must be distinguished from Phonology, which investigates the abstract system of values that are in mutual opposition in a given language. Coseriu's understanding, however, is slightly different. In his view, Semantics covers a larger domain of knowledge and can be practiced through two distinct methodologies: Semasiology accounts for the word (*qua signifiant*) investigating its senses in terms of polysemy or change, while Onomasiology moves the other way round from the content (*signifiés*) toward the various *significants* which are available in a given language to designate it.<sup>31</sup> A proper structural semantics, however, should adopt the first perspective and should be concerned with signification

<sup>28</sup> See Leo Weisberger, "Die Bedeutungslehre—ein Irrweg der Sprachwissenschaft?" *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 15 (1927): 161–183.

<sup>29</sup> See Eugenio Coseriu and Horst Geckeler, *Trends in Structural Semantics*, Tübingen Beiträge zur Linguistik 158 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981), 17 and 21.

<sup>30</sup> See Michel Bréal, *Essai de sémantique: science des significations* (Paris: Hachette, 1897).

<sup>31</sup> See Coseriu and Geckeler, *Trends in Structural Semantics*, 10.



rather than designation. Signification is determined by autonomous linguistic relations grounded on the plane of content; whereas designation has to do with referent.<sup>32</sup> The following is a re-elaboration of the Saussurian model of the “linguistic sign” proposed by Koch, which will illustrate its multiplanar nature, and the various value-bearing factors that play a role in a speech act:

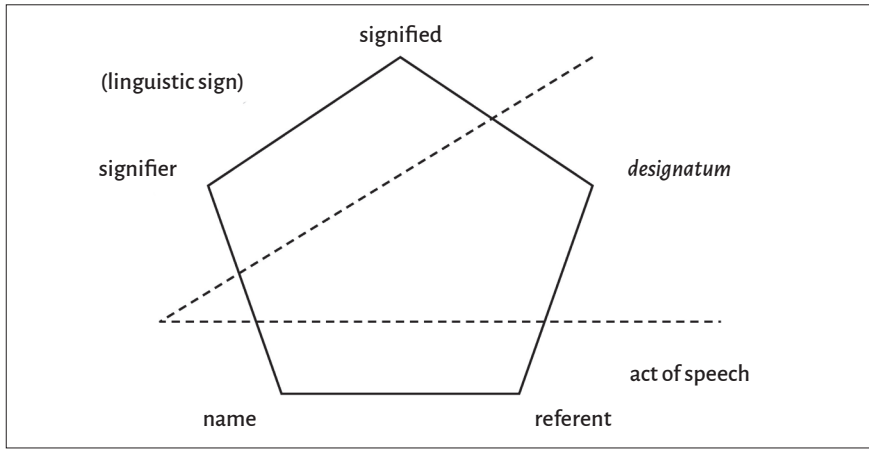


Figure 1. The Semiotic Pentagon

Figure 1 describes five elements involved in a given linguistic act (also applicable to a written text) and three semiotic planes.<sup>33</sup> If we read this figure from a structuralist perspective, each plane is autonomous and distinct and should be treated by different disciplines with autonomous methodologies. The proper domain of Semantics is the linguistic plane within which the phenomenon of signification between a signifier and a signified falls; the conceptual plane in which the phenomenon of designation between a linguistic sign and its conceptual designatum takes place<sup>34</sup>; and the plane of the “real world”

<sup>32</sup> See Coseriu and Geckeler, *Trends in Structural Semantics*, 54.

<sup>33</sup> I follow here Peter Koch, “La sémantique du prototype: Sémasiologie ou onomasiologie?”, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 106 (1996): 223–240.

<sup>34</sup> In other words: “Le langage classe la réalité, mais il le fait selon des intérêts et des attitudes humaines (...) On ne sera pas surpris de constater que les classements linguistiques se fondent sur des critères comme: grand/petit, utile/inutile, agréable/désagréable, dangereux/non-dangereux. Dans ce sens la « subjectivité » est constitutive du langage et telle est un fait linguistiquement ob-

in which the acoustic-phonetics token and the real thing respectively lie.<sup>35</sup> Name and referent fall outside both the linguistic and the conceptual plane.

Thus, the unit of analysis must be lexemes and their structures. The notion of lexeme does not coincide with that of word. A lexeme can be represented by a root, a free form, or a combination of words arranged in such a way that neither the order of its components can be modified nor any of its components can be replaced by another.<sup>36</sup>

Admittedly, both lexemes and concepts that can be lexicalized in a given language are open classes. Moreover, they are extremely non-homogeneous in character and content. This is the most relevant difference between the plane of expression and the plane of content and the aspect that makes the methods elaborated for Phonology extremely hard to apply to Semantics (or Semasiology). Louis Hjelmslev is unequivocal in claiming that: “une description structurale ne pourra s’effectuer qu’à condition de pouvoir réduire les classes ouvertes à des classes fermées.”<sup>37</sup> All the reductionist approaches to lexical semantics (which strive to account for lexical meaning in terms of abstract and primary compo-

---

jectif”; see Coseriu, “Structure lexicale et enseignement du vocabulaire,” 188. Therefore, the meaning of a word, ultimately related to a concept which delimits and defines, can interact in different ways with the objects which it designates: it can *introduce* distinctions into continuous phenomena or *disregard* distinctions in discrete phenomena. This is the reason why terminologies and nomenclatures are excluded from the domain of investigation of Structural Semantics.

<sup>35</sup> According to the cognitive approach, on the other hand, the distinctions between the semiotic planes blur up. Language refers primary to *mental projections* of the world or to *mental spaces*; see Ray Jackendoff, *Semantics and Cognition* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983), 29; Gilles Fauconnier, *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). According to Fauconnier and Turner, when people use language to communicate with each other, they constantly construct *mental spaces* triggered by linguistic information and current contexts, by which people accomplish meaning construction and realize mutual communication, such spaces are basically “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action”; see Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The way we think. Conceptual blending and the mind’s hidden complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 40. Cognitivism has had a very strong impact also in the disciplines that study the level of expression as Phonetics and Phonology, with similar melting effects. The phonetic aspects of an utterance are any less cognitive than the phonological representation. Sounds, in fact, as categorized by a speaker/hearer, have to be accounted for also in conceptual terms; see John R. Taylor, “Cognitive semantics and Structural semantics,” in *Historical Semantics and Cognition. Cognitive Linguistics Research*, ed. Andreas Blanks and Peter Koch (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 17–48, here 24–25.

<sup>36</sup> See Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie*, 149.

<sup>37</sup> See Louis Hjelmslev, “Dans quelle mesure les significations des mots peuvent-elles être considérées comme formant une structure?” in *Proceedings of the eighth International Congress of Linguists*, ed. Eva Sivertsen (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1958), 636–654, here 653.



nents such as content figures, semes, distinctive features, markers, distinguishers, depending on the traditions) depart from this assumption. Among them, the model elaborated by Bernard Pottier deserves particular attention for its consistency and rigor.<sup>38</sup> According to his understanding, the content of a given lexeme consists of a set of distinctive semantic features that form the *sémème*,<sup>39</sup> on the basis of which the lexeme is opposed to any other lexeme in the lexicon; this is the reason why the *sémème* is regarded as *particularisant*. Along with *sémème*, the content of a lexeme consists of the *classème* as well, which corresponds to a set of morpho-syntactic features that it shares with lexemes belonging to the same semantic-functional class (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.). That is why the *classème* is considered *généralisant*. *Sémème* and *classème* together form the *fontème*, which is the unit of analysis of the structural semantics. Beyond this domain lie the *virtuèmes*, defined as connotative features. According to Coseriu, the study of the *virtuèmes* should not be carried out within the linguistic framework, as they depend on the encyclopaedic, social, and environmental knowledge of the speakers.<sup>40</sup> Besides many differences in terminology, structural semanticists agree in considering lexical meaning in terms of a limited group of semantic and syntactic features that permanently determine the content of a given lexeme.

Obviously, these assumptions have a strong impact on the understanding of sense relations within the lexicon. Coseriu distinguishes between syntagmatic lexical relations and paradigmatic lexical relations.<sup>41</sup> Concerning the former ones, he elaborates the insightful notion of *wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen* identified by Walter Porzig.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Coseriu describes this semantic relation as an oriented one, e.g. the adjective *blond* implies the head noun *hair*; the verb *bark* implies the agent *dog*; the verb *drive* implies the object *motor vehicle*; the verb *paint* implies the noun *picture* as its results; the verb *kick* implies the instrument *foot*; the verb *sleep* implies the location *bed*.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Bernard Pottier, "Vers une sémantique moderne," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 2 (1964): 107–137.

<sup>39</sup> The lexeme would be its realization at the lexical level.

<sup>40</sup> See Coseriu and Geckeler, *Trends in Structural Semantics*, 41.

<sup>41</sup> Both create lexical structures. The lexical the structures that are formed through syntagmatic relationships are called lexical solidarities (*lexikalische Solidaritäten* or *Syntagmatischen, oder Kombinatorischen, lexikalischen Strukturen*); see Eugenio Coseriu, "Lexikalische Solidaritäten," *Poetica* 1 (1967): 293–303.

<sup>42</sup> See Walter Porzig, "Wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 58 (1934): 70–97.

<sup>43</sup> Examples are taken from Elisabetta Ježek, *Lessico. Classi di parole, strutture, combinazioni* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 171.

Concerning the paradigmatic lexical relations, they determine structures of lexemes in mutual opposition by virtue of their semantic components. Such structures consist of a set of lexical items that possess two essential characteristics: firstly, they belong to the same lexical class (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.); secondly, they constitute a series in multilateral semantic incompatibility (or co-hyponymy) with respect to a superordinate lexeme (or hyperonym) that operates as the global definition of the field.

As I previously said, the structuralist theoretical system in general (and the lexematic theory in particular) assumes that lexemes can be analyzed in terms of semantic components instantiated in their meaning. The notion of dimension helps mitigate the rigidity of this system;<sup>44</sup> it has been accounted for as the articulated point of view that reveals functional oppositions between lexemes, especially in the case of multidimensional lexical fields. A typical example of how the dimensions work is provided by the lexical field of the adjectives of age in French<sup>45</sup>: while the opposition between *vieux* and *jeune* functions in the dimension “physical-biological age,” the oppositions between *ancien* vs. *moderne*, *ancien* vs. *antique* and *antique* vs. *achaique* function in the dimension “chronological classification,” in other words in the historical perspective in which an entity or an event is located.

What clearly emerges from this brief overview is that in the classical structural semantics perspective, the lexeme is regarded as a “non-permeable” entity. The sole principle that can govern the combination of lexemes to form more complex linguistic expressions is the principle of compositionality according to which “the meaning of an expression depends uniquely on two things: the meaning of its immediate constituents and the way they are put together. Nothing else counts.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Coseriu explains the notion of dimension as follows: “el punto de vista o el criterio de una oposición, es decir, en el caso de una oposición lexemática, la propiedad semántica a la que esta oposición se refiere: el contenido con respecto al cual ella se establece y que, por lo demás, no existe – en la lengua considerada – sino en virtud, precisamente, del hecho de que a él se refiere una oposición, o sea, del hecho de que es soporte implícito de una distinción, funcional”; see Eugenio Coseriu, *Principios de Semántica Estructural*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica 2. Estudios y Ensayos 259 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977), 217; see also Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie*, 194.

<sup>45</sup> The lexical field of the adjectives of age is discussed several times in Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie*, 199–233, and Coseriu, *Principios de Semántica Estructural*, 228–230.

<sup>46</sup> See François Recanati, “Compositionality, Flexibility and Context-Dependence,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Compositionality*, ed. Wolfram Hinzen et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 175–191, here 177.

## 2. Ambiguity and Flexibility

If the structuralist approach has dealt with the description of word-meaning in terms of its invariable and stable features, the mainstream line of development of contemporary lexical semantics, however, has dealt with different characters of word meaning. It is not possible, nor desirable here, to discuss in detail the foundations of Cognitivism's critique to the structuralist model.<sup>47</sup> I will therefore limit myself to highlighting some aspects relevant to the research conducted in the following chapters of this work.

Structuralist theory reveals inadequacies in representing the more protean aspects of word meaning, which arise from its ambiguous and flexible character. Ambiguity and flexibility should in principle be kept distinct. Ambiguity is a general property that lexicon shares with other organizational levels of language that have to do with meaning, as morphology and syntax; language in fact conflicts with the principle "one form, one meaning." Flexibility, on the other hand, is typically correlated with lexicon and is accounted for by Recanati as "the property of a language in which the meaning of a word may vary from occurrence to occurrence and it may vary, in particular, as a function of the other words it combines with."<sup>48</sup> Contextual variability is endemic in the vocabulary of any natural language. That being the case, the questions from which any semantic investigation must start should be: Do words typically have multiple meanings? How do we decide what constitutes "a meaning"? Is there a finite number of such meanings? How are meanings related to one another?

Scholarship has adopted different approaches to ambiguity and flexibility. On the one hand, the cognitive semantics movement took a radical step, departing from the structuralist principles in major respects. According to the maximalist view in the paradigm of cognitive semantics:

Words do not in fact have meaning (...) meaning, on my account, is a function of an utterance, rather than a given lexical representation associated with a word, or other linguistic (i.e., symbolic) unit. Words and linguistic units in general, are associ-

<sup>47</sup> See the basic work of Ronald W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Leonard Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000). For up-to-date overviews on this topic, see Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and also, Stephen L. Sheard, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew. Exploring Lexical Semantics*, BibInt 108 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011).

<sup>48</sup> See Recanati, "Compositionality, Flexibility and Context-Dependence," 178.

ated with lexical concepts. A lexical concept is a conceptual representation specialised for being encoded in and externalised by language.<sup>49</sup>

The semantic structure, therefore, is to be regarded as radically deriving from the conceptual one and reflecting it<sup>50</sup> with the conceptual structure determined by the human neural architecture, by experience, and by the objects of experience. The consequence of such a position is the disappearance of any clear-cut separation between conceptual knowledge and other modes of cognition.<sup>51</sup> Each lexical item turns out to be inherently under-specified, functioning as a device that allows access to a complex network of concepts. According to Tyler and Evans, this network is organized as a principled polysemy,<sup>52</sup> and “language provides underspecified prompts for the construction of meaning, which takes place at the conceptual level.”<sup>53</sup> Meaning, therefore, is only conceptual by nature and each structuralist distinction between semantics and cognition, lexicon and encyclopedic knowledge, consequently blur and overlap.

The attitude adopted in this work, however, is more “classical,” to the extent that it maintains a demarcation between linguistic knowledge and cognition in the broader sense and continues the idea of the possibility of formalizing linguistic meaning, building on this structuralist background in an original way. Dirk Geeraerts presents such theories under the heading “Neostructuralist Semantics.”<sup>54</sup> Within this panorama, I will make special reference to Corpus-based distributional analysis and Relational semantics. The best way of introducing my theoretical perspective is by quoting Alan Cruse, whose thought expresses with clarity the very same foundations of my own research on biblical lexicon:

<sup>49</sup> See Vyvyan Evans, *How Words Mean. Lexical concepts, cognitive models and meaning construction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25; see also Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans, “Reconsidering prepositional polysemy networks: the case of over,” in *Polysemy. Flexible Patterns of Meaning in Mind and Language*, ed. Brigitte Nerlich et al., Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 142 (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 95–159, here 95.

<sup>50</sup> On this topic, see George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Ray Jackendoff, “Conceptual semantics and Cognitive Linguistics,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 7 (1996): 93–129.

<sup>51</sup> See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

<sup>52</sup> See Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans, *The Semantics of English Prepositions: Spatial Scenes, Embodied Meaning and Cognition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>53</sup> See Evans, *How Words Mean. Lexical concepts, cognitive models and meaning construction*, 29.

<sup>54</sup> See Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics*, 124.

Although in principle word meaning may be regarded as infinitely variable and context sensitive, there are nonetheless regions of higher semantic “density,” forming, as it were, more or less well-defined “lumps” of meaning with greater or lesser stability under contextual change. The process of congelation into lumps will be called “nodulation,” and the lumps thus formed “sense-nodules.” I shall take it that the meaning of a word is (some kind of summation of) the conceptual content made accessible by the use of that word (as opposed to any other) in particular contexts. A nodule of sense is a relatively autonomous unit of sense capable of playing an independent role in various semantic processes. [...] In principle, nodule form and dissolve as context change.<sup>55</sup>

The sense-nodules can be compared to what Geeraerts describes as “a particular portion of information, part of the semantic structure of the word itself and which shows a certain degree of independence from the context.”<sup>56</sup> By detecting sense-nodules, we can delineate the semantic micro-structure of a polysemous word and distinguish between what, in the use of a given word, is a reading generated *ad hoc* and triggered by context (in the broad meaning of the term), and what is a real sense-nodule, more likely to be stored in the speaker’s memory, leaving some trace on the linguistic system since it is more stable in shifting contexts.<sup>57</sup>

This approach has remarkable methodological implications for the branch of semantics that deals with sense relations and lexical fields. Cruse states that:

It is clear that the terms of sense relations such as antonymy and hyponymy cannot be lexemes nor even senses. In fact, no simple unit can be identified which can fulfil this role: the terms of such relations are any nodules of sense with a sufficient degree of distinctness in particular contexts. (...) The same degree of context-dependence applies to more extended paradigmatic meaning structures such as word-field.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See D. Alan Cruse, “Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning,” in *Polysemy. Theoretical and Computational Approaches*, ed. Yael Ravin and Claudia Leacock (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 30–51, here 30.

<sup>56</sup> See Dirk Geeraerts, “Vagueness’s puzzles, polysemy vagaries,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 4/3 (1993): 223–272, here 228.

<sup>57</sup> This perspective is in line with the notion of *entrenchment*, developed by Langacker, which is one of the foundational insights of cognitive linguistics. According to Langacker’s theoretical framework, linguistic structures are more realistically conceived as falling along a continuous scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization: “each linguistic structure, as the meaning associated with a lexeme, has some degree of entrenchment, which reflects the frequency of its previous activation and determines the likelihood of its subsequent activation”; see Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, 49.

<sup>58</sup> See Cruse, “Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning,” 50.

The distinction between vagueness and polysemy thus involves the question whether a particular piece of semantic information is part of the underlying semantic structure of the item or is the result of a contextual (and hence pragmatic) specification. If we adopt the degree of context-dependence and the degree of distinctness shown by the different readings of the same lexical item as polysemy criteria, we can identify different types of ambiguity: contrastive ambiguity (viz. homonymy), complementary ambiguity (viz. polysemy), and vagueness.

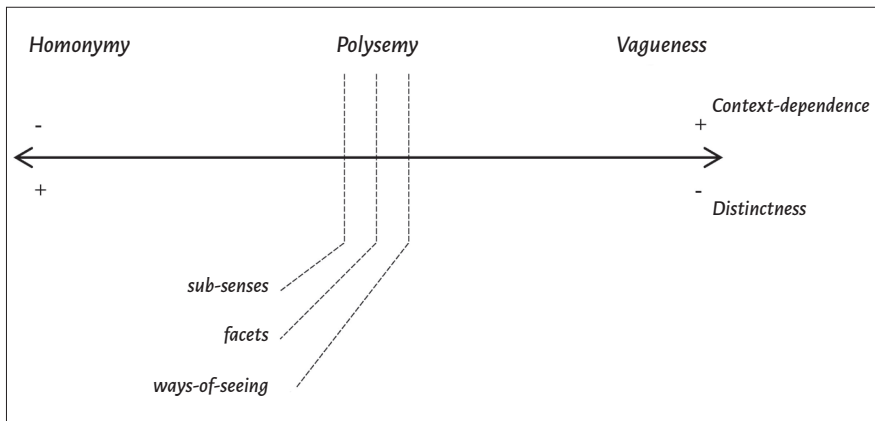


Figure 2. Semantic micro-structure of polysemous words

As shown by figure 2, the distinctiveness of a reading is correlated with its degree of autonomy from the context: the more it reveals a distinct character, the less its activation depends on context. A set of logical, definitional, and linguistic tests have been proposed to establish the degree of distinctness vs. unity and context-dependence vs. autonomy of the readings of the same lexical item. The assessment procedure relies on two essential assumptions: first the fact that it is possible to focus the attention only on one reading at a time, and second that the trend will be to unify the antagonist readings. Without discussing all the specific tests that have been proposed, three criteria can be distinguished:<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The tests will be grouped based on the classification elaborated by Geeraerts; for a detailed discussion of the nature, type and effectiveness for the determination of polysemy of such tests, see Geeraerts, "Vagueness's Puzzles, Polysemy Vagaries," 229–231.

1. *The truth-conditional criterion.* A lexical item is polysemous if it can simultaneously be true and false of the same referent; contexts such as “*x* is *p* and not *p*,” where *p* is the word to which the test applies, must be non-contradictory and contexts such as “*x* is *p* and *p*” must be non-pleonastic. This is the typical behavior of homonymous readings.
2. *The linguistic criterion.* This is based on tests involving semantic restrictions on sentences that contain two related occurrences of the lexical item under consideration (one of which may be implicit or deep-structural); in this respect, coordination without zeugma, identity-of-sense anaphora, and common predication are regarded as symptoms of unity, while distinct semantic relations and distinct equivalents in other languages are regarded as symptoms of distinctiveness;
3. *The definitional criterion.* An item has more than one lexical meaning if there is no minimally specific definition covering the extension of the item in all its instances of usage, and it has no more lexical meanings than there are maximally general definitions to describe its extension.

Combining these criteria, enables us to distinguish homonymous, polysemous, and vague words. Classes of sense-nodes that display similar features, moreover, have been identified as *sub-senses*, *facets*, and *ways-of-seeing*.

A word with *sub-senses* normally has an overall meaning that is vague and general; such a meaning very rarely arises in context. In its usage, it instead takes on specific readings, which are normally correlated with distinct referents and distinct lexical relations. Often, the sub-senses show a mutual taxonomic relation. In historical-narrative SBH, a good candidate for this semantic micro-structure is the noun *kālî*. This term is specified in context by distinct readings: “weapons,”<sup>60</sup> “vessel,”<sup>61</sup> “yoke,”<sup>62</sup> “jewel,”<sup>63</sup> “sack,”<sup>64</sup> “cover-

<sup>60</sup> See Gen 27:3 *w'th š' n' klyk tlyk wqštk* “now therefore take *your weapons*, your quiver and your bow” (NET); and Gen 49:5 *šm'wn wlwy 'hym kly hms mkrtyhm* “Simeon and Levi are brothers their swords are *weapons of violence*” (NIV).

<sup>61</sup> See 2 Sam 17:28 *mškb wšpwt wkly ywšr* “brought bedding, basins, and pottery utensils” (NET); 1 Kgs 7:45 *w't hšyrwt w't hy'ym w't hmzrqwt w't kl hklym h'lh* “and the pots, and the shovels, and the basins and *all these vessels*”; 2 Kgs 4:4 *wyšqt 'l kl hklym h'lh whml' tsy'y* “pour it *into all those vessels*; and set aside the full ones” (NKJV); and Ruth 2:9 *wšmt whlkt 'l hklym wštyt* “and when you are thirsty, go *unto the vessels*, and drink” (NKJV).

<sup>62</sup> See 2 Sam 24:22 *whmrgym wkly hbqr* “threshing sledges and *ox yokes*” (NIV).

<sup>63</sup> See 1 Sam 6:15 *w't h'rgz (...)' šr bw kly zhb* “and the coffer (...) in which *the jewels* were”; and in poetry Isa 61:10 *wkklh t'dh klyh* “as a bride adorns herself *with her jewels*” (NIV).

<sup>64</sup> See Gen 42:25 *wyšw ywsp wmyl' w't klyhm br* “Joseph commanded to fill *their sacks* with



ing.”<sup>65</sup> These readings are clearly correlated to distinct referents. Apparently, there is no more specific definition covering the whole extension of the item than the rather general one “instrument,” “tool.”<sup>66</sup> The sub-sense activated in context determines the lexical relations of the word.

Maximally general definitions	Readings (sub-senses)	Lexical relations (synonyms, hyponyms)
Implement of wood	“weapons”	<i>qešet</i> “quiver” <i>tālī</i> “bow”
	“yoke”	<i>môrag</i> “threshing sled”
Container	“vessel”	<i>saḇ</i> “basin” <i>sīr</i> “pot” <i>yā</i> “shovel” <i>mizrāq</i> “basin” <i>ḥeres</i> “earthen vessel”
	“sack”	<i>śaq</i> “sack” <i>’amtahāt</i> “sack”
Object	“jewel”	<i>’ādī</i> “ornaments” (SBH2) <i>mahmād</i> “precious thing” <i>’ôšār</i> “treasure”
	“covering”	<i>beḡed</i> “garment”

Table 1. Sub-senses of *kālī*

*Facets* are other types of sub-units of sense that, unlike the previous ones, do not imply difference in reference; they can be described as “fully discrete but non-antagonistic readings of a word.”<sup>67</sup> These contextual variants have the peculiarity that, unlike the alternative readings of standardly homonymous

corn” (NKJV). It is worth noting that the LXX does not use here the obvious equivalent *σκεῦος* “vessel or implement of any kind,” but renders *t klyhm* with *τὰ ἀγγεῖα* “sacks (of leather)”; see *LSJ*, s.v. “ἀγγεῖον.”

<sup>65</sup> See Num 31:20 *wkl bgd wkl kly ’wr* (...) *ttht’w* “you shall purify every garment, and *all coverings of skin*.”

<sup>66</sup> See *BDB* 4473: “article,” “utensil,” “vessel.”

<sup>67</sup> See D. Alan Cruse, *Meaning in Language. An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*, Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 114.



words, such as *light* (not heavy vs. not dark) and *bank* (of the river vs. institution), they appear to behave independently in some contexts, but jointly in others. They behave independently, for instance, in *two books*, which is ambiguous between two different texts and two physical copies of the same text.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, *This book is very interesting, but it is awfully heavy to carry around*, does not exhibit the zeugma that would be expected if “book” was ambiguous in the way that homonymic words are.<sup>69</sup>

An interesting example from historical-narrative SBH that should be tested for the polysemy criteria is the noun *bayit*. Its semantic micro-structure appears to exhibit both sub-senses and facets. On the one hand the concrete meaning “dwelling place” occurs in context via sub-classifications: “house, habitation,”<sup>70</sup> “temple,”<sup>71</sup> “abode of animals.”<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, contextual variants are similar to facets that imply different re-categorizations of the concrete meaning “dwelling place”: “inhabitants of a house, family,”<sup>73</sup> “family of descendants as an organized body,”<sup>74</sup> “property.”<sup>75</sup> More than one predicate,

<sup>68</sup> See D. Alan Cruse, “Lexical facets and metonymy,” *Ilha do Desterros Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies* 47 (2004): 73–96.

<sup>69</sup> Nunberg describes similar relationships as “dense metonymy”; see Geoffrey Nunberg, “Transfers of meaning,” *Journal of Semantics* 12 (1995): 109–132.

<sup>70</sup> See Gen 33:17 *wybn lw byt wlmqnhw 'sh skt* “he (Jacob) built himself a house, and made booths for his livestock” (NKJV); 19:3 *wysrw 'lyw wyb 'w 'l bytw* “they turned in to him, and entered into his house” (NKJV); Exod 7:28 *wšrš hy 'r sprd 'ym w 'lw wb 'w bbytk wbhđr mškbk w 'l mřtk* “the Nile will teem with frogs. They will come up into your palace and your bedroom, and onto your bed” (NIV); and Judg 11:31 *hywš 'šr yš' mđty byty* “whoever is the first to come through the doors of my house” (NET).

<sup>71</sup> See 1 Kgs 5:31 *wyšw hmlk wys 'w 'bnym gđłwt 'bnym yqrwt lysd hbyť* “the king commanded them to quarry large stones, costly stones, and hewn stones, to lay the foundation of the temple” (NKJV).

<sup>72</sup> See 1 Sam 6:10 *wyqłhw šty prwt 'lwt wy 'srwm b' gllh w 't bnyhm kłw bbyť* “they took two cows that had calves and harnessed them to a cart; they also removed their calves to their stalls” (NET).

<sup>73</sup> See Gen 7:1 *b' 'th wkl bytk 'l htbh* “go into the ark, you and your whole family” (NIV); 12:17 *wyng' YHWH 't pr' h ng'ym gđlym w 't bytw* “YHWH inflicted serious diseases on Pharaoh and his household” (NIV); Exod 12:4 *w 'm ym 'ť hbyť mhyť mšh* “if the household is too small (viz. with few members) for a lamb” (NET); Josh 24:15 *w 'nky wbyty n 'bd 't YHWH* “but I and my family will worship YHWH” (NET); and 1 Sam 27:3 *wyšb đwd 'm 'kyš bgt hw 'w 'nšyw 'jš wbytw* “David settled with Achish in Gath, along with his men and their families” (NET).

<sup>74</sup> See Gen 24:38 *'m l' 'l byť 'by tll w 'l mšphťy włqłť 'šh lbny* “but you must go to the family of my father and to my relatives to find a wife for my son” (NET); and Ruth 4:11 *krłł wkl 'h 'šr bnw štyhm 't byť yšr 'l* “like Rachel and like Leah, who together build up the family of Israel” (NIV).

<sup>75</sup> See Gen 39:4 *wypqđhw 'l bytw wkl yš lw ntn byđw* “he (Potiphar) put him in charge of his household, and he entrusted to his care everything he owned” (NIV).

nonetheless, select these facets jointly.<sup>76</sup> The facet from time to time activated, determines the lexical relations of the word.

Readings (facets)	Lexical relations
Dwelling place (made of clay, bricks, stones)	<i>ḥeder</i> "chamber" (meronym) <i>delet</i> "door" (meronym) <i>ʿāliyyâ</i> "upper chamber" (meronym) <i>liškâ</i> "room," "hall" (meronym) <i>ʾohel</i> "tent" (co-hyponym) <i>bayit</i> "palace" (auto-co-hyponym)
Offspring	<i>zera'</i> "seed" (synonym) <i>tôlēdôt</i> "descendants" (synonym)
Inhabitants of a house, family	<i>ʾiššâ</i> "wife" (meronym) <i>bēn</i> "son," "grandson" (meronym) <i>bat</i> "daughter" (meronym) <i>ḥānîk</i> "retainer," "member of a household" (meronym) <i>mišpāḥâ</i> "clan," "family" (synonym) <i>ʿebed</i> "servant" (meronym) <i>ʿam</i> "people" (synonym, hyperonym) <i>šēbet</i> "tribe" (hyperonym)
Property	<i>naḳas</i> (Aramaic) "wealth," "riches" (LBH1, synonym) <i>qinyān</i> "possessions," "acquisition" (synonym) <i>raḳûš</i> "goods" (synonym) <i>šō'n</i> "flocks" (hyponym) <i>bāqār</i> "cattle" (hyponym)

Table 2. Facets of *bayit*

Finally, there is a third source of discontinuity in word-meaning that is not correlated with a shift of reference nor with semantic re-categorization, but rather with different ways of looking at the same unified concept. Cruse calls this phenomenon *modes of construal* or *ways-of-seeing* (henceforth WOS).<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See Gen 12:1 *lk lk m' ršk wmmwldtk wmbyt 'byk* "get out of your country, from your relatives and from your father's household" (NET); and 1 Sam 2:11 *wylk 'lqnh hrnth 'l bytw* "Elkanah went back home to Ramah" (NET).

<sup>77</sup> See Cruse, "Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning," 47–49; and idem, *Meaning in Language*, 115–116.

Although Cruse is critical of the possibility of strictly limiting the number of WOS, he finally accepts the parallel with the four qualia roles identified by James Pustejovsky.<sup>78</sup> WOS include seeing something as a whole consisting of parts (the part-whole WOS/constitutive quale), seeing something as a kind in contrast with other things (the kind WOS/formal quale), seeing something in terms of its interaction with other things (namely as having a certain function, the functional WOS/telic quale), and seeing something from the point of view of its origin and life-cycle (the life-history WOS/agentive quale). It should be pointed out that lexical items do not necessarily carry a value for each WOS. Displaying a weak degree of autonomy, WOS nevertheless play a significant role in processes of semantic composition; in particular, they govern the ways in which predicates can attach themselves to nouns.<sup>79</sup> The noun *chair*, for example, can be accessed via its kind WOS, as part of a taxonomy that includes *table*, *wardrobe*, *bed*, *armchair* etc. via its part-whole WOS, in relation with meronyms such as *seat*, *legs*, *back*, via its life-cycle WOS, as a handmade or industrial product, or via its functional WOS, as a functional object. In the following examples, different perspectives are modulated independently: *a comfortable chair* (functional WOS); *a solid chair* (life-history WOS); *he grabbed the chair* (kind WOS). Cases as *a solid and comfortable chair*, which do not trigger zeugmatic effects, must be regarded as a symptom of unity of such nodules of sense.

A suitable example from historical-narrative SBH may be the noun *ḥāmôr* “male ass.” This word can be seen in context as having a certain function, namely “beast of burden,”<sup>80</sup> “mount,”<sup>81</sup> and very exceptionally “food,”<sup>82</sup> or as

<sup>78</sup> See James Pustejovsky, *The Generative Lexicon* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), 76–77.

<sup>79</sup> See Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 137; WOS play a role very likely also in morphological processes of compounding and derivation.

<sup>80</sup> See in particular the following combinations: *ḥmr grm* “strong ass, large-boned ass” (Gen 49:14) lit. “an ass of bone”; *ḥmwr lḥm* “an ass <laden with> bread” (1 Sam 16:20); the noun is selected also by verbal heads such as *ms l* “to load upon” (see Gen 44:13; Neh 13:15), or *nś* “to carry,” see Gen 45:23 *śrh ḥmrym nś ym mṭwb mšrym* “ten asses loaded with the best things of Egypt” (NIV).

<sup>81</sup> See Judg 19:10 and 2 Sam 16:1 *šmd ḥmwrym ḥbwšym* “a couple of asses saddled”; verbs such as *yrd* “to alight”; *rkb* “to ride”; *ḥbš* “to equip a beast for riding” access *ḥmwr* as a mount (1 Sam 25:23; 1 Sam 25:42; 2 Sam 19:7).

<sup>82</sup> This happens however in extremely harsh circumstances, as 2 Kgs 6:25 suggests: *wyly r b gdwl bšmrwn whnh šrym lyl d hywt r š ḥmwr bšmny m ksp* “there was a great famine in the city; the siege lasted so long that a donkey’s head sold for eighty shekels of silver” (NIV).

a kind in contrast with other “movable resources” that make up someone’s assets.<sup>83</sup> The WOS can also affect lexical relations of the word:

Readings (ways-of-seeing)	Lexical relations
Mount	<i>pered̄</i> “mule” <i>gāmāl</i> “camel” <i>’ātôm</i> “she-ass” <i>sûs</i> “horse”
Beast of burden	<i>gāmāl</i> “camel” <i>’ātôm</i> “she-ass”
Movable assets	<i>Livestock</i> <i>kol ’ăšer l-someone</i> “livestock” <i>sō’n</i> “small cattle,” “flock” <i>bāqār</i> “cattle” <i>’ātôm</i> “she-ass” <i>gāmāl</i> “camel” <i>šûr</i> “head of cattle, bullock, ox”  <i>People</i> <i>’ebed</i> “servant” <i>šip̄hâ</i> “maid-servant” <i>bēn</i> “son” <i>bāt</i> “daughter”  <i>Other goods</i> <i>keseḇ</i> “silver” <i>zāhāb</i> “gold” <i>’aderet</i> “robe,” “cloak” <i>beḡed</i> “garment” <sup>84</sup> <i>’ōhel</i> “tent” <sup>85</sup> <i>rəḵûš</i> “property”

Table 3. WOS of *ḥāmôr*

<sup>83</sup> See Gen 12:16 *wyhy lw š’n wbaq wḥmwrym* “he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses” (see 24:35; 30:43; Josh 7:24; 1 Sam 15:3).

<sup>84</sup> See 1 Sam 27:9.

<sup>85</sup> See Josh 7:24.

### 3. Meaning-composition Operations

Focusing on contextual variability in the semantic behavior of words led to the identification of semantic units such as sub-senses, facets, and ways-of-seeing, which in principle “form and dissolve as context changes.”<sup>86</sup> The fact that meanings and semantic properties such as sense, category boundaries, and sense relations are “on line” construals on occasion of use and not inherent properties of lexical items creates the conditions for a flexible and dynamic model of lexical meaning representation and meaning-composition. The effects of context on lexical meaning determination can be summarized under three headings: selection; coercion; and modulation.

*Selection* is the basic mechanism governing the semantic composition. Selection operates largely through the suppression of readings giving rise to some sort of semantic clash with context. This operation can be accounted for also in terms of syntagmatic sense relations tied to particular grammatical constructions; for example, the relation between a given semantic head (*selector*) and the modifiers (*selectees*) that occur normally with it has been called *philonymy*.

In either case the mechanism of selection exhibits directional properties: if we look at the selection as a mechanism of semantic composition, it is bidirectional, as it might originate indifferently from one or the other of the components. If we look at selection in terms of syntagmatic combinations, the directionality is tied to particular grammatical constructions: within noun phrases, adjectives operate as selectors, governing the semantic relation of philonymy, nominals are selectees; within verbal phrases, verbs operate as selectors and nominals as selectees. By specifying the syntagmatic domain to which they refer, we can identify syntagmatic relations of various kinds.<sup>87</sup> Between *šālâ* “to roast” and *bāsār* “meat” there is a kind of relation that has been named philonymy; the terms occur normally in combinations of verb-object.<sup>88</sup> When a kind of semantic clash would result from the combination of two lexical items, between these terms there is instead a syntagmatic relation of xenonymy. Such clashes can be described in terms of *inappropriateness*, *paradox*, or *incongruity*.

The combination *šālâ bāsēq* “to roast dough,” for example, is inappropriate as verb-object, since it appears that selectional rules make the verb *šālâ* spe-

<sup>86</sup> See Cruse, “Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning,” 30.

<sup>87</sup> See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 222.

<sup>88</sup> See 1 Sam 2:15; Isa 44:16.19.

cialized for cooking doughs (phylonyms: *lehem* “bread,” *bāšēq* “dough,” *maššâ* “unleavened bread,” *’uġâ* “cake of bread”) by dry heat without direct exposure to a flame,<sup>89</sup> typically in an oven (*battannûr*), and they restrict the meaning of the verb *šâlâ* to cooking meat by prolonged exposure to heat over a fire.<sup>90</sup> Such selectional rules operate at a semantic level. When a collocational preference is contravened the context exhibits inappropriateness that is the lowest degree of semantic clash.

Between *nāhaq* “to bray” and *pere* “wild ass” there is a phylonymy in combinations verb-subject<sup>91</sup> – the same between *ġâ’â* “to low” and *pārâ* “cow” and *šûr* “ox”<sup>92</sup> and between *šâ’āġ* “to roar” and *’ârî* “lion.”<sup>93</sup> All these verbs are specialized for the non-articulated noises emitted by different animals according to an idiosyncratic linguistic classification (quite strikingly, no verb is attested for the bleating of the sheep). Expressions that would combine subjects with the semantic feature “human” would be then paradoxical. I will now analyze the following contexts taken SBH2:

Ps 74:4

š’gw šrryk bqr̄b mw’dk

“your adversaries have roared in the midst of your meeting-place” (NASB)

Joel 4:16

wYHWH mšywn yš’g

“YHWH shall roar from Zion”

Mic 4:10

h̄wly wġh̄y bt šywn kywldh

“writhe in pain and groan, daughter of Zion, like a woman in labour.”<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Remarkably, the verb is also used for cooking on coals, see Isa 44:19 w’p’pyty’lġhlyw l̄hm “I also baked bread on its (fire’s) coals.”

<sup>90</sup> See Kurtis Peters, *Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel: What’s Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?* BibInt 146 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

<sup>91</sup> See Job 6:5.

<sup>92</sup> See 1 Sam 6:12; Job 6:5.

<sup>93</sup> See Judg 14:5.

<sup>94</sup> The MT’s reading *wāġōh̄î* is difficult and disputed. It has been regarded as deriving from a corrupt consonantal text; in fact, the verb *ġyh* conveys mainly the idea of a thunderous outflow of water (see Job 38:8; 40:23; see Ezek 32:2), and its use here appears rather difficult; its tandem term *hw̄l* applies to trembling movements caused by pain, and consequently also the verb *ġyh* should point to physical reactions typical of women in labor; see Claudia D. Bergmann, *Child-*

These sentences contravene the selectional preference of the verbs. Nevertheless, the semantic clash that arises from these combinations triggers a search through possible meaning extensions, such as metaphor and metonymy, for a reading that is compatible with the context. Thus, the readings *šā' aḡ* “to speak menacingly”; *gālḥâ* “to moan” would probably fit the contexts, not as a result of an operation of selection or modulation but as a result of coercion exerted by the context.

The phenomenon of *contextual modulation* arises when a particular aspect of the meaning associated with a lexical item is privileged due to context.<sup>95</sup> In the syntagmatic composition, only the relevant nodule of sense is considered suitable for generating a pertinent reading. In the case of a noun as *sēper* “written document,” “record,” “book,” which is describable in terms of facets, the verbs *bô' hiphil* “to bring”;<sup>96</sup> *lāqaḥ* “to take”;<sup>97</sup> *nātan* “to give”;<sup>98</sup> *nāwaḥ (hiphil)* “to place”;<sup>99</sup> *šîm* “to place”;<sup>100</sup> *māša'* “to find”;<sup>101</sup> *pātaḥ* “to open”<sup>102</sup> modulate the facet concrete object; while the verbs *kātab* “to write”;<sup>103</sup> *qārā'* “to read” modulate instead the facet text; *šārap* “to burn,”<sup>104</sup> on the other hand, modulates a unified reading. Expressions such *sēper habbārīt*,<sup>105</sup> *sēper*

---

*birth as a Metaphor for Crisis. Evidence for the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH 11, 1–18* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 187. Numerous corrections, however, have been suggested. Among the various proposed emendations, I assume the reading *wāḡa'î* from the verb *g'h*; the corruption would consist of a letter interchange between *ḥ* and *'* motivated by phonetic similarity; see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 251. The word, thus emended, would trigger the plausible metaphorical reading “to howl,” “to bellow,” that would perfectly fit the context of childbirth’s labor. Modern translations seem to struggle to assign a plausible reading, which often turns out to be simply contextually motivated, compare: “writhe and labor to give birth” (NASB); “twist and strain” (NEB); “writhe in agony” (NIV); “writhe in pain and cry aloud” (NJB); “be in pain, and labor to bring forth” (NKJV); “writhe and groan” (RSV); “writhe and scream” (NJPS).

<sup>95</sup> See D. Alan Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 50–54, and idem, *Meaning in Language*, 112.

<sup>96</sup> See Esth 6:1; Neh 8:1; 2 Kgs 22:9||2 Chr 34:16.

<sup>97</sup> See Exod 24:7; Deut 31:26; Jer 32:11.14.

<sup>98</sup> See Deut 24:1.3; 2 Kgs 22:8||2 Chr 34:15; 2 Kgs 22:10||2 Chr 34:18.

<sup>99</sup> See 1 Sam 10:25.

<sup>100</sup> See Deut 31:26.

<sup>101</sup> See 2 Kgs 22:8; 2 Chr 34:15; 2 Kgs 23:24; Neh 7:5; 2 Chr 34:14.

<sup>102</sup> See Neh 8:5.

<sup>103</sup> See Exod 32:32; Deut 24:1.3;

<sup>104</sup> See Jer 36:32.

<sup>105</sup> See Exod 24:7; 2 Kgs 23:2||2 Chr 34:30.

*tôrat* YHWH “the book of the Torah of YHWH,”<sup>106</sup> or *‘al sēp̄er dibrê Šālômōh* “in the book of the acts of Solomon”<sup>107</sup> modulate the facet text and the WOS of its content, whereas *bāsēp̄er Mōšeh* “in the book of Moses”,<sup>108</sup> i.e. written by Moses, modulates the WOS of its origin.

*Coercion* is a type of compositional operation, by which context “forces” the semantic structure of a lexical item to produce a relevant reading, as a response to some sort of semantic clash deriving from a given combination.<sup>109</sup> This operation differs from selection and modulation in that “lexically driven operations of coercion provide for contextualized interpretations of expressions, which would otherwise not exhibit polysemy.”<sup>110</sup> Normally, coercion applies to semantic articulations like the WOS. As the following examples will show, the combinations between *‘ēnayim* “eyes” and the verbs *šim* “to put,” *nāsā* “to lift, to carry,” and the predicative prepositional phrase introduced by *‘al* “on” yield an interpretation of the noun *‘ayin*, which exploits its typical function, viz. “to see,” “to look”:

Gen 13:10

*wys’ lwṭ’ t’ ynyw*

“Lot lifted up his eyes”

Gen 44:21

*w’šymh’ yny’ lyw*

“that I may set my eyes upon him”

2 Chr 20:12

*ky’ lyk’ ynyw*

“our eyes are upon you.”

The reading coerced by context will be something like “look,” “glance,” “sight.” Context may also introduce elements otherwise absent in the inherent meaning of a lexical item (*introduction*). In expressions like:

<sup>106</sup> See 2 Chr 17:9.

<sup>107</sup> See 1 Kgs 11:41.

<sup>108</sup> See 2 Chr 25:4; 35:12; Neh 13:1.

<sup>109</sup> According to Pustejovsky and Ježek, coercion takes place “when there is a mismatch (type clash) between the type selected by the verb and the type of the argument”; see James Pustejovsky and Elisabetta Ježek, “Semantic Coercion in Language. Beyond Distributional Analysis,” *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 20/1 (2008): 181–214.

<sup>110</sup> See Pustejovsky and Ježek, “Semantic Coercion in Language,” 184.



Gen 27:25

*wyb' lw yyn*

“he brought him wine”

Gen 14:18

*hwšy' lhm wyyw*

“he brought forth bread and wine.”

Neh 2:1

*w's' t hywn w'tnh lmlk*

“I took up the wine, and gave it unto the king”

the predicates *nāsā'*, *bô'* (*hiphil*) and *yāšā'* (*hiphil*) introduce a “container, vessel” element, which is not inherently entailed in the meaning of the noun *yayin* “wine.”

In applying a similar model of word-meaning representation to the nouns for “rules and regulations” in BH historical-narrative language, we can derive several sets of information that will be of critical importance for the study of their semantic relations within the Hebrew lexicon: first an inventory of philonyms for each lexeme, i.e. words which occur in syntagmatic combination producing relevant readings; second an inventory of sense-nodes activated by their usage in context. The investigation based on sense-nodes will not only constitute a sound foundation for the appreciation of the lexemes' sense relations within and outside the lexical field boundaries, but it will also be a reliable instrument in terms of contrastive interlinguistic analysis.

On the one hand, Hebrew lexemes and their selectional properties may undergo variations largely tied to linguistic and discourse tradition rules of the types previously described (i.e. diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, and diamesic variations). On the other hand, nodes of sense, of an essentially cognitive nature, can be considered a sound foundation for contrastive interlinguistic analysis of the Greek equivalents. This is true even when a sense-node activated by a given Hebrew word is not lexicalized or is differently encoded in the Greek lexicon.



## Chapter 1. The Use of *mišpāṭ* in the Historical-narrative Language

The noun *mišpāṭ* is an extraordinary example of semantic variation ranging from vagueness to polysemy.<sup>1</sup> Through the analysis of the lexeme's distribution within the historical-narrative SBH and LBH it will be noted to what extent the morphosyntactic context can influence its interpretation, modulating the different contextual senses. These syntagmatic structures will be identified and described below.

### 1. Judgment

The activation of the sense-nodule “judgment” is favoured by the occurrence of the term in the singular definite (*hammišpāṭ*) or indefinite (*mišpāṭ*). This syntagmatic type conveys a conceptualization of the substantive as an eventive noun indicating the process of judging, with special emphasis on the legal context. In this latter case, the term can also be interpreted as “trial.” Within the historical-narrative language such use is instantiated in the following tokens:

Num 35:12

*wl' ymwt hršh 'd 'mdw l'pny h' dh lmšpṭ*

<sup>1</sup> Compare HALOT, 5845: 1) “decision, judgment”; 2) “dispute, case”; 3) “legal claim”; 4) “measure”; 5) “law”; BDB, 10249: 1) “judgment”; 2) attribute of the *šōpēṭ* “justice,” “right,” “rectitude”; 3) “ordinance” promulgated by the *šōpēṭ*; 4) “decision” of the *šōpēṭ* in a case of law; 5) one’s (legal) “right,” “privilege,” “due”; 6) a. “proper, fitting, measure”; b. “custom,” “manner”; and DCH, 5:556–564: 1) “judgment”; 2) “justice”; 3) “ordinance”; 4) “custom,” “manner,” “destiny,” “rank”; 5) “legal right,” “entitlement”; 6) “just measure,” “specification,” “proper measure,” “moderation,” “restraint,” “discretion.”

“The murderer shall not die until he stands before the congregation *for trial*.”<sup>2</sup>

Josh 20:6

wyšb b 'yr hhy' 'd 'mdw l'pny h 'dh lmšp̄t

“He<sup>3</sup> shall live in that city until he can stand *trial* before the assembly.” (JPS)

Deut 1:17

l' 'tgrwrw mpny 'yš ky hmšp̄t l' lhym hw'

“You shall not be intimidated by human beings, *for the judgment* belongs to God.”<sup>4</sup>

The idea of judgment can also be conceptualized as the punctual event that puts an end to the whole process, which is equal to the pronouncement of a “sentence, verdict”; this particular reading is furtherly triggered by the combination of *mišpāṭ* with *verba dicendi*, as in the following case:

2 Kgs 25:6

wytpšw 't mlk wy 'lw 'tw 'l mlk bbl rblth wydbwr 'tw mšp̄t

“Then they captured the king and brought him up to the king of Babylon at Riblah, who passed *sentence* upon him.” (RSV)

<sup>2</sup> The same rendering “trial” is chosen by many modern translators (cf. NASB, NEB, NIV, NJB); the text of Num 35:9–29 deals with the institution of the cities of refuge (see v. 11 'ārē miqlāṭ); see Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 21–36*, AB 4a (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007), 553–558. These places had a dual function, asylum and confinement; see Alexander Rofé, “The History of the Cities of Refuge in Biblical Law,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 121–147, in particular 140.

<sup>3</sup> The manslayer who kills any person without intent or unwittingly, see v. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Compare “have no fear of man, for judgment belongs to God” (NEB); a similar idea is formulated also in later texts such as 2 Chr 19:6 wy 'mr 'l hšp̄tym r 'w mh 'tm 'šym ky l' l' dm tšp̄tw ky l'YHWH w 'mkm bdbwr mšp̄t “and he (Jehoshaphat) said to the judges: ‘Consider what you do; for you judge not for man, but for YHWH; and he is with you in giving judgment’”; as well as in poetic texts belonging to the Wisdom discourse tradition, see Prov 16:33 bh̄yq ywṭl 't hgwr l' w mYHWH kl mšp̄tw “the lot is cast into the lap; but his judgment is from YHWH”; see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, AB 5 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1991), 138–139; Rofé points out that these instructions and recommendations are of a general and moral character and have an echo in the whole sapiential literature (additional examples can be found in Prov 17:23; 18:5; 28:21); see Alexander Rofé, “The organization of the Judiciary in Deuteronomy,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 103–119, in particular 117.

## 2. Divine Ordinance

The reading “divine judgments” – corresponding to the perfective conceptualization of *mišpāṭ* as “verdict (having their origin in God)” – is largely coerced by context. It arises mostly from the usage of the term in the plural, either in an absolute definite state (*hammišpāṭīm*) or specified by pronominal suffixes pointing to YHWH (*mišpāṭay* / *mišpāṭāyw*). The noun thus turns out to refer to a complex object indicating a body of divine statements (i.e., the verdicts, and consequently, via metonymy, the ordinances deriving from them), legally and morally binding for their recipients.

As it normally occurs with eventive or abstract nouns, the pluralization implies a recategorization<sup>5</sup> and accordingly a modification of the meaning. In the case of *mišpāṭ*, the plural gives the lexeme a perfective and tangible meaning, which corresponds to all the judgments, viz. all the verdicts, passed by YHWH or any subject entitled to do so. Such verdicts clearly exert a moral constraint on their recipients. It is important to emphasize, moreover, that bringing the verdicts back to God’s agency adds to them an intrinsic character of justice.

The selection of this specific reading is also correlated with a series of verbal selectors that define, with respect to the content of the prescription itself, the roles of: the source of authority (YHWH);<sup>6</sup> the mediator (mostly Moses);<sup>7</sup> and the final recipients (the Israelite community).<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, in this sense *mišpāṭīm* appears in combination with a series of other lexemes that are used, also in the plural form, to indicate the commandments and divine prescriptions, such as *ḥuqqīm*, *mišwōt*, and *‘ēdōt*.<sup>9</sup> Two examples from SBH1 and LBH1 illustrate the case:

<sup>5</sup> For the recategorization effects of number, see Greville G. Corbett, *Number*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 84–87. As it is obvious, the phenomenon of recategorization does not affect nouns that designate real objects such as, for example, *syr* “pot,” vs. *syrym* “pots.” In this case the plural operates as a multiplexing device.

<sup>6</sup> As in the case of *šwh* (*piel*) “to command, to order”; see Deut 6:1; 6:20 (SBH4); and 2 Chr 33:8 (LBH1).

<sup>7</sup> As in the case of *lmd* (*piel*) “to teach” (Deut 4:5; 4:14).

<sup>8</sup> As in the case of *šm* / *l’ šm* “to listen,” “to obey” (Deut 4:1; 7:12); *šmr* / *l’ šmr* “to preserve,” “to observe” (Deut 7:11; 8:11; 11:1; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:58; 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37; 2 Chr 7:17; Neh 1:7); *ḥt’ b* “to disrespect,” “to act unfairly towards,” defining respectively the duties and the sanctionable behaviours; see also Neh 9:29 (LBH2).

<sup>9</sup> A significant amount of literature has been devoted to the discussion of the mutual se-

Num 36:13

*’lh hmšwt whmšptym ’šr šwh YHWH byd mšh ’l bny ysr ’l b ’rbt mw ’b ’l yrdn yrhw*

“These are the commandments and *the ordinances* YHWH commanded by Moses to the people of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.” (RSV)

Neh 1:7

*hbl hblnw lk wl ’ šmrnw ’t hmšwt w ’t hḥqym w ’t hmšptym ’šr šwyt ’t mšh ’bdk*

“We have acted very corruptly against you, and have not kept the commandments, the statutes, nor *the ordinances*, which you commanded your servant Moses.” (NKJV)<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Law

The reading “law” – corresponding to the system of rules that the community of Israelites recognizes as regulating the actions of its members and that may be enforced by the imposition of penalties – arises from the usage of *mišpāt* in the singular, as a nominal complement of a limited set of nouns, namely *ḥuqqâ*, and *dābār*. Such phrases trigger the conceptualization of *mišpāt* as a complex object noun indicating one single example extracted from the body of divine statements (verdicts, ordinances) with binding force for their recipient’s behavior. Grammar realizes thus the cognitive operation of *unit excerpting*,<sup>11</sup> via the usage of singulative phrases such as *ḥuqqat mišpāt* and *dabar hammišpāt*, which elicit the reading “rule of law,”<sup>12</sup> as shown in the following example:

---

mantic relationship of these lexemes, mostly when they occur in combination. Particular attention was given to the pair *ḥqym wmšptym*, very frequent in the historical-narrative language (Deut 4:1.5.8.14; 5:1; 11:32; 1 Kgs 9:4; 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17); see Helmer Ringgren, “חקק,” *TDOT* 5:139–147, in particular 142–143; Bo Johnson, “משפט,” *TDOT* 9:86–98. Johnson’s conclusion on the topic seems very sensible: “when nouns follow one another, the quantity or the totality of the commandments are emphasized much more than the specific meaning of the individual words,” see Johnson, “משפט,” 94–95. Diachronically speaking, the addition of lexemes such as *mišwâ* (Deut 5:31; 6:1; 7:11; 26:17; 1 Kgs 8:58; 2 Chr 19:10; Neh 1:7), *tôrâ* (2 Chr 33:8), or both of them (2 Kgs 17:37; Neh 9:13) is a signal of recency. Its use in Deut 1–11 should be considered, therefore, the result of an editorial activity; see Baruch A. Levine, “מצודה,” *TDOT* 8:505–514, in particular 509.

<sup>10</sup> From the point of view of literary criticism, many commentators regard the Nehemiah’s prayer as a Deuteronomistic addition; see Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra–Nehemiah*, AB 14 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 95.

<sup>11</sup> See Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 60.

<sup>12</sup> See chapter 4 § 2.3.1.

Num 27:11

*lbny yśr' l lhqt mšpṭ k 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh*

“it shall be a rule of law<sup>13</sup> for the Israelites, as YHWH commanded Moses.”<sup>14</sup>

The larger text from which this passage is taken (Num 27:1–11) narrates the controversy of the daughters of Zelophehad, a man of the tribe of Manasseh who died without leaving male heirs. They are deprived of their inheritance by the rest of their family, and for this reason they appeal to Moses, the priest Eleazar, and the leaders (*nēšî'îm*) to assert their rights. The discovery of the divine will in specific cases of infringed rights can be represented as a process that involves several steps: the subjects present their case to the authorities of the community that come up with a judgment derived from their knowledge of divine teachings. In the specific case of this story, however, YHWH himself is represented as a subject acting in the administration of justice, who passes judgments when individual rights are at stake. In the case of the Zelophehad's daughters, in fact, the delegated subjects are unable to resolve the dispute based on their knowledge of casuistic or customary law. Moses then relays the case directly to YHWH,<sup>15</sup> thanks to his privileged access to personal dialogue with the divinity. God judges and renders a yes/no type judgment. Moses announces the terms of the divine decision in the form of a verdict *inter partes*,<sup>16</sup> which he subsequently reformulates as a rule of law with a cogency *erga omnes*.<sup>17</sup> This formulation is defined in the final passage of the narrative

<sup>13</sup> Compare the translations “statutory ordinance” (NASB), “legal precedent” (NEB), and “legal rule” (NJB).

<sup>14</sup> This is a rule concerning inheritance, Levine translates “a statute of jurisprudence”; see Levine, *Numbers 21–36*, 343.

<sup>15</sup> See v. 5 *wyqrb mšh 't mšpṭn lpny YHWH* “Moses brought their case before YHWH.”

<sup>16</sup> See v. 7 *kn bmwṭ šlphd dbrt ntn ttn lhm 'hzt nhlh bwtw 'hy 'byhm wh 'brt 't nhlṭ 'byhm lhm* “the daughters of Zelophehad are right; you shall give them possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren and cause the inheritance of their father to pass to them.”

<sup>17</sup> See v. 8 *yš kyymwt wbn 'yn lw wh 'brtm 't nhlṭw lbtw* “And you shall say to the people of Israel, ‘If a man dies, and has no son, then you shall cause his inheritance to pass to his daughter.’” A quite similar procedure is told in Lev 24:10–16.23 (SBH4). This interesting section deals with the blasphemy of a boy, son of an Israelite woman called Shelomith and an Egyptian man, which risks contaminating the whole community (v. 11 *wyqb bn h'yšh hysr'lyt 't hšm wyqll* “the Israelite woman's son blasphemed the Name and cursed”). The boy is thus brought to Moses (*wyby'w 'tw 'l mšh*, v. 11) and put in custody until the decision of YHWH on him should be made clear to the elders of the community (*lprš lhm 'l py YHWH*, v. 12). God tells Moses the penalty to be imposed on him (*wyḏbr YHWH 'l mšh l'mr*, v. 13) and commands Moses to disclose the verdict to all the Israelites in the form of a rule of law (*w' l bny yśr' l tḏbr l'mr*, v. 15).

section as *ḥuqqat mišpāt*.<sup>18</sup> The expression *ḥuqqat mišpāt* must be accounted for as a singulative phrase in which the noun *ḥuqqâ* performs a proper grammatical function, favoring the cognitive operation of extracting a single instance from the body of divine judgments having the force of law and thus generating the reading “rule of law.” An example from SBH4 that can be traced back to this type of linguistic phenomenon is the following:

Deut 17:9

*wb` t` l` hkhnym hlwym w` l` hšpṭ` šr yhyh bymym hhm wdršt whgydw lk` t` dbr hmšpṭ*

“Go to the priests, who are Levites, and to the judge who is in office at that time. Inquire of them and they will give you *the verdict*.”<sup>19</sup>

In this case, it is *dābār* that performs the function of the singulative, and the reading of the phrase *dābar hammišpāt* is traceable to the specific rule applicable to the individual case at stake, extracted from the *corpus* that the Levites and the judges must be familiar with for the settlement of civil litigations.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On the origin of laws from the historiographical perspective, Rofé suggests: “some of the laws appear to be the casuistic rephrasing of verdicts handed down in the courts of elders”; see Alexander Rofé, “Family and Sex Laws in Deuteronomy,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 169–192, in particular 184.

<sup>19</sup> Compare “verdict” (NASB, NIV, NJPS), and “sentence” (NEB); for the organization of the judicial system in Deuteronomy, as well as for the involvement of priests and judges in it, see Rofé, “The organization of the Judiciary in Deuteronomy,” in particular 115.

<sup>20</sup> See Deut 17:8 “If a matter arises too hard for you in judgment (*dbr lmšpṭ*), between blood and blood (*byn dm ldm*), between plea and plea (*byn dym ldyn*), and between stroke and stroke (*wbyn ng` lng`*), even matters of controversy (*dbry rybt*) within your gates; then shall you arise, and get you up unto the place which YHWH your God shall choose”; see also the report of the king Jehoshaphat’s judicial reforms in 2 Chr 19:4–11. Jehoshaphat established a central jurisdiction next to the local jurisdiction and relieved the king from the office of chief judge: “Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites and the priests, and of the heads of the fathers’ houses of Israel (*wmr` šy h` bwt lyšr` l*), for the judgment of YHWH, and for controversies (*lryb*) (v. 8) ... whenever any controversy (*ryb*) shall come to you from your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood (*byn dm ldm*), between law and commandment, statutes and ordinances (*byn twrh lmšwh lhqym lmšptym*), you shall warn them, that they be not guilty towards YHWH, and so wrath come upon you and upon your brethren; thus shall you do, and you shall not be guilty (v. 10).” The provision is part of a religious reform; the courts judge in the name of YHWH and are competent in religious matters. This reform, to be considered historical, has perhaps influenced the story of similar measures attributed to Moses (see Exod 18:13 ff.) and is the basis of the laws in Deut 16:18–20 and 17:8–13.



#### 4. Right

The fourth syntagmatic type isolated from the usage of *mišpāṭ* in historical-narrative language is characterized by the usage of the noun in the singular construct state, governing a genitive complement (*mišpaṭ*). It conveys a conceptualization of the substantive as an abstract object that indicates the “right,” or the “rights,” in other words what is due to a given party because it is fair and righteous. The term alludes to a notion of justice due *inter partes*; more precisely it refers to legality (*iusticia legalis*). In this case the governed complement indicates the rights’ or prerogative’s holder as in *mišpaṭ habbānōt* “the rights of the daughters.”<sup>21</sup> Expressions such as *mišpaṭ mālūḳā* “the rights of the kingdom,”<sup>22</sup> *mišpaṭ ‘abdō* “the right of the servant (of YHWH),” denoting the king, and *mišpaṭ ‘ammō* “the right of his (YHWH’s) people”<sup>23</sup> may be included in this group.

This sense-nodule is typical of SBH4, instantiated in phrases as *mišpaṭ hakkōhānīm* “the due of the priests,”<sup>24</sup> *mišpaṭ habbākōrā* “the right of the first-born,”<sup>25</sup> *mišpaṭ gēr yātôm* “the rights of the foreign resident and the fatherless,”<sup>26</sup> *mišpaṭ gēr yātôm wə’almānā* “the rights of the foreign resident, the fatherless and the widow.”<sup>27</sup>

In these cases, the meaning of *mišpāṭ* must be differentiated from that of *šedeq* and *šādāqā*, which refer to a concept of justice defined as *iusticia erga omnes*, and from that of *ḥōq*, which points in a concrete way to an allotted portion of something, usually estimated by measurement,<sup>28</sup> established by an authority (God, the Pharaoh, Joseph acting as his administrator) and assigned to a subject or a category of persons (usually expressed by a complement introduced by the preposition *l* or by the pronominal suffix) by right.

<sup>21</sup> See Exod 21:9; compare “the rights of a daughter” (NEB).

<sup>22</sup> See 1 Sam 10:25; compare “rights and duties” (RSV).

<sup>23</sup> See 1 Kgs 8:59.

<sup>24</sup> See Deut 18:3.

<sup>25</sup> See Deut 21:17.

<sup>26</sup> See Deut 24:17.

<sup>27</sup> See Deut 27:19.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 4 § 1.1. and 2.2.

## 5. Custom, Manner

The syntagmatic pattern that elicits the reading “custom” is remarkably similar to that described in the previous paragraph: the term occurs in the singular specified by a genitive complement, which points to an animated referent. This fact suggests that it is less context-dependent, and it constitutes a distinct sense-nodule entrenched in the semantic micro-structure of the noun. In the examples listed below, the usage of *mišpāṭ* cannot be brought back to the legal framework, the reading that arises is that of “custom,” “customary behavior,” and “manner” attributable to a single person or a whole category of people.<sup>29</sup> Mostly in adverbial phrases (*kəmišpaṭ-*), the term describes the customary way of doing or handling something, as a job:

Gen 40:13

*b' d šlšt ymym ys' pr' h' t r' šk whšybk l knk wntt kws pr' h bydw kmšpṭ hr' šwn' šr hyyt mšqlhw*

“In three days, Pharaoh will pardon you and restore you to your post; you will place Pharaoh’s cup in his hand, *as was your custom formerly* when you were his cupbearer” (NJPS)

military operations:

Josh 6:15

*wyly bywm hšby' y wyškmw k' lwt hšhr wysbw' t h' yr kmšpṭ hzh šb' p' mym*

“on the seventh day they rose early at the dawn of day and marched around the city *in the same manner* seven times” (RSV)

the education of a child:

Judg 13:12

*wy' mr mwḥ' th yb' dbryk mh ylyh mšpṭ hn' r wm' šhw*

<sup>29</sup> Compare *kəmišpaṭ šidōnīm* “after the customs of the Sidonians” (Judg 18:7); Booth, who has analyzed the mutual relationship of the various meanings of *mišpāṭ*, emphasized that: “there are evidently three basic factors underlying the fundamental conception of *mišpāṭ*: the custom, the law, and the right. Of these groups the first, based upon customs, seem the original. As custom does not develop from law, but law from custom, it is probable that the meaning of this word travelled in the same direction. The number of early passages where the meaning “manner” or “custom” is found bears this out”; see Osborne Booth, “The Semantic Development of the Term *mišpaṭ* in the Old Testament,” *JBL* 61 (1942): 105–110, here 108.

“Manoah said, ‘Now when your words come true, what is to be *the boy’s manner of life*, and what is he to do?’” (RSV)

or ritualized course of actions, as for the proclamation of the king:

2 Kgs 11:14

*whnh hmlk ‘md ‘lh ‘mwd kmšpṭ*

“there was the king standing by the pillar, *according to the custom.*” (RSV)

Finally, the following examples are particularly significant. In his speech to the people asking for a king, Samuel responds with a detailed description of what a king can do to his subjects:

1 Sam 8:11–17

“These will be *the manners of the king* (*mšpṭ hmlk*)<sup>30</sup> that will reign over you: he will take (*yqh*) your sons, and make them serve with his chariots and horses, and they will run in front of his chariots. (12) Some he will assign to be commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and others to plough his ground and reap his harvest, and still others to make weapons of war and equipment for his chariots. (13) And he will take (*yqh*) your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. (14) And he will take (*yqh*) the best of your fields and vineyards and olive groves and give them to his attendants. (15) And he will take the tenth (*y’sr*) of your grain and of your vintage and give it to his officials and attendants. (16) And he will take (*yqh*) your menservants and maidservants and the best of your cattle and donkeys he will take for his own use. (v. 17) He will take the tenth (*y’sr*) of your flocks; and you yourselves will become his slaves (*w’tm thyw lw l’bdym*).” (NIV)

This passage has attracted the attention of many scholars and commentators, who have highlighted its great significance in marking the transition from the time of the judges to the advent of monarchy.<sup>31</sup> To people asking for a king to rule over them, Samuel replies describing the *mišpāṭ hammeleḳ*, consisting basically of a catalogue of monarchic excess.<sup>32</sup> In the light of what follows in the text, then, the term must be understood as the “customary be-

<sup>30</sup> NIV generically translates “this is what”; compare “behaviour” (NKJV); “the ways” (RSV); and “the practice” (NJPS).

<sup>31</sup> See Hans W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1964), 71.

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed literary comment on this text see Jonathan Kaplan, “1 Samuel 8:11–18 as ‘A Mirror for Princes,’” *JBL* 131 (2012): 625–642, in particular 627–630.

havior” of kings in general, characterized by a regular and progressive withdrawal<sup>33</sup> from the resources of the people until its enslavement. The reading “rights of the king” can be maintained only if we assume some irony in Samuel’s speech,<sup>34</sup> or possibly an allusion to the fact that, once the king’s behavior is enshrined as his *mišpāṭ*, it will no longer be possible to consider it arbitrary or illegitimate.

In the passage discussed below, *mišpāṭ* refers to David’s customary behavior during his sojourn at Ziklag, in the service of Achis:

1 Sam 27:9–11

“Whenever David attacked an area, he did not leave a man or woman alive, but took sheep and cattle, donkeys and camels, and clothes. Then he returned to Achish. (10) When Achish asked, ‘Where did you go raiding today?’ David would say, ‘Against the Negev of Judah’ or ‘Against the Negev of Jerahmeel’ or ‘Against the Negev of the Kenites.’ (11) He did not leave a man or woman alive to be brought to Gath, for he thought, they might inform on us and say, ‘This is what David did.’ And such was his *customary behaviour* (*mšpṭw*)<sup>35</sup> as long as he lived in Philistine territory.” (NIV)

A comparable reading can be assigned to the occurrences of the term in 2 Kings 17.<sup>36</sup> In this passage we repeatedly find phrases such as *mišpaṭ ’ēlōhē hā’āreš*, *mišpaṭ haggōyim*, and *mišpāṭām*, pointing to the habits of the peoples settled in Samaria by the king of Assyria with regard to worship:

2 Kgs 17:26–27, 34

“So they spoke to the king of Assyria, saying, ‘The nations whom you have carried away into exile in the cities of Samaria do not know *the custom of the god of the land* (‘*t mšpṭ ’lhy h’rš*); so he has sent lions among them, and behold, they kill them because they do not know the custom of the god of the land.’ (27) Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, ‘Take there one of the priests whom you carried away into exile and let him go and live there; and let him teach them *the custom of the god of the land*’ ... (34) To this day they do according to *the earlier customs* (*kmšpṭym hr’šnym*): they do

<sup>33</sup> Note the reiterated usage of the verb *lqh*.

<sup>34</sup> See Eric Alan Mitchell, *A Literary Examination of the Function of Satire in the Mišpaṭ ham-lelek of I Sam 8* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2007). McCarter’s translation “the justice of the king” can be only understood as ironical, as the justice of the king will end up reducing people to slavery; see P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel*, AB 8 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 153.

<sup>35</sup> Compare “practice” (NIV), and “custom” (RSV).

<sup>36</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:26(x2).27.33.34(x2).40.

not fear YHWH, nor do they follow their statutes or their ordinances or the law, or the commandments which YHWH commanded the sons of Jacob, whom He named Israel.” (NASB)

Cogan’s and Tadmor’s translation, “rites,”<sup>37</sup> takes into account that the passage tells about the ritual practices incumbent upon the worshippers of YHWH of which the new settlers were ignorant. According to Gray, on the other hand, the term *mišpāṭ* should be interpreted as “the duly regulated order maintained by authority.”<sup>38</sup> Both interpretations are, however, metonymic and inferred from the context starting from the sense-nodule “custom.”

## 6. Due Portion

The expression *mišpaṭ hakkōhānīm ’et hā’ām* in 1 Sam 2:12–13 deserves special discussion:

1 Sam 2:12–13

*wbny ’ly bny bly ’ll’ yd’w ’t YHWH* (v. 13) *wmšpṭ hkhnym ’t h’ m*

“Eli’s sons were worthless men; they did not acknowledge YHWH or the priest’s due portion from the people.”<sup>39</sup>

The narrative continues telling the unfair conduct of the priest Eli’s sons toward the Israelites who came to sacrifice to YHWH at Shiloh, namely, “when any man was offering a sacrifice, the priest’s servant would come while the meat was boiling, with a three-pronged fork in his hand. Then he would thrust it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fork brought up the priest would take for himself” (NIV)<sup>40</sup>.

The expression *mišpaṭ hakkōhānīm ’et hā’ām* has been compared with the slightly different phrase *mišpaṭ hakkōhānīm mē’et hā’ām* “the priests’s due portion from the people,” grammatically more accurate, that occurs in Deut 18:3

<sup>37</sup> See Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *2 Kings*, AB 11 (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 208.

<sup>38</sup> See John Gray, *I & II Kings*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1977), 652.

<sup>39</sup> Compare “now the sons of Eli were wicked; they had respect neither for the Lord nor for the priests’ duties toward the people” (NAB).

<sup>40</sup> See 1 Sam 2:13–14.

(SBH4). Some differences regarding the part due to the priests can be noticed within the biblical cultic regulations. According to Deuteronomy, it consists of the shoulder, the jowls and the stomach of each sacrificial animal,<sup>41</sup> while Leviticus mentions the right thigh and the breast.<sup>42</sup>

Although we cannot infer from the text what tradition the priests adhered to at Shiloh, I can safely say that the wickedness (*bəliyya 'al*)<sup>43</sup> of Eli's children consists precisely in not respecting the portion due to them but in applying a deviant procedure in order to obtain a more consistent part for themselves. For this reason, it is sensible to assign to this occurrence of *mišpāṭ* the reading “due portion” instead of “custom”<sup>44</sup> as the most plausible and suitable.

A comparable reading arises in the following context:

1 Kgs 5:8

*whś'rym whtbn lswsym wlrkš yb'w 'l hmqwm 'šr yhyh šm 'yš kmšpṭw*

“They also provided the barley and straw for the horses and draught animals, where required, each according to *the quota* demanded of him.” (NJB)

King Solomon had divided his kingdom into twelve districts and had a prefect appointed to each one of them. The main purpose of these officers was provisioning of the royal household. This passage offers a few details on the monthly provisions due. In addition to these, each prefect had to support the cavalry by contributing to the maintenance of the royal stables *kəmišpāṭō*, i.e. according to the portion he was required to transmit. Remarkably, in this case the pronominal suffix does not encode the person to whom the quota is due but the person from whom it is requested.

<sup>41</sup> See Deut 18:3.

<sup>42</sup> See Lev 7:28–36.

<sup>43</sup> For the nominal usage of *bəliyya 'al*, see HALOT, 1249: “uselessness,” “wickedness.”

<sup>44</sup> As Smith, McCarter, and Hertzberg do; see Henry P. Smith, *Samuel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1961), 18–19; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 78–79; Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 34–35. Modern translators, on the other hand, tend to assign the expression *wmšpṭ hkhnym 't h'm* to what follows in the text; see “now it was the practice of the priests with the people that whenever anyone offered a sacrifice and while the meat was being boiled, the servant of the priest would come with a three-pronged fork in his hand” (NIV; compare also NKJV, and RSV).

## 7. The Idiomatic Combination ‘*āśâ mišpāṭ*’

The semantic variation of *mišpāṭ* described so far can be appreciated even more if we examine some stereotyped expressions in which the lexeme frequently occurs in the tradition of historical-narrative discourse and to which an idiomatic meaning must be assigned.

The combination ‘*āśâ mišpāṭ*’ offers the best example of this type of expression. The verb ‘*āśâ*’ combines with all the contextual text types of the noun described so far, namely in the singular, in the definite plural, in the singular form, in the singular construct state. In the following paragraphs I will show to what extent the semantic variation of such combinations turns out to be closely related to the sense-nodes of *mišpāṭ* listed above and its subject.

### 7.1. To do justice

The expression ‘*āśâ mišpāṭ*’, with the noun in the singular, indefinite, is equal to “to do justice, to exercise the right.” Within the historical-narrative language, only YHWH and king Solomon are represented as subjects that can carry out this action:

Gen 18:25

*hšpṭ kl h’rṣ l’ y’šh mšpṭ*

“shall not the judge of all the earth *do what is just?*”<sup>45</sup> (NEB)

1 Kgs 10:9

*b’ hbt YHWH ’t ysr’ ll’ lm wysymk lmlk l’šwt mšpṭ wšdqh*

“because YHWH loved Israel for ever, therefore he has made you king, to do justice and righteousness.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Compare “do right” (RSV; NIV; NKJV); “act justly” (NJB); “deal justly” (NJPS; NASB).

<sup>46</sup> Compare “to do justice and righteousness” (NASB); “to maintain law and justice” (NEB); “to maintain justice and righteousness” (NIV); “to administer law and justice” (NJB); “execute justice and righteousness” (RSV); “to administer justice and righteousness” (NJPS). In the historical-narrative language the construct ‘*šh mšpṭ wšdqh*’ is quite frequent, see Gen 18:9; 2 Sam 8:15; and 1 Chr 18:14, with David as subject; and 2 Chr 9:8, with Solomon as subject; according to Weinfeld the expression is put in operation as a mark of the royal governance and has strong parallels in near eastern documentation; see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 153.

## 7.2. To affirm the right

When the verb *‘āsâ* combines with *mišpāṭ* in the singular construct state accompanied by a governed NPh, the expression means “to affirm one’s right.” In the investigated text corpus, the subjects of this action are YHWH,<sup>47</sup> king David<sup>48</sup> and his successor Solomon:<sup>49</sup>

Deut 10:17–18

*ky YHWH ‘lhykm hw’ ‘lhy h’llym w’ dny h’ dny h’ l’ hgd l’ hgbr whnwr’ ‘šrl’ ys’ pny m wl’ yqḥ šḥd* (v. 18) *‘šh mšpṭ ytwm w’ lmn h w’ hb gr ltt lw lḥm wšmlh*

“for YHWH your God, he is God of gods, and Lord of lords, the great God, the mighty, and the awful, who regards not persons, nor takes reward. (18) *He affirms the right of the fatherless and the widow,*<sup>50</sup> and loves the stranger, by giving him food and raiment.”<sup>51</sup>

1 Kgs 8:59

*wyhyw dbry ‘lh’ šr htlhnty l’pny YHWH qrbym’ l’ YHWH ‘llym w’ ywmm wlylh l’ šwt mšpṭ*  
*‘bdw w mšpṭ’ mw ys’ l’ dbr ywm bywmw*

“let these my words, wherewith I have made supplication before YHWH, be close to YHWH our God day and night, that he may *affirm the right of his servant, and the right of his people Israel,*<sup>52</sup> as each day shall require.”<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See Gen 18:25; Deut 10:18; 1 Kgs 8:49.59.

<sup>48</sup> See 2 Sam 8:15; 1 Chr 18:14.

<sup>49</sup> See 1 Kgs 3:28; 7:7.

<sup>50</sup> Compare “he executes justice for the orphan and the widow” (NASB); “he secures justice for widows and orphans” (NEB); “he defends the cause of the fatherless and the widow” (NIV); “he administers justice for the fatherless and the widow (NKJV); “he executes justice for the fatherless and the widow” (RSV).

<sup>51</sup> Compare “for YHWH your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the awesome God, who shows no favor and takes no bribe, but upholds the cause of the orphan and the widow”; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 429.

<sup>52</sup> Compare: “He may maintain the cause of His servant and the cause of His people Israel” (NASB; NKJV; RSV); “He might vindicate his servant and his people Israel as the need arises” (NET); “He may uphold the cause of his servant and the cause of his people Israel” (NIV; NJB); “He may provide for His servant and for His people Israel, according to each day’s needs” (NJPS).

<sup>53</sup> Cogan translates “and may these my words that I have made in supplication before YHWH be close to YHWH our God day and night, that he do justice with his servant and with his people Israel, as each day requires”; see Mordechai Cogan, *I Kings*, AB 10 (New Heaven/London: Yale University Press, 2001), 277.



### 7.3. To Comply with the divine prescriptions

When the verb *‘āsâ* combines with the term in the plural defined, absolute state, or pronominal state, in which case the personal pronoun always refers to YHWH (*‘āsâ mišpāṭāyw*), the reading which arises in context is equal to “comply with the divine ordinances.” In this case the subject of the verbal phrase is the prescription’s recipient, namely Israel.<sup>54</sup> In this syntagmatic type, the lexeme often appears in combination with other synonymous expressions such as *ḥuqqîm*, *diḇrê YHWH*, and *mišwōt*. The following examples illustrate this use:

Deut 7:12

*whyh ‘qb tšm ‘wn ‘t hmšptym h ‘lh wšmrtm w ‘šytm ‘tm wšmr YHWH ‘lhyk lk ‘t hbryt w ‘t hḥsd ‘šr nšb ‘ l ‘btyk*

“because you hearken to these ordinances, and keep and do them, the Lord your God will keep with you the covenant and the steadfast love which he swore to your fathers to keep.” (RSV)

1 Kgs 6:12

*‘m tlk bhḳty w ‘t mšpty t ‘šh wšmrt ‘t kl mšwty llkt bhm whqmtly ‘t dbry ‘tk ‘šr dbrty ‘l dwd ‘byk*

“if you will walk in my statutes, and execute my ordinances,<sup>55</sup> and keep all my commandments to walk in them; then will I establish my word with you, which I spoke unto David your father.”

## 8. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents

I will now consider the Greek equivalents of Hebrew idiomatic combinations.<sup>56</sup> The different contextual interpretations of *‘āsâ mišpāṭ* will be taken as a parameter for the style-linguistic classification of the translations.

As a preface to the analysis of the Greek data, it must be said that in the LXX

<sup>54</sup> See Deut 4:14; 7:12; 1 Kgs 6:12; 11:33; 1 Chr 22:13; 28:7; Neh 10:30.

<sup>55</sup> See NASB; compare also “and conform to my precepts” (NEB); “carry out my regulations” (NIV); “obey my ordinances” (NJB; RSV); “execute My judgments” (NKJV); “observe My rules” (NJPS).

<sup>56</sup> I limited the investigation to the cases in which uniformity between MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX can reasonably be assumed from a point of view of textual criticism.

corpus the nouns κρίσις, κριτής, κρίμα, and the verbs κρίνειν and διακρίνειν – derived from the Indo-European root *\*kre(h1-)i-* “separate, distinguish”<sup>57</sup> – cover, in the majority of cases, the occurrences of the nominal and verbal cognates of the Hebrew root *špʿ*.<sup>58</sup> Since this is the rule, exceptions should be considered as marked choices, characterized by some interpretative value.

The following diagram shows the possible Greek expressions found as equivalents and their distribution:

1. *‘āśā mišpāṭ* “to do justice (in court)”
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίσιν (Gen 18, 25)
  - b. ποιεῖν κρίματα (1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8).
2. *‘āśā mišpāṭ-* “to defend a subjective right”
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίσιν (Gen 18:25; Deut 10:18)
  - b. ποιεῖν δικαίωμα (1 Chr 6:35; 18:14).
3. *‘āśā mišpāṭ* “to administer law”
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίμα (2 Sam 8:15)
  - b. ποιεῖν δικαίωμα (1 Kgs 3:28; 8:45).
4. *‘āśā mišpāṭīm* “to comply with the divine ordinances”
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίσεις (Deut 4:14)
  - b. ποιεῖν κρίματα (Deut 26:16; 1 Chr 22:13; 28:7; Neh 10:30)
  - c. ποιεῖν δικαιώματα (Deut 7:12).

To evaluate the effects and the interpretative values of the translation equivalents, I consider those texts originally composed in Greek included in the LXX corpus that represent a specimen of free Greek historical-narrative language. Among the expressions translated by *‘āśā mišpāṭ*, only the combination ποιεῖν κρίσιν is attested in this type of texts:

2 Macc 14:18

ὑπευλαβεῖτο τὴν κρίσιν δι’ αἱμάτων ποιήσασθαι

“Nicanor shrank from seeking a decision through bloodshed.” (Goldstein, AB)

<sup>57</sup> See EDG, 1:780–781.

<sup>58</sup> The reference works for verifying the equivalences have been the concordances HRCS and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

Although it is attested, it must be stressed that the expression *ποιεῖν κρίσιν* retains a rather different meaning from that which it takes in biblical translations. The question (*τὴν κρίσιν*) that needs to be resolved (*ποιήσασθαι*) in the text of the second book of Maccabees concerns a military episode.<sup>59</sup> Nicanor, appointed *strategos* by the Seleucid king Demetrius I (v. 12), is sent to Judea to quell the uprising of Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers. This decision is taken following a petition addressed to Demetrius by the High Priest Alcimus, who asks for protection and defence against the priests of the Hasmonean dynasty, who adamantly oppose his installation, considering him to be illegitimate. On his march toward Judea, Nicanor meets the resistance of an armed group led by Simon. Not wanting to start a bloody confrontation (*δι' αἰμάτων*) in the very first place, Nicanor tries to wait by proposing an agreement to Simon.<sup>60</sup> In this text, as is self-evident, there is no reference to the legal context of the administration of justice; the expression bears the meaning of “resolving a situation of imbalance,” “taking a decisive action in relation to that situation,” instead.

In order to evaluate if and to what extent the Greek expressions used in the biblical versions and in the Judeo-Hellenistic texts are an example of idiomatic Greek or if, on the contrary, they are style-linguistic signs of the dependence from the underlying Hebrew, a further and final comparison is necessary. To this end, I will examine the use of the expression *ποιεῖν κρίσιν* in historical-narrative texts that do not depend on the Hebrew context in terms of discourse tradition.

This analysis shows, firstly, that the combinations *ποιεῖν κρίμα* and *ποιεῖν δικαίωμα* used as translation equivalents of *'āšā mišpāṭ* are alien to the Greek historical-narrative natural language. Secondly, the combinations *ποιεῖν κρίσιν* (or, in the plural, *κρίσεις*), however attested, present a significant difference in meaning. Xenophon serves as first example of this semantic variation.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5.2.35

ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὡσπερ κατεῖληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηγίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι

<sup>59</sup> For the chronological framework of the narrated events (that would be related to 163 BCE), see Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, AB 41a (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 113–123.

<sup>60</sup> See 2 Macc 14:19 *διόπερ ἔπεμψεν Ποσιδώνιον καὶ Θεόδοτον καὶ Ματταθίαν δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν δεξιᾶς* “therefore he (Nicanor) sent Posidonius, Theodotos and Matthias to give and receive *pledges of friendship*” (Schaper, *NETS* who explains that the gesture of giving “the right hands” is equal to a sign of truce).

“the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and *to bring Ismenias to trial*.” (Brownson, LCL)

The historiographic narration describes the struggle for hegemony between Sparta and Athens (399–387 BCE) after the Peloponnesian War, in particular the revolt of Thebes against the Spartan confederation, to which it formally belongs. Ismenias, the person in charge of the confederation authority in Thebes, is considered a traitor; he is accused of behaving ambiguously and of seeking alliances with the Persian enemy. After setting up a committee of inquiry, the Spartans decide to put Ismenias on trial (κρίσιν ποιῆσαι).

A second attestation of the combination κρίσιν ποιῆσαι is found in a passage from Polybius:

Polybius, *Historiae*, 5.27.6

εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλο τι πεποιήται τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν τοῦ Λεοντίου, μὴ χωρὶς αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων κρίσιν

“(the pelstalts, however, heard what had happened, as Leontius had sent them a messenger, and dispatched a deputation to the king, begging him), if he had arrested Leontius on any other charge, not *to try the case* in their absence.” (Paton, LCL)<sup>61</sup>

In the narrative, Leontius, a military commander, is taken captive. His soldiers send the ambassadors to the authority that keeps him in custody, begging not to put him on trial (ποιήσασθαι τὴν κρίσιν) in their absence.<sup>62</sup>

A final example, quite relevant for the comparative analysis, presents the use of the verb ποιεῖν in combination with κρίσεις in the plural:

Thucydides, *Historiae*, 1.77.1

Καὶ ἐλασσοῦμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ζυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ζυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν

“Although in legal disputes with the allies, we withdraw from our rights, *holding*

<sup>61</sup> Musti’s translation is worthy of mention here: “non lo sottoposero in loro assenza a giudizio”; see Polibio, *Storie*, trans. Domenico Musti, vol. 3, BUR Classici greci e latini (Milan: Rizzoli, 2001), 77.

<sup>62</sup> His soldiers claimed Leontius’ right to a trial before the army-assembly; see Frank W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1 (London: Clarendon Press, 1957–1979), 561; for the legal value of the expression ποιήσασθαι τὴν κρίσιν, see *Polybios-Lexikon*, 1:1455–1456.

processes with equal laws for them and for us, nevertheless we are reputed to be people who love disputes.”<sup>63</sup>

Thucydides in this passage reports a statement of the Spartans with which they intend to defend themselves against the accusation of being a population who loves disputes (φιλοδικεῖν). They put forward two arguments in their defence: first, to be willing to renounce (ἐλασσούμενοι) what they would be entitled to by right in favor of their confederates; second, that in every city of the confederation the trials are held (ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις) under the same laws as in Sparta, the hegemonic city.<sup>64</sup>

In all the given examples, the combination ποιεῖν κρίσιν / κρίσεις refers unambiguously to the decision-making process of an established authority within a legal-judicial framework. Although several analogies may be established between this usage and some of the contextual meaning of the expression *‘āšâ mišpāṭ* in the Bible, particularly “to do justice” and “to claim a right,” it must be stressed that the differences are perhaps even more significant. The Hebrew expression implies an intrinsic reference to the notion of justice that can in no way be observed in the equivalent Greek expression, as well as a concrete and perfective sense of “sentence,” “ordinance,” whose justice is guaranteed by its divine origin. It is appropriate here to recall, by way of explanation, the passage from Gen 18:25: “Shall not the judge of all the earth do justice?” In this text, the Hebrew expression *lō’ ya’ āšeh mišpāṭ* attributes to God the role of supreme guarantor of a state of equity and balance in which the law is stated and justice is done.

In a hypothetical degree of idiomaticity, therefore, the interpretations of the expression ποιεῖν κρίσιν as “defending the right” and “observing the divine ordinances” must be considered without a doubt the most distant from the Greek use and the most influenced by the sense of the Hebrew expressions behind them, in other words, an example of a stereotyped translation, a glimmer of the underlying Hebrew text.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Compare “for although we are at disadvantage in suits with our allies arising out of commercial agreements, and although in our own courts in Athens, *where we have established tribunals*, the same laws apply to us and to them, we are thought to insist too much upon our legal rights” (Forster Smith, LCL).

<sup>64</sup> See Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides, Volume 1, Books I-III* (London: Clarendon Press, 1997), *ad loc.*

<sup>65</sup> For the notion of stereotyped translation, see Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of LXX Words,” *RB* 83 (1976): 529–544, and idem, “Greek words and Hebrew meanings,” in *Melbourne*

A number of conclusions on the language and style of the LXX translation can be drawn from this contrastive cross-linguistic analysis. From the comparison of the collected data with Thackeray's classification based on the translation style, the following elements emerge:

Within the Koinè Greek of linguistically and stylistically accurate translations, the distribution of equivalents is the following:

- 'āśâ mišpāṭ "to do justice"
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίσιν (Gen 18:25).
- 'āśâ mišpāṭ- "to defend a subjective right"
  - b. ποιεῖν κρίσιν (Gen 18:25; Deut 10:18).
- 'āśâ mišpāṭîm "to comply with the divine prescriptions"
  - c. ποιεῖν κρίσεις (Deut 4:14)
  - d. ποιεῖν δικαιώματα (Deut 7:12)
  - e. ποιεῖν κρίματα (Deut 26:16).

In the translation units belonging to this class the expression ποιεῖν κρίσιν is the most frequent. It belongs to the Greek historical-narrative language, but with a significantly different meaning from that of 'āśâ mišpāṭ. On the other hand, translators who pay more attention to linguistic accuracy and stylistic congruity in the target language are more hesitant to use the same expression as an equivalent for 'āśâ mišpāṭîm "to comply with the divine prescriptions." This meaning, in fact, must be considered the most idiomatic of the Hebrew and at the same time the most semantically distant from the Greek use of the expression ποιεῖν κρίσιν. The use of the expression ποιεῖν δικαιώματα in Deut 7:1 is particularly interesting. The noun δικαιώμα is a Hellenistic formation from the adjective δίκαιος "fair," attested only in documentary sources with the meaning of "royal decree." Finally, it should be pointed out that δικαιώμα is also cognate of δικαιοσύνη "justice," which is the main equivalent of *šedeq* and *šəḏāqâ* in the LXX.<sup>66</sup>

I will now consider the translations of mediocre linguistic and stylistic level; in this class the distribution of equivalents is as follows:

---

*Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka, SCS 28 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1990), 83–96.

<sup>66</sup> See chapter 3 § 3.4.

- ‘*āsâ mišpāṭ* “to do justice (in court)”
  - a. ποιεῖν κρίματα (1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8).
- ‘*āsâ mišpāṭ*– “to defend a subjective right”
  - b. ποιεῖν δικαίωμα (1 Chr 6:35; 18:14).
- ‘*āsâ mišpāṭ* “to administer law”
  - c. ποιεῖν κρίμα (2 Sam 8:15; 1 Chr 18:14)
  - d. ποιεῖν δικαίωμα (1 Kgs 3:28; 8:45).
- ‘*āsâ mišpāṭîm* “to comply with the divine prescriptions”
  - e. ποιεῖν κρίματα (1 Chr 22:13; 28:7; Neh 10:30).

These types of translations, which show less attention to the idiomatic structures of the target language, the expression ποιεῖν κρίσιν is completely ignored, and the other two available options in the Pentateuch, viz. ποιεῖν δικαιώματα and ποιεῖν κρίματα, cover the entire range of meanings of the Hebrew expression, according to a stereotyped translation that gives each Hebrew word a unique equivalent. The expression ποιεῖν κρίμα is the preferred choice for the meaning “to do justice”<sup>67</sup> and “to comply with the divine prescriptions,”<sup>68</sup> while a certain degree of fluctuation between ποιεῖν δικαίωμα<sup>69</sup> and ποιεῖν κρίματα<sup>70</sup> is still detectable for the contextual sense “to affirm the right of a party.”

This fact can be explained in several ways. In quantitative terms, “to comply with the divine prescriptions” is the most frequent meaning that the expression ‘*āsâ mišpāṭîm* has in the Pentateuch; in particular, it becomes a stylistic brand of Deuteronomistic discourse. In this specific tradition, the divine will (*hammišwâ*) is represented as a complex corpus consisting of discrete entities, in particular *haḥuqqîm wəhammišpāṭîm*.<sup>71</sup> The association *mišpāṭîm*–δικαιώματα may have originated precisely in this type of context and then was extended by the translators of 1 Kings, who were not too interested in the

<sup>67</sup> See 1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8.

<sup>68</sup> See 1 Chr 22:13; 28:7; Neh 10:30.

<sup>69</sup> See 1 Kgs 3:28 and 8:45.

<sup>70</sup> See 2 Sam 8:15 and 1 Chr 18:14.

<sup>71</sup> Compare Deut 7:11.

stylistic result of their Greek version,<sup>72</sup> to all the occurrences of *mišpāṭ* according to a stereotyped translation strategy.

<sup>72</sup> The question of the influence of the Pentateuch translation on later translations cannot be covered in detail here. It deserves, however, to be sketched out. On the one hand, many scholars propose the so-called dictionary hypothesis according to which “the Greek Pentateuch came to be a rudimentary lexicon for books translated later”; see Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 22; Emanuel Tov, “The impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of other books,” in *Mélanges Dominique Barthelemy*, ed. P. Casetti et al. (Freiburg: Editions Universitaires, 1981), 577–592. Barr has a different opinion, see in particular James Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch really serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?” in *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M.F.J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, OLA 118 (Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, 2003), 523–543. Barr’s argument is twofold: 1) even if the LXX lexicon can be considered to a great extent a stereotyped lexicon, the equivalents of the same Hebrew lexeme in the context of the Pentateuch are often multiple, this applies both to very frequent Hebrew terms and to the rarest ones; 2) in the cases in which the variation in the Pentateuch is more evident, later translations prefer equivalents that are present in the Pentateuch, but in a lesser proportion compared to the standard one. The case of *’šh mšpṭ*, discussed here, seems to be an example of this trend, corroborating Barr’s hypothesis.



## Chapter 2.

### The Use of *miṣwâ* in the Historical-narrative Language

Before tackling the examination of the sense-nodes activated by the usage of the substantive *miṣwâ* in historical-narrative language, it is useful to make a few overall observations on its distribution and frequency within BH and its syntagmatic features. The noun occurs 64 times in SBH1 (21 of them in the singular and 43 in the plural), and 38 in LBH1 (22 of them in the singular and 16 in the plural).<sup>1</sup> If we normalize the corpora of SBH1 and LBH1 per 10,000 words, we can observe that the normalized frequency ratio of *miṣwâ* increases considerably from SBH1 to LBH1, going from 5.27 to 8.91.<sup>2</sup> This rise, moreover, concerns mainly the singular (from 1.72 to 5.16), while the plural remains substantially stable (ranging from 3.54 in SBH1

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 2, pages 332-333.

<sup>2</sup> Considering that SBH1 and LBH1 are not corpora of the same size, the number of occurrences of a given textual item does not accurately reflect its relative frequency in each corpus. In order to compare corpora (or sub-corpora) of different size, we need then to normalize the occurrences of the item based on the respective total number of words, assumed to be 121,409 for SBH1 and 42,628 for LBH1. The raw frequencies of *miṣwâ* are then: SBH1 = 64 per 121,409 words; LBH1 = 38 per 42,628 words. To normalize, we want to calculate the frequencies of our lexical item for each corpus per the same number of words. The convention is to calculate per 10,000 words for smaller corpora and per 1,000,000 for larger ones. In our case, we clearly opt for normalizing per 10,000. Calculating a normalized frequency is a straightforward process. The equation can be represented in this way:  $64/121,409$  is equal to  $x/10,000$ . We have 64 occurrences of *miṣwâ* per 121,409 words in SBH1, which is the same as  $x$  (our normalized frequency) per 10,000 words. We can solve for  $x$  with simple cross multiplication:  $x(121,409) = 64(10,000)$ ;  $x = 64(10,000)/121,409$ . Then, we can say that the normalized frequency ratio (per 10,000) of *miṣwâ* is equal to 5.2 in SBH1. Generalizing we can find the normalized frequency of a given lexical item (per 10,000) by applying the following function:  $FN = FO(10^4)/C$ , where FN is the normalized frequency, FO the observed frequency, and C the corpus size. For the basic tools of lexical statistics, see Marco Baroni, "Distributions in text," in *Corpus Linguistics. An International*

to 3.75 in LBH1). This trend is remarkably similar to that displayed by the usage of *tôrâ* across the historical-narrative language.

In terms of diachrony, *mišwâ* is regarded as a later formation compared to words such as *ḥōq* and *mišpāt*, which are attested already in ABH. In terms of etymology, *mišwâ* is a transparent word; it is a nominal derivation from the verbal root *šwh* “to command, to order,”<sup>3</sup> with *m*-preformative added to the verbal stem to produce a noun indicating the action to which the verb points (*nomen actionis*), or more frequently to its result (*nomen rei actae*).<sup>4</sup> Based on the distinction between *syntactic derivation* and *lexical derivation*, the noun can be included in the first class. As expected for these types of derivations, the word changes its lexical category from verb to noun, while the eventive meaning of the root is not touched and the noun retains the same valency of the verb. In nouns formed via lexical derivation instead, the change of category also affects the meaning, as in the case of *zblḥ* “to slaughter for sacrifice,” and *miz-bēalḥ* “altar.”<sup>5</sup>

Given its close connection with the root *šwh*, the noun embeds the idea of authority, which turns out to be an inherent feature of its meaning.<sup>6</sup> While the other words of the lexical field of “rules and regulations” very often derive their authoritative reading from their usage in context<sup>7</sup> – mostly via syntagmatic modulation, suffice it here to refer to the important role that the verb *šiwwâ* plays in the domain of adnominal relative clauses attached to *ḥōq* or

---

*Handbook*, ed. Anke Lüdeling and Merja Kytö, *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 29.1 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 1:803–821.

<sup>3</sup> See HALOT, 7899: 1) “to give an order, to command”; “to command, instruct, order”; 3) “to send someone (to a place, for a task)”; BDB, 8061: 1) “to lay,” “to charge upon”; 2 and 3) “to charge,” “to command”; 4) “to commission”; 5) “to appoint,” “to ordain”; for more detailed syntagmatic information see also DCH 7:93–102. Jenni includes this stem among the transitive resultative verbs without basic form *qal*; see Ernst Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el. Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zürich: Evz Verlag, 1968), especially 246–248.

<sup>4</sup> See Joüon, § 88 L, e.

<sup>5</sup> See Jarmila Panevová, “Contribution of valency to the analysis of language,” in *Noun Valency*, ed. Olga Spevak, *Studies in Language Companion Series* 158 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014), 1–17, especially 7. Such a distinction has been set by the seminal work of Jerzy Koryłowicz, “Dérivation lexicale et dérivation syntactique,” *Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris* 37 (1936): 79–92.

<sup>6</sup> See Levine, “מצור,” 506.

<sup>7</sup> Especially through the usage of adnominal relative clauses; regarding *tôrâ*, compare chapter 3 § 3.

*mišpāṭ* – the substantive *mišwâ* points to the idea of power *per se*, applying both to humans or divine authority.<sup>8</sup>

When divine authority is at stake, two main patterns of usage can be clearly discerned, with a remarkable impact on the reading's modulation. The first syntagmatic pattern is characterized by the usage of the term in the plural, specified by genitives pointing to God and accompanied by joint terms like *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôt*, or *mišpāṭîm*. This pattern is typical of the formulaic language of the Deuteronomistic discourse tradition. In cognitive terms, the specific function of this text type is to convey the idea that the teaching of Moses is a unified bounded corpus made of discrete statements conceptualized as "commandments." Thus, a relation of meronymy can be envisaged between this contextual reading of *mišwôt* and the term *tôrâ* as it is used within Deuteronomy. The second syntagmatic pattern is characterized by the usage of the term in the singular, accompanied by joint terms like *tôrâ*, *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôt*, or *mišpāṭîm*, additionally combined with the adnominal demonstrative *zō'ṭ* or the quantifier *kol*. As I will show through the following examples, this pattern's frequency increases considerably from SBH1 to LBH1. When the context triggers this particular reading, *mišwâ* turns out to be a referential synonym of *tôrâ*, with remarkable ideological implications.<sup>9</sup> In Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic discourse tradition, *tôrâ* and *mišwâ* appear to function as onomasiological alternatives to name the teaching of Moses in its path of formalization and fixation, and *mišwâ* is chosen precisely to place special emphasis on the authoritative aspect of it. In historical-narrative language thus the body of literature considered authoritative can be conceptualized in a unified manner either as a teaching (mainly an oral teaching in SBH1, and a written text to be expounded, explained, and interpreted in LBH1) or as a command to be executed. The latter conceptualization is far from being obvious. It is important to point out, as Levine has done, that it is within the hortatory Deuteronomistic discourse tradition that the divine will expressed in the body of Scriptures as a unified body was initially understood and then

<sup>8</sup> See BDB 8063: 1) "commandment" of men (vz. of kings); 2) "commandment of God," in the singular: "commandment," "code of law"; in the plural "commandments," of commands of D and later codes; and HALOT, 5540: "commission," "(individual) commandment," "(set of all the) commandments," "right"; see also DCH 5: 446–448, "command(ment)."

<sup>9</sup> For a definition of referential synonymy, see Stefan Grondelaers, Dirk Speelman, and Dirk Geeraerts, "Lexical Variation and Change," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. D. Geeraerts and H. Cuyckens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 988–1011, especially 994–995.

transmitted as a command. It is worth stressing that this particular interpretation will be maximized in later rabbinic tradition, especially in halakhic discourse. As I will show, the data emerging from the present corpus-based analysis basically agree with the research in the domain of textual criticism in connecting this specific reading with Deuteronomistic redactional activity.

## 1. Expression of Divine Authority

### 1.1. *The Teaching of Moses as Commandment*

In historical-narrative language, especially within Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic discourse tradition, many examples can be found of a collective reading of *mišwâ*,<sup>10</sup> which parallels in many respects the usage of the noun *tôrâ*. I will focus on three main text types: *kol hammišwâ* (singular definite plus quantifier);<sup>11</sup> *hammišwâ hazzō 't* (singular definite plus adnominal demonstrative);<sup>12</sup> and the pair *hattôrâ wəhammišwâ*.<sup>13</sup>

All these syntagmatic types are united by two facts. On the one hand, *mišwâ* occurs without those adnominal modifiers (pronominal suffixes or genitives) that are required for encoding the complements of eventive nouns.

<sup>10</sup> A certain number of them are listed in Wienfeld's appendix "Deuteronomic phraseology"; see Wienfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, especially 320–365; DCH distinguishes between "singular used collectively" (Exod 24:12; Num 15:31; Deut 5:31; 6:1; 7:11; 8:1; 11:8; 15:5; 19:9; Josh 22:3; Ps 19:9; 119:96; 2 Chr 14:3; 31:21; Sir 6:37; 10:19; 15:15; 35:18.23; 37:12; 44:20; 45:5; 1QpHab 5:5; 1QS 8:17; 4QDc 1:6; GnZPs 1:10; and singular for "one particular command" (1 Sam 13:13; 1 Kgs 13:21; Mal 2:14; Job 23:12; 2 Chr 29:25); see DCH 5:446.

<sup>11</sup> See Deut 8:1; 11:8, 22; 27:1; 31:5 (SBH1); compare also Deut 5:31; 15:5; 19:9 (SBH4); see Appendix 2, § A) 1.2.

<sup>12</sup> See Deut 11:22; 30:11 (SBH1); compare also Deut 6:25; 15:5; 19:9 (SBH4).

<sup>13</sup> See Exod 24:12; Josh 22:5; in combination with other terms: 2 Kgs 17:34.37 (SBH1); and 2 Chr 14:3; 31:21 (LBH1). It must be said that additional schemes could be added, that convey a unified conceptualization of the Mosaic teaching (or the divine will) as *command*. On the one hand, some occurrences attest the usage of the noun in the singular, combined with other terms for divine precepts in plural, suggesting a semantic relationship of meronymy between them: *'t hmšwh w' t hḥqym w' t hmšptym* (Deut 7:11). On the other hand, cases in which the term in the singular is specified by a relative clause with the verb *šwh* trigger the idea that the divine will be revealed through the mediation of Moses is a command (Deut 27:1). To this conceptualization, must be added the phrase *mšwt Mšh* (2 Chr 8:13). Finally, the idea that the revelation of the divine will is a command *per se* is definitively sanctioned by expressions as *mšwt YHWH* (or *'lhy*) (Josh 22:3; 1 Sam 13:13; Ezra 10:3).

This fact suggests that the substantive is slowly changing its semantic type. It is formed through a syntactic derivation to indicate the process or the act of commanding and is becoming a referential noun that points to an object. On the other hand, the schemes under scrutiny convey a similar interpretation of *mišwâ*, which does not correspond to the uniplex reading “one single commandment” but rather to an abstract unified notion corresponding to the revelation of the divine will as a whole.

I begin my analysis with the text type *kol hammišwâ*, in which *kol* functions as the universal quantifier “all,” “whole” and *hammišwâ* as its determiner. The combination turns out to be quite peculiar, if one compares the standard usage of *mišwâ* and other terms for rules and regulations in similar phrases.<sup>14</sup>

Normally, *mišwâ* combines with *kol* in the plural, yielding the multiplexing reading “all the commandments,” as in the following example:<sup>15</sup>

Deut 28:1

*whyh 'm šmw' tšm' b'qwl YHWH 'lhyk lšmr l'šwt 't kl mšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm wntnk YHWH 'lhyk 'lywn 'lkl gwyw h'rš*

“And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken diligently unto the voice of YHWH your God, to observe to do *all his commandments* which I command you this day that YHWH your God will set you on high above all the nations of the earth.” (NKJV)

The same applies to *hōq*, *ḥuqqâ* and *mišpāt*.<sup>16</sup> These lexical items, nevertheless, occur as determiners of *kol* also in the singular, but compared to *mišwâ*, they do not come to designate the whole teaching of Moses. The reading that most frequently arises in context is rather “one single (specific) instance as a whole” of the type of statements to which the lexemes refer. The reference of such phrases corresponds to a cohesive unit excerpted from a body of statements alike. This phenomenon is observable in the following context:

<sup>14</sup> See Yael Netzer, “Quantifier,” *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 3:311–315, in particular 313; see HALOT, 4240, namely the meaning listed as seventh: “*kl* preceding collective ‘all’: *kl h' dm* ‘all men’ Gen 7:21 (also Num 12:3; Judg 16:17)”; see also BDB 4485: “*kl* followed often by a singular, to be understood collectively, whether with or without the article: e.g. 2 Sam 20:22 *wtbw' h' šh' l'kl h' m* ‘the woman went (to speak) to all the people.’”

<sup>15</sup> See also Deut 4:6; 28:1.15.45; 30:8; 1 Kgs 6:12; 2 Kgs 17:16; Jer 35:18 (SBH1); and 1 Chr 28:8; 2 Chr 24:20; Neh 10:30 (LBH1).

<sup>16</sup> Concerning *ḥuqqîm*, see *'t kl ḥḥqym h'lh* “all these statutes” (Deut 4:6), compare also Lev 10:11; Deut 5:31; 6:24; 11:32 (SBH4); concerning *ḥuqqôt*, see Num 9:3; Deut 6:2 (SBH1); Lev 19:37; 20:22; Ezek 18:19.21; 43:11[x2]; 44:5 (SBH4); Concerning *mišpāṭîm*, see Exod 24:3; 1 Kgs 6:38 (SBH1); compare 2 Sam 22:23 (SBH2); Num 9:3; Lev 19:37; 20:22 (SBH4); and Ps 119:13 (LBH2).

Num 9:12

*kkl ḥqt ḥpsh y 'šw 'tw*

“according to the whole regulation of Pesah they shall do it.”<sup>17</sup>

In this passage, the reference of *ḥuqqat* is further bounded by the genitive *happesah*, triggering the reading “according the whole regulation of *Pesah*.” It is in fact a special set of rules regarded as a unity and singled out from a multiplex body of discrete statutes regulating other matters.<sup>18</sup> The term *mišpāt* displays a similar pattern of usage in two instances pertaining to SBH2 and LBH2; in both the noun is further specified, in one case by a suffix:

Prov 16:33

*bḥyq ywṭl 't ḥgwrl wmYHWH kl mšpṭw*

“The lot is cast into the bosom and *all its judgment* comes from YHWH.”<sup>19</sup>

in the second case by a governed Nph:

Ps 119:160

*wl' wlm kl mšpṭ ṣdqk*

“each of your righteous judgments endures forever.”<sup>20</sup>

In the first example, the expression *kol mišpātô* designates a single specific response of the *gôrāl*, the lot cast for the decision of questions, whereas the

<sup>17</sup> Among modern translations, some opt for a collective reading of the phrase *ḥqt ḥpsh*, see: “when they celebrate the Passover, they must follow *all the regulations*” (NIV); “according to *all the ordinances* of the Passover they shall keep it” (NKJV); others provide a unified reading, see “they shall offer it in strict accord with *the law* of the Passover sacrifice” (NJPS); “they will keep it, following *the entire* Passover ritual” (NJB); “according to *all the statute* for the Passover they shall keep it” (RSV); “according to *all the statute* of the Passover they shall observe it” (NASB); “the Passover shall be kept exactly as *the law* prescribes” (NEB).

<sup>18</sup> This usage is most likely attested also for *mišwâ*; the expression *'t kl ḥmšwh 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm ḥywm* in Deut 27:1 may refer either to the requirement to erect an altar or the requirement to monumentalize the *tôrâ*; but this passage is highly complex in terms of composition, and may reflect multiple additions of different textual material; see chapter 3 § 1.

<sup>19</sup> See Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10-31*, AB 18b (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009), 623.

<sup>20</sup> Several modern translations render *kl mšpṭ ṣdqk* in plural (NASB; NIV; NJB; NKJV; RSV; NJPS), suggesting a collective reading; see also Weiser’s translation “everyone of thy righteous ordinances endures for ever”; see Artur Weiser, *The Psalms*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1962), 737.

structure *kol mišpaṭ šidqekā* in the second example can be explained assuming the distributive universal reading “each,” “every” for the quantifier *kol*.

The examples in which *mišwâ* determines *kol* in the singular, on the other hand, deviates decidedly from the pattern sketched above. Firstly, the phrase does not produce the distributive reading “each commandment” nor the collective one “all the commandments.” The examples collected suggest rather a unified interpretation pointing to a mass continuous entity, which is bounded only by the relevant adnominal relative clause “that I command you today.”<sup>21</sup> The noun’s referent is thus as extensive as the speeches that Moses is delivering within the framework of the text of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, the usage of *mišwâ* comes to comprise not only the normative or directive sub-sections of these speeches, viz. the rules governing individual subjects, but also the narrative and hortatory parts of them. Such a usage punctuates the redactional interventions scattered throughout Deuteronomy, framing its structure and expressing the clear ideology of the editors toward the text *in fieri*. In their estimation, the purport of Moses’s speeches collected in Deuteronomy must be viewed alternatively as a teaching (*tôrâ*) or as a command (*mišwâ*). The relevant examples of this reading are listed below.

The current structure of the second oration of Moses (Deut 4:44–28:68)<sup>22</sup> has been regarded as the outcome of a considerable amount of literary activity pertaining to one redactional stratum of the book.<sup>23</sup> The conceptualization of this whole unit as a *mišwâ* appears to fit very well the agenda of the redactors, as the following passage clearly shows.

<sup>21</sup> As I will show in detail in the following chapter, such a usage parallels that of *tôrâ*; compare, for instance, 2 Kgs 17:13 *mšwty ḥqwtw kkl htwrh šr šwtyt t btykm* “my commandments and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers”; see chapter 3 § 1.

<sup>22</sup> According to Alexander Rofé, “The Book of Deuteronomy: A Summary,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 1–13, in particular 1–4.

<sup>23</sup> Many scholars consider the redactor named D2 responsible for this redactional activity, namely for the opening of the collection (5:1; 6:9); 2), additional portions of the present introduction to chapters 6–11, which originally belonged to the “*tôrâ*” (7:1–11; 11:22–25), and the overall current structure of the second oration (5:28; 6:1; 8:1; 11:22; 11:32–12:1; 26:16). According to Rofé the objective of the redactor was “to implement a comprehensive legal code, which would secure the status of law of the land through the sanction of royal backing and replace earlier legal compilations or the existing customary law,” see Rofé, “The Book of Deuteronomy: a Summary,” 6.



Deut 8:1

*kl hmšwh 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm tšmrwn l'šwt lm'n tlywn wrbytm wb'tm wyrštm 't h' rš 'šr nšb' YHWH l' btykm*

“the whole commandment that I command you (sg.) today, you (pl.) shall be careful to do, that you (pl.) may live and multiply, and go in and possess the land that YHWH swore to give to your fathers.”<sup>24</sup>

As observed by Weinfeld, the shift in person deixis from singular in the first clause (*'āšer 'ānōkî maššawākā*), to plural in the rest of the sentence (*tīšmarûn... tihyûn ûrābîtem ûbā'tem wirīštem*) is replicated in v. 19.<sup>25</sup> This fact may allude to the framing function of both verses, which indeed forms a kind of *inclusio* for chapter 8.<sup>26</sup>

The same degree of literary elaboration can be envisaged in chapter 11, within which the phrase *kol hammišwâ* plays a significant role as a redactional mark:

Deut 11:8

*wšmrtn 't kl hmšwh 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm lm'n tḥzqw wb'tm wyrštm 't h' rš 'šr 'tm 'brym šmh lršth*

“you shall therefore keep *the whole commandment*<sup>27</sup> that I command you today, that you may be strong, and go in and take possession of the land that you are going over to possess” (RSV)

Deut 11:22-23

*ky 'm šmr tšmrwn 't kl hmšwh lz't 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm l'šth l'hbh 't YHWH 'llykm llkt bkl drkyw wldbqh bw (23) whwryš YHWH 't kl hgwym h'lh mlpnykm wyrštm gwym gdlym w'šmym mkm*

“for if you will be careful to do *all this commandment*<sup>28</sup> that I command you to do, loving YHWH your God, walking in all his ways, and cleaving to him,

<sup>24</sup> Among modern translations, “all the commandment” (RSV), and “all the Instruction” (NJPS) are in line with the reading I propose, while both “all the commandments” (NASB; NJB) and “every command” (NIV; NKJV) suggest a collective interpretation of *kol hammišwâ*.

<sup>25</sup> See Deut 8:19 *'m škh tškh 't YHWH 'llyk ... h' dty bkm hywm ky 'bd t'bdwn* “if you (sg.) shall forget YHWH your God, and walk (sg.) after other gods, and serve (sg.) them, and worship them, I forewarn you (pl.) this day that you (pl.) shall surely perish.”

<sup>26</sup> See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy I-II*, 388, 441.

<sup>27</sup> Compare “all the commandments” (KJV).

<sup>28</sup> Compare “all these commandments” (KJV), that assumes again a collective reading.



then YHWH will drive out all these nations before you, and you will dispossess nations greater and mightier than yourselves.” (RSV)

Deuteronomy 11:22 recapitulates the statement expressed in v. 8, but it changes the arguments in favor of loyalty; whereas at the beginning of the section the keeping of the commandment is motivated by the inheritance of the good land and enjoyment of its produce,<sup>29</sup> the reward consists rather in military success in the final reprise of the theme. In this redactional verse, the phrase *kol hammišwâ* is further specified by the adnominal demonstrative, with an obvious function of discourse deictic.<sup>30</sup> Such an interpretation is attested also in other contexts:

Deut 30:11

*ky hmšwh hz't šr 'nky mšwk hywm l' npl't hw' mmk wl' rḥqh hw'*

“for *this commandment* that I command you today is not too hard for you, neither is it far off.” (RSV)

Remarkably, this syntagmatic structuring of *mišwâ* parallels that of *tôrâ*, which will be discussed in the following chapter.<sup>31</sup> All the data collected suggest an interpretation of *mišwâ* as a continuous bounded entity designating the entire body of the Mosaic teaching in its process of fixation within the book of Deuteronomy, with particular emphasis on its binding force as a commandment that requires first and foremost observance and obedience.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, such a usage can be traced back to the Deuteronomistic editorial enterprise, representing a peculiar feature of its discourse tradition. The structuring described so far and the underlying ideology deserve a proper place within the Deuteronomistic phraseology and should be integrated in the list of stylistic devices expressing observance of the law and loyalty to the covenant made by Weinfeld.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to what has been observed so far, it must be said that the close connection between *tôrâ* and *mišwâ* as onomasiological alternatives to name the same referent is not only a characteristic typical of Deuteronomy, but it is also found in texts that cannot be directly related to its tradition. To give a clear ex-

<sup>29</sup> This is a typical motif of the Deuteronomistic discourse tradition, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 341.

<sup>30</sup> This syntagmatic feature characterizes the Deuteronomistic usage of *tôrâ* as well.

<sup>31</sup> See in particular chapter 3 § 1.

<sup>32</sup> See Levine, “מצודה,” 509–510.

<sup>33</sup> See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 332–339.

ample, I will now analyze the pair *tôrâ ûmišwâ*.<sup>34</sup> This combination occurs both in isolation and within more complex juxtapositions.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly enough, the two terms always agree in number and determination, which is a typical feature of hendiadys.<sup>36</sup> I begin my overview with an emblematic and famous context:

Exod 24:12

wy'mr YHWH 'l mš 'lh 'ly hhrh whyh šm w'tnh lk 't lht h'bn wtwrh whmšwh 'šr ktby lhwrtm

“And YHWH said unto Moses: ‘Come up to me on the mount and be there; and I will give you the tables of stone, *the law* (lit. *the teaching and the commandment*) which I have written, that you may teach them.’”<sup>37</sup>

Among commentators, Houtman understands *wəhattôrâ wəhammišwâ* as a hendiadys and renders it accordingly: “(the tablets of stone) containing the binding rules”<sup>38</sup>; Propp, on the other hand, opts for the more literal rendering: “(the stone tablets), the direction and the command.”<sup>39</sup> According to Propp’s view, the first *wə* (*wəhattôrâ*) must be understood as explicative.<sup>40</sup> Although he cautiously argues that “it is unclear whether what YHWH proposes to write

<sup>34</sup> For the plural usage, see Exod 16:28 *mišwōtay wətôrōtāy*, with the multiplexing reading “commandments and instructions” (SBH1); for the singular usage, see 2 Chr 14:3 *hattôrâ wəhammišwâ*, and 2 Chr 31:21 *ūhattôrâ ūhammišwâ* (LBH1).

<sup>35</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:34 *kəhuqqōtām ūkəmišpāṭām wəhattôrâ wəkammišwâ*; and 2 Kgs 17:37 *wə'et haḥuqqīm wə'et hammišpāṭīm wəhattôrâ wəhammišwâ*.

<sup>36</sup> See the relevant literature on the topic of hendiadys, in particular: Yitzhak Avishur, “Pairs of Synonymous Words in the Construct State and in Appositional Hendiadys in Biblical Hebrew,” *Semitics* 2 (1971/1972): 7–81; J. Kenneth Kuntz, “Hendiadys as an Agent of Rhetorical Enrichment in Biblical Poetry, with Special Reference to Prophetic Discourse,” in *God’s Word for Our World*, vol. 1, ed. Deborah L. Ellens et al. (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 114–135; Rosmari Lillas-Schuil, “A Survey of Syntagms in the Hebrew Bible Classified as Hendiadys,” in *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon*, ed. Lutz Edzard and Jan Retsö (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 79–99; and Jack R. Lundbom, “Hebrew Rhetoric,” *Encyclopaedia of Rhetoric*, 325–328.

<sup>37</sup> Among modern translations, many understand *mišwâ* as a collective, and render it accordingly, see “I will give you the stone tablets with the law and the commandments” (NIV; NKJV); “I will give you the stone tablets with the teachings and commandments” (NJPS).

<sup>38</sup> See Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus*, vol. 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 296.

<sup>39</sup> See William H.C. Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, AB 2a (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>40</sup> See GKC §155, 1a; it must be pointed out, moreover, that both SP *'t lht h'bn htwrh whmšwh*, and LXX *τὰ πύξια τὰ λίθινα τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς* witness a variant without the conjunction before *hattôrâ*.

in 24:12 is the same or a different text,”<sup>41</sup> nevertheless, his translation implies the appositive function of *wəhattôrâ wəhammišwâ* with respect to *luḥōt hā' eben* and, thus, he takes it as an identity of reference.<sup>42</sup> Another element, moreover, deserves to be taken into due consideration, namely the relative clause *'āšer kātābtî ləhōrōtām*, which modifies the noun phrase *wəhattôrâ wəhammišwâ*. The noun *mišwâ* is not included among the complements of the verb *yrh* (hiphil) “to instruct,” “to teach,” while the noun *tôrâ* (etymologically related to this root) is attested twice in this function, both in the domain of relative clauses,<sup>43</sup> and in the domain of verbal phrases.<sup>44</sup> This fact suggests a secondary juxtaposition of the term *mišwâ*, grounded in a process of conceptual identification.

The usage of *mišwâ* and *tôrâ* as a pair is steadily attested across historical-narrative language:

Josh 22:5

*rq šmrw m' d l' šwt 't hmšwh w' t htwrh 'šr šwh 'tkm mšh 'bd YHWH l' hbh 't YHWH 'l-  
hykm wllkt bkl drkyw wlšmr mšwtyw wldbqh bw wl' bdw bkl lbbkm wblk npskm*

“Only take diligent heed to put in practice *the law*,<sup>45</sup> which Moses the servant of YHWH commanded you, to love YHWH your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep *his commandments*, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul”

and it is found up to the later linguistic layers of the biblical corpus:

2 Chr 31:21

*wbkl m' šh 'šr hḥl b' bwdt byt h' l'hyw wbtwrh wbmšwh ldrš l' l'hyw bkl lbbw 'šh whšlyḥ*

“every work that he undertook in the service of the house of God and in accordance with *the law*,<sup>46</sup> seeking his God, he did with all his heart, and prospered.”

<sup>41</sup> See Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 298–299.

<sup>42</sup> It is important to observe that, unlike what Propp claims, LXX takes only *wəhammišwâ* as a collective tantamount to plural and not both terms (see τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς; see also Vulg. *legem ac mandata*).

<sup>43</sup> See Deut 17:11 (SBH4).

<sup>44</sup> See Deut 33:10 (ABH).

<sup>45</sup> Literally “the teaching and the commandment”; compare “the commandment and the law” (NASB; NIV; NKJV; RSV); “the commandments and the Law” (NJB); “the commandments and the laws” (NEB); “the Instruction and the Teaching” (NJPS); see chapter 3 § 4.2.

<sup>46</sup> NET translates like this; several translations, however, read *mišwâ* as a collective, compare “the law and the commands” (NIV); “the law or the commandments” (NJB; RSV).

### 1.2. Commandment

Far more frequent and spread across different discourse traditions is the usage of *mišwâ* pointing to a single specific commandment originating from God. Such a reading arises mostly from the usage of the noun in the plural, which expresses the obvious multiplex discrete conceptualization “commandments.” It is important to observe that the plural occurrences of the term are normally specified either by pronominal suffixes pointing to God (*mišwōtay*, *mišwōtēkā*, *mišwōtāyw*),<sup>47</sup> or by the genitive YHWH (*mišwōt YHWH*),<sup>48</sup> a fact that marks a clear difference with the use described in the previous paragraph.

Two different aspects of this text type deserve special attention, one being formal, and the other referential. Firstly, considering the consonantal shape of the text, the form *mšwt YHWH* is ambiguous in terms of morphological number, it can be read either *mišwaṯ YHWH* or *mišwōt YHWH*. Only context, in particular agreement, can help the reader disambiguate such a reading. Otherwise, we must rely on the Masoretic reading tradition. The second aspect concerns the reference of this expression. Its usage suggests that the meaning of *mišwâ* should be regarded as inherently underspecified with respect to the feature “origin of the command.” Assuming its vagueness, the term calls for contextual specifications (genitives, relative clauses, pronominal suffixes),<sup>49</sup> which have the main function of focusing the attention of the recipient on the origin of such a command. In other words, the divine origin of the command is not fully lexicalized in the semantics of *mišwâ* in BH as is the case for the English noun *commandment* compared to *command*.<sup>50</sup> Such feature was instead triggered by operations of sematic composition in context. A selection of examples showing this feature follows:

Deut 4:2

*l' tspw 'l hdbṛ 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm wl' tgr 'w mmnw lšmr 't mšwt YHWH 'lhykm 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm*

<sup>47</sup> See Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; Deut 4:40; 8:11; 11:1; 27:10; 28:15.45; 30:10.16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 8:58; 9:6; 11:34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13; 23:3; (SBH1); and Ezra 9:10; 9:14; Neh 1:5.9; 1 Chr 28:7; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:19; 17:4; 34:31; Qoh 12:13 (LBH1).

<sup>48</sup> See Deut 10:13 (SBH1); and Ezra 7:11; Neh 10:30; 1 Chr 28:8; 2 Chr 24:20 (LBH1).

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix 2, § 1.3, 1.4.2, and 1.5.

<sup>50</sup> The feature “divine origin” is lexicalized in many modern languages that display semantic variance between a vague term “command,” and a specific term “divine command”; see Italian *comando* vs. *comandamento*; French *ordre* vs. *commandement*; German *Befehl* vs. *Gebote*; Spanish *orden* vs. *mandamiento*.

“You shall not add to the word that I command you, nor take from it, that you may keep *the commandments of YHWH your God* that I command you” (RSV)

Deut 11:13

*whyh 'm šm' tšm'w 'l mšwty 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm hywm l'hbh 't YHWH 'lhykm wl'bdw bkl lbbkm w bkl nškm*

“And if you will obey *my commandments* which I command you this day, to love YHWH your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul (v.14 he will give the rain for your land in its season, the early rain and the later rain, that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil)” (RSV)

Deut 11:26–28

*r'h 'nky ntn l'pnykm hywm brkh wqllh (27) 't hbrkh 'šr tšm'w 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhykm 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm hywm (28) wqllh 'm l' tšm'w 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhykm*

“Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: (27) the blessing, if you obey *the commandments of YHWH your God*, which I command you this day (28) and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of YHWH your God (but turn aside from the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which you have not known).” (RSV)

Deut 28:13

*wntnk YHWH lr'š wl' lznb whyyt rā lm'lh wl' thyh lm'ṭh ky tšm' 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhyk 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm lšmr wl'šwt*

“And YHWH will make you the head, and not the tail; and you shall tend upward only, and not downward; if you obey the commandments of YHWH your God, which I command you this day, being careful to do them.” (RSV)

2 Kgs 18:6

*wydbq bYHWH l' sr m 'hryw wyšmr mšwtyw 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh*

“For he (king Hezekiah) held fast to YHWH. He did not depart from following him but kept *the commandments* that the Lord commanded Moses.” (RSV)

It is useful to mention that the term in the plural occurs often in combination with the quantifier *kol* within both SBH1 and LBH1:

Deut 28:15

*whyh 'm l' tšm' bqwł YHWH 'lhyk lšmr l'šwt 't kl mšwtyw wḥqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm wb'w 'lyk kl hqllwt h'lh wḥšygwk*

“But if you will not obey the voice of YHWH your God or be careful to do *all his*

*commandments* and his statutes that I command you today, then all these curses shall come upon you and overtake you” (RSV)

1 Chr 28:8

w'th l'yny kl ysr' l qhl YHWH wb'zny 'lhynw šmrw wdršw kl mšwt YHWH 'lhykm lm 'n tyršw 't h' rš h'twbh whn'hltn lbnykm 'hrykm 'd 'wlm

“Now therefore in the sight of all Israel, the assembly of YHWH, and in the hearing of our God, observe and seek out *all the commandments of YHWH your God*, that you may possess this good land and leave it for an inheritance to your children after you for ever.” (RSV)

It is difficult to underestimate the pivotal role that the verb *šiwwâ* (especially within adnominal relative clauses) played in the conceptualization of the will of God as a command or a bounded set of discrete commandments, especially taking into account the fact that the noun *mišwâ* does not occur in the most ancient cultic and legal texts; its place is normally occupied by other terms such as *dabārîm* (in the plural, in particular in the phrase *dibrê habbārît*),<sup>51</sup> *bārît*,<sup>52</sup> *tôrâ*,<sup>53</sup> and *huqqîm* (in the plural),<sup>54</sup> used in isolation or in combination to form chains. These lexemes clearly derive their binding value from the

<sup>51</sup> Compare Exod 19:7 *wyšm lpnyhm 't kl hdbrym h'lh 'šr šwhw YHWH* “(Moshe) acquainted them with everything that YHWH had commanded him”; Exod 35:1 *'lh hdbrym 'šr šwh YHWH l'šwt 'tm* “these are the things that YHWH has commanded you to do”; Deut 28:14 *wl' tqwr mkl hdbrym 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm hywm* “do not deviate to the right or to the left from any of the things that I command you this day”; and Deut 28:69 *'lh dbry hbryt 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh* “these are the terms of the covenant which YHWH commanded Moses” (SBH1); see also Jer 11:8 (SBH2); and Lev 8:36; Deut 6:6; 12:28 (SBH4).

<sup>52</sup> Compare Deut 4:13 *wygd lkm 't brytw 'šr šwh 'tkm l'šwt 'srt hdbrym* “(YHWH) declared to you the covenant that He commanded you to observe, the ten commandments”; Josh 7:11 *wgm 'brw 't bryty 'šr šwty 'wtm* “they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them”; Josh 23:16 *b'brkm 't bryt YHWH 'lhykm 'šr šwh 'tkm* “if you transgress the covenant of YHWH your God, which he commanded you”; and Judg 2:20 *y'n 'šr 'brw hgw yhz 't bryt 'šr šwty 't 'bwtm* “since that nation has transgressed the covenant that I commanded their fathers” (SBH1).

<sup>53</sup> Compare: Num 19:2 *z't hqt htwrh 'šr šwh YHWH* “this is the rule of the law that YHWH has commanded” (SBH1); and 1 Chr 16:40 *wlkl hktwb btwrt YHWH 'šr šwh 'l ysr' l* “according to all that is written in the law of YHWH which he commanded Israel”; Neh 8:1 *'t spr twrt mšh 'šr šwh YHWH 't ysr' l* “the book of the law of Moses, which YHWH had commanded Israel”; Neh 8:14 *wymš 'w ktwb btwrh 'šr šwh YHWH byd mšh* “they found it written in the law that YHWH had commanded by Moses” (LBH1).

<sup>54</sup> Compare Num 30:17 *'lh h'qym 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh* “these are the statutes which YHWH commanded Moses” (SBH1).

syntagmatic relation with the predicate *šiwwâ*. As Levine rightly pointed out, none of the terms mentioned above express inherently the idea of authority,<sup>55</sup> whereas *mišwôt* can be accounted for as a full nominal lexicalization of it.

Among the heads governing *mišwôt* within verbal phrases, the verbs for hearing, such as *šāma' 'el/ 'et* and *'āzan (hiphil)*<sup>56</sup> occupy a prominent position, alongside of the obvious *šāmar* “to keep,” *'āsâ* “to do,” “to put into practice,” and *'āzab* “to abandon,” pointing to the idea of compliance or non-compliance with the commandments.

One frequent construction is *šāma' 'el* “to consent,” “to listen to.”<sup>57</sup> Scholars have devoted special attention to the construction *šāma' bə*, especially to the text type *šāma' bəqôl* “to obey.”<sup>58</sup>

Regarding the construction *šāma' 'el*, Arambarri has observed that it expresses “approval, consent, acceptance, receipt,” or, in the negated form, “refusal.”<sup>59</sup> He has pointed out, moreover, that the meaning “obey” turns out to be context-dependent, since it arises only under specific circumstances, namely when the approval is made binding on the basis of social or religious relations. The systematic analysis of the distribution of *šāma' 'el* in SBH1 and LBH1 reveals that the action described by the construction applies in particular to a kind of consent carried out freely, by people whose obedience does not derive from a bond of subordination to a person in control but rather from a personal conviction or resolution. In this pattern of usage, the indirect complement governed by the verb normally points to a person who has previously made a request or a demand. In the majority of cases, the persons to whom the subject of the verb consents are not in a position of control with respect to his or her will. This type of obedience appears to be based on the persuasion that the requested action is convenient. Many examples can be found in the historical-narrative language: Abraham accepts the terms of Ephron (*wyšm' 'brhm 'l 'prwn*) in the negotiations for the purchase of land (Gen 23:16); the

<sup>55</sup> According to Levine, the idea of authority is somehow superimposed on the core meaning of these terms, and often justified by other co-occurrent elements: “The *mišpāṭ* should be followed because it represents the accepted standard of justice ... the *hōq* should be followed because someone with authority has written or promulgated it ... the *torâ* should be followed because it has been presented or shown to someone ... the word *mišwâ* is authoritative in and of itself”; see Levine, “מצודה,” 506.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 2; § 2.2.2.

<sup>57</sup> See Deut 11:13.27.28; 28:13; for the text type *šāma' 'el*, see DCH 8:461.

<sup>58</sup> For the text type *šāma' bəqôl*, see Udo Rüterswörden, “שמע,” TDOT 15:265–266.

<sup>59</sup> See also Jesús Arambarri, *Der Wortstamm „hören“ im Alten Testament. Semantik und Syntax eines Hebräischen Verbs*, SBB 20 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990), 154.



sons of Jacob try to convince Shechem and his father Hamor (*w'm l' tsm'w'lynw*) to be circumcised (Gen 34:17); Pharaoh repeatedly refuses to consent to Moses' requests (Exod 6:30; 7:4.13.22; 8:11.15; 9:12; 11:9); Ben-hadad, king of Aram is persuaded by Asa king of Judah (*wysm' bn hdd' l hmlk's'*) to enter into alliance with him (1 Kgs 15:20); king Ahasuerus's attendants fail to convince Mordechai (*wl' sm' lyhm*) to pay tribute to Aman (Esth 3:4).<sup>60</sup> When the indirect complement refers to a person with authority over the subject, it is normally a family relationship between parents (both mother and father) and children (Gen 28:7; 49:2; Deut 21:18). The role of king Solomon toward the people can be included in this framework (1 Chr 29:23). God is convinced by those who invoke him (Gen 30:17.22; Exod 22:23; Deut 3:26; 9:19; 17:12; 1 Kgs 8:52; 2 Kgs 13:4) especially through prayers and petitions.<sup>61</sup>

In some of the passages quoted above<sup>62</sup> *mišwōt* occurs as an indirect complement of *šāma' el*.<sup>63</sup> This construction is attested fifteen times in Deuteronomy,<sup>64</sup> with all the range of uses described.<sup>65</sup> Its distribution suggests that the reading that fits better corresponds to “being persuaded to do something” rather than “obeying as a subordinate.” Moreover, in hortatory discourse arguments in favor of obedience are mentioned on regular basis, that is, the reasons why it is convenient that the commandments are kept. This fact sug-

<sup>60</sup> Possibly the servants were genuinely concerned for Mordechai's safety in chiding him in a friendly way; see Moore, *Esther*, AB 7b (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 37.

<sup>61</sup> See *lsm' lhrnh w' lhtplh* (1 Kgs 8:28.29); *wsm' t' lthnt' bdk* (1 Kgs 8:30); *lsm' l' tplt' bdk* (Neh 1:6).

<sup>62</sup> See Deut 11:13; 11:27; 28:13.

<sup>63</sup> The same holds true for the combination *hqm wmsptym*; see, for example Deut 4:1 *w' th ys'r' l sm' l hqm w' l hmsptym 'sr' nky mlmd' tkm l' swt lm' n thyw wb' tm wyrštm' t h' rš' šr YHWH 'lhy' btykm ntn lkm* “and now, O Israel, listen to the statutes and the rules that I am teaching you, and do them, that you may live, and go in and take possession of the land that YHWH, the God of your fathers, is giving you.”

<sup>64</sup> The textual type *sm' t* is also admitted, it combines with *hqm* (Deut 4:6); *dbry* (Deut 4:10); *hqm wmsptym* (Deut 5:1); *kl' šr y' mr YHWH' llynw* (Deut 5:27); *msptym* (Deut 7:12); *dbrym* (Deut 12:28, and 29:18), and particularly *qwl* (Deut 1:34; 4:36; 5:23.24.25; 5:28; 18:16; 26:7). The construction *sm' b* occurs only with *qwl* (Deut 1:45, with God as subject), and mostly with *qwl YHWH* (Deut 4:30; 8:20; 9:23; 13:5.19; 15:5; 21:18.20; 26:14.17; 27:10; 28:1.2.15.45.62; 30:2.8.10.20).

<sup>65</sup> God can consent to the someone's requests or not (Deut 3:26; 9:19; 10:10; 23:6); one shall not be persuaded to idolatry by the enticing speeches of a prophet or a seer, or a brother, a son, a daughter, a beloved wife, or friend (*dbry hnby' hhw' w' l hwlw hhlwm hhw'*, 13:4.9); one must obey the priest and the judge (Deut 17:12); the nations listen to fortune-tellers and to diviners (18:14); a son must listen to the voice of the father and the mother (*šm' bqwl' byw wqbwl' mw*), and obey them (*yšm' lyhm*, 21:18); Moses' endorsement of Joshua places him in the position of being obeyed by the people (34:9); and finally, divine *mšwt* must be obeyed (4:1; 11:13; 11:27.28; 28:1).



gests that the kind of obedience expressed by the construction *šāma* ' 'el needs to rely on adhesion resulting from a conscious conviction.

### 1.3. *Standing Order*

One example in my database attests the usage of *miṣwâ* for a standing order originating from God and imparted to a prophet acting as his attendant:

1 Kgs 13:21–22

wyqr' 'l 'yš h'lhym 'šr b' myhwđh l' mr kh 'mr YHWH y' n ky mryt py YHWH wl' šmrt 't hmšwh 'šr šwk YHWH 'lhyk (22) wtšb wt'kl lḥm wtšt mym bmqwm 'šr dbr 'lyk 'l t'kl lḥm w' l tšt mym l' tbw' nbltk 'l qbr 'btyk

“He (the old prophet living in Bethel) cried to the man of God who came from Judah, “Thus says YHWH, because you have disobeyed the word of YHWH, and have not kept *the command*<sup>66</sup> which YHWH your God commanded you, (22) but have come back, and have eaten bread and drunk water in the place of which he said to you, Eat no bread, and drink no water; your body shall not come to the tomb of your fathers.” (RSV)

The divine standing order to which this text refers is formulated for the first time in v. 9:

1 Kgs 13:9

ky kn šwh 'ty bđbr YHWH l' mr l' t'kl lḥm wl' tšt mym wl' tšwb bđrk 'šr hlkt

“For so was it commanded me by the word of YHWH, saying, ‘You shall neither eat bread, nor drink water, nor return by the way that you came.’” (RSV)

This is not an absolute prohibition but a contingent command, valid in the situation represented by the narrative.

## 2. Expression of Human Authority

I have shown above that the reference to the divine origin of the command is not fully lexicalized in the substantive *miṣwâ*. In fact, in Biblical narrative *miṣwâ* applies also to binding instructions given by authorities to people in a

<sup>66</sup> RSV translates “the commandment.”

subordinate position; the noun occurs particularly in the framework of royal and military commands.

Obedience in this case does not imply an act of a free decision but it appears as a duty, an obligation, or a responsibility. With reference to its effect, such a command may be valid under given circumstances or retained irrespective of changing conditions. In the latter case, the order is a directive made known publicly by kings (David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Joash, Josiah, and Ahasuerus)<sup>67</sup> or officers in charge (*šarîm*), which is binding on all people under their command, and intended to enforce a policy or a procedure. Such commands may be issued orally or may imply a written form. The typical structuring of this reading is *mišwat-* (singular construct plus governed noun pointing to a human authority).

### 2.1. Standing Order

Many examples can be found in SBH1 of specific commands issued orally under certain circumstances:

2 Kgs 18:36

*whlryšw h'm wl' 'nw 'tw dbr ky mšwt hmlk hy' l'mr l' t'nhw*

“But the people were silent and answered him not a word, for *the king's command* was, ‘Do not answer him.’”<sup>68</sup>

The reading of *mišwâ* in 1 Kings 2:43 must be included in this group. In the narrative, one of the first acts of Solomon as a king is to enjoin Shimei to reside in Jerusalem, depriving him on pain of death of the freedom to move.<sup>69</sup> This action is expressed by the verb *'āwad* (*hiphil*) “to admonish,” “to warn”<sup>70</sup> (1 Kgs 2:42). It is remarkable that Solomon had Shimei swear by YHWH, suggesting either that the royal order (*hammišwâ 'āšer šiwwîti 'ālêkâ*, v. 2:43) was

<sup>67</sup> See Isa 36:21; 2 Kgs 18:36 (SBH1); and Esth 3:3; 2 Chr 8:14.15; 24:21; 29:15.25; 30:6.12; 35:10.15.16; Neh 11:23; 12:24.45 (LBH1).

<sup>68</sup> Parallel to Isa 36:21 *whlryšw wl' 'nw 'tw dbr ky mšwt hmlk hy' l'mr l' t'nhw*.

<sup>69</sup> The Solomon's command is expressed through a series of directive verbal forms: *bnh ... wyšbt ... wl' tš'* (see 1 Kgs 2:36).

<sup>70</sup> For the meaning of the denominative verb *'wd* (*hiphil*), see HALOT, 6843.

not such a peremptory constraint *per se* or that Solomon felt himself not sufficiently established in his authority.<sup>71</sup>

In LBH1 a sentence of death by stoning issued by king Joash against the prophet Zechariah constitutes *mišwaṭ hammeleḳ*, which is immediately and publicly carried out:

2 Chr 24:21

*wyqšrw 'lyw wyrghw 'bn bmšwt hmlk bḥsr byt YHWH*

“They conspired against him, and by command of the king they stoned him with stones in the court of the house of YHWH.” (RSV)

In Esther 3:3, the royal order consists of bowing before Hāman the Agagite and paying homage to him (cf. v. 2). In Qoheleth 8:5, the obedience to the king’s command is encouraged as it provides prosperity and success; in this passage the term occurs in absolute case (*hammišwā*), being coreferential to the previous expressions *pî meleḳ* “king’s command” (v. 2), and *dəḅar meleḳ* “king’s word” (v. 4).

## 2.2. Royal Regulation

Frequently, and increasingly in later layers of language, the term refers to more complex regulations, typically issued by kings and intended to enforce a policy, with special reference to the religious domain and cultic matters. In 2 Chronicles, David is depicted as the prime example of the reformer who organizes the clergy.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the usage of regulation formulas punctuates the description of the celebrations of Passover at Jerusalem during the kingdoms of Hezekiah (2 Chr 30) and Josiah (2 Chr 35:1–18):

<sup>71</sup> See 1 Kgs 2:42 *hlw' hšb'tyk bYHWH w' 'd bkl'mr* “did I not make you swear by YHWH and solemnly warn you.”

<sup>72</sup> See 2 Chr 8:14.15. Interestingly enough, there is an overlap between the expression *mišwaṭ Dāwīd* and *mišwaṭ Mōšē* in this particular usage (compare 2 Chr 8:13.14). It is important to highlight the summarizing effect of the authorization formula *kəmišwaṭ Mōšē*, that turns out to be put in operation when some specific mode or repository of revelation needs to be mentioned (2 Chr 8:13). The reference is equal to the entire corpus of laws regulating the sacred festivals in this case; see Simon de Vries, “Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 619–639, especially 621.

- *bəmišwaṭ Dāwīd waḡad hōzēr hammeleḡ wənātān hannābī* “according to the command of David and of Gad the king’s seer and of Nathan the prophet” (2 Chr 29:25)
- *kəmišwaṭ Dāwīd* “according to David’s command” (2 Chr 35:15)
- *katōraṭ Mōšeh ’iš hā’ēlōhīm* “according to the teaching of Moses, the man of God” (2 Chr 30:16)
- *biktāb Dāwīd meleḡ Yisrā’el ūḡamiktāḡ Šālōmōh bənō* “as prescribed in the writing of David king of Israel and the document of Solomon his son” (2 Chr 35:4)<sup>73</sup>
- *kəmišwaṭ hammeleḡ* “according the king’s command” (2 Chr 29:15; 35:10)
- *kakkātūḡ bəsēper Mōšeh* “as it is written in the book of Moses” (2 Chr 35:12)
- *kəmišwaṭ hammeleḡ Yō’šiyāhū* “according to the command of king Josiah” (2 Chr 35:16).

According to de Vries, the Chronicler does not dispute the prime authority of Moses as cult founder,<sup>74</sup> but he is concerned about establishing David’s authority, especially “because there was no clear consensus in postexilic Israel about a continuing role for David’s successors.”<sup>75</sup> The Chronicler intends to express the idea that the Davidic line’s duty was simply to carry out the regulations that David laid down.

Such regulation formulas occur also in Nehemiah with a comparable function; they are put into operation to highlight that the legitimate performance of liturgical duties, established by David, was faithfully implemented by Solomon and his descendants:

- *bəmišwaṭ Dāwīd ’iš hā’ēlōhīm* “according to the command of David the man of God” (Neh 12:24)

<sup>73</sup> The Chronicler appeals to a document concerning the Levitical preparation of *Pesaḡ* written by David and then actualized by Solomon.

<sup>74</sup> According to Williamson, “we may confidently assert that the Chronicler had the Pentateuch before him in its final and completed form”; see Hugh G.M. Williamson, “Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles,” *VT* 26 (1976): 351–361, especially 361.

<sup>75</sup> See de Vries, “Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles,” 631–632; according to the Chronicler’s understanding, moreover, inspiration was not limited to figures that were commonly identified as “prophets”; direct communication with God is ascribed also to the founding kings of the Davidic dynasty; see Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1993), 46; David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, SBLMS (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 55–96.

- *kəmišwat Dāwīd Šālōmōh bənō* “according to the command of David, and of Solomon his son” (Neh 12:45).<sup>76</sup>

The Chronicler depicts king Hezekiah with special emphasis as the champion of the restoration of the cult at the Jerusalem Temple.<sup>77</sup> A royal decree issued by him and dispatched by his messengers is called *mišwat hammelek* (vv. 6-9):

2 Chr 30:6.8

wylkw hršym b'grwt myd hmlk wśryw bkl yśr'l wyhwdh wkmšwt hmlk l'mr bny yśr'l šwbw 'l YHWH 'lhy 'brhm yšhq wysr'l wyšb 'l hplyth hns'rt lkm mkp mlky 'šwr ... (8) 'th 'l tqšw 'rpkm k'bwtykm tnw yd IYHWH wb'w lmqdšw 'šr hqdyš 'l wlm w'bdw 't YHWH 'lhykm wyšb mkm hrwn 'pw

“So couriers went throughout all Israel and Judah with letters from the king and his princes, according to the command of the king which was: ‘O people of Israel, return to YHWH, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, that he may turn again to the remnant of you who have escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria ... (8) Do not now be stiff-necked as your fathers were but yield yourselves to YHWH and come to his sanctuary, which he has consecrated forever, and serve YHWH your God, that his fierce anger may turn away from you.’”

Hezekiah's *mišwâ* reported in this text turns out to be tantamount to a strong appeal to the people of the old Northern Kingdom, which by that time had become a province of Assyria, to join their brothers at Jerusalem for celebrating *Pesaḥ* together. The text of the decree must be regarded as a heartfelt exhortation rather than an order, owing to the fact that the people of the North were not actually his real subjects. Verse 6 contains a kind of conflation: the letters (*'iggərôt*) are said to be “from the king and his princes” (*miyyad hammelek wəsārāyw*); the message dispatched, nevertheless, is spoken according “the king's command” (*ūkəmišwat hammelek*). Japhet thinks that this fact reflects the Chronicler's attitude toward the kingdom, and the reported decree itself must be regarded as “an outstanding example of the Chronicler's literary methods and theological positions.”<sup>78</sup> Namely, on the one hand, the

<sup>76</sup> See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1988), 350.

<sup>77</sup> Hezekiah's restoration of the temple in Chronicles (missing in the books of Kings) makes him another temple builder, along with David and Solomon, and his celebration of Passover (also missing in Kings) is treated at length (2 Chr 30); see Blaire A. French, *Chronicles Through the Centuries*, Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), especially 148–154.

<sup>78</sup> See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 941.

narrative highlights the collegial nature of the kingdom's administration by mentioning the princes; on the other hand, it is meant to restate Hezekiah's function and authority.

### 2.3. Will

Besides kings, fathers as well can transmit instructions to sons as an expression of their will,<sup>79</sup> especially before death. Such instructions are regarded by the posterity as a *mišwâ*:

Jer 35:16

*ky hqymw bny yhwndb bn rkb 't mšwt 'byhm 'šr šwm wh 'm hzh l' šm 'w 'ly*

“Indeed, the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab have carried out *the command* of *their father* which he commanded them, but this people has not listened to me.”

Jonadab's command to his sons consists actually in not drinking wine (*lbtly štwy yyn*, v. 14), and it can be conceptualized either as uniplex entity,<sup>80</sup> or as a multiplex entity.<sup>81</sup> Remarkably, the verb *qwm* (*hiphil*) is used for the action of complying with the father's instructions in this passage<sup>82</sup> instead of the more obvious *šāma* 'el or 'āšâ.

### 3. Peripheral Sense-nodules: Polysemy as a Window on Diachronic Change

A group of later attestations witnesses a remarkable development in the pattern of usage of *mišwâ*, which have a strong impact on its reading and may be regarded as signals of an ongoing change in its semantics.

As I have observed before, a typical feature of deverbal nouns is to inherit the valency frame slots of their source verbs.<sup>83</sup> In BH *šwh* (*piel*) exhibits a very

<sup>79</sup> The verb *šwh* as well can take on a similar reading, compare Gen 49:29.33; 50:16; Isa 38:1.

<sup>80</sup> See MT *mišwat* 'ābihem (Jer 35:14.16) and *mišwat* Yēhônādāb (35:18)

<sup>81</sup> See MT 'et kol *mišwōtāyw* (Jer 35:18).

<sup>82</sup> Compare Jer 35:14 *hwqm* 't dbry yhwndb bn rkb “the commands of Jonadab son of Rechab have been fulfilled”; for the meaning of *qwm* *hiphil*, see HALOT, 8302 “to take out,” “to keep,” when the verb selects as objects *dābār*, *nēder*, *bōrit*, *šəbū* 'ā.

<sup>83</sup> See Panevová, “Contribution of valency to the analysis of language,” especially 7–11.

large range of different syntactic constructions,<sup>84</sup> which can be traced back to two main valency frames: on the one hand, it is used as a three-argument verb, requiring an *actor* (or agent), viz. the human or divine person in control who performs the action of commanding; an *addressee*, viz. the person to whom the order is directed; and a *patient*, viz. the action to be performed that is the object of the command. On the other hand, *šwh* (*piel*) is attested as a two-argument verb, with the surface deletion of the object, meaning “to give orders.”<sup>85</sup>

Concerning nouns derived by syntactic derivation, participants are normally expressed in BH by governed nouns or pronominal suffixes. The nominal complements of *mišwâ* point exclusively to the agent in SBH1, namely to the subject provided of animacy who issues the command.<sup>86</sup> Expressions such *mišwat̄ YHWH*, *mišwat̄ hammelek̄* or *mišwat̄ Yêhônādāb̄* must be thus read as “the command which YHWH/the king/Jonadab had issued.” This compact trend will undergo some variation in LBH1. A few examples of the usage of the term in the book of Nehemiah are particularly telling. They attest a remarkable shift in the arguments expressed on the surface as governed nouns, affecting the reading of *mišwâ* in two directions described below.

### 3.1. *Portion, claim*

In the following passage, “the *mišwâ* of the Levites” points to their due portion from temple offerings:

Neh 13:4–5

*wlpny mzh 'lyšyb hkh n twn blškt byt 'lhynw qrw b ltwbyh (š) wy 'š lw lškh gdwlh wšm hyw lpnym ntnym 't hmnḥ hlbwnh whklym wm 'šr hḡn htyrws̄ whyšhr mšwt hlwym whmšrrym whš'rym wtrwmt hkhnym*

“Now before this, Eliashib the priest, who was appointed over the chambers of the house of our God, and who was connected with Tobiah, prepared for Tobiah a large chamber where they had previously put the grain offering, the frankincense, the vessels, and the tithes of grain, wine, and oil, which were given *by commandment* to the Levites, singers, and gatekeepers, and the contributions for the priests.”<sup>87</sup> (RSV)

<sup>84</sup> Clines lists 23 of them, see *DCH* 7:94–102.

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Gen 49:33 *wykl y'qb lšwt 't bnyw wy 'sp rglyw 'lhmḥ* “when Jacob finished commanding (giving instructions to) his sons, he drew up his feet into the bed.”

<sup>86</sup> See Appendix 2, § 1.4.2.

<sup>87</sup> Compare: “the tithes of grain, wine and oil prescribed for the Levites, the singers, and the gatekeepers” (Myers, *Ezra–Nehemiah*, 209); “the tithes of grain, wine, and oil, the dues of the

The expression *mišwat halāwiyyim* has posed problems for interpreters. It parallels the phrase *tārūmaṭ hakkōhānīm*, “the contribution for the priests.”<sup>88</sup> It is sensible to assume that the genitive *halāwiyyim* points neither to the actor of the command nor to its addressee. How can this surface structure match the valency frame of *mišwâ*? Which thematic role does *halāwiyyim* express? It is important to mention that the MT’s reading has been regarded as corrupted and replaced by the emendation *mnywt hlwym* “the portions of the Levites,” on the basis of the Latin version *partes Levitarum*.<sup>89</sup> If we retain the MT reading, we have to admit a quite sizeable (and complex in cognitive terms) semantic shift from “what has been commanded” to “what is due,” and the genitive must be understood as the surface expression of its beneficiary or recipient. Other examples of such a construction for *mišwâ* do not occur in BH.

---

Levites, singers, and gatekeepers” (NJPS); “the tithe of grain, new wine, and fine oil prescribed by the law for the Levites, musicians, and gatekeepers” (Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 352); “was den Leviten gesetzlich zusteht” (see Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 3:724); compare modern translations: “prescribed for the Levites, the singers and the gatekeepers, and the contributions for the priests” (NASB; NIV); “prescribed for the Levites, singers, and door-keepers, and the contributions for the priests” (NEB); “which were commanded to be given to the Levites and singers and gatekeepers, and the offerings for the priests” (NKJV).

<sup>88</sup> For the meaning of *tārūma*, see HALOT, 10304; it must be recalled, moreover, that the term *tārūma* occurs in relation to *ḥōq* in SBH4; for example the breast of the *tānūpā*, and the thigh of the *tārūma* offered for the investiture of priests are considered as a perpetual *ḥōq* due to Aaron and his sons (see Exod 29:28; Lev 7:34; 10:15); see also Appendix 4, pages 400–401.

<sup>89</sup> Modern translations follow this reading, compare: “the dues of the Levites, singers and gatekeepers, and the gifts for the priests” (NJPS), and “the part of the Levites, singers and gatekeepers, and the contributions for the priests” (NJB); both HALOT and DCH base their translation of Neh 13:5 on the emendation *מְנוּחָה* from *mānāt* “part, portion” (see HALOT, 5342; DCH 5:447). Concerning the LXX, the reading preserved by the Antiochene tradition *καὶ τὰ ἄξια* would imply *וּמְנוּחָה הַלְוִיִּים*; the Latin rendering *partes Levitarum*, on the other hand, implies the variant *מְנוּחָה הַלְוִיִּים*; see Marcus David, *Ezra and Nehemia* = *עזרא ונחמיה* (Biblia Hebraica Quinta 20, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 81; according to Batten “the commandment makes poor sense and lacks support in the verses. Retained we should understand it to mean that the tithe was by the command of the law given to the Levites. But it is better to follow the Latin and render by a slight emendation portion,” see Loring W. Batten, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913, reprinted 1961), 288. For similar wordings compare: *mnt hkhnyw whlwym* (2 Chr 31:4); *mn`wt htwrh lkhnyw wllwym* (Neh 12:44); *mnywt hmšrnyw whš`ryw dbr ywm bywmw* (Neh 12:47), and *mnywt hlwym* (Neh 13:10).



### 3.2. *Obligation, duty*

Semantically speaking, the shift from “command” to “obligation” or “duty,” verifiable in some late uses of the noun *mišwâ*, is quite understandable and can be accounted for in terms of *converseness*. The category of converseness, borrowed from the science of symbolic logic, is used by semanticists to name a subclass of oppositeness implying a mirror-image relation between a pair of lexical items, called thus *converses*. Cruse describes converses as *relational opposites*,<sup>90</sup> which refer to the same relationship from reversed points of view. Converses may imply reciprocity (as *friend* or *mate*)<sup>91</sup> or asymmetry (as *doctor* vs. *patient* or *teach* vs. *learn*).

Operations of permuting the arguments of a pair of converses can help appreciate the sense-relation at stake; the sentence “Tom *sells* his car to Sam,” for example, entails logically the sentence “Sam *buys* Tom’s car”; that being the case, we can safely consider *sell* and *buy* converses. If we apply such a test to the sense-nodes ascribable to *mišwâ*, it is clear that an expression like “the king’s command to the people” logically entails its reversed counterpart “the duty of the people towards the king”; in the first wording the action is regarded from the point of view of its actor (the king), in the latter case from the point of view of its recipient (the people). I can affirm, therefore, that the meaning “command” underwent a conceptual re-analysis developing the converse sense, of “duty.”<sup>92</sup> Concerning *mišwâ*, such a shift occurs on the level of the semantic micro-structure of the noun, yielding the phenomenon of auto-converseness. LBH1 mirrors the beginnings of this semantic development. A clear example of this converse sense-nodule is attested in the following passage:

Neh 10:33

*wh' mđnw 'lynw mšwt ltt 'lynw šlšyt hšql bšnh l' bdt byt 'lhynw*

“We also lay upon ourselves *the obligation* to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God.”<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> See Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, especially 231; see also Ekkehard König, “Reciprocals and semantic Typology: Some concluding remarks,” in *Reciprocals and Semantic Typology*, ed. Nicholas Evans et al., *Typological Studies in Language* 98 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 329–340, especially 331.

<sup>91</sup> In these cases, we can speak of auto-converseness.

<sup>92</sup> See Franz Rainer, “Semantic change in word formation,” *Linguistics* 43/2 (2005): 415–441.

<sup>93</sup> Among modern translation, some mirror the shift here highlighted, compare: “we have laid upon ourselves obligations” (RSV; NJPS); “we also placed ourselves under obligation” (NASB); and “we recognize the following obligations” (NJB); others opt for circumlocutory

The shift in perspective is further emphasized by the verbal selector *‘āmad* (*hiphil*) ‘*al* “to lay upon.”<sup>94</sup> It is important to point out that the sense-nodule “obligation” would play a central role for the further semantic development of the term in post-biblical layers of Hebrew language, mostly within the halakhic-rabbinic discourse tradition.<sup>95</sup>

#### 4. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents

In the corpus of LXX texts analyzed for the present investigation, the standard equivalent for *mišwā* is the noun ἐντολή.<sup>96</sup> The pair ἐντέλλεσθαι and

---

phrases as: “we hereby undertake the duty” (NEB); and “we assume the responsibility for carrying out the commands” (NIV).

<sup>94</sup> See DCH 6:474, 8b.

<sup>95</sup> The readings “religious duty/duties,” “religious requirement/s” ends up being the main meaning of the noun *mšwh* in Mishnaic Hebrew. This phenomenon is evident above all in the productive discourse, while in quotation from the Scripture the classical meaning “commandment” still stands. Suffice here to mention some typical examples of this semantic innovation: “it is a *duty* (*mišwh*) of the oldest (surviving) brother to enter into levirate marriage” (*m. Yev.* 4.5); “As to children, they do not impose a fast on them on the Day of Kippur. But they educate them a year or two in advance, so that they will be used to doing *the religious duties* (*lmšwt*)” (*m. Yoma* 8.4); “Be meticulous in a *small religious duty* (*bmšwh qlh*) as in a large one (*kmšwh hmwrh*), for you do not know what sort of reward is coming for any of *the various religious duties* (*šlmšwt*)” (*m. Av.* 2.1, 2b). This semantic shift is also accompanied by a significant change in the syntagmatic pattern of usage of the word, namely in its valency frame. In the repeated discourse (viz. in quotations from the Scripture), the genitive or the pronominal suffix governed by *mišwā* encodes exclusively the actor who issues the commandment (mostly YHWH); in the productive discourse, on the other hand, the genitive complement points normally either to the subject of the obligation or to its recipient. The following examples show both cases respectively: “*the requirement of redemption* (*mšwt pdyyh*) takes precedence over *the requirement of breaking the neck* (*lmšwt ‘ryph*)” (*m. Bekhor* 1.7, 1b); “he who goes to slaughter his *Pesaḥ* lamb, to circumcise his son, or to eat the betrothal meal at his father-in-law’s house, and remembers that he has left some leaven in his house, if he can go back and remove it and go on to do *his religious duty* (*lmšwtw*), let him go back and remove it” (*m. Pes.* 3.7, 1c). For the importance of the concept of *mišwā* as religious duty-obligation in Jewish tradition, see Marc Shapiro, “613 Commandments,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, 167–168; and Michael Broyde, “Mitsvah,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, 473–474.

<sup>96</sup> Exceptions are very scant, I will list the following ones: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως λεγόμενα (*t mšwt hmlk*; Esth 3:3); τῶν λόγων κυρίου (*mšwt YHWH*; Judg 2:17 text B); πρόσταγμα (2 Chr 19:10; 30:6.12; 31:21); διὰ τὸ προστάξει τὸν βασιλέα (*mšwt hmlk*; Isa 36:21 while we find ἐντολή in the parallel verse i 2 Kgs 18:36); τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου (Deut 28:9). In addition to these examples, one can add a few cases in which *mišwā* occurs in synonymic chains and its equivalent

ἐντολή replicates in Greek the formal relation between the Hebrew verbal stem *šwh* (*piel*) and its nominal cognate *mišwâ*. Despite the one-sidedness of this translation choice, other pairs of cognate words could have expressed the idea of “order” and “command” in the Greek lexicon, at least based on the lexical material attested in the LXX. These pairs could have been: ἐπιτάσσειν vs. ἐπιταγμα or ἐπιταγή,<sup>97</sup> κελεύειν vs. κελεύσμα,<sup>98</sup> προστάσσειν vs. πρόσταγμα,<sup>99</sup> and συντάσσειν vs. σύνταγμα, συνταγή, or σύνταξις. Nevertheless, for some reason, these words were not regarded as felicitous options and consequently discarded. Many scholars have wondered why most translators opted for ἐντέλλεσθαι and its nominal cognate or accepted this choice almost without hesitation. Different explanations have been proposed, that can be chiefly classified by their type, as semantic oriented or sociolinguistic oriented.

Pelletier, on the one hand, has dedicated a study to the lexical representation of divine authority in the Greek Pentateuch, taking into particular account the verbs related to the notion of commanding.<sup>100</sup> In his view, the translators’ preference for ἐντέλλεσθαι was grounded in semantics, in particular in

---

lacks in Greek: see τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ (*mšmrtw whqtγw wmsptγw wmswtγw*, Deut 11:1); τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ (*mšwtγw whqtγw wmsptγw*, Deut 30:16).

<sup>97</sup> Concerning this group of cognate words, the verb ἐπιτάσσειν (“to enjoin, give orders”; *GELS*, 283–284) is attested 32 times in the LXX, either in translated books (Gen 49:33; Esth 1:1.8; 3:12; 8:8.11; Ps 106:29; Ezek 24:18; Dan 1:18; 2:2.46; 3:19.20), or in books for which an Hebrew *Vorlage* is at least plausible (Tob GI/GII 3:6.15; 8:7; 1 Esdr 2:21.23; 4:57; 5:50; 6:18.27; Ep Jer 1:61; 1 Macc 4:41; 5:49; 9:54; 10:81; 12:27.43); in original compositions it occurs only three times (2 Macc 9:8; Jdt 10:9; 12:6). The verb ἐπιτάσσειν functions as an equivalent of *šwh* only thrice (Gen 49:33; Jacob’s last wishes on his deathbed; Esth 3:12 and Ezek 24:18). The noun ἐπιταγή (“that which has been enjoined”; see *GELS*, 284), on the other hand, is attested 7 times, mostly in original compositions (κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωσίου, 1 Esdr 1:16; see κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωσίου, 2 Chr 35:16 and also 3 Macc 7:20; Wis 14:17; 18:15; 19:6; Ps Sol 18:12); and once in translations (Dan<sup>OG</sup> 3:16), where it translates the Aramaic *ptgm* “command,” said about the royal injunction to bow down before the golden image; see *BDB*, 11314, in Hebrew *pitgām* as a Persian loanword “decision, announcement,” see *HALOT*, 7800). The noun ἐπιταγμα is attested once in 4 Macc 8:6 (see *GELS*, 283).

<sup>98</sup> Concerning the pair κελεύειν/κελεύσμα, the verb (“to issue a command,” mostly confined to 1–4 Maccabees, see *GELS*, 394) is attested 28 times: 1 Esdr 9:53; Jdt 2:15; 12:1; Tob GI 8:18 (while in GII εἶπεν); 1 Macc 11:23; 2 Macc 1:20.21.31; 2:1.4; 5:12; 7:5; 9:7; 13:12; 14:27.31.41; 15:4; 3 Macc 5:2.16; 6:30; 4 Macc 8:2.12; 9:11; 10:17; Bel 1:14 (in Bel<sup>o</sup> ἐπιτάσσω). The noun (“order for an action”; *GELS*, 394) is attested only once (Prov 30:27).

<sup>99</sup> This group of words will be investigated in detail below, see chapter 4 § 3.3.

<sup>100</sup> See André Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” *VT* 33 (1982): 236–

the different degree of compulsoriness (*degré d'obligation, degré d'exigence*) that each verb of this lexical field conveyed.<sup>101</sup> The analysis of a group of attestations in literary and epigraphic texts<sup>102</sup> led him to the conclusion that ἐπιτάσσειν expresses the most peremptory degree of command, followed, in descending order, by προστάσσειν, συντάσσειν, κελεύειν, ἐντέλλεσθαι and incidentally by παραγγέλλειν and προσιθίναί. He suggests that the translators chose ἐντέλλεσθαι based on two reasons, one negative and the other positive. Firstly, this verb would have conveyed a softened degree of coercion,<sup>103</sup> and secondly an idea of “benevolent authority”<sup>104</sup> would have been inherent in its meaning. Pelletier claims that translators regarded this latter semantic feature as particularly fit for rendering the Hebrew *šwh*, especially when its usage implied divine agency. Concerning the noun ἐντολή, Pelletier argues that the mitigated nuance of the verb was mirrored by its nominal cognate,<sup>105</sup> given its usage in diplomatic language, namely “dès Hérodote ce groupe constituait le formulaire essentiel des chancelleries grecques pour les relations extérieures.”<sup>106</sup>

In fact, ἐντολή continues to be used steadily in diplomatic jargon until the late Hellenistic age and beyond. Mostly in the plural, ἐντολή applies to the directions given by a person in control of someone whom he trusts and who acts on his behalf, especially in the context of missions.<sup>107</sup> Two examples from Polybius may illustrate this usage. In *Hist.* 2.48.8 Polybius tells that Aratus had appointed Nicophanes and Cercidas, who were family friends of his own (οἷτινες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ πατρικοὶ ξένοι) as spokespersons for the city of Megalopolis to discuss an alliance request with king Philip of Macedonia. Nicophanes then obtained an interview and spoke according to the direc-

---

242; and idem, “Le vocabulaire du commandement dans le Pentateuque des LXX et dans le NT,” *RevScRel* 41 (1953): 519–524.

<sup>101</sup> See Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” 237.

<sup>102</sup> Pelletier mentions in particular Herodotus and a fragment from Philo: κελεύουσι μὲν γὰρ (...) δεσπότηι δούλοις, ἐντέλλονται δὲ φίλοι (Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 2 fr. 16); see Philon d’Alexandrie, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: Fragmenta graeca*, Les œuvres de Philon d’Alexandrie 33 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978), 97.

<sup>103</sup> See Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” 239 : “les milieux cultivés avaient pleinement conscience de l’adoucissement que représentait ce groupe par rapport à κελεύω et aux composés de τάσσω.”

<sup>104</sup> See Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” 240: “Dès le début de la Genèse, on constate que ce verbe a été choisi pour exprimer le ton d’autorité bienveillante.”

<sup>105</sup> See Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” 241.

<sup>106</sup> See Pelletier, “L’Autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque grec,” 238.

<sup>107</sup> Compare the meaning “Auftrag, (An-)Weisung, Instruktion,” in *Polybios-Lexikon*, 1:816–817.

tions of Aratus (κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς Ἀράτου).<sup>108</sup> In *Hist.* 4.23.2, the ephors, the Spartan magistrates in charge, are said to have sent messengers to king Philip to convince him to postpone his visit to their city; these messengers are said to have spoken according to the instructions of the ephors (ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἐντολαῖς).<sup>109</sup> Besides adverbial phrases, the term is used with the meaning “message,” or “commissions.” The governing verbs λαμβάνειν “to receive,”<sup>110</sup> ἔχειν “to have,” “to hold,”<sup>111</sup> and δηλοῦν “to deliver”<sup>112</sup> indicate the transmission process of such ἐντολαί by the people in charge. In this regard, it is interesting to mention Lenger’s observation based on her comprehensive study of the Ptolemaic ordinances. According to her view, ἐντολή, together with ἐπιστολή, represented a specific subtype of πρόσταγμα, which would have implied an enforcement agent within the bureaucratic language of that age.<sup>113</sup>

Lee, on the other hand, has addressed the topic of the words for “order”

<sup>108</sup> Compare “in the sense that Aratus had directed” (Paton, LCL).

<sup>109</sup> Compare “according to their instructions” (Paton, LCL).

<sup>110</sup> See *Hist.* 15.31.10.

<sup>111</sup> See *Hist.* 11.6.9.

<sup>112</sup> See *Hist.* 8.16.3.

<sup>113</sup> See Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques 57/1 (Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964), XIII–XXIV: “la notion de *prostagmata* royal est comprise ici dans son acception la plus large, telle que je l’ai définie à plusieurs reprises. Elle couvre, en effet, toute la gamme des ordres émis par les Ptolémées en vertu des pouvoirs absolus dont ils jouissent, pourvu que l’expression de leur volonté leur soit clairement et nommément attribuée. Il s’agit d’ordonnances de portée générale ou d’intérêt limité, promulguées en toutes matières de droit public et privé, dues à l’initiative des monarques qui les ont décrétées, ou suscitées par les plaintes et les revendications des intéressés, indépendantes ou non des ordres qui les rendent exécutoires, susceptibles enfin des formes les plus diverses, dont les unes relèvent du type non épistolaire, tandis que les autres procèdent de la lettre adressée à un ou plusieurs agents d’exécution (ἐπιστολή ou ἐντολή).” The ἐντολή of king Ptolemy Alexander I (*UPZ* 1.106 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 62–63, Memphis 99 BCE) can be mentioned as a clear example of official circular: προστάξει Φιλοκράτει τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστολογράφῳ ἐγδοῦναι περὶ ἐμ[οῦ] καὶ τῆς οἰ[κίας] μου ἐντολὴν περιέχουσαν μηθὲν ἐξεῖναι εἰσβιάζεσθαι εἰς αὐτ[ή]ν μηδ’ ἐκ [τα]ύτης περισπᾶν κ[α]τὰ μηδένα τρόπον μηδὲ διασ<ε>ίειν με μηδ’ ἐπιβάλλειν [μοι] τὰς χεῖρα[ς] “(I ask you, as I am in need, that you please, if it seems right) command Philokrates, *syngenes* (Lenger, “le parent du roi”) and *epistolographos*, to send out, concerning both me and my household, a *circular letter* (ἐντολήν) containing the provisions that no one is permitted to transgress its contents, or to plunder in any way, or to extort me or to put his hands upon me”; for the translation see John Bauschatz, *Policing the Chōra: Law Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 316–318. Through this royal πρόσταγμα, king Ptolemy Alexander consents to the petition for protection from Pectesis; such a protection will be granted through the trusted intermediary Philocrates, acting on the basis of a royal *circular letter* (ἐντολή).

in the LXX in a variationist and diastatic perspective, highlighting different aspects of the subject.<sup>114</sup> He has taken into account a vast corpus of Greek documentary material from the third century BCE and analyzed the verbs of command on the basis of their respective distribution and patterns of usage. Lee concludes that *συντάσσειν* was the most widespread and obvious word to express the action of commanding in such a corpus. Here are some examples taken from his database:

PSI 4.420 lines 1–19 (Philadelphia, third century BCE, letter)

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Σεμηθεύς. Συντάξάς μοι κεραμεύσαι ἅπαν<τα> τὸν κέραμον ἕως τοῦ ἰσιόντος <μηνός> εἴ τήν ἡμέραν ν'. ποιῶ οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα. ἐκέλευσαν δέ με καταβαίνοντα συγχωνεύειν. ἐγὼ οὖν ὠχρόμη, ἕως ἂν μοι σὺ συντάξῃς. νῦν οὖν ἄλλοι πάρισιν κεραμεῖς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ χωνεύων με μαλάκισται, ὁ ξένος. τί οὖν μοι συντάσσεις; ὅπως ἂν οὕτω ποιῶ.

“Semtheus to Zenon greetings. You *ordered* me to make pots and nothing else until the 5<sup>th</sup> of the ensuing month, 50 per day. So, I am doing that. But they *told* me to go down and join in glazing. I did not go [and will not], until you *order* me. Now other potters have come; and the glazer has fallen ill, the foreigner. What do you *order* me, then? So that I may do that.”<sup>115</sup>

P.Cair.Zen. 5.59852 lines 7–10 (Philadelphia, third century BCE, polite letter to Zenon asking for placement)

εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν κελεύεις, τὸ μὲν καιρὸν αὐτὸς εἰδήσεις, ἐμοὶ δὲ καλῶς ἂν ποιήσῃς συντάξας ὅπως ἂν παραδειχθῆι μεθ' ὧν οἰκίαν τε ἕξω καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δέοντα, ἵνα μὴ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ῥέμβωμαι.

“But for the present you *direct* me to do nothing, you will know when it is the right time, but as for me please be kind enough to *give directions* that it be indicated with whom I am to live and the other necessary matters, so that, being an old man, I may not be left unattached.”<sup>116</sup>

It is important to say that the verb *συντάσσειν* is attested also in the language of royal ordinances. It applies normally to the act of a royal official for the enforcement of the king's ordinances and not directly to the act of the king, as the following example clearly shows:

<sup>114</sup> See John A. L. Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on, with Observations on ‘Order’ words in the LXX Pentateuch,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom Paul et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 513–524.

<sup>115</sup> See Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on,” 522.

<sup>116</sup> See Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on,” 522.



*P.Amh.* 2.33 (Petition addressed to the king and queen from five peasants, Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoites, 157 BCE)

Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ἀπολλωνίωι ξαίρειν (...) σύνταξον ὅπως πραχθῶσι εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν οἱ συνηγορήσαντες διπλοῦν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον

“King Ptolemy to Apollonios, farewell (...) *command* that these lawyers pay the royal treasury twice the additional tithe.”<sup>117</sup>

The usage of *συντάσσειν* in Hellenistic documentary sources from third and second centuries BCE, and namely its meaning “to command,” turns out to be idiomatic, taking into account that the verb retains its meaning “to arrange,” “to organize,” especially (although not exclusively)<sup>118</sup> as a military term<sup>119</sup> in Greek literary language across time.

Within the database scrutinized by Lee, the verbs *προστάσσειν*, *κελεύειν*, and *ἐντέλλεσθαι*, on the other hand, are roughly equivalent to one another in terms of number of occurrences. Their frequency, however, is much lower compared to that of *συντάσσειν*. Regarding *κελεύειν*, Lee records the weakened meaning “to request,” “to urge,” “to tell.” This change would have been the consequence of a process of semantic bleaching, probably due to the long and frequent usage of the term across time. It is likely that then the LXX translators considered *κελεύειν* not dignified enough to match all the occurrences of *šwh*, especially when the Hebrew verb involved the reference to divine authority. Moreover, Lee argues that although *προστάσσειν*, *συντάσσειν* and *ἐντέλλεσθαι* were more “formal and official-sounding than *κελεύειν*,” this

<sup>117</sup> See *C.Ord.Ptol.* 23: “Le roi Ptolémée à Apollônios, salut (...) ordonne (*σύνταξον*) que ces avocats paient au trésor royal deux fois la dîme additionnelle”. For the same usage of the imperative *σύνταξον* in royal ordinances, see *C.Ord.Ptol.* 24. Two further ordinances show a different wording but the same reading of the verb, namely *καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας* “tu feras donc bien d’ordonner,” (see *C.Ord.Ptol.* 52 a letter from Ptolemy Euergetes to the priests of Isis, line 16; and *C.Ord.Ptol.* 60 an ordinance of Ptolemy Soter with instructions for a royal official at Thebaides, line 15).

<sup>118</sup> The meaning “to arrange,” “to organize” is still attested in the first century CE in literary prose, see Plutarch, *Ant.* 71.4.3 *αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν (...) ἐκείνην σύνοδον κατέλυσαν, ἐτέραν δὲ συνέταξαν* “they (Cleopatra and Antony) now dissolved their famous society, and arranged another” (Perrin, LCL).

<sup>119</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. “*συντάσσειν*,” in particular II.4a and b. Literary attestations of the meaning “to order” can be found already before the third century BCE, mostly in the historical-narrative language, see, for instance: *κιλικίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἔπεμψε Πέρσας σατράπας, ὅτι ἐκόντες ἐδόκουν συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα· δασμοὺς μὲντοι συνέταξεν ἀποφέρειν καὶ τούτου* “He (Cyrus) sent out no Persians as satraps over Cilicia or Cyprus or Paphlagonia, because these he thought joined his expedition against Babylon voluntarily; he did, however, require (*συνέταξεν*) even these nations to pay tribute”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.6.8 (Miller, LCL).

latter verb was perhaps “a little elevated.”<sup>120</sup> It is worth stressing, however, as Cadell does, that the use of its nominal cognate ἐντόλη in the sense of “order,” “instruction,” had become so common in the Hellenistic period as to be used at all levels of the administration, to the point of being abbreviated as εν or εντ.<sup>121</sup> This is shown by an official letter of a royal scribe, where the abbreviation occurs in the heading of a short list of instructions:

*P.Lille* 1.3 lines 55, and 71 (Magdola, Arsinoites, Egypt, 216–215 BCE)

ἐν(τολή) τοῖς ἐλαιοκαπηλοῖς

“order for the oil-dealers.”

ἐν(τολή) τοῖς παρὰ Μητροδώρου τοῦ οἰκ(ονόμου)

“order for those affiliated to the house of Metrodoros the oeconomus.”<sup>122</sup>

The term’s abbreviation is also attested in a receipt of a nomarch for wine from the government wine cellar, in which the text runs as follows:

*P.Col.* 3.55 (Arsinoites, 250 BCE)<sup>123</sup>

ὁμολογεῖ Ἐτέαρχος Κλέωνος Ἐλενεῖος ἔχειν παρ’Ἀνόσιτος κωμογραμματέως ἐκ τῆς περι Φιλαδέλφειαν Ἀπολλωνίου δωρεάς κατὰ τὴν παρ’Ἀριστάνδρου τοῦ οἰκονόμου ἐντ(ολήν)

“Etearchos, son of Kleon, from Eleneios, acknowledges receipt from Anosis, village secretary, of 40 metretes of sweet wine from the gant estate of Apollonios near Philadelphia, in accordance with *the order* of Aristandros, the oeconomus.” (APIS)<sup>124</sup>

<sup>120</sup> See Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on,” 520.

<sup>121</sup> See H el ene Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la l egislation Ptol ema ique. Probl eme du sens de *dikai oma* dans le Pentateuque,” in *Kat a tous  . Selon les Septante. Trente  tudes sur la Bible grecque des Septante en hommage   Marguerite Harl*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich (Paris:  ditions du Cerf, 1995), 207–221, here 216.

<sup>122</sup> Pi tkowska ascribes a technical meaning to the syntagma οἱ παρ  τινος, reading it as “those affiliated to the house of a patron,” namely: “subordonn , fonctionnaire, adjoint, agent”; see Marta Pi tkowska, *La ΣΚΕΠΗ dans L’Egypte ptolema ique*, *Archiwum Filologiczne* 32 (Warsaw: Zak ad narodowy imienia Ossolinskich, 1975), 20–32, especially 20–21; for the functions of the οἰκονόμος as a royal administrator, see Alan E. Samuel, “The Judicial Competence of the *oikonomos* in the third century B.C.,” in *Atti dell’XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Milano, 2-8 settembre 1965* (Milano: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, 1966), 444–450.

<sup>123</sup> Compare Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la l egislation Ptol ema ique.”

<sup>124</sup> Translation by APIS, see papyri.info. <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;3;55>.



It is important to add to this brief overview of the Greek words for “order,” some crucial observations on the usage of *προστάσσειν* in relation to the Hellenistic kings’ acts of governance which are not mentioned in Lee’s study. The verb *προστάσσειν* and its cognate *πρόσταγμα* are consistently used in the bureaucratic language of the Ptolemaic documentary sources as a technical term for the issuance of an act of ordinance and for the act thus issued. This activity stands out as typical of the king.<sup>125</sup> Such ordinances concern all matters of public and private law and can have two different forms: an epistolary form with the prescript *βασιλεὺς χαίρειν τῷ δεῖνι* and a non-epistolary one with the prescript *βασιλέως προστάξαντος* “the king has ordered.”<sup>126</sup>

The noun *πρόσταγμα* points to the document that is thus produced,<sup>127</sup> and that includes ordinances written down, promulgated, and transmitted.<sup>128</sup> The

<sup>125</sup> See Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” especially 208–209; see also Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, “Law and Justice in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*, ed. Markham J. Geller, Herwig Maehler, and A.D.E. Lewis (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1995), 1–11.

<sup>126</sup> See Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, “The *προστάγματα* in the Papyri,” *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 5 (1951): 187–206, here 187; for an exhaustive list of these non-epistolary ordinances, see in particular 189–190. These documents have been collected and investigated by Lenger in *C.Ord.Ptol.*; we find the formula *βασιλέως προστάξαντος* in some of them. Namely, it occurs in *BGU* 6.1211 (215–205 BCE), a decree of Ptolemy IV Philopator concerning the Egyptian Dionysus cults (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 29); for an English translation see Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, eds. *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), n. 160. We find the same expression in *P.Col.* 4.120 (229 BCE), a copy of a royal decree about percentage of a tax as a money “dorea” on income from properties (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 28); and in *P.Mich.* 1.70 (237 BCE), a royal decree of Ptolemy III answering a request by Zenon, who had failed to produce in court a certain Kallias, for whose appearance he had become surety; the king decrees that Zenon is to be freed from the penalty of having exceeded the fixed term if he produces the person of Kallias, and that this ruling applies to all similar cases (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 27).

<sup>127</sup> It is worth mentioning that the term *πρόσταγμα* designates also orders issued by Ptolemaic officers to lower officials; Mélèze-Modrzejewski has collected the relevant material; see Mélèze-Modrzejewski, “The *προστάγματα* in the Papyri,” especially 199–200.

<sup>128</sup> The explicit reference to *πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως* (with little variants in word order) is made in *P.Bad.* 4.47 (Hipponon, Herakleopolites, Egypt, 127 BCE), *P.Enteux.* 12 (Arsinoites, Egypt, 300–301 BCE), *SB* 18.13256 (Arsinoites, Egypt, 230–221 BCE), *P.Petr.* 3.53 (Arsinoites, Egypt, 209 BCE), and *P.Eleph.Wagner* 1 (Elephantine, 241–240 BCE). For the translation of this documents, see Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period historical sources in translation*. For further information on the significance and typology of the *προστάγματα* in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Mario Amelotti, Jean Bingen, and Marie-Thérèse Lenger, “*Προστάγματα βασιλέων*,” *Cronique d’Égypte* 25 (1950): 317–321; Marie-Thérèse Lenger, “*Ordres administratifs et prostagmata dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque*,” *Cronique d’Égypte* 42 (1967): 145–155; and eadem, “*Ordonnances divines et prostagmata dans l’empire des Ptolémées*,” in *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology*,

term is widely attested with the technical meaning “royal ordinance,”<sup>129</sup> which is also echoed in literary historical-narrative discourse, as the following examples demonstrate:

Polybius, *Hist.* 23.10.10

ὅσοι κατὰ βασιλικὸν πρόσταγμα τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθησαν  
 “whosoever that had been put to death *by royal ordinance*.”<sup>130</sup>

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 8.6.3

Ἐγὼ δέ, φησίν, ἀμνοῦμαι τὸν ὑπερπηδῶντα κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως  
 “I will exact vengeance of the man who jumps over the ditch, even as *the king commanded*.” (Oldfather, LCL)

A passage from Strabo in which *πρόσταγμα* refers to a pass required for emigration from Egypt, both in Ptolemaic and in Roman times is particularly interesting:<sup>131</sup>

Strabo, *Geogr.* II 3.5.47

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξὸν ἦν ἀνευ προστάγματος ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀνάγεσθαι  
 “it would not even have been permitted him to put to sea from Alexandria *without a pass*.” (Jones, LCL)

From this brief overview we must admit that many Greek verbs presented

---

ed. D.H. Samuel (Toronto: Hakkert, 1970), 255–261. Concerning the usage of *πρόσταγμα* within Seleucid royal documents, see Alice Bencivenni, “The King’s Words: Hellenistic Royal Letters in Inscriptions,” in *State Correspondence in the Ancient World. From New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire*, ed. Karen Radner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141–171.

<sup>129</sup> It is interesting to note that also the term *ἐντολή* has been glossed as “royal ordinance”; see *LSJ*, s.v. “ἐντολή,” mostly on the basis of *P.Tebt.* 1.6 (140–139 BCE), a Decree of Euergetes II, in whose incipit we read τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως [καὶ τῶν βασιλισσῶν παραδεδομένης] περι τῶν ἀνηκόντων [τοῖς ἱεροῖς κομίζεσθαι ἐ]ντολῆς (lines 9–10). In other sections of the same document, however, the actual text of the order is introduced by the more usual formula *καθάπερ οὖν καὶ πρότερον προστετάχμεν* “in accordance to what we have previously ordered,” in which the technical verb *προστάσειν* occurs.

<sup>130</sup> Compare “all others who had suffered death by royal command,” (Paton, LCL). For the diplomatic and political meaning of *πρόσταγμα* in Polybius, see *Polybios-Lexikon*, 2:930β; this semantic variant coexists with the main military meaning “Anordnung, Befehl”; see for example the expression *κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ* (Polybius, *Hist.* 1.21.4).

<sup>131</sup> See Sherman Leroy Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 273.

valid options to render the Hebrew verb *šwh*. If we assume that the translators were concerned about reproducing in Greek the formal relation between *šwh* and *mišwâ*,<sup>132</sup> we can easily grasp that the nominal cognates of *προστάσσειν*, *συντάσσειν*, and *ἐντέλλεσθαι* would have achieved this goal in very different ways, both in terms of semantics and style, highlighting different aspects involved in the action of commanding.

#### 4.1. The Verb *συντάσσειν* and its Nominal Cognates

The verb *συντάσσειν* is well attested both in LXX translations and in LXX original compositions in Greek, occurring approximately one hundred and twenty times.<sup>133</sup> The idiomatic meaning “to order,” which it has in the bureaucratic language of the Ptolemaic age is thoroughly attested.<sup>134</sup> The verb is employed almost exclusively as an equivalent of *šwh* with very few exceptions.<sup>135</sup> Its first attestation occurs in Genesis:

Gen 18:19

ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι συντάξει (᾿šr yšwh) τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτόν καὶ φυλάξουσιν τὰς ὁδοὺς κυρίου ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίσιν ὅπως ἂν ἐπαγάγη κύριος ἐπὶ Αβρααμ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτόν

“For I knew that he (Abraam) will *instruct* his son and his household after him, and they will keep the ways of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice so that the

<sup>132</sup> For the role played by morpho-syntactic scanning in the choice of equivalents within the LXX, see Romina Vergari, “Interaction between Lexical Innovation and Morphemic Analysis in the Septuagint? Evaluative Study on Hebrew Nominal Derivatives Related to Cultic Realia,” *JSCS* 50 (2017): 176–194.

<sup>133</sup> In free Greek compositions the term means mostly “to order,” said about kings and other authorities, such as high priests (Jdt 4:8; 7:17; 10:9; 12:1; 1 Macc 15:41; 2 Macc 9:4). It is important to observe, however, that the military meaning “to draw up, to form in order” is also attested in the LXX; see the context καὶ διέταξεν αὐτοὺς ὄν τρόπον πολέμου πλήθος συντάσσεται “he (Holofernes) set them (picked men) up in normal combat formation” (Jdt 2:16).

<sup>134</sup> See *GELS*, 659, “to give orders,” “to command.”

<sup>135</sup> Among the exceptions one can count the following: *dbr* (*piel*) (Exod 9:12; Lev 27:23; Job 42:9); *l py* (Exod 38:21[37:19], LXX καθὰ συνετάγη); *y’d* (*niphal*) “to gather” (1 Kgs 8:5, Codex Alexandrinus); *mr* (Job 37:6); *yšr* “to form” (Isa 37:26); *hbr* (*hithpael*) “to be joined” (Dan<sup>o</sup> 11:23); to these examples should be added the expression *htrypny lhm hgy* “my allotted portion of bread” (Prov 30:8), rendered in the LXX as σύνταξον δέ μοι τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ ἀντάρκη “order what is necessary and sufficient for me” (Cook, *NETS*). The equivalence with the verbs *yšr*, *y’d*, and *hbr* suggest that the translators very likely had in mind the classical reading “to arrange” of *συντάσσειν*.

Lord may bring upon Abraam all the things that he has talked about to him.” (Hiebert, *NETS*)

This usage parallels that described in Ptolemaic royal ordinances; Abraham will be a faithful executor of the divine will and will arrange for it to be respected even by the members of his house.

Among the subjects of *συντάσσειν*, we find kings and heads of families,<sup>136</sup> Moses,<sup>137</sup> the priests,<sup>138</sup> Joshua,<sup>139</sup> and mostly YHWH.<sup>140</sup> The Greek verb is attested especially in correspondence with the refrain *ka' āšer šiwwā YHWH 'et Mōšeh* (or *'el Mōšeh*),<sup>141</sup> which is quite surprising in the light of its usage in coeval sources. In this function, *συντάσσειν* competes on equal terms with *ἐντέλλεσθαι*<sup>142</sup> within the Pentateuch, especially in those books in which the occurrences of *mišwā* are relatively few.<sup>143</sup> The verb's frequency as an equivalent of *šwh* decreases dramatically from Deuteronomy onwards and becomes negligible in later translations,<sup>144</sup> where *ἐντέλλεσθαι* definitely stands out in this function.

Among the cognate nouns of *συντάσσειν*, we find *σύνταγμα* twice attested

<sup>136</sup> See e.g. Gen 26:11 (Abimelech, king of the Philistines); Exod 1:17.22; 5:6 (Pharaoh).

<sup>137</sup> See e.g. Exod 12:35; 37:19; Lev 9:21; Josh 11:12.

<sup>138</sup> See e.g. in Lev 13:54.

<sup>139</sup> See e.g. in Josh 8:29.

<sup>140</sup> See e.g. in Exod 6:13; 16:16; 19:7; 34:4; Lev 8:4; 10:15; Num 2:34; 19:2; Deut 4:23; 5:15.

<sup>141</sup> See Exod 16:34; 34:4; 39:7.21.26.29.31.43; 40:19.21.23.25.27 (the references refer to the MT); Lev 8:9.13.17; 16:34; 24:23; Num 1:19; 3:51; 8:3.22; 15:36; 26:4; 27:11; 31:31.41.47; compare also Josh 11:15.

<sup>142</sup> Suffice here to provide some data relating to the distribution of the Greek equivalents of *šwh* based on the Ralps edition of the LXX. In Genesis, I have counted 27 total occurrences of the Hebrew verb, it is rendered twice as *συντάσσειν* (18:19; 26:11; the subjects are Abraham and Abimelech) and 18 times as *ἐντέλλεσθαι* (with YHWH, *'llym*, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and Pharaoh as subjects). The ratio is decidedly interesting in Exodus, where *šwh* occurs 54 times; it is translated 33 times as *συντάσσειν* (subjects vary from YHWH to Pharaoh and Moses), and 17 times as *ἐντέλλεσθαι* (subjects are YHWH and sporadically Moses). The ratio is even more balanced in Leviticus: the verb is attested 35 times and translated 12 times as *συντάσσειν* and as 15 times as *ἐντέλλεσθαι*. In Numbers *šwh* occurs 48 times and is rendered 28 as *συντάσσειν* and 18 as *ἐντέλλεσθαι*. This substantial equilibrium between the two Greek competitors breaks off in Deuteronomy: *συντάσσειν* is chosen only twice out of the 88 occurrences of the Hebrew verb (4:23; 5:15). A similar trend characterizes the translation of Joshua, where *šwh* is attested 43 times; I found 32 times *ἐντέλλεσθαι* and only 8 times *συντάσσειν*. In the other historical-narrative texts (*viz.* Judg; 1-4 Kgdms; 1-2 Par; Ezra; Neh) *šwh* occurs more than a hundred times, while *συντάσσειν* disappears altogether.

<sup>143</sup> The noun/verb ratio in terms of total occurrences is 1/27 in Genesis; 4/54 in Exodus; 10/35 in Leviticus; 5/48 in Numbers; it increases significantly in Deuteronomy, where it proves to be 46/88.

<sup>144</sup> As I previously mentioned, the verb *συντάσσειν* is not attested in 1-4 Kgdms. Its 10 occurrences in Joshua (4:3.8; 8:27.29; 9:24; 11:12.15x2), and 8 in Jeremiah (Jer 26:2.8; 27:4; 29:23;

in the LXX. It occurs once in a translated book, rendering the phrase *sôd 'êlôah* “the council of God,”<sup>145</sup> and once in original compositions with the more Greek idiomatic meaning “book,” “treatise”:<sup>146</sup>

2 Macc 2:23

ὑπὸ Ἰάσωνος τοῦ Κυρηναίου δεδηλωμένα διὰ πέντε βιβλίων πειρασόμεθα δι' ἐνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν

“all this, which has been set forth by Jason of Cyrene in five volumes, we shall attempt to condense into a *single book*.” (Schaper, *NETS*)

In Greek historical-narrative prose from Xenophon onwards, the term's usage is maximized in military language with the meaning “body of troops drawn up in order,” “contingent.”<sup>147</sup> The noun *συνταγή*<sup>148</sup> has two attestations in the LXX corpus. In the book of Ezra, the phrase *εἰς καιροὺς ἀπὸ συνταγῶν* is quite an interesting attempt to render the LBH1 aramaicising expression vocalized in MT as *lâ 'ittîm mazzummānîm* “at appointed times.”<sup>149</sup> In the Psalms of Solomon, on the other hand, the imprudent and impudent men-pleaser<sup>150</sup> speaks to every woman *ἐν συνταγῇ κακίας* “in evil assignation” (Atkinson, *NETS*).<sup>151</sup> In both instances the term points to the idea of something arranged, organized, or planned. The noun *σύνταξις* has a larger diffusion in the LXX, it occurs more than a dozen times and is employed with a remarkably large

---

32:13.35; 34:22; 37:21), deserve, perhaps, a mention; it must be said, however, that the equivalence *šwh-êntêllesšai* is the general rule in these books.

<sup>145</sup> See Job 15:8; according to Muraoka, its reading here would be “body of doctrine”; see *GELS*, 659; Cox on the other hand, translates “the plan of the Lord” (Cox, *NETS*); see also *LSJ*, s.v. “σύνταγμα,” especially “the constitution of a state.”

<sup>146</sup> The noun is used both in military language, meaning “body of troops set in order” (Polybius, *Hist.* 9.3.9), and as a term of the metalanguage of literature, meaning “treatise, work, book” (Polybius, *Hist.* 5.31.8). The two readings should be regarded as synchronic variants related to the common idea of “something organized, arranged”; see *LSJ*, s.v. “σύνταγμα,” namely meaning 4.

<sup>147</sup> See *Polybios-Lexikon*, 3:405 “Aufstellung des Heeres,” and “(Schlacht-)Formation”; see also *διὰ τί καὶ πῶς λείπεται τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καθοπλισμοῦ* (Polybius, *Hist.* 18.32.13). Polybius uses the term also with its literary (Polybius, *Hist.* 5.31.7) and political meaning (Polybius, *Hist.* 6.50.2), but far less frequently.

<sup>148</sup> See *GELS*, 659, namely the meaning “directive specifying a course of action.”

<sup>149</sup> See Ezra 10:14; the same expression is less accurately translated *εἰς καιροὺς ἀπὸ χρόνων* in Neh 10:35 and 13:31; the late verb *zmn* is an Aramaism, from the root *zmn* “come to an understanding, agree,” see *HALOT*, 10598; *BDB* 10930.

<sup>150</sup> See Patrick Pouchelle, “ἀνθρωπάρεσκος,” *HTLS* 1:737–744.

<sup>151</sup> See Ps Sol 4:5; Atkinson glosses his translation “possibly about illicit affairs.”

range of meanings and nuances, including: 1) a quota of work or food;<sup>152</sup> 2) a mutually agreed amount of money to be paid;<sup>153</sup> 3) an instruction or order given as to how to do a certain thing;<sup>154</sup> and 4) a literary composition.<sup>155</sup> To the readings singled out by Muraoka in his Lexicon for both lexemes, two should be added, which are very idiomatic Greek, with special reference to military language, viz. “putting together in order, arranging, especially of soldiers” for σύνταξις and “agreed signal” for συνταγή,<sup>156</sup> so, for example:

1 Macc 4:35

ἰδὼν δὲ Λυσίας τὴν γενομένην τροπὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ συντάξεως, τῆς δὲ Ἰουδοῦ τὸ γεγενημένον θάρσος καὶ ὡς ἔτοιμοὶ εἰσιν ἢ ζῆν ἢ τεθνηκέναι γενναίως

“And seeing the developing rout of *his own formation* but the complete boldness of Ioudas and how they were ready to live or die bravely, Lysias departed to Antioch” (Zervos, *NETS*)

Judg A 20:38

καὶ ἡ συνταγή ἦν (Hebrew: *hmv'd hyh*; Judg B: σημεῖον) ἀνδρὶ Ἰσραηλ πρὸς τὸ ἔνεδρον τοῦ ἀνελέγκαι αὐτοὺς πυρσὸν τοῦ καπνοῦ τῆς πόλεως

“And *the command* for a man of Israel as regards the ambush was that they should send up a signal of the smoke of the city.” (Satterthwaite, *NETS*)

From the usage of these words within the LXX, I can safely say that none of the nominals derived from the Greek stem *συνταγ-* developed an idiomatic meaning “order, command,” comparable to that attested for the verb *συντάσσω*. The common purport of this group of words corresponds to “something agreed,” or “something arranged together.” This being the case, none of these nouns would suit the idea of “commandment” conveyed by the Hebrew term *mišwâ*, especially in those contexts involving divine authority. It is not surprising, then, that the translators have completely discarded

<sup>152</sup> It occurs as an equivalent of *matkōnet/tōken* “measurement, proportion” (Exod 5:8.18), *hōq* (Exod 5:14; similar usage in 5:11 and 37:19), and *’āruhâ* “meal, allowance (of food)” (Jer 52:34).

<sup>153</sup> See 1 Esdr 6:28; 2 Macc 9:16.

<sup>154</sup> See *khqt hpsh wkmšpṭw* translated as *κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ πασχα καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτοῦ* (Num 9:14); the same rendering of the adverbial expression *kammišpāt* is attested in Num 15:24 and 1 Kgs 5:1.

<sup>155</sup> Especially in original Greek compositions, see 2 Macc 15:38.39.

<sup>156</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. “συνταγή,” in particular the gloss “preconcerted signal” in war, marked as typical of the LXX.

these nouns as potential equivalents for *mišwâ*. This fact may have resulted in the gradual avoidance of *συντάσσειν* as an equivalent for *šwh*; it is not by chance that this phenomenon turns out to be proportional to the increase in frequency of *mišwâ*. The translation of Deuteronomy probably constituted the ground in which this strategy became established. In this book the words *šiwwâ-mišwâ* become an integral part of the phraseology to express the divine will and divine authority.<sup>157</sup> Translators were probably concerned about the formal relationship between the Hebrew words, and were determined to maintain the idea of commandments (*mišwōt*) as a direct expression of the divine will and authority that can neither “be agreed” nor “be arranged.” This fact probably was the reason why translators did not feel comfortable with any of the options *σύνταγμα*, *συνταγή*, or *σύνταξις*.

#### 4.2. The Verb *προστάσσειν* and its Cognate *πρόσταγμα*

The analysis of this group of words within the LXX proves to be comparatively challenging. This is especially true of the noun *πρόσταγμα* since it plays a significant role not only as an equivalent of *mišwâ* but also in translating *hōq* and *huqqâ*. For this reason, I will examine this lexeme in several instances, according to its various functions, highlighting the relevant aspects from time to time in the discussion.

The verb *προστάσσειν* is attested seventy-two times in the LXX corpus, of which only twelve occur in the Pentateuch.<sup>158</sup> It is chiefly used with the meaning “to issue a command,” “to order.”<sup>159</sup> Remarkably, the equivalence with the verb *šwh* appears to be a peculiar feature of the Pentateuch,<sup>160</sup> whereas the

<sup>157</sup> Levine observes: “we must note that the Israelite understanding of law as directly given by God is virtually unique in the ancient Near East (...) according to OT understanding, God reveals laws and legal norms; he directly formulates those laws. It was thus only to be expected that sooner or later *mišwâ* and *šiwwâ* would attain the dominant position among expressions for divine authority”; see Levine, “מִשְׁוֹת,” 509.

<sup>158</sup> More specifically, 30 times in translated books (Gen 47:11; 50:2; Exod 36:6; Lev 10:1; 14:4.5.36.40; Num 5:2; Deut 17:3; 18:20; 27:1; Josh 5:14; 2 Chr 31:5.13; Dan<sup>OG</sup> 2:8.12.14; 3:10.13.24; 4:14; Isa 36:21; 55:4; Jonah 2:1.11; 4:6.7.8; Sir 3:22), 32 times in Greek original compositions or text with no Hebrew extant (1 Macc 10:37.62; 2 Macc 5:24; 6:21; 7:3.4; 13:4; 14:16; 15:3.5.30; 3 Macc 3:1.25; 4:11.13; 5:3.4.19.37.40; 7:8; Sus<sup>OG</sup> 1:32.44; Jdt 2:13; 6:10; 12:7; Esth 1:15.19; 2:23; 3:2.13.14), and 10 times in 1 Esdras (1 Esdr 1:49; 5:68; 6:10.22.23.26.31; 7:1; 8:10.19).

<sup>159</sup> See GELS, s.v. “*προστάσσειν*.”

<sup>160</sup> Outside the Pentateuch, I found this equivalence only twice. In Isa 55:4 the nominal-



verb renders *dāḅar* (*piel*),<sup>161</sup> *ʾāmar*,<sup>162</sup> and *mānah* (*piel*) “to send, to appoint”<sup>163</sup> in other books.

In the translated parts of the book of Esther, the verb *προστάσσειν* has to do with two edicts issued by king Ahasuerus, meant to be dispatched by couriers across the provinces. On the one hand, we find the Hebrew expression *yēzēʾ dāḅar malkūt* “let him (the king) issue a royal edict”<sup>164</sup> rendered as *προσταζάτω βασιλικόν* in the edict concerning the deposition of Queen Vasti. On the other hand, *προστάσσειν* translates the Hebrew *gālah* “to uncover,” or “to publish,” applied to royal decisions and provisions included in the decree concerning the extermination of the Jews residing in the territory of the kingdom.<sup>165</sup>

Esth 3:14

*ptšgn hktb lhntn dt bkl mdynh wmdynh glwy lkl h ʾmym lhywt ʾtdym lywm hzh*

“A copy of the writ was to be issued as a decree in every province and *publicly displayed* to all the peoples to be ready for this day” (Levenson, *OTL*).<sup>166</sup>

LXX (OG) τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐξετίθετο κατὰ χώραν καὶ προσετάγη πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐτοίμους εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην.

“Copies of the letter were posted in every land, and it was *ordered* all the nations to be ready for this day.” (Jobes, *NETS*)

---

ization *προσάσσοντα ἔθνεσιν* renders the expression *wšwh l ʾmym* “commander/ruler of the peoples,” a title given to the king David; in Esth 3:2 the verb *šwh* applies to the king’s willingness to give honor to Aman; an additional occurrence could be added (Isa 36:21), in which the verb translates the noun *mšwh*: διὰ τὸ προστάζει τὸν βασιλέα μηδὲνα ἀποκριθῆναι “because the king had ordered that on one should answer” (Silva, *NETS*).

<sup>161</sup> See Josh 5:14.

<sup>162</sup> See Jonah 2:11. For the rest, it deserves to be mentioned that *προσάσσειν* is used for the noun *mipqād* “muster, appointment, appointed place” (*BDB*, 7805), “census” (*HALOT*, 5506); in particular, the expression *bmpqd yhzqyhw hmlk* (2 Chr 31:13) “by appointment of the king Hezekiah” (NIV, RSV, TNK), “by order of king Hezekiah” (NJB), or “as directed by king Hezekiah” (NEB) is rendered as *καθὼς προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Εἰζεκιᾶς*. The expression *ἂ προσετάγη σοι, ταῦτα διανοοῦ* (Sir 3:22) “the things that have been prescribed for you, think about these” (Wright, *NETS*) corresponds to the Hebrew *bmh šhwršyt htbwnn* “concentrate on that which is permitted”; in this passage, the passive form *προσετάγη* matches with the *hophal* stem of the aramaicising verb *ršh* “to permit, authorise, empower” (see *BDB* 9308; *HALOT*, 9005). Finally, the Aramaic noun *ma ʾamar* “word, command” (Esth 1:15) must also be counted among the verb’s counterparts.

<sup>163</sup> See Jonah 2:1; 4:6.7.8; see also *HALOT*, 5300.

<sup>164</sup> See Esth 1:19; for the translation see Moore, *Esther*, 28.

<sup>165</sup> See *HALOT* 1777, “to issue an edict”; compare Esth 8:13.

<sup>166</sup> See Jon D. Levenson. *Esther. A Commentary*, *OTL* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 76.



Coming back to the usage of *προστάσσειν* within the Pentateuch, the verb governs human subjects in the vast majority of cases: Pharaoh (Gen 47:11), Joseph (Gen 50:2), Moses (Exod 36:6; Num 5:2), Moses and the elders of Israel (Deut 27:1), and the priests (Lev 14:4.5.36.40). When the subject is God, it renders negated forms of the verb *šwh*, namely *l' šwh* (Lev 10:1), *l' šwyty* (Deut 17:3), and *l' šwytyw* (Deut 18:20). This fact deserves to be taken into account properly. I have shown to what extent the verb *προστάσσειν* characterized the activity of the Ptolemaic rulers in documentary sources. The fact that the Pentateuch's translators avoided using this verb for God's agency could suggest their aim of divesting from YHWH the shadow of the Hellenistic rulers. This trend proves to be constant in original compositions in Greek as well in which the subjects of *προστάσσειν* are various kings or their officials. The verb points chiefly to the act of issuing standing orders,<sup>167</sup> in oral or written form, to be executed by persons in a subordinate position. It is important to observe that *προστάσσειν* is used especially when *šwh* implies a special emphasis on the public proclamation of the order in question, as the following example shows:

Exod 36:6

*wyšw mšh wy'byrw qwl bμηnh l' mr*

"So, Moses *commanded*, and they made a voice pass in the camp"

LXX *καὶ προσέταξεν Μωυσης καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ*

"And Moyses *ordered* and proclaimed in the camp" (Perkins, *NETS*)

Although the nominal cognate of this verb, *πρόσταγμα*, is widespread in the LXX corpus,<sup>168</sup> it is used only a dozen times as an equivalent of *mišwâ*, mostly within the Pentateuch and in 2 Paralipomena (2 Chronicles).<sup>169</sup> Quite remarkably, the term is chosen in the introductory section to the Decalogue:

<sup>167</sup> These standing orders may refer to various expressions of the king's will (1 Macc 10:62; 2 Macc 6:21; 15:3; 3 Macc 4:11; 5:3; 7:8), such as royal decrees (1 Macc 10:37), military orders (Jdt 2:13; 6:10; 12:7; 2 Macc 5:24; 14:16; 15:5), death sentences (Esth 3:6, addition B; 2 Macc 13:4; 15:30; 3 Macc 3:1.25; 5:37.40), and punishments (2 Macc 7:3.4; 3 Macc 4:13).

<sup>168</sup> The noun *πρόσταγμα* occurs about 171 times in the LXX corpus, 135 in translated books (31 in the Pentateuch); 30 in Greek original compositions or in texts with no Hebrew *Vorlage* extant, and 6 in 1 Esdras.

<sup>169</sup> More precisely, 11 times: Exod 20:6; Lev 4:2; 26:14; Deut 5:10 (= Exod 20:6); 2 Chr 29:15.25; 30:6.12; 31:21; 34:31; Dan<sup>OG</sup> 9:4 (while Dan<sup>E</sup> reads τὰς ἐντολάς).

Exod 20:5–6 = Deut 5:9–10

l' tštḥwh lhm wl' t'bdm ky 'nky YHWH 'lhyk 'lqn' pq' 'wn 'b(w)t 'l bnym 'l šlšym w'l rb'ym lsn'y w'šh ḥsd l'lpym l'hby wlšmry mšwtý

“You shall not bow down to them or serve them. For I the Lord your God am an impassioned God, visiting the guilt of the parents upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generations of those who reject me, but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep *my commandments*.” (NJPS)

LXX (...) και ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσίν με και τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν τὰ προστάγματα μου

“And doing mercy unto thousands, for those who love me and keep *my ordinances*.” (Perkins, NETS)

It is difficult to establish whether the translation of Exodus influenced that of Deuteronomy or vice versa.<sup>170</sup> One has to consider that *πρόσταγμα* normally renders either *hōq*<sup>171</sup> or *dāḥā*<sup>172</sup> in both books. Such a usage is thus worthy of attention. In fact, *προστάσσειν* is established for designating the act of promulgating decrees and ordinances with special reference to secular powers. Only rarely is this action referred to the God of Israel in the narrative. In this crucial passage, the occurrence of *πρόσταγμα* definitely echoes the technical meaning “royal ordinances” that it has in the juridical language of Ptolemaic administration.<sup>173</sup> In this regard, it seems appropriate to recall a very clear and precise statement by Monsengwo Pasinya on this group of words:

Alors que le verbe semble bien défini en matière d'équation lexicographique, mais sujet à l'instabilité dans sa signification, le substantif, instable dans ses correspondants hébreux, jouit à cela près d'un sens constant.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Dogniez and Harl suggest, but not without caution, a possible contamination of the Greek Exodus by the Greek Deuteronomy, arguing: “il y a plus de rapprochements entre les deux rédactions du décalogue en grec qu'en hébreu, peut-être dus à une influence du Deutéronome sur l'Exode grec”; see Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Le Deutéronome, La Bible d'Alexandrie 5* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992), 148–150.

<sup>171</sup> See Exod 18:16.20; Deut 11:32; 12:1.

<sup>172</sup> See *dbr hršḥ* (Deut 19:4), LXX τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ φονευτοῦ; *dbr hšmḥ* (Deut 15:2), LXX τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἀφέσεως.

<sup>173</sup> See chapter 4 § 3.3.

<sup>174</sup> See Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de Nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*, *Analecta Biblica 52* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 2005), 149.

At this point one might wonder why the noun *πρόσταγμα* did not become a stereotyped equivalent of any Hebrew words for rules and regulations. I think there are enough arguments to believe that the term sounded too technical in the translators' ears, too specialized in the reading "royal ordinance." Then, it was picked up from time to time thanks to its official-sounding nuance when the context required a particular emphasis on authority or a solemn stance on the legitimacy of the commandments. In terms of equivalences, it ended up rendering a number of different Hebrew words besides *mišwâ*,<sup>175</sup> namely *dābār*, *dāt* "order, law,"<sup>176</sup> *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ*, *mišmeret* "obligation,"<sup>177</sup> *mišpāt*, *peh* (in particular *pî YHWH*) "edict, command,"<sup>178</sup> *tôrâ*, *ma'âmār* "command,"<sup>179</sup> *rišyôn* "authorization,"<sup>180</sup> in addition to the Aramaic *millâ* "word,"<sup>181</sup> and *ṭā'ēm* "command."<sup>182</sup> Its usage was too closely connected with the activity of the Hellenistic rulers and their exercise of power over every aspect of the life of the kingdom and its subjects – especially within the juridical discourse of the Ptolemaic age – to become a stereotyped equivalent for any of these Hebrew words and mostly for *mišwâ*<sup>183</sup> which, in turn, was becoming more and more specialized for the divine commandments.

The use of the term was highly evocative precisely because of the specialization of its meaning, which made it possible to represent the commandments as laws that stood on the same level as those issued by the king. Calling them *πρόσταγματα* could have represented the idea that YHWH was the true king of Israel, and the Israelites were to be proud of the Decalogue as their legislation. The term, moreover, could have served to dignify biblical commandments in the eyes of those who did not belong to that community. Nevertheless, as I have already pointed out, the translators of the Pentateuch were extremely cautious to avoid any unconditioned overlap between the God of Israel and the king, between the secular system of laws and the divine commandments. They expressed this ideological position through their lexical choices. On the one hand, they refrained from using *προστάσσειν* when *šwh* had YHWH as sub-

<sup>175</sup> See Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*, 102.

<sup>176</sup> See HALOT, 2180.

<sup>177</sup> See HALOT, 5833.

<sup>178</sup> See HALOT, 7479.

<sup>179</sup> See HALOT, 4735.

<sup>180</sup> See HALOT, 9006.

<sup>181</sup> See HALOT, 10815.

<sup>182</sup> See HALOT, 10689.

<sup>183</sup> This fact most probably applies to each of the terms analyzed in this work.

ject; on the other hand, they avoided establishing a stereotyped correspondence between *πρόσταγμα* and any of the Hebrew terms for rules and regulations.

#### 4.3. The Verb *ἐντέλλεσθαι* and its Cognate *ἐντολή*

The verb *ἐντέλλεσθαι* comes to the fore as an equivalent of *šwh* since its first attestation:

Gen 2:16

wyšw YHWH 'lhy 'l h' dm l' mr mkl 'š hgn 'kl t'kl

“And the Lord God *commanded* the man, saying, ‘Of every tree of the garden you are free to eat’” (NJPS)

LXX καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη

“And the Lord God *commanded* Adam saying, ‘You shall eat for food of every tree that is in the orchard’” (Hiebert, *NETS*)

With very few exceptions this equivalence is consistently maintained throughout the corpus of the LXX translations.<sup>184</sup> The verb is only occasionally put into operation to render *verba dicendi* such as *ʿamar*,<sup>185</sup> *dāḅar*,<sup>186</sup> or *pāqad* “to entrust with an official duty”;<sup>187</sup> *ἐντέλλεσθαι* matches the entire seman-

<sup>184</sup> Although the exceptions are negligible in relation to the number of attestations of *šwh*, they are still significant; see λέγειν “to say” (Gen 49:29; Exod 35:1; Lev 9:6; Josh 11:20; Esth 4:10); ἐπιτάσσειν “to enjoin” (Gen 49:33; Esth 3:12; Ezek 24:18); ἀποστέλλειν “to send” (Lev 25:21; Deut 28:8; Esth 4:5); κατισχύειν “to overpower” (Exod 18:23; 1 Chr 22:12); καθιστάναι “to appoint to an office” (2 Sam 6:21); διατιθέναι “to conclude an agreement” (Josh 7:11); ὀρκίζειν “to adjure” (Gen 50:16); τάσσειν “to arrange, to appoint, to order” (Isa 38:1); see Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*, 324.

<sup>185</sup> See Gen 43:16; Josh 11:9; Esth 2:15.

<sup>186</sup> See Exod 7:13; 23:22; 34:32; Josh 11:23 (*piel*); Josh 4:12; 3 Kgdms 13:17 (*qal*).

<sup>187</sup> See 1 Kgdms 25:15; 2 Chr 36:23 (*qal*); 1 Kgdms 25:7.21 (*niph'al*); see also Isa 13:11, where the Hebrew verb is equal to “to call to account, afflict”; for the different nuances of the verb, see HALOT, 7683, especially 4c and 5. Moreover, it is worth recalling that, according to the Antiochene version, the verb *qr* “to be proclaimed” deserves a place among the Hebrew equivalents of *ἐντέλλεσθαι* (3 Kgs 20:12); see Natalio Fernández Marcos, María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, and José Manuel Cañas Reillo, *Índice griego-hebreo del texto antioqueno en los libros históricos* (Madrid: Instituto de filología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de filología bíblica y de Oriente antiguo, 2005), 161.

tic range of *šiwwâ*. Limiting my brief overview to the Pentateuch and Joshua, it can be used whenever an authority issues binding instructions of various kinds, implying various types of asymmetrical relationships, such as those between kings and his subjects (Gen 12:20), fathers and sons (Gen 27:8; 28:1), family-heads and the people of their clan (Gen 32:5), officials in charge and their servants and subordinates (Gen 42:25), people leaders and their officials (Josh 1:10), military leaders and their soldiers (Josh 6:10). Apart from these cases, the usage of the term is maximized for God's specific instructions addressed to individuals or groups, viz. judges, Moses, priests, and Joshua.<sup>188</sup> The verb appears to be specialized for YHWH's *bərîṭ*, and mostly the Decalogue (Deut 4:13), his *derek* (Exod 32:8), his *tôrâ* (Josh 1:7), and his *mišwâ* (Deut 26:13). Each of these lexemes represents a unified (more or less figurative) conceptualization of the permanent fixation of the divine will, otherwise referred to as a multiplex set of binding statements, named *mišwōt*, *huqqîm/huqqōt*, *mišpāṭîm* (in various combinations),<sup>189</sup> or just *mišwōt*.<sup>190</sup>

From the data collected one can safely argue that if the translators were more concerned for the Greek style of their work and even display some (however marginal) degree of variation in rendering the verb *šiwwâ* (*ἐντέλλεσθαι*, *συντάσσειν*, and *προστάσσειν*), they still showed very little hesitation in establishing a stereotyped equivalent for its cognate *mišwâ*.<sup>191</sup> Their choice falls univocally on *ἐντολή*, which matches the vast majority of the Hebrew noun occurrences and covers all its usages. Some exceptions, however, can be singled out, which may have some significance.<sup>192</sup>

The lexeme *ἐντάλμα* renders *mišwâ* twice;<sup>193</sup> lexicographers have described it as a Septuagintism.<sup>194</sup> The expression *ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας* translates *mišwōt 'ānāšîm mālummāḏâ* "a commandment of men, learned by

<sup>188</sup> See Gen 2:16; 6:22; 21:4; Exod 4:28; 7:2; Exod 23:15; 29:35; Lev 6:2; 8:5; 28:2; Num 1:54; Deut 2:37; 3:18; Deut 1:16.

<sup>189</sup> See Num 36:13; Deut 4:40; 6:1; 7:11; 8:11; 10:13; 28:15.45.

<sup>190</sup> See Deut 4:2; 11:13.27; 28:1.15; 28:13; 30:8.

<sup>191</sup> The most remarkable exceptions are in Exod 20:6, and Lev 4:2 where *mišwōt* is translated as *προστάγματα*, in both cases reference is made to the divine commandments.

<sup>192</sup> For the sake of completeness, two other equivalents must be added to the list provided, mainly based on the analysis of 1 Esdras: *ἐπιταγή* (1 Esdr 1:16, *κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωσίου*), and the nominalization *τὰ τεταγμένα* (1 Esdr 1:15); see Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*, 262. It should be mentioned, however, that *mišwâ* might not have been in the LXX Vorlage in both cases, compare Deut 26:17; 30:16.

<sup>193</sup> See Isa 29:13, and Job 23:12.

<sup>194</sup> See LSJ and LEH, s.v. "ἐντάλμα."

rote” in Isa 29:13. This phrase is used with a clear negative nuance to brand and consequently criticize the formalism of the Israelite worship of YHWH. The Greek translator might have picked up the lexical innovation *ἐντάλμα* to convey the pejorative value embedded in the Hebrew expression in this context.<sup>195</sup> The equivalence occurs also in Job 23:12 without any negative nuance, however. In this case *ἀπὸ ἐνταλμάτων αὐτοῦ*<sup>196</sup> (MT *mišwat šəpātāy* “the commandment of his lips”) parallels *ρήματα αὐτοῦ* “his words” (MT *imrê pîw*), and points to divine commandments. Continuing my survey, I can mention the nominalization *τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως λεγόμενα* “what the king says” that renders *mšwt hmlk* in Esth 3:3. The equivalent *λόγος* occurs in Judg 2:17. In correspondence with the MT *mišwōt YHWH*, the B text of Judges reads *τῶν λόγων κυρίου* “the words of the Lord,” while in the A text the obvious *ἐντολὰς κυρίου* “the commandments of the Lord” occurs. In Prov 6:20, *νόμους πατρός* “farther’s laws” renders *mišwat ʾābīkā*, while in Prov 3:1 *τὰ δὲ ρήματά μου* (*ūmišwōtāy*) applies again to the precepts taught by the father. The equivalents *φωνή* (Deut 28:9)<sup>197</sup> and *δικαίωμα* (Deut 11:1) are sporadic, to say the least.<sup>198</sup>

Based on its eight occurrences, *πρόσταγμα* appears thus to be the most serious competitor (relatively) of *ἐντολή* as an equivalent of *mišwā*. Besides Exod 20:6/Deut 5:10 discussed above, the equivalence is attested twice in Leviticus for the divine commandments<sup>199</sup> and once in the OG text of Daniel, where the expression *τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰ προστάγματά σου*<sup>200</sup> clearly echoes Deut 5:10. It is attested also in 2 Paralipomena four times: *τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως*

<sup>195</sup> Silva’s translation “human precepts and teachings” (*NETS*) does not capture the polemical intent that such a lexical choice seems to suggest.

<sup>196</sup> Cox avoids using a nominal equivalent for *ἐντάλματα* and resorts to the verbal phrase “from what he commands” (*NETS*).

<sup>197</sup> This equivalence, based on Deut 28:9, is most likely to be considered inaccurate. In fact, in this passage the LXX reading *ἐὰν εἰσακούσης τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου* does not constitute the exact translation of its Hebrew counterpart *ky tšlr ʾt mšwt YHWH ʾlhyk* “if you observe the commandments of YHWH your God.” It is rather the doublet of the same Greek expression in v. 15, where it has been explained as the positive rendering of the MT’s negative condition *ʾm lʾ tšm ʾbqwl YHWH ʾlhyk* “if you will not obey the voice of the YHWH your God”; see Carmel McCarthy, *Deuteronomy* = אלה הדברים, BHQ 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 124.

<sup>198</sup> Again, it must be said that the equivalence in Deut 11:1 is to be considered quite uncertain. In fact, the Rahlfs’s reading *καὶ φυλάξῃ τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαίωματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ* follows Codex Vaticanus, whereas Codex Alexandrinus, adding *καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* at the bottom of the chain, agrees perfectly with MT *wšmrt mšmrtw whqtgw wmišwtgw*.

<sup>199</sup> See Lev 4:2; 26:14.

<sup>200</sup> See Dan 9:4, whereas Dan<sup>o</sup> reads *τὰς ἐντολὰς σου*.

renders *mišwat hammelek*,<sup>201</sup> while ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν corresponds to the phrase *tôrâ ûmišwâ* in its Hebrew counterpart.<sup>202</sup>

The verb *προστάσσειν* is employed to translate *mišwâ* as well, and this case deserves to be discussed more in detail. The account of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib Isaiah 36–37 parallels the narrative of 2 Kings 18:1–19:38.<sup>203</sup> The following Hebrew expression is found in both narratives:<sup>204</sup>

Isa 36:21 = 2 Kgs 18:36

*ky mšwt hmlk hy' l' mr l' t' nhw*

“(They remained in silent, answering him not a word) for the king (Hezekiah) *had ordered* them not to answer him (Sennacherib)”

Although the Hebrew wording is exactly the same, the translators who dealt with this verse came out with quite different outputs:

LXX 4 Kgdms 18:36

ὅτι ἐντολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγων οὐκ ἀποκριθήσεσθε αὐτῷ

“for there was *the king's command*, saying, “You shall not answer him.” (McLean, *NETS*)

LXX Isa 36:21

διὰ τὸ προστάξει τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα ἀποκριθῆναι

“because *the king had commanded* that none should answer.” (Silva, *NETS*)

The translator of 2 Kings clearly sticks closely to his Hebrew *Vorlage*, opting for direct speech in which the king utters his command and using the ste-reotyped equivalent of *mišwâ*. The translator of Isaiah, on the other hand, opts for indirect speech, namely an infinitive clause expanded by two accusative Nphs,<sup>205</sup> which represents a more idiomatic structure in Greek. Moreover, he discards the obvious ἐντολή for the nominalization τὸ προστάξει, intervening on both syntactical and lexical levels. The version in Isaiah proves to be of great interest in this case, especially because it is regarded as reflecting good

<sup>201</sup> See 2 Par 29:25; 30:6.12.

<sup>202</sup> See 2 Par 31:21.

<sup>203</sup> For a detailed comparative analysis between the two narratives, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, AB 19 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000), 468–469.

<sup>204</sup> See Isa 36:21 and 2 Kgs 18:36.

<sup>205</sup> See Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 598.



Greek Koinè language.<sup>206</sup> In this book the noun *μισῶ* occurs just three times and has been translated by three different equivalents: ἔνταλμα, with a plausible pejorative value;<sup>207</sup> προστάσσειν, when is the king the one who issues the order;<sup>208</sup> and ἐντολή, when the text refers to the divine commandments:

Isa 48:18

καὶ εἰ ἤκουσας τῶν ἐντολῶν μου (*Imšwtj*) ἐγένετο ἂν ὡσεὶ ποταμὸς ἡ εἰρήνη σου καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου ὡς κύμα θαλάσσης.

“and if you had heard my commandments, your peace would have become like a river, and your righteousness like a wave of the sea” (Silva, *NETS*)

Examining these data may shed some light on the semantic development of ἐντολή within and across the LXX. It is likely that the term ἐντολή was taking on a specialized meaning for the divine commandments, reproducing the same semantic development of its Hebrew counterpart *mišwâ* across SBH1 and LBH1.

This trend, however, is not mirrored in any of the Deuterocanonical texts ascribable to the historical-narrative discourse. In this corpus, ἐντολή occurs a dozen times, referring mostly to royal standing orders as in 1 Macc 2:19,<sup>209</sup> where ἐντολαί points to the provisions of a major ordinance<sup>210</sup> previously described in the following terms:

1 Macc 1:41–42

καὶ ἔγραψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἶναι πάντας εἰς λαὸν ἓνα καὶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεδέξαντο πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως

“The king wrote to his entire kingdom, for all to become one people and for each to abandon his own customs. All the gentiles accepted *the terms of the king’s command*.”<sup>211</sup>

<sup>206</sup> See Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, 6–16, and Theo A.W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 155.

<sup>207</sup> See Isa 29:13.

<sup>208</sup> See Isa 36:21.

<sup>209</sup> See also 1 Macc 2:31; 11:02, and 2 Macc 3:13.

<sup>210</sup> See 1 Macc 1:41–51.

<sup>211</sup> Compare “proclamation” (Goldstein, AB); see Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 206, and “all the nations complied with the dictum of the king” (Zervos, *NETS*).



Other relevant examples of this inclusive and generic usage are:

1 Macc 1:50

καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ποιήσῃ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθανεῖται

“Whoever would not do according to *the command of the king*,<sup>212</sup> he said, he should die” (Zervos, *NETS*)

1 Macc 2:31

ἄνδρες οἵτινες διεσκέδασαν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως

“The men who had spurned *the command of the king*.”<sup>213</sup>

The following usage is quite comparable to the wording of 2 Kings 18:36, above mentioned:

1 Macc 11:2

ὅτι ἐντολὴ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως συναντᾶν αὐτῷ

“Because it was *the command of Alexander the king* to meet him” (Zervos, *NETS*)

The expression *διδόναι ἐντολὰς*, which is quite idiomatic for giving orders to a subordinate in Greek, is attested also in the LXX Greek original compositions:

2 Macc 3:7

ὁ δὲ προχειρισάμενος Ἡλιόδωρον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέστειλεν δοῦς ἐντολὰς τὴν τῶν προειρημένων χρημάτων ἐκκομιδὴν ποιήσασθαι

“And he (the king) chose Heliodorus, who was in charge of his affairs, and sent him *with commands* to effect the removal of the reported wealth.”<sup>214</sup> (Schaper, *NETS*)

This usage has many parallels in historical-narrative Greek prose:

Polybius, *Hist.* 7.2.2

προχειρισάμενος δὲ Πολύκλειτον <τόν> Κυρηναῖον καὶ Φιλόδημον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, τούτους μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπέστειλε, δοῦς ἐντολὰς λαλεῖν ὑπὲρ κοινοπραγίας τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέπεμψε

<sup>212</sup> Compare “the word of the king” (Goldstein, AB), and “the command of the king” (Zervos, *NETS*).

<sup>213</sup> Compare “the commandment of the king” (Zervos, *NETS*).

<sup>214</sup> See also 2 Macc 14:13.

“Appointing Polycleitus of Cyrene and Philodemus of Argos he dispatched them to Italy *with orders* to discuss a joint plan of action with the Carthaginians.” (Paton, LCL)

One interesting example mirrors the idiomatic usage of the term that occurs in the bureaucratic language of papyri:

2 Macc 4:25

λαβὼν δὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐντολὰς παρεγένετο τῆς μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνης οὐδὲν ἄξιον φέρων θυμὸς δὲ ὠμοῦ τυράννου καὶ θηρὸς βαρβάρου ὀργὰς ἔχων

“After receiving *the king’s commands*, he returned, possessing no qualification for the high priesthood but having the hot temper of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a savage wild beast.” (Schaper, *NETS*)

According to Goldstein, who translates τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐντολὰς “royal decrees,” these documents consisted in appointing Menelaus as the high priest and in deposing Jason from this function.<sup>215</sup> This usage is thus remarkably akin to that attested in documentary sources and in the late Greek literature, especially to the idiomatic readings “appointment of an administrative official” and “full powers” granted to an individual in view of a lawsuit or for the dispatch of some legal matter.<sup>216</sup>

Alongside of Greek idiomatic usage, however, it should be pointed out that ἐντολή is attested also for divine commandments in this corpus. In fact, the Deuteronomic-sounding expression ἐφύλαξεν ἐντολὴν is employed within the characterization of Joseph as righteous:

1 Macc 2:53

Ἰωσηφ ἐν καιρῷ στενοχωρίας αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν ἐντολὴν καὶ ἐγένετο κύριος Αἰγύπτου

“Joseph in the time of his affliction observed *the commandment* and became lord of Egypt.” (Zervos, *NETS*)

<sup>215</sup> The same phrase βασιλικὰς ἐντολὰς occurs also at 3:13, where it is about orders borne by Heliodorus. The author here may have suggested viewing Jason as a successor not of Onias III but of Heliodorus; see Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 237.

<sup>216</sup> Compare the usage of the word in *P.Grenf.* 2.37 (Pathyris, Upper Egypt, 108 BCE); see also Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de Nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*, especially 142.

#### 4.4. Remarks on Correspondence in Number between *mišwâ* and ἐντολή

Some further remarks must be added on the match in number between *mišwâ* and ἐντολή. To begin with, it is important to observe that some consonantal forms of the noun *mišwâ* could be ambiguous for both the LXX translators, who had before their eyes a non-vocalized text, and then the Masoretes. The wording *mšwt YHWH*, for example, could be open to be read either *mišwat YHWH* or *mišwōt YHWH*. Without further information deriving from agreement between verb and subject or between head noun and adnominal modifiers, the expression remained ambiguous. Moreover, ambiguity could also concern the word categorization, since forms as *mšwh* could be read, in principle, either as the participle *mšawwê*, or as the noun in absolute state *mišwâ*. Under these circumstances, the disambiguation of these forms ultimately relied on context and, in the most extreme cases, it was a matter of a reading tradition.

Bearing these facts in mind, I will now focus on those examples for which MT attests a unified conceptualization of divine will as *mišwâ* (singular, definite), corresponding with the Mosaic teaching, discussed above.<sup>217</sup>

On the one hand, the LXX translators interpreted one-sidedly the singular expressions *kol hammišwâ* “the whole commandment”<sup>218</sup> and *kol hammišwâ hazzō`t* “this whole commandment”<sup>219</sup> as collective readings and rendered them accordingly πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς (ταύτας) in plural.<sup>220</sup> In those cases in which the quantifier *kol* did not occur, on the other hand, the phrase *hammišwâ hazzō`t* was translated as ἡ ἐντολή αὕτη in singular, following its consonantal *Vorlage*.<sup>221</sup>

This fact could be explained by the different syntax of the Greek quantifier *πάς* with respect to *kol*. The Hebrew *kōl* is, strictly speaking, an abstract noun

<sup>217</sup> See chapter 2 § 1.1.

<sup>218</sup> See Deut 8:1; 11:8; 27:1; 31:5 (SBH1), and Deut 6:25 (SBH4).

<sup>219</sup> See Deut 11:22 (SBH1), and Deut 5:31; 15:5; 19:9 (SBH4).

<sup>220</sup> No significant variants have been listed by Wevers; see John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995). Two remarkable exceptions, however, are found in Deut 6:25 and 31:1; concerning the former case, MS Milano, Bibl. Ambr. S. P. 51 (the manuscript is commonly known as Codex Ambrosianus, a fragmentary Octateuch dating back to the fifth century) reads του νομου τουτου. In Deut 31:5, the LXX rendering ποιήσετε αὐτοῖς καθότι ἐνετείλάμην ὑμῖν “you shall do to them as I have commanded you,” presupposes a Hebrew text slightly different, without the noun at stake: *w`šytm lhm kkl (hmšwh) `šr šwyty `tkm*.

<sup>221</sup> See Deut 30:11, cf. Mal 2:1 (SBH2).

that means “totality.” As a head noun in the construct state, it forms a genitive structure with its governed substantive and ends up functioning as a determiner “all,” which cannot be inflected. The activation of the meaning “all,” “whole,” or “every” is closely related to the rules of definiteness that govern the genitive group,<sup>222</sup> and specially to the morphological number and the semantics of its genitive. In particular, when it combines with singular definite substantives, the selected reading is normally “whole,” as in *kol hā'āreṣ* “the whole earth”; when it combines with plural definite substantives, the selected reading is normally the multiplexing “all,” as in *kol haggōyim* “all the nations.” When *kol* governs collective substantives, the selected reading is normally “all,” as in *kol hā'ām* “all men.”

In Greek, on the other hand, the quantifier *πᾶς*, *πᾶσα*, *πᾶν* functions as an adnominal modifier, namely as an adjective. The selection of the reading “whole,” or “all” turns out to be closely tied with the position of the article. The reading “whole” is generally correlated with the attributive position, as in ἡ *πᾶσα χώρα* “the whole region,” while the predicative position triggers normally the multiplexing reading “all,” which requires a plural agreement, as in *πᾶσαι αἱ χῶραι* “all the regions.” Now, assuming that the translators wanted to reproduce the exact Hebrew word-order, it is not surprising that groups like *kol hammiṣwâ* led to wording as *πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς*, implying a shift in number from singular to plural. It should be noticed, however, that there are few cases in which the LXX version conforms to the Hebrew, using the noun in the singular for similar structures.<sup>223</sup> That being the case, the mismatch in number between *miṣwâ* and *ἐντολαί* may reveal instead a subjective appraisal of the translators, who disregarded the specific unified conceptualization triggered by some usages of the noun *miṣwâ*.

<sup>222</sup> See Joüon, § 139 e–i.

<sup>223</sup> See Gen 41:44 *bəkol 'ereṣ Miṣrāyim* “in all the land of Egypt,” rendered ἐπὶ πάσῃ γῆ Αἰγύπτου; or 2 Chr 6:3 *'ēt kol qəhal Yisrā'el* “the whole congregation of Israel,” translated τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν Ἰσραηλ; for further information on the usage of the determiner *πᾶς* followed by a singular NP, see Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, § 38.b.i, 459.

## Chapter 3.

### The Use of *tôrâ* in the Historical-narrative Language

The semantic variation of the term *tôrâ*<sup>1</sup> across the historical-narrative language can be described in terms of specialization. In this respect, the schematic distinction between “canon 1” and “canon 2” introduced by Gerald Sheppard proved to be an effective heuristic in the present analysis. According to Sheppard, “canon 1” corresponds to “rule, standard, ideal, norm or authoritative office or literature, whether oral or written”; “canon 2,” on the other hand, designates “a temporary or perpetual fixation, standardization, enumeration, listing, chronology, register, or catalog of exemplary or normative persons, places, texts.”<sup>2</sup> Obviously, this distinction establishes ideal poles of an axis marked by elements of continuity and elements of rupture. The semantic variation observable in the use of *tôrâ* appears to be strongly related to decisive steps in the evolution of the notion of “normative tradition” described by this axis. It is important to stress that Sheppard’s definitions have been used in my investigation purely as a heuristic tool. In fact, I think that the concepts of “fixation” and “standardization” are crucial to understand the discursive traces of discontinuity in the usage of *tôrâ* across discourse traditions and

<sup>1</sup> See HALOT, 10101, namely: 1) “direction, instruction”; 2) “instruction, decision” from different sources, or rather from different authorities; 3) “established, particular instruction”; 4) “instruction,” as a synopsis or embodiment of instructions; 6) “which is inculcated, given, imparted”; 7) “which is (or is not) followed”; compare DCH 8:612–616: 1a) “instruction, teaching,” the prophetic word; 1b) “instruction, teaching, law” given by priests; 1c) “instruction, decisions” applicable to legal case; 1d) “instruction, teaching” of psalmist, given by humans for education, enlightenment, wisdom; 2a) “(collection, summary of) instruction, (code of) law,” expressing the will of YHWH and having binding force, “the Torah”; 2b) pl. laws in general; 2c) “law, regulation, rule” governing or concerning something in particular; 4) perhaps “custom, manner” of humans, unless instruction for humans.

<sup>2</sup> See Gerald Sheppard, “Canon,” *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 3:62–69.

between SBH1 and LBH1. Moreover, these concepts do not exclude *a priori* the fluidity of texts. The fact that a given text is referred to as a standard in a given discourse tradition or in a given linguistic stratum does not imply that this particular text was already fixed in the form that it has come to us. In other words, narratives may represent an ideal of “fixation” that was not yet reached by the text in the age of the composition or redaction of the narrative itself.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. Instruction, Teaching

The sense-nodule “instruction,” “teaching” is mainly expressed through the syntagmatic type *hattôrâ hazzô`t*, characterized by the usage of *tôrâ* in the singular, absolute state, modified by the adnominal demonstrative. Although this structuring is shared by SBH1 and SBH4,<sup>4</sup> remarkable shifts in its reading can be still pointed out. It is important to observe, moreover, that this text type characterizes especially the narrative sections of the book of Deuteronomy.

Before tackling the textual instances of this pattern, it is useful to mention some pragmatic properties of demonstratives, valid also for BH.<sup>5</sup> According to Diessel, three distinct usages, regardless their pronominal or adnominal function, can be isolated: 1) exophoric usage; 2) anaphoric usage; and 3) dis-

<sup>3</sup> The question of the text fixation is clearly related to that of its canonization. Treating these topics lies beyond the objectives of my study. I will limit myself to provide a short list of reference works that represent the main positions in the panorama of the history of interpretation and textual criticism of the Torah: James A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); idem, *Scriptures in Its Historical Context. Volume I: Texts, Canon, and Qumran*, ed. Craig A. Evans, FAT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018); Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980); Arie van der Kooij and Karen van der Toorn, eds., *Canonization and Decanonization: Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9-10 January 1997*, SHR 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); James C. Vanderkam, ed., *From Revelation to Canon. Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Craig A. Evans and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Exploring the Origins of the Bible: Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2008); Shemaryahu Talmon, *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible. Collected Studies* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010); David M. Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 3, § 1.1.

<sup>5</sup> See Rebecca Hasselbach, “Demonstrative Pronouns,” *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 1:697–701.

course deictic usage.<sup>6</sup> Exophoric demonstratives focus hearer's attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors. Among their distinctive features, two are particularly relevant to the present analysis: first, they involve the speaker as a deictic center and second, they are often accompanied by other spatial, personal or temporal deictic devices. Concerning exophoric demonstratives, Fillmore has introduced a further distinction between gestural use and symbolic use, the latter activating knowledge about the communicative situation and the referent.<sup>7</sup> Anaphoric demonstratives, on the other hand, are coreferential with a noun or a NPh in the previous discourse. Finally, discourse deictic demonstratives differ from anaphoric ones in so far as they are not coreferential with a prior NPh. They refer rather to propositions; more specifically they "focus the hearer's attention on aspects of meaning expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire story."<sup>8</sup>

In order to appreciate the specific value that *zô't* assumes in combination with *tôrà* in SBH1, I will take into account first some examples taken from SBH4, in which the demonstrative occurs in a predicative function within nominal sentences:

Num 5:29–30

*z't twrt hqn't 'sr ts'th 'sh tht 'ysh wntm'h (30) 'w 'ys 'sr t'br 'lyw rwḥ qn'h wqn' 't 'štw wh 'myd 't h 'sh l'pny YHWH w 'sh lh hkh'n 't kl htwrh hz't*

"This is the law in cases of jealousy, when a wife, though under her husband's authority, goes astray and defiles herself, (v. 30) or when the spirit of jealousy comes upon a man and he is jealous of his wife; then he shall set the woman before YHWH, and the priest shall execute upon her *all this law*." (RSV)

In this passage *zô't* functions as a discourse deictic demonstrative. It focuses the attention of the recipient on a specific portion of the text, whose scope is easily ascertainable: it starts with the formula *wayəḏabbēr YHWH 'el*

<sup>6</sup> See Holger Diessel, *Demonstratives. Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*, Typological Studies in Language 42 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999), especially 93–114.

<sup>7</sup> See Charles J. Fillmore, *Lectures in Deixis* (Stanford: CSLI Publications, 1971), especially 63. Levinson further illustrates the difference between gestural and symbolic usage through two clear examples: *This finger hurts* (gestural use), and *This city stinks* (symbolic use). In the first example *this* is used as a "pointer" that locates objects in the physical world, whereas in the second example *this* refers to something that is not immediately visible in the speech situation; see Stephen C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 66.

<sup>8</sup> See Diessel, *Demonstratives*, 101.



*Mōšeh lē' mōr* “YHWH spoke to Moses, saying” (v. 11) and includes a set of instructions to be followed in the particular situation taken into account and regulated from time to time. The textual portion to be considered its referent is very cohesive, consisting of a series of *wəqāṭal/yiqṭōl* verbal forms with a prescriptive function<sup>9</sup> which indicate, in succession, the course of actions to be performed.<sup>10</sup> The term *tôrâ* refers thus to the prescription and metonymically to the procedure.<sup>11</sup> The repetition of the formula *wayadabbēr YHWH 'el Mōšeh lē' mōr* in Num 6:1 marks the beginning of a new textual unit that functions exactly in the same way. The discourse deictic demonstrative can follow the portion of text that represents its referent,<sup>12</sup> can precede it,<sup>13</sup> or can even circumscribe it.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, *tôrâ* often occurs with governed genitive complements that point to the subject to be regulated.<sup>15</sup> In these cases the reading “instruction” can be maintained with special reference to its cultic-religious aspect; other options, however, that we find in modern translations are also justified in terms of semantics: namely “prescribed instruction”;<sup>16</sup> “law”; and the metonymical reading “ritual,” or “procedure.”<sup>17</sup> Although the instruction corresponds to a list of actions, the discrete conceptualization “instructions,” which could have been *'elleh hattôrôt*, or *hattôrôt hā' elleh*, is not attested; in the relevant examples the prescribed procedure is always conceptualized as

<sup>9</sup> See Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew. A New Synthesis elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*, JBS 10 (Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), in particular 260–265, and 268–269.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the prescriptive section regarding the ordeal for suspected adultery in Num 5:11-30: *whby' ... whby' ... l' ysq* (v. 15) *whqryb* (v. 16) *wlqh* (v. 17) *wh'myd ... wpr' ... wntn* (v. 18) *whšby'* (v. 19) *whšby'* ... *w'mr* (v. 21) *w'mrh* (v. 22) *wktb ... wmh* (v. 23) *whšqh* (v. 24) *wlqh ... whmyp* (v. 25) *wqmš ... whqtyr* (v. 26) “he (the husband) shall bring ... and he shall ... he shall not pour (v. 15) he (the priest) shall bring near (v. 16) ... and he shall take (v. 17) he shall set ... he shall uncover ... ha shall give (v. 18) he shall adjure (v. 19) he shall put under the oath ... he shall say (v. 21) she (the woman) shall say (v. 22) he (the priest) shall write ... he shall wash off (v. 23) he shall make drink (v. 24) he shall take ... he shall wave (v. 25) he shall take a handful ... he shall burn (v. 26).”

<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the main modern translations opt either for “law” (NASB; NIV; NKJV), or for “ritual” (NJB; NJPS).

<sup>12</sup> See Lev 7:37; 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:54-57; 15:32.

<sup>13</sup> See Lev 6:2.7.18; 7:1.11; Num 19:14.

<sup>14</sup> See Num 6:13-21; Lev 14:2-32; see also Ezek 43:12.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 3, § 1.4.2.

<sup>16</sup> This is the choice of Levine throughout, see Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, AB 4 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1993), and *idem*, *Numbers 21-36*.

<sup>17</sup> This is the choice of Milgrom; see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991); *idem*, *Leviticus 17-22*, AB 3a (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008), and *idem*, *Leviticus 22-27*, AB 3b (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010).



a unified continual process.<sup>18</sup> This particular reading allows, however, a quantitative plural, especially when *tôrôt* occurs in combination with other legal terms:<sup>19</sup>

Lev 26:46

w'lh lhqym whmšpřym whtwrwt 'šr ntn YHWH bynw wbyn bny ys'r l bhr syny byd mšh

“these are the statutes and the ordinances and *the instructions*,<sup>20</sup> which YHWH made between him and the Israelites on Mount Sinai through Moses.”

The usage of this syntagmatic type in SBH1 shows remarkable peculiarities, which have a significant impact on the reading to be assigned to the noun. Firstly, the demonstrative occurs more frequently as an adnominal modifier.<sup>21</sup> I begin my examination with a telling example:

<sup>18</sup> See Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 58–61.

<sup>19</sup> See Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; 18:16.20 (SBH1), and Neh 9:13; Dan 9:10 (LBH2).

<sup>20</sup> Compare: “these are the statutes and ordinances and *laws*” (NASB); “these are the statutes, regulations, and *instructions*” (NET); “these are the decrees, the laws and the *regulations*” (NIV); “Such were the decrees, customs and *laws*” (NJB); “these are the statutes and judgments and *laws*” (NKJV); “these are the statutes and ordinances and *laws*” (RSV); “these are the laws, rules, and *instructions*” (NJPS).

<sup>21</sup> The pattern of usage of the pronoun described within SBH4, on the other hand, occurs only exceptionally in SBH1 (Deut 4:44; 2 Sam 7:19). Concerning 2 Sam 7:19, the text *z' t twr h' dm* should be regarded as obscure and very likely not intact; see Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 282. Without altering MT, Weiser and Seybold translate “Weisung für die Menschen”; see Artur Weiser, “Die Legitimation des Königs David,” VT 16 (1966): 325–354, here 347, and Klaus Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*, FRLANT 107 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 28. NET renders “but such, O Lord God, is the lot of a man embarked on a high career”; see also Ackroyd’s remarks on this choice; Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Second Book of Samuel*, The Cambridge Commentary on the New English Bible (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 79. Scholars have proposed various emendations, of which the most relevant is *twr* (see HALOT, 10099, 8b; DCH 8:611). The main argument supporting this emendation is the comparison between 2 Sam 7:19 and its parallel at 1 Chr 17:17: *wqtqn z' t b'ynyk 'lhym wtdbr 'l byt 'bdk lmrhwq wr'ytny ktwr h' dm hm 'lh YHWH 'lhym* “and this was a small thing in your eyes, O God. You have also spoken of your servant’s house for a great while to come, and have shown me future generations, O YHWH God!” The text in 2 Sam 7:19 should thus be emended according to its parallel as *wz' t twr h' dm*. Once the text has been restored like this, its interpretation still remains a matter of debate. In fact, the term *twr* opens to various readings. On the one hand it has been understood as related to the root *t'r*, known in Hebrew also from the noun *tô'ar* “appearance” (see *t'r* I; HALOT, 10027); the LXX’s translation *ὥς ὄρασις* in 1 Chr 17:17 clearly shows such a reading, along with the Targums’ one *w'ħzyytny*. Hence, the expression *wz' t twr h' dm* would point to “the appearance of the mankind,” and thus to the human form. On the other hand, the form *twr* can be related to the noun *tôr* “sequence, turn” (see *tôr* I, HALOT, 10099; DCH 8:611–612). According

Deut 4:8

*wmy gwy gdwl 'sr lw hqym wmsptym sdyqm kkl htwrh hz't 'sr 'nky ntn lpykym hywm*

“or what great nation has statutes and ordinances as righteous as this whole teaching<sup>22</sup> that I set before you this day?”

This is an instance of direct speech, since Moses addresses the community in the framework of a speech act.<sup>23</sup> In this case *zō't* functions as an exophoric demonstrative that characterizes *tôrâ* as an element of the fictive situation represented by the narrative; its process of formation is not yet accomplished; *tôrâ* is, so to speak, something still happening. The speaker is set as the deictic center of the situation (*'ānōkî nōtēn lîpnēkem*) and other deictic elements (as *hayyôm*, in its time deictic adverbial meaning “today”) are anchored in the speech situation as well. Through the use of the demonstrative, we can identify *tôrâ* as something that is taking place outside the text; namely, it corresponds to all that Moses is saying in that particular communicative situation.

I observed in the example taken from SBH4 that *zō't*, together with other textual and rhetorical devices, has the function of bounding the portion of text that constitutes its referent. In the narrative passages of Deuteronomy, trying to bound the portion of text to which *zō't* refers is a much more arduous task. Its referential scope overcomes the limits of specific enunciations of rules, and the demonstrative plays a significant role in the literary strategy of the book. The particle *zō't* includes not only regulations but also introductions and comments accompanying them.<sup>24</sup> The expression *hattôrâ hazzō't*

---

to Ewald, this particular reading would suit perfectly the context at 2 Sam 7:19. Thus, *twr h'dm hm'lh* would mean literally “the turn of mankind to come,” that is “the generation to come”; see Jacob M. Myers, *I Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 233; see also Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 1: Josue, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chronique, Esdras, Nehemie, Esther*, OBO 50/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 457. The noun occurs with the similar meaning “scheduled turn in a succession” also in Esth 2:12.15, and in Qumranic and Rabbinic Hebrew; see Jastrow 2:1656.

<sup>22</sup> Compare: “as this whole law” (NASB; NET); “as this body of laws” (NIV); “as the entirety of this Law” (NJB); “as are in all this law” (NKJV); “as all this law” (RSV); “as all this Teaching” (NJPS).

<sup>23</sup> See Lieven Vandelanotte, “Deixis and grounding in speech and thought representation,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (2004): 489–520.

<sup>24</sup> Commenting on the expression *htwrh hz't*, Driver claims that it denotes: “the code of law embodied in Dt., the exposition of which is the primary object of the discourse which follows”; see Samuel R. Driver, *A critical and exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), 8. It must be said, however, that the demonstrative does not show invariably such an anaphoric function.

punctuates the narrative frame that introduces, encompasses and closes the cultic and juridical portions of the text.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, this phrase systematically drives the recipient's attention beyond a given textual portion towards the text as a whole. The *tôrâ* is represented in its formulation process, and its fixation coincides with the very composition or written redaction of the book, two processes that emerge simultaneously.

Two genitives are often attached to this syntagmatic schema: *dibrê hattôrâ hazzô 't* "the words of this *tôrâ*,"<sup>26</sup> and *sēper hattôrâ hazzô 't* "the book of this *tôrâ*."<sup>27</sup> The first construct modulates *tôrâ* as a whole consisting of parts, viz. instructions (the part-whole WOS);<sup>28</sup> the second one modulates *tôrâ* as a kind, which contrasts with other types of written records (the kind WOS).<sup>29</sup>

In many examples, this pattern functions as the pragmatic strategy that marks and structures the redaction of the speeches of Moses. It occurs, for example, in the prologue of the first oration:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See Deut 1:5; 4:8; 27:3.8; 28:58.61; 29:28; 31:9.11.12.24.26.

<sup>26</sup> See Deut 27:3; 27:8; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12.24.

<sup>27</sup> See Deut 28:61.

<sup>28</sup> See Introduction § 2. Concerning the noun *dābār/dābārîm*, it is important to point out that its reading "commandment" is regularly, if not invariably, coerced by context. This semantic modulation is triggered mostly by the expressions *zh hābr 'sr šwh YHWH* (Exod 16:16.32; 35:4; Lev 8:5; 9:6; 17:2; Num 30:2.6), *hdbrym h 'lh 'sr šwh YHWH* (Exod 19:7; Lev 8:36, with the addition of *byd Mšh*), or *'lh hdbrym 'sr šwh YHWH* (Exod 35:1). The same expressions occur also in Deuteronomy, with a remarkable deictic shift in the relative clause, as the variants *'sr 'nky mšwk* (Deut 4:2; 6:6; 12:28; 13:1; 28:14), and *'nky mšwk 't hābr hzh hywm* (Deut 15:15; compare 24:18.22) clearly show. Moreover, the genitive *dbry htwrh* selects a similar reading of *dbrym*; in this case, the reference to the authoritative character of Moses' teaching might be responsible for the sense-modulation. According to Pearce, the plural refers first to the Decalogue (Deut 4:10.13.36; 5:19), and then to the whole Deuteronomomic law (see Deut 28:58; 31:12.27); see Sarah J.K. Pierce, *The words of Moses: studies in the reception of Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period*, TSAJ 152 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 283. Remarkably in Deut 28:58, we find *twrh hz 't*; see also Barnabas Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy," in *Words and Meanings: Essays presented to David Winton Thomas*, ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 128–129; and George Braulik, "Audrücke für Gesetz im Buch Deuteronomium," *Biblica* 51 (1970): 39–66, especially 45.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the following examples from LBH1: *ktwbym 'l spr mlky ys' l wyhwdh* "written in the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Chr 35:27), and *ktwbym 'l hqymwt* "written in the Laments" (2 Chr 35:25).

<sup>30</sup> According to Rofé the book comprises three literary genres, namely orations, poems and narratives; the first oration corresponds to the section 1:3–4:40; the second oration to the section 4:44–28:68, and the third oration to the section 28:69–30:20; see Rofé, "The Book of Deuteronomy: a Summary," 1–4.

Deut 1:4–5

ʿhry hktw ʿt syḥn mlk h ʿmry ʿsr ywšb bḥšbwn wʿt ʿwg mlk hbšn ʿsr ywšb b ʿštrt b ʿdr ʿy (5)  
b ʿbr hyrdn b ʿrš mw ʿb hw ʿyl mšh b ʿr ʿt htwrh hz ʿt

“after he had defeated Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and king Og of Bashan, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and Edrei (v. 5) On the other side of the Jordan, in the land of Moab, Moses undertook to expound *this Teaching*.”<sup>31</sup> (NJPS)

and in the prologue of the second oration, which parallels the first one:

Deut 4:44

wz ʿt htwrh ʿsr śm mšh lpny bny yśr ʿl

“this is *the Teaching* that Moses set before the Israelites.” (NJPS)<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, the syntagmatic type is attested twice in chapter 27. This section contains addenda to the second oration of Moses, among which are commandments relating to the cult at Mount Ebal (27:4–8). The text prescribes the erection and plastering of “stones” (*hā ʿābānīm*, v. 4) and the building of an altar of “stones” (*mizbēaḥ hā ʿābānīm*, v. 5). Then Moses instructs the people to write upon the stones (*ʿal hā ʿābānīm*) “this *tôrâ*” (*hattôrâ hazzō ʿt*, v. 8). According to Rofé’s view, this passage turns out to be ambiguous since it does not specify whether the *tôrâ* must be written on the plastered stones or on the stones of the altar. In fact, two distinct themes seem intertwined here: on the one hand, the cultic requirement to erect an altar for sacrifice, and, on the other hand, the requirement to monumentalize the *tôrâ*, as the permanent memento of Israel’s resolution to live under the divine rule. The introduction to this passage in vv. 1–3 casts some light on this puzzle. It consists basically of a different formulation (possibly secondary) of the same prescription, without reference to mount Ebal and to the sacrificial cult.

Deut 27:1–3

(1) wyšw mšh wzqny yśr ʿl ʿt h ʿm l ʿmr ... (2) whyh bywm ʿšrt ʿbrw ʿt hyrdn ʿl h ʿrš ʿsr YHWH ʿlhyk ntn lk whqmt lk ʿbnym gdlwt wśdt ʿtm bśyd (3) wktbt ʿlyhn ʿt kl dbry htwrh hz ʿt b ʿbrk lm ʿn ʿsr tb ʿl h ʿrš ʿsr YHWH ʿlhyk ntn lk ʿrš zbt ḥlb wdbš k ʿšr dbr YHWH ʿlhy ʿbtyk lk

“Moses and the elders of Israel commanded the people, saying ... (v. 2) And on the

<sup>31</sup> Most of modern translations, however, translate “this law” instead (NASB; NIV; NJB; NKJV; RSV; NJPS).

<sup>32</sup> Once again, the main modern translations opt for “this law” (NASB; NEB; NIV; NJB; NKJV; RSV; NJPS).

day you pass over the Jordan to the land which the Lord your God gives you, you shall set up large stones, and plaster them with plaster. (v. 3) and you shall write upon them *all the words of this law*, when you pass over to enter the land which YHWH your God gives you, a land flowing with milk and honey, as YHWH, the God of your fathers, has promised you.” (RSV)

This passage mentions a course of actions that includes, sequentially, the erection of the stelae, their plastering, and their inscription, elucidating that these are the stones on which the text has to be written. That being the case, it is sensible to conclude that the verses which follow – that reduplicate the instruction and mix it with the building of the altar – would be in disarray, and their original order must have been 27:4, then v. 8, and then vv. 5–7.<sup>33</sup>

Deut 27:8

*wktbt 'l h'bnym 't kl dbry htwrh hz't b'r hytḇ*

“And you shall write upon the stones *all the words of this torah* very plainly.” (RSV)

Once again, the use of the demonstrative cannot be considered strictly speaking either exophoric, or typically discursive. Whatever may be the portion of text meant to be written on stones<sup>34</sup> – and clearly it is not the instruction of building an altar – it is relevant to observe that the term *tôrâ* points to something *in fieri* in the frame of the speech situation imagined by the author or the redactor.

<sup>33</sup> See Alexander Rofé, “Methodological of the study of Biblical law,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 205–219, in particular 214.

<sup>34</sup> Many hypotheses have been formulated in this regard; there is consensus among scholars that this *tôrâ* written on the stones must be a text shorter than the entire body of Deuteronomy. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that this section is the result of an intensive redactional activity and embeds older material, that treats Shechem and its environs as the centre of all the Israelite tribes; see Rofé, “The Book of Deuteronomy: a Summary,” 7. The text type *hattôrâ hazzō ṭ* may be here a redactional mark, with its proper function and usage, that stands along with the older elements concerning the tradition of the Ebal cultic centre, where the covenant ceremony has to be conducted, and concluded, as it was customary, with blessings and curses. Thus, the usage of the demonstrative cannot help in determining which text has to be inscribed on the *stelae*, whether the whole of chapters 5–26, or just the laws alone (without the hortatory introductions and comments); although it is not possible to ascertain this point, it is sensible to regard at the inscription as a symbolic expression of consensus and ratification by the people; see Driver, *A critical and exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*, 296–297.

The expression is repeated in the concluding curse of the Horeb covenant in the final section of the second oration:

Deut 27:11 and 28:58–59

(27:11) *wyšw mšh 't h 'm bywm hhw' l' mr ... (28:58) 'm l' tšmr l' šwt 't kl dbry htwrh hz' t hktwbym bspr hzh lyr' h 't hšm hnkbd whnwr' hzh 't YWHW 'lhyk (28:59) whpl' YHWH 't mktk w' t mktw zr' k mktw gdlwt wn' mnwt whlym r' ym wn' mnyw*

“(27:11) That day Moses commanded the people, saying ... (28:58) if you will not observe to do *all the words of this teaching*<sup>35</sup> that are written in this book, that you may revere this glorious and awe-inspiring name, YHWH your God, (59) then YHWH will bring on you and your offspring extraordinary plagues, plagues severe and lasting, and sicknesses grievous and lasting.”

It occurs once within the section of the covenant in the land of Moab:<sup>36</sup>

Deut 29:28

*hnstrt lYHWH 'lhyw whnglt lnw wlbnyw 'd 'wlm l' šwt 't kl dbry htwrh hz' t*

“The secret things belong to YHWH our God; but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do *all the words of this teaching*.”<sup>37</sup>

It is important to observe that from this section onwards *tôrâ* increasingly takes the form of a written record (*sēp̄er*) in the Deuteronomic narrative,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Many modern translations render “all the words of this law” (NASB; NEB; NIV; NJB; RSV), while NJPS coherently renders “all the terms of this Teaching.”

<sup>36</sup> According to Rofé the pericope of the Covenant of Moab begins in Deut 28:69 (*w'lh dbry hbryt*), and its conclusion is to be found in Deut 30:20; see Rofé, “The Covenant in the Land of Moab,” in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*, ed. David J. Reimer (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 193–203.

<sup>37</sup> Compare: “that we may observe *all the words of this law*” (NASB); “it is for us to observe all that is prescribed in *this law*” (NEB); “that we may follow all the words of this law” (NIV); “so that we can put *all the words of this Law* into practice”(NJB); “that we may do *all the words of this law*” (NKJV); “that we may do *all the words of this law*” (RSV); “to apply *all the provisions of this Teaching*” (NJPS). Rofé translates “Concealing acts – the hidden sins of the individual – concern the Lord our God, but with overt acts, it is for us and for our children to apply all the provisions of this Torah”; see Rofé, “The Covenant in the Land of Moab,” 196. According to Lohfink this verse is in connection with 29:20, and vv. 21–27 constitute an interpolation; see Norbert Lohfink, “Der Bundesschluss im Land Moab. Redaktionsgeschichtliches zu Dt 28, 69–32, 47,” *BZ* 6 (1962): 32–56.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix 3, the heading “attributive function, governing nouns,” in particular the noun *spr* (Deut 28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:26).

and remarkably the adnominal demonstrative specifies alternatively *tôrâ* or *sēper*.<sup>39</sup>

The last examples of this syntagmatic pattern are attested in the narrative passages of chapter 31 and 32:44–47, which tell about Moses's actions before his death, particularly the transmission of the book of the *tôrâ* together with admonitions.

Deut 31:9

*wyktb mšh 't htwrh hz 't wytnh 'l hkhnym bny lwy hns 'ym 't 'rwn bryt YHWH w 'l kl zqny ysr 'l*

“And Moses wrote *this teaching* and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, that bore the Ark of the Covenant of YHWH, and unto all the elders of Israel.”

Deut 31:10–11

(10) *wyšw mšh 'wtm l 'mr ...* (11) *bbw ' kl ysr 'l lr 'wt 't pny YHWH 'lhyk bmqwm 'šr ybhr tqr ' 't htwrh hz 't ngd kl ysr 'l b 'znyhm*

“(v. 10) Moses commanded them, saying ...: (v. 11) ‘when all Israel comes to appear before YHWH your God at the place which he will choose, you shall read *this teaching*<sup>40</sup> before all Israel in their hearing”

Deut 31:12

*hqhl 't h 'm h 'nšym whnšym whtp wgrk 'šr bš 'ryk lm 'n yšm 'w wlm 'n ylmdw wyr 'w 't YHWH 'lhykm wšmrw l 'šwt 't kl dbry htwrh hz 't*

“Assemble the people, the men and the women and the little ones, and your stranger that is within your gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and revere YHWH your God, and be careful to do all the words of *this teaching*”

Deut 31:24

*wyhy kklwt mšh lktb 't dbry htwrh hz 't 'l spr 'd tmm*

“When Moses had finished writing the words of *this teaching* in a book, until they were complete”

Deut 32:46

*wy 'mr 'lhm šymw lbbkm lkl hdbrym 'šr 'nky m 'yd bkm hywm 'šr tšwm 't bnykm lšmr l 'šwt 't kl dbry htwrh hz 't*

<sup>39</sup> In fact, the similar wording *sēper hattôrâ hazzeh* occurs twice (Deut 29:20; 30:10).

<sup>40</sup> In all the examples that follows, *hattôrâ hazzō 't* is coherently rendered as “this teaching” (NJPS), or “this law” (NASB, NIV, NJB, NKJV, RSV).



“He (viz. Moses) said to them, ‘Lay to heart all the words which I enjoin upon you this day, that you may command them to your children, that they may be careful to do *all the words of this teaching.*”

One of the most remarkable characteristics of these examples is that the proximal demonstrative  $z\bar{o} \acute{t}$  remains constant either in direct speech<sup>41</sup> (in which Moses alone or as spokesperson represents the deictic centre) and in narrative sections.<sup>42</sup> This fact produces remarkable pragmatic effects. The shift from direct speech to narrative has to be regarded first and foremost as a deictic shift; whereas the reposting clause is construed from the speaker’s deictic center (I/you, here/now, this/that coordinates), the narrative represents the “consciousness” of the *Sayer/Cognizant*.<sup>43</sup> Clearly, this shift has an impact on person, place, and time deixis. The following texts show typical examples of such a shift from narrative to direct speech representation in terms of time deixis:

Deut 27:11 and 28:1

*wyṣw mšh ʿt h ʿm bywm hhw ʿl ʿmr ...* (28:1) *whyh ʿm šmw ʿtšm ʿbqwl YHWH ʿlhyk lšmr l ʿšwt ʿt kl mšwtýw ʿšr ʿnky mšwk hywm*

“that day Moses charged the people, saying ... Now it shall come to pass, if you diligently obey the voice of YHWH your God, to observe carefully all His commandments which I command you today” (NKJV)

or place deixis (through the usage of demonstratives):<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Similar cases are found in Deut 4:8; 27:3.8; 28:58; 31:11.12.24; 32:46.

<sup>42</sup> Comparable cases occur in Deut 1:5; 4:44; 31:9.

<sup>43</sup> See Lieven Vandelanotte, “Deixis and Grounding in Speech and Thought Representation,” 490–493; and idem, “From Representational to Scopal ‘Distancing Indirect Speech or Thought’: A cline of Subjectification,” *Text 24* (2004): 547–585, here 548.

<sup>44</sup> Compare Gen 21:30–31; 32:3. It is important to observe, however, that proximal demonstratives are used in BH for certain contrasts in which other languages would use both the proximal and the distal demonstrative; Hasselbach has provided one relevant example (1 Kgs 3:23); see Rebecca Hasselbach, “Demonstrative Pronouns,” 699. I would add also the following relevant one: “for I must die in *this* land (*b ʿrṣ hz ʿt*); I must not go over the Jordan, but you shall go over and take possession of *that* good land (*h ʿrṣ hṯwbh hz ʿt*)” (Deut 4:22); for further information on this idiomatic usage of the demonstrative, see Romina Vergari, “Osservazioni su di un uso idiomatico dei dimostrativi הַי, הַשָּׁמַיִם e הַיָּם in ebraico biblico,” *Materia Giudaica* 25 (2021), forthcoming.



Judg 18:2–3

wyb'w hr'prym 'd byt mykh wylwnw šm (v. 3) hmh 'm byt mykh whmh hkyrw 't qwl hn'r hlwy wyswrw šm wy'mrw lw my hby'k hlm wmh 'th 'šh bzh wmh lk ph

“they came to the hill country of Ephraim, to the house of Micah, and lodged *there*. (v. 3) When they were by the house of Micah, they recognized the voice of the young Levite; and they turned aside and said to him, “Who brought you *here*? What are you doing *in this place*? What is your business *here*?” (RSV)

1 Sam 4:6

wyšm 'w plštyim 't qwl htrw'h wy'mrw mh qwl htrw'h hgdwlh hz't bmḥnh h'brym

“when the Philistines heard the noise of the shouting, they said, “What does *this* great shouting in the camp of the Hebrews mean?” (RSV)

The distribution of the phrase *hattôrâ hazzō'ṭ* in these passages shows clearly that the demonstrative is not affected by this shift from direct speech to narrative and does change its function. If we maintain a discourse deictic use for *zō'ṭ*, we have to admit a correlated semantic and referential variance of the term *tôrâ*, from “instruction” (as in the case of SBH4) to “teaching,” imparted by an authority, designed not only to compel the behavior through its binding force (as law) but also to modify the learners’ experience and understanding (as education). This broader definition allows us to understand the mechanism of deixis applied to *tôrâ* in SBH1. In examples as *Mōšeh bē'ēr 'et hattôrâ hazzō'ṭ* (Deut 1:5), or *wayyikṭōḥ Mōšeh 'et hattôrâ hazzō'ṭ* (Deut 31:9), the demonstrative involves a symbolic pointing gesture and focuses the hearer’s attention on aspects of meaning expressed by the entire content of the book, including the narrative and juridical sections of it. In fact, just as the *tôrâ* was “there” for those who really or fictively heard it from the words of Moses, *tôrâ* is “there” for those who listen to its proclamation through the reading of the book. It is always represented from within its process of composition and redaction; in the consciousness of the *Sayer*, the book is the *tôrâ*, and he speaks about it from within the text.<sup>45</sup> The referent of the expression fluctuates from “the teaching of Moses” to “the written record of the teaching of Moses,” viz. from “canon 1,” to “canon 2.” The *Sayer* never distances himself from the text on which he is working.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that in historical-narrative language *tôrâ*

<sup>45</sup> See Robert Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist. A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, vol. 1 (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1980), in particular 25–71.

governs several Nphs – *tôraṭ ʿĒlōhîm*,<sup>46</sup> *tôraṭ YHWH*,<sup>47</sup> and *tôraṭ Mōšeh*<sup>48</sup> – and that all of them exploit its life-history WOS, pointing uniquely to the origin of such a teaching.<sup>49</sup> Quite remarkably none of these genitive structures occur in Deuteronomy.

## 2. From Teaching to Torah

The rise of the sense-nodule “Torah” as a normative reference tradition in the form of a text results mainly from operations of meaning composition in context. One of the most frequent operations is the *introduction* of the semantic feature “written document,” “record,” with its two facets, “tome” and “information.” Verbs such as *nāṭan* “to give” (Deut 31:9), *šāmaʿ* “to hear (the proclamation)” (Neh 13:3), and *bôʿ* (*hiphil*) “to bring” (Neh 8:2), and governing nouns as *sēp̄er* are capable of fulfilling the semantic operation of introduction in context.

The textual type *kakkātûb battôrâ* “as it is written in the Torah” deserves a separate in-depth discussion. This expression, used as an adnominal modifier, signals another significant step forward in the semantic and referential development of the term on the axis from “canon 1” to “canon 2.” When *tôrâ* occurs in such a phrase, it points to a written normative source, and the whole expression functions as a literary device that comes to the fore whenever there is a need to justify or prove that a given procedure is done properly and rightly. The noun is always definite in these cases, complemented by gen-

<sup>46</sup> See Josh 24:26 (SBH1), and Neh 8:8.18; 10:29.30 (LBH1).

<sup>47</sup> See Exod 13:9; 2 Kgs 10:31 (SBH1), and 1 Chr 16:40; 2 Chr 12:1; 17:9; 31:3.4; 34:14; 35:26; Ezra 7:10 (LBH1).

<sup>48</sup> See Josh 8:31.32; 23:6; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 23:25 (SBH1), 2 Chr 23:18; 30:16; Ezra 3:2, (*mšh ʿyš hʿ llym*); 7:6; Neh 8:1 (LBH1), and Dan 9:11.13 (LBH2).

<sup>49</sup> Within SBH4, on the other hand, the genitive points normally to the subject regulated: *zʿt twrt hʿlh* “this is the rule of the burnt offering” (Lev 6:2); *zʿt twrt hḥtʿt* “this is the rule of the purification offering” (Lev 6:18); *zʿt htwrh lkl ngʿ hsrʿt wntq* “this is the rule for all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall” (Lev 14:54). Semantically speaking, the reading of *twrh* associated with this pattern is “rule of conduct,” “canonical procedure,” “instruction,” that regulates specific aspects of individual or the community life, with special reference to the sphere of the sacred. The indication (and usually the application) of this standard is normally associated with the ministry of the priests.

itives that point to its origin, namely *kakkâtûb bəṭōrat Mōšeh*,<sup>50</sup> *kakkâtûb bəṭōrat YHWH*,<sup>51</sup> or in the absolute state *kakkâtûb battôrâ*.<sup>52</sup>

This pattern of usage is typical of LBH1 and discloses the understanding of *tôrâ* as a normative text quite advanced in its process of fixation compared to the normative priestly instruction (SBH4) or the teaching of Moses as it is represented in the narrative sections of Deuteronomy (SBH1). It is interesting to investigate separately the three text types mentioned above in order to establish whether some variation can be identified in terms of distribution and reference.

### 2.1. The Text Type *kakkâtûb bəṭōrat Mōšeh*

The first attestation of the text type *kakkâtûb bəṭōrat Mōšeh* occurs in the book of Joshua:

Josh 8:30–31

'z ybnh yhwš' mzbh YHWH 'lhy ysr 'l bhr 'ybl (v. 31) k šr ṣwh mšh 'bd YHWH 't bny ysr 'l kktwb bspr twrt mšh mzbh 'bnym šlmwt 'šl 'hnyy 'lyhn brzl wy 'lw 'lyw 'lwt YHWH wyzbhw šlmym

“This was when Joshua built an altar to YHWH, the God of Israel, on Mount Ebal (31) as Moses the servant of YHWH had commanded the people of Israel, *as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses*, ‘an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no man has lifted an iron tool’; and they offered on it burnt offerings to YHWH, and sacrificed peace offerings.”

Although similar regulations concerning the construction of the altar for sacrifice are known also from Exodus,<sup>53</sup> this passage not only quotes Deuteronomy precisely, but is formulated in such a way as to establish an intertextual link with it, namely with Deut 27:5–6. The usage of the evidential expression *'āz yiḇneh* (Josh 8:30) corroborates the hypothesis of an intentional textual reference.<sup>54</sup> In fact, this verse introduces a pericope (8:30–35) that interrupts the

<sup>50</sup> See Josh 8:31; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:61 (SBH1), and 2 Chr 23:18; Ezra 3:2 (LBH1).

<sup>51</sup> See 1 Chr 16:40; 2 Chr 31:3; 35:26 (LBH1).

<sup>52</sup> See 2 Chr 25:4; Neh 8:14; 10:35.37 (LBH1).

<sup>53</sup> See Exod 20:25, where the text prescribes: *l' tbnh 'thn gzyl* “you shall not build it of hewn stones.”

<sup>54</sup> Vladimir Olivero has convincingly illustrated the evidential meaning of the pattern *'āz*

narrative flow in order to insert the episode of the ceremony at Mount Ebal, and it most likely constitutes a late insertion into its present context.<sup>55</sup> The usage of *'āz* plus *yiqṭōl* has been regarded as a redactional strategy meant to connect the following episode to its immediate preceding context.<sup>56</sup> I think, however, that this formula takes on a further rhetorical function in this context; namely it is employed to evoke the relevant passage of Deuteronomy: *ūbānītā šām mizbēaḥ laYHWH 'Ēlōhēkā* “there you shall build an altar to the Lord your God” (Deut 27:5). Such evidential value can be explained like this: “At this point (*it is reported/said/inferred that*) Joshua built an altar to YHWH.” The narrative continues as a real paraphrase of the wording of Deut 27:5–6 with the consequent shift in person deixis.<sup>57</sup>

The formula *kakkātūb bātōrat Mōšeh* is attested two more times within SBH1, in 1 Kgs 2:3 and 2 Kgs 14:6:

1 Kgs 2:3

*wšmrt 't mšmrt YHWH 'lhyk llkt bdrkyw lšmr ḥqtyw mšwttyw wmwšpṭtyw w'dwttyw kktwb  
btwrt mšh lm 'n tškyw 't kl 'šr t 'šh w 't kl 'šr tṣnh šm*

“Keep the charge of YHWH your God, walking in his ways and keeping his statutes, his commandments, his ordinances, and his testimonies, *as it is written in the Torah of Moses*, that you may prosper in all that you do and wherever you turn.”

The text introduced by the formula can be paralled to the following passage from Deuteronomy:

Deut 29:8

*wšmrtm 't dbry ḥbryt ḥz 't w 'šytm 'tm lm 'n tškyw 't kl 'šr t 'šwn*

“be careful to do the words of this covenant, that you may prosper in all that you do.” (RSV)

---

plus *yiqṭōl* in the recent paper “How Does the Author Know? *'Az yiqṭōl* as Evidential Strategy in Classical Biblical Hebrew” (paper presented at the Annual SBL's Meeting, Denver, CO, 19 November 2018).

<sup>55</sup> See Fritz Volkmar, *Das Buch Josua*, HAT 1/7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 94.

<sup>56</sup> Rabinowitz argues that the syntactical construction *'āz* plus *yiqṭōl* is a rhetorical device that introduces an interpolation intended to relate the literary unit to the previous narrative; see Isaak Rabinowitz, “*'Az* followed by Imperfect Verb-Form in Preterite Context: A Redactional Device in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 34 (1984): 53–62, here 60. I think that the usage of this structure here is even more telling in the light of the intertextual link to the book of Deuteronomy.

<sup>57</sup> See v. 5 (*mzblḥ 'bnym l' tnyṣ 'lyhm brzl* “do not use an iron tool on them,” and v. 6 *'bnym šlmwt* “of unhewn stones.”

We find the idea of success in exchange for obedience similarly expressed in the book of Joshua:

Josh 1:7

*lšmr l'šwt kkl htwth 'šr šwk mšh 'bdy 'l tswr mmnw ymyn wsm 'wl lm 'n tškyl bkl 'šr tlk*

“Being careful to do *according to all the law* which Moses my servant commanded you; turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that you may have good success wherever you go” (RSV)

What is remarkable about the texts of Joshua and 1 Kings is that *all the Torah* and *the Torah of Moses* have replaced *bərîṭ* found in the book of Deuteronomy.<sup>58</sup> The nouns *bərîṭ* and *tôrâ* were therefore interpreted as synonyms or at least equivalents in terms of reference. Moreover, the promise that was addressed to the whole community in Deuteronomy was now reformulated in a personalist perspective as concerning respectively Joshua and Solomon.

The expression *kakkātûb bəṭōrat Mōšeh*, accompanied additionally by the infinitive *lē'mōr*, can introduce the quotation of the prescription's wording:

2 Kgs 14:6

*w't bny hmky m l' hmyt kktwb bspr twrt mšh 'šr šwh YHWH l' mr l' ywmtw 'bwt 'l bnym wbnym l' ywmtw 'l 'bwt ky 'm 'yš bhṭ'w ywmt*

“But he did not put to death the children of the murderers; *according to what is written in the book of the Torah of Moses*, where YHWH commanded, “The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, or the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own sin.”

The normative source to which the text refers is again Deuteronomy, this time cited literally.<sup>59</sup> It is noteworthy to observe that the expressions *bəsēper tôrat Mōšeh* and *bəṭōrat Mōšeh* are equivalent in terms of reference: the Torah of Moses is an identifiable written document in the encyclopedic knowledge shared by the Sayer of the book of Kings and its recipients, and mentioning its physical support, viz. the *sēper*, could be considered redundant. Examples of this usage are scattered also in later layers of the

<sup>58</sup> It is important to compare the usage of the demonstrative in the phrase *habbərîṭ hazzō'ṭ* (Deut 29:8).

<sup>59</sup> See Deut 24:16 *l' ywmtw 'bwt 'l bnym wbnym lw' ywmtw 'l 'bwt ky 'm 'yš bhṭ'w ywmt* “Fathers shall not be put to death for the children, or the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own sin.”

language. The expression, however, does not function as a quotation marker. It is rather used to give force and legitimacy to a given behavior that is considered right and appropriate thanks to its compliance with the Torah of Moses:

2 Chr 23:18

wyśm yhwyd' pądt byt YHWH byd hkhnym hlwym 'śr ħlq dwyd 'l byt YHWH lh' lwt 'lwt YHWH kktwb btwrt mśh bśmħh wbśyr 'l ydy dwyd

“And Jehoiada posted watchmen for the house of YHWH under the direction of the Levitical priests and the Levites whom David had organized to be in charge of the house of YHWH, to offer burnt offerings to YHWH, as it is written in the Torah of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, according to the order of David.”

This passage depends on Deuteronomy without citing it literally:

Deut 12:5–7

(5) ky 'm 'l hmąwm 'śr ybħr YHWH 'lhykm mkl śbtykm lśwm 't śmw lśknw tdrśw wb't śmh (6) whb'tm śmh 'ltykm wzbħykm w't m'śrtykm w't trwmt ydkm wndrykm wndbtykm wbkrt bąrkm wś' nkm (7) w'klm śm ląny YHWH 'lhykm wśmħtm bkl mślħ ydkm 'tm wbtykm 'śr brkk YHWH 'lhyk

“(5) But you shall seek the place that YHWH your God will choose out of all your tribes to put his name and make his habitation there. (6) There you shall go, and there you shall bring your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the contribution that you present, your vow offerings, your freewill offerings, and the firstborn of your herd and of your flock. (7) And there you shall eat before YHWH your God, and you shall rejoice, you and your households, in all that you undertake, in which YHWH your God has blessed you.” (RSV)

The reference to *the Torah of Moses* functions in the passage from Chronicles as a rhetorical device that conveys the idea that a specific course of action is legitimate. The reform program carried out by king Jehoiada to restore Judah to its earlier state is at stake in the context of 2 Chr 23:18. Jehoiada's program foresaw in particular the eradication of the Baal cult brought in under Athaliah, the return to the Torah of Moses, the orders established by David, the reaffirmation of the rights of priests and Levites in the cultic services, and the defence of the temple from forms of profanation.

The exhortation to joy included in the Chronicle's passage as well is derived from Deuteronomy, where the joy is represented as a predominant as-

pect of the Israelite cult, often connected to liturgical celebrations focused on the common meal.<sup>60</sup>

Finally, the expression *kakkâtûb batôrat Mōšeh* is attested also in the book of Ezra:

Ezra 3:2

*wyqm yšw' bn ywšdq w'hyw hkhnym wzrbbl bn š'ty'l w'hyw wybnw 't mzbh 'lhy ysr'l lh'lw' lyw 'lwt kktwb btwrt mšh 'yš h'lhym*

“Then arose Jeshua the son of Jozadak, with his fellow priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel with his kinsmen, and they built the altar of the God of Israel, to offer burnt offerings upon it, *as it is written in the Torah of Moses the man of God.*” (RSV)

This text tells about the rebuilding of the altar for the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem after the returnees from Babylon had settled in their villages and towns. It is sensible to think that religious ceremonies had continued at Jerusalem after the destruction by the Babylonians,<sup>61</sup> not in a reconstructed building, however, but in the ruins.<sup>62</sup> Offerings required an altar, which, more than likely, was erected with stones from these ruins. Such an altar could not have been regarded as legitimate by the author of the book because it would have been neither in the right place nor built by the people coming back from the exile; it would have been considered polluted.<sup>63</sup> Hence, the need to stress, through the usage of the formula “as prescribed in the Torah of Moses,” that the altar of Jeshua and Zerubbabel was built legitimately. This was the same as saying that it had been built rightfully, on its proper foundations, and with the proper procedure. This usage of *kakkâtûb batôrat Mōšeh*

<sup>60</sup> See Deut 12:7.18; 14:26; 27:7; for the theme of joy in Deuteronomy, see Gottfried Vannoni, “שמחה,” *TDOT* 14:142–157, especially 151, and George Braulik, “Die Freude des Festes. Das Kultverständnis des Deuteronomium die älteste biblische Festtheorie,” in *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums*, SBAB Altes Testament 2 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 161–218. It should be noticed that the pair *šmḥh* and *šyr* is attested only once in MT, in Gen 31:27 *bšmḥh wšyrym* “with joy and with songs” (NASB); “with festive music” (NJPS); see also Neh 12:27 *wšmḥh wbtwdwt wšyry mšlym nblym wbnrwt* “with songs of thanksgiving and with the music of cymbals, harps and lyres” (NEB), with reference to the celebrations for the Jerusalem wall’s dedication (*hḥkh*).

<sup>61</sup> See Enno Janssen, *Juda in der Exilszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums*, FRLANT 69 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 94–104.

<sup>62</sup> See Jer 41:5.

<sup>63</sup> See Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra–Nehemiah*, 26–27.

did not require a literal quotation of the source text; its function was to evoke a standard established and recognized by the members of the community (viz. “canon 2”).

## 2.2. The Text Type *kakkātûb bātôrāt YHWH*

The formula *kakkātûb bātôrāt YHWH* is typical of LBH1; its usage is maximized within the books of Chronicles.<sup>64</sup> In the following passage the expression occurs with the preposition *lā* instead of *kā*:

1 Chr 16:40

*lh 'lwt 'lwt lYHWH 'l mzbh h 'lh tmyd lbqr wl'rb wkl hktwb btwrt YHWH 'šr šwh 'l yšr 'l*

“To offer burnt-offerings unto YHWH upon the altar of burnt-offering continually morning and evening, even according to all that is written in the Torah of YHWH, which he commanded unto Israel.”<sup>65</sup>

This verse has no parallels in the books of Samuel. The provisions concern the daily burnt offering to be presented upon the altar of the *miškan* YHWH that was *babbāmâ 'āšer bāḡīl 'ôn* “in the high place that was at Gibeon” (v. 39). This text is undoubtedly dependent on Priestly law. Drawing inferences from his sources (1 Kgs 3:4–14), the Chronicler came to the conclusion that the tabernacle and its altar were stationed at Gibeon at the time of the events he is narrating.<sup>66</sup> If this was the case, it would have been impious of David to neglect this sacred shrine. In the book of Chronicles, David honors both sites: Jerusalem and Gibeon. The cult described as located at Gibeon has the essential features of tabernacle worship in the Priestly source:

Exod 29:38

*wzh 'šr t'šh 'l h mzbh kbšym bny šnh šnym lywm tmyd*

<sup>64</sup> For completeness, I must add some data with respect to the distribution of the phrase *twrt YHWH*: Exod 13:9; 2 Kgs 10:31 (SBH1); Isa 5:24; 30:9; Jer 8:8; Amos 2:4; Ps 1:2; 19:8 (SBH2); 1 Chr 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chr 12:1; 17:9; 31:3.4; 34:14; 35:26; Ezra 7:10 (LBH1); and Neh 9:3 (LBH2).

<sup>65</sup> Compare “to offer burnt offerings to the Lord upon the altar of burnt offering continually morning and evening, according to all that is written in the law of the Lord which he commanded Israel” (RSV).

<sup>66</sup> See Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, AB 12a (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004), 659.



“Now this is what you shall offer upon the altar: two lambs a year-old day by day continually” (RSV)

Num 28:3

w' mrt lhm zh h' šh 'šr tqrybw lYHWH kbšym bny šnh tmymm šnym lywm 'lh tmyd

“And you shall say to them, “This is the offering by fire which you shall offer to YHWH: two male lambs a year old without blemish, day by day, as a continual offering.” (RSV)

David’s successful installation of the ark in Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:25–16:3), however, introduces a dualism in the national cult, in open contrast with the centralization instances expressed in Deuteronomy. This situation, viz. the existence of two national shrines even though they have different functions, poses a problem and requires justification. The cult at Gibeon needs a strong argument that can prove its legitimacy. The Chronicler finds an *argumentum ex auctoritate*, claiming that the sacrifices at Gibeon were performed according to the *Torah of YHWH*. Moreover, this is depicted as a temporary situation; both the ark and the tabernacle will eventually be reunited in the temple built by Solomon (2 Chr 5).

Another interesting example of the usage of the formula is the following one:

2 Chr 31:3

wmnt hmlk mn rkwšw l' lwt l' lwt hbqr wh 'rb wh 'lwt lšbtwt wlhđšym wlm 'dym kktwb bt-wrt YHWH

“The contribution of the king (Hezekiah) from his own possessions was for the burnt offerings: the burnt offerings of morning and evening, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, the new moons, and the appointed feasts, *as it is written in the Torah of YHWH*.”<sup>67</sup>

The passage describes some aspects of the cult reform undertaken by king Hezekiah, namely the regulation concerning royal contribution to offerings.<sup>68</sup> The Chronicler reports that these measures, including the divisions of priests and Levites according to their specific service (v. 2), had been already enacted

<sup>67</sup> Compare “as it is written in the law of the Lord” (RSV).

<sup>68</sup> Concerning the phrase *mnt hmlk mn rkwšw* “the portion of the king from his *rekuš*”, the noun *rəkuš* designates his movable possession of all kinds, particularly flocks and cattle; see HALOT, 8807.

by Solomon, who provided burnt offerings regularly for the temple services *kamišwat Mōšeh* (2 Chr 8:12–14). In fact, these provisions are established in Numbers 28–29, which represent the major statement of the priestly school on the character and structure of the public cult of biblical Israel. The written *Torah of YHWH*, to which this passage of Chronicles refers, clearly exceeds Deuteronomy, and includes also other authoritative written sources. The formula *kakkātūb bātōrat YHWH* operates here as a device that reinforces the legitimacy of a very delicate question like the monarchical intervention in the temple cult organization.

The latest attestation of the phrase in 2 Chronicles occurs in the final assessment of Josiah's kingdom:

2 Chr 35:26–27

(26) *wytr dbry y'šyhw whšdyw kktwb btwrt YHWH* (27) *wdbryw hr'šnym wh'hrnym hnm ktwbym 'l spr mlky ysr 'l wyhwdh*

“Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his good deeds, according to that which is written in the *Torah of YHWH*, (27) and his acts, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.”<sup>69</sup>

The expression is here used adnominally, complementing the phrase *dibrê Yō'šiyāhū wahāsādāyw*, “the achievements of Josiah.”<sup>70</sup> This expansion stresses the idea that the entire course of the action Josiah undertook during his reign had the aim of enacting the *Torah of YHWH*, and this is regarded as the most meritorious work for a king.

### 2.3. The Text Type *kakkātūb battôrâ*

The syntagmatic type *kakkātūb battôrâ* is instantiated only in the following textual section:<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Compare “Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his good deeds according to what is written in the law of the Lord” (RSV).

<sup>70</sup> For a similar usage of the plural *hšdyw* as “(human) achievements” in LBH1, see Neh 13:14, and 2 Chr 32:32. In SBH the same perfective meaning applies to God and designates his “proofs of mercy”; see Gen 32:11; Isa 63:7; Ps 17:7; 25:6; 89:2.50; Lam 3:22; this meaning is attested in LBH as well, compare 2 Chr 6:42; Ps 119:41.

<sup>71</sup> Compare the similar wording *kkl hktwb bw* “according to all that is written in it” in Josh 1:8, in which case the pronoun is coreferential with *spr htwrh* mentioned earlier in the verse.

Neh 10:35–37

(35) *whgwrlwt hplnw 'l qrbn h'sym hkhnym hlwym wh'm lhby' lbyt 'lhynw lbyt 'btynw l'tym mzmnyym šnh bšnh lb'r 'l mzbh' YHWH 'lhynw kktwb btwrh* (36) *wlhby' 't bkwry 'dmt-nw wbkwry kl pry kl 'š šnh bšnh lbyt YHWH* (37) *w't bkrwt bnynw wblhmtynw kktwb btwrh w't bkwry bqrynw wš'nynw lhby' lbyt 'lhynw lkhnym hmšrtym bbyt 'lhynw*

“We have likewise cast lots, the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood offering, to bring it into the house of our God, according to our fathers' houses, at times appointed, year by year, to burn upon the altar of YHWH our God, *as it is written in the Torah*. (36) We obligate ourselves to bring the first fruits of our ground and the first fruits of all fruit of every tree, year by year, to the house of YHWH; (37) also to bring to the house of our God, to the priests who minister in the house of our God, the first-born of our sons and of our cattle, *as it is written in the Torah*, and the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks.”<sup>72</sup>

It is important to point out that the term *tôrà* occurs in its definite form (MT *kakkātûb battôrà*) in this case without any genitive complement. This usage is remarkable in terms of reference. It requires that the written source mentioned is easily identifiable in the mental space represented by the clause both for the *Sayer* and the *Cognizant*, without the need to provide further specifications.<sup>73</sup> This is the same as saying that there is only one reading that can be assigned to the expression in this context. This fact marks an obvious step forward in the semantic and referential development trajectory of the term *tôrà*.

Several traditions are mixed in the passage from Nehemiah, all of which can be traced back to Deuteronomy. The prescription about the consecration of the first fruits of the harvest is formulated in Deut 26:2.<sup>74</sup> The principle that

<sup>72</sup> Compare “as it is written in the law” (NASB, NEB, NIV, NKJV, RSV), and “as it is written in the Teaching” (NJPS).

<sup>73</sup> In terms of typologically, identifiability and uniqueness are the main criteria to describe definite articles: “The idea is that the use of the definite articles directs the hearer to the referent noun phrase by signaling that he is in a position to identify it,” and, moreover, “the definite article signals that there is just one entity satisfying the description used”; see Christopher Lyons, *Definiteness*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5, and 8.

<sup>74</sup> See *wlqht mr'šyt kl pry h'dmh 'šr tby' m'ršk 'šr YHWH 'lhynw ntn lk wšmt b'bn' whlkt 'l hmqwm 'šr ybhr YHWH 'lhyk lškn šmw šm* “you shall take some of the first of all the fruit of the ground, which you harvest from your land that YHWH your God is giving you, and you shall put it in a basket, and you shall go to the place that YHWH your God will choose, to make his name to dwell there” (Deut 26:2).

the firstborn of men and beasts are holy to YHWH is enunciated in Exodus.<sup>75</sup> This prescription, however, is repeated in several occasions also in Deuteronomy.<sup>76</sup> On the basis of the lexical choices, one can safely say that the book of Nehemiah relies on the Deuteronomic formulation of this tradition.<sup>77</sup>

The comparison between the usage of *tôrať YHWH*<sup>78</sup> and *tôrať Mōšeh* reveals that it is difficult to spot clear differences in the usage of the two expressions within LBH1, particularly in the books of Chronicles. Although the former seems to refer to a written authoritative tradition in a broader and more generic way, examples can be found in which it points to a more specific source, especially when it occurs in the text type *sēper tôrať YHWH*.<sup>79</sup> It should be not-

<sup>75</sup> See *qdš ly kl bkwr p̄tr kl r̄hm bbny ysr l b dm wbbhmh ly hw* “consecrate to me all the firstborn. Whatever is the first to open the womb among the people of Israel, both of man and of beast, is mine” (Exod 13:2). The transfer of ownership of the firstborns from the natural parents to YHWH is still formulated in Exodus: *wh b̄rt kl p̄tr r̄hm lYHWH wkl p̄tr šgr bhmh šr YHWH lk hzkrym lYHWH* “you shall set apart to YHWH all that first opens the womb. All the firstborn of your animals that are males shall be YHWH’s” (Exod 13:12). Concerning the verb *b̄r* “to pass,” it refers in a very general sense to a change of location or position; see Hans F. Fuhs, “עבר,” *TDOT* 10:408–425. This verb may imply a transfer of ownership (Num 27:7); see *HALOT*, 6738 (*hiphil* stem). When the recipient is a deity, the modulated reading corresponds to “dedicate, consecrate”; see William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, AB 2 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999), 425.

<sup>76</sup> See *kl hbkwr šr ywld bbqrk wbs nk hzkr tqdyš lYHWH lhyk* “All the firstborn males that are born of your herd and flock you shall dedicate to YHWH your God” (Deut 15:19).

<sup>77</sup> Regarding the formulation of firstborn’s laws, the Nehemian expression *bkwry bqrynw wš nymw* echoes Deuteronomy rather than Exodus. Compare Deut 15:19 *kl hbkwr šr ywld bbqrk wbs nk hzkr* “all the firstborn males that are born of your herd and of your flock,” and Exod 13:2 *kl bkwr p̄tr kl r̄hm bbny Ys l b dm wbbhmh* “every first-born; man and beast, the first issue of every womb among the Israelites” (NJPS). In Exodus the hyperonymous lexeme *bəhēmā* is used for both sheep (*šōn*) and cattle (*bāqār*) as living creatures distinct from human beings (*ādām*).

<sup>78</sup> Besides the occurrences here considered, the phrase is widespread within LBH1; see 1 Chr 22:12 (*YHWH lhyk*); 2 Chr 12:1; 17:9; 31:3.4; 34:14; Ezra 7:10 (*YHWH lhyhm*).

<sup>79</sup> See 2 Chr 17:9 and 34:14; concerning the attestation in 2 Chr 17:9, Myers states that “the Chronicler generally refers to the priestly work of the Pentateuch under that phrase but that can hardly be so in this instance”; moreover, he goes further proposing: “it is possible, then, that this was one of the lost law codes rather than some biblical source, though it probably contained older materials also now preserved in the Pentateuch”; see Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 99–100. Concerning the attestation of *spr twrt YHWH* in 2 Chr 34:14, it is important to point out that in its source, viz. 2 Kgs 28:8, the same document is named just *spr htwrh*, that is ultimately equivalent to *spr hbryt* (2 Kgs 23:2). This written document is generally identified with Deuteronomy, or an early nucleus of it; see Driver, *A critical and exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*, xlv–xlv; see also Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 1–7.

ed, finally, that the expression *kakkâtûb* can even function alone, without any complement, as a legitimation formula.<sup>80</sup>

#### 2.4. Other Relevant Text Types

It is important to add to the analysis tackled in this section some observations concerning other relevant text types. Along with the examples collected, another group of attestations show how the element “document” – with its physical and abstract facets – can be modulated or introduced into the meaning of *tôrâ* via meaning-composition operations. The following combinations produce this semantic effect:

Josh 8:32

*wyktb šm 'lh'bnym 't mšnh twrt mšh 'šr ktb l'pny bny ysr' l*

“And he wrote there upon the stones *a copy of the Torah of Moses*, which he wrote before the Israelites.”

The noun *mišneh* indicates the result of reduplicating or duplicating a document.<sup>81</sup> It governs *tôrâ* *Mōšeh* modulating its facet “physical object,” and, thus, the phrase reading that arises from context corresponds with a specific record.

Adverbial phrases introduced by the preposition *bə* may also trigger a bounded reading of *tôrâ*:

Ezra 7:6

*hw' 'zr' 'lh mbbl whw' spr mhyr btwrt mšh 'šr ntn YHWH 'lhy ysr' l wytn lw hmlk kyd YHWH 'lhyw 'lyw kl bqštw*

“This Ezra went up from Babylonia. He was a scribe skilled *in the Torah of Moses* which YHWH the God of Israel had given; and the king granted him all that he asked, for the hand of YHWH his God was upon him.”<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See 2 Chr 30:5; 30:18; Ezra 3:4 and Neh 8:15. Noticeably, in such cases LXX renders the expression with a noun, γραφή (2 Ch 30:5 κατὰ τὴν γραφήν; 30:18 παρὰ τὴν γραφήν); or alternatively with the participle’s nominalization τὸ γεγραμμένον (Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:15 κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον).

<sup>81</sup> See HALOT, 5834 “transcription,” “copy.”

<sup>82</sup> Compare “in the law of Moses” (NASB, NEB, NIV, NKJV, RSV), and “in the Teaching of Moses” (NJPS).

Neh 8:8

*wyqr' w bspr btwrt h'lhym mprš wšwm škl wybynw bmqr'*

“They read *from the book, from the Torah of God*, clearly; and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading.”<sup>83</sup>

Neh 8:14

*wymš' w ktwb btwrh (MT battôrâ) 'šr šwh YHWH byd mšh 'šr yšbw bny ys'r l bskwt bhg bhš hšby'y*

“They found it written *in the Torah* that YHWH had commanded by Moses that the people of Israel should dwell in booths during the feast of the seventh month.”

Verbs such as *bô'* (*hiphil*) modulate the facet “physical object” of *tôrâ*:

Neh 8:2

*wyby' 'zr' hkhm 't htwrh lpny hqhl m'yš w'd 'šh wkl mbyn lšm' bywm 'hd lhš hšby'y*

“Ezra the priest brought *the Torah* before the assembly, both men and women and all who could hear with understanding, on the first day of the seventh month.”

Verbs as *dāraš*, on the other hand, exploit its abstract facet “information”:

Ezra 7:10

*ky 'zr' hkyn lbbw ldrwš 't twrt YHWH wl'št wllmd bysr'l hq wmšpš*

“For Ezra had set his heart to study *the Torah of YHWH*, and to do it, and to teach his statutes and ordinances in Israel.”

### 3. The Development of the Reading Law from Operations of Meaning-composition

In the following section I will show that the reading “law” developing from the usage of the noun *tôrâ* is largely coerced by context rather than inherent in its semantic micro-structure compared with the other sense-nodes described so far, namely “instruction” (that allows a multiplexing plural); “teach-

<sup>83</sup> Some modern translations read *btwrt h'lhym* as an apposition: “from the book, from the law of God” (NASB, RSV); others as a nominal complement: “from the Book of the Law of God” (NIV, NJB), “from the scroll of the Teaching of God” (NJPS).

ing” (conceptualized as an unbounded continuous entity); and “fixation of a normative text” (conceptualized as a bounded continuous entity).<sup>84</sup>

The analysis of the distribution highlighted the tendency of the noun *tôrâ* to occur with adnominal modifiers that have the pragmatic function of bounding its referent and helping the recipient in assigning the correct reading in historical-narrative language. This fact suggests that the inherent meaning of the term is rather vague in terms of reference and needs further specification in context. Among the adnominal modifiers, the data concerning the governed genitives have been discussed in detail in the previous section. The pronominal suffixes have quite a sparse frequency,<sup>85</sup> whereas the adnominal relative clauses play a notable role.

Theoretically speaking, one must distinguish between restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses have the semantic function of defining more closely the referent of their head-noun. Such types of modifiers are employed to single out a particular and identifiable *tôrâ* from any other that might be included in the class indicated by the noun. On the other hand, non-restrictive relative clauses (also called non-defining relative clauses) add additional information that can be left out without affecting the relevant reading of the noun, which turns out to be sufficiently identifiable without further specification.<sup>86</sup>

The noun *tôrâ* (in the singular) occurs with adnominal relative clauses 8 times out of 41 occurrences in SBH1 and 4 times out of 46 occurrences in LBH1.<sup>87</sup> In those cases in which it is attested without other legal terms as adjuncts,<sup>88</sup> the verbs in the relative clause give information about its authoritative origin. These verbs are *šîm* “to set,” “to establish,”<sup>89</sup> *nātan* “to put forward,”

<sup>84</sup> See Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 59.

<sup>85</sup> I counted only one attestation of this type within SBH1, namely Exod 16:4, in which case the pronominal suffix indicates YHWH.

<sup>86</sup> See Christian Lehmann, “Relative clauses,” *International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics* 4: 460–462; for a more detailed discussion see idem, “On the typology of relative clauses,” *Linguistics* 24 (1986): 663–680. For a study focused on BH, see Robert D. Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*, LSAWS 10 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016), here 1–3.

<sup>87</sup> See Appendix 3, § 1.5.

<sup>88</sup> See Deut 4:8.44; 2 Kgs 21:8 (SBH1); 1 Chr 16:40; Neh 8:1.14 (LBH1); otherwise *tôrâ* occurs in combination with *mšwt* and *ḥqym/ḥqwt* (2 Kgs 17:13); with *mšwh* alone (Exod 24:12; 2 Kgs 17:34); or with *ḥqym*, *mšptym*, and *mšwh* (2 Kgs 17:37).

<sup>89</sup> See Deut 4:44 (SBH1).

“to bestow,”<sup>90</sup> and mostly *šiwwâ* “to command.”<sup>91</sup> The verb *šiwwâ* primarily selects *YHWH* as the subject, as well as men who have the power of giving orders or assigning a task to others.<sup>92</sup> In the specific case of relative clauses governed by *tôrâ*, the subject of *šiwwâ* is regularly Moses<sup>93</sup> and increasingly *YHWH* in later layers of the language.<sup>94</sup>

The function of the relative clause is clearly restrictive in these cases, indicating which particular *tôrâ* must be the object of scrupulous observance by the people.<sup>95</sup> This text type requires the reading “law” conceptualized as a bounded, unified entity, including teachings and instructions that the community recognizes as regulating the life of its members, enforced by the imposition of penalties and – which is most remarkable – the promise of a reward.

Except in the case of restrictive relative clauses, *tôrâ* is never attested as the direct object of *šiwwâ*. It occurs rather with the verbs *bā’ar* (*piel*) “to expound, to explain,”<sup>96</sup> *qāra*’ “to proclaim,”<sup>97</sup> *kātab* “to write,”<sup>98</sup> *dāraš* “to

<sup>90</sup> See Deut 4:8 (*lpykm*) (SBH1); Ezra 7:6 (LBH1). There are strong indications that lead to consider the expression *ntn lpy* as idiomatic, especially within Deuteronomy; see, for example, *’nky ntn lpykm hywm brkh wqllh* “I am setting before you today blessing and curse” (Deut 11:26; compare 30:1); *ntty lpyk hywm’t lhyyw w’t htwb w’t hmw’t w’t hr’* “I set before you this day life and prosperity” (Deut 30:15.19, and also Jer 21:8); it combines with other legal terms: *kl hqym whmšptym ’šr ’nky ntn lpykm hywm* “all the statutes and laws that I have set before you this day” (Deut 11:32; compare 1 Kgs 9:6; 2 Chr 7:19; Dan 9:10; Jer 9:12; 33:4; 44:10). Very often it is said of *YHWH* placing enemies and lands at someone’s disposal (Deut 1:8.21; 2:31.33.36; 7:2.23; 23:15; 31:5; Josh 10:12; Judg 11:9; 1 Kgs 8:46; 2 Chr 6:36; compare Isa 41:2; Jer 15:9); in narrative it can also be used for offering something such as food or drink (Gen 18:8; 2 Kgs 4:43.44; compare Jer 35:5); remarkably, none of these idiomatic usages are singled out and listed by *HALOT*, *DCH*, or Edward Lipiński, “*נתן*,” *TDOT* 10: 90–107.

<sup>91</sup> See Josh 1:7; 2 Kgs 21:8 (SBH1), and Neh 8:1.14; 1 Chr 16:40 (LBH1).

<sup>92</sup> The subject is *YHWH* in most cases (270 times); then Moses (86 times), David (11 times), and various human kings and rulers; for detailed syntagmatic statistics, see Félix García Lopez, “*צורה*,” *TDOT* 12: 276–296, especially 279–280.

<sup>93</sup> See Josh 1:7; 2 Kgs 21:8.

<sup>94</sup> See 1 Chr 16:40; Neh 8:1.14.

<sup>95</sup> The verbal constructs that indicate such a commitment are *šmr l’šwt* “to take care to put into practice,” see Josh 22:5; 2 Kgs 17:37 (SBH1); *šh* “to put into practice,” see 2 Chr 14:3 (LBH1); and *šmr* “to observe,” see 1 Chr 22:12 (LBH1).

<sup>96</sup> See *hw’yl mšh b’r htwrh hz’t* “Moses undertook to expound this teaching” (Deut 1:5).

<sup>97</sup> See *tqr’ t htwrh hz’t ngd kl ysr’ln’znyhm* “you shall proclaim this teaching before all Israel in their hearing” (Deut 31:11).

<sup>98</sup> See *wyktb mšh htwrh hz’t* “Moses wrote this teaching” (Deut 31:9).



seek,” “to interpret,”<sup>99</sup> *šāma* ‘ “to listen to (the proclamation of),”<sup>100</sup> all of which modulate the readings “teaching,” or “normative text.” Within LBH1, moreover, the attested verb-object combinations suggest a further semantic shift of *tôrâ* that can be related to the phenomenon that Rofé calls the “democratization of religion.” In other terms, the Torah is no longer represented as the prerogative of religious or charismatic elites; it is handled instead by scribes, lay scholars who excel not on account of their pedigree but because of their learning. This new class, of which Ezra is the first and most eloquent representative, will be responsible for the development of the method of interpretation and actualization of the Torah as a text called *midraš-halakâ*.<sup>101</sup>

Other verbs, on the other hand, modulate the functional WOS of *tôrâ*. Among them, some indicate particularly the purpose for which the *tôrâ* has been disclosed and disseminated. The main ones are: *šāmar la ‘āsôt* “to take care to put into practice,”<sup>102</sup> *‘āsâ* “to put into practice,”<sup>103</sup> *šāmar* “to observe.”<sup>104</sup> The Torah, as law, obviously requires observance and practice. The different functional languages encode these ideas through the same wording.<sup>105</sup> It is important to observe, moreover, that when the text focuses on the duty of compliance, the noun *tôrâ* is regularly specified by genitives, relative clauses, or adjuncts that serve to restrict its reference and lead the *Cognizant* to discern what law is meant.

In historical-narrative language, the verb *‘āzab* – “to leave,” “to abandon,” and perhaps “to neglect, do not take in due account” in the specific context<sup>106</sup> – stigmatizes the behavior opposite to compliance.

<sup>99</sup> See *ky ‘zr’ hkyn lbbw ldrwš twrt YHWH* “Ezra had set his heart to study the Torah of YHWH” (Ezra 7:10)

<sup>100</sup> See *kšm ‘m ‘t htwrh* “when the people heard (the proclamation of) the Torah” (Neh 13:3).

<sup>101</sup> See Alexander Rofé, “The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and Its Occurrence in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in *RevQ* 14/2 (1989): 247–254, especially 247; see also Romina Vergari, “Connaître la *tôrâ* dans l’Ancien Testament: une expertise ou une expérience? Perspectives exégétiques à partir de données linguistiques,” in *Connaissance et expérience de Dieu. Modalités et expressions de l’expérience religieuse*, ed. Christian Grappe and Marc Vial, Écriture et Société (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2019), 153–169, here 163.

<sup>102</sup> See Josh 22:5; 2 Kgs 17:37.

<sup>103</sup> See 2 Chr 14:3, where we find the combination *htwrh whmšwh*.

<sup>104</sup> See 1 Chr 22:12, where the text type is *twrt YHWH ‘lhyk*.

<sup>105</sup> Compare the construct with *šmr* in Prov 7:2; 28:4; 29:18; Jer 16:11; Zech 7:12 (SBH2); Ps 119:44.55.136 (LBH2); and with *‘šh* in Num 5:30 (SBH4).

<sup>106</sup> See 2 Chr 12:1, where the object’s text type is *twrt YHWH*. For further discussion on the meaning of the verb, see Erhard S. Gerstenberger, “עזב,” *TDOT* 10:584–592, especially 587; In

In the light of the syntagmatic analysis conducted here, it is reasonable to come to the conclusion that the meaning of *tôrâ* remains consistently vague across historical-narrative language. One can observe that the reading “law” is largely triggered by context by means of textual restrictions, which mainly encode the idea of its divine origin. In terms of rhetoric, these expansions serve to provide an argument for obedience.

#### 4. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents

In the corpus analyzed for the present investigation, the overarching equivalent chosen by translators for covering the readings “instruction,” “teaching,” “normative tradition,” and “law” is the Greek substantive νόμος. Only 9 cases – out of the 84 scrutinized – have a different equivalence,<sup>107</sup> together with a few cases that show a non-correspondence of morphological number between *tôrâ* and νόμος.<sup>108</sup> These data must be properly acknowledged. It is important, then, to dwell briefly on the overall significance of this equivalence before tackling the exceptions. As Monsengwo Pasinya has convincingly shown in his investigation on the semantic development of the term within Greek literature,<sup>109</sup> it would be wrong to think that the main reason that led the translators to choose almost universally the noun νόμος has been its juridical and political reading “law.” In fact, this specific meaning is neither the earliest attested in diachronic terms nor the most frequent in computational terms within Greek literature. The development of this reading, moreover, is tied largely to certain discourse traditions as philosophical prose and political oratory.

---

his analysis of the verb’s distribution, Gerstenberger observes that ‘*zb* combines, normally, with objects designating concrete objects or human beings, and, fairly regularly, also with nouns indicating abstract objects such as “commandments,” “laws,” and “justice,” both in prose (see 2 Kgs 17:16), and poetry (see Prov 4:2.5; Isa 58:2). In these latter cases Gerstenberger proposes the reading “to disregard.”

<sup>107</sup> See Gen 26:5; Josh 1:7; 2 Kgs 21:8; 2 Chr 12:1; 19:10; 25:4; 30:16; 31:4; Neh 12:44.

<sup>108</sup> Namely, νόμοι for *twrh* occurs in 2 Kgs 14:6, and νόμος for *twrwt* occurs in Exod 16:28; 18:16; 18:20.

<sup>109</sup> See his onomasiological study of the notions associated to the word νόμος in the Greek Pentateuch; Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de Nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*, especially 26–54.

#### 4.1. Observations on the Use of the Noun νόμος in Greek

The term νόμος has been accounted for as a nominal derivation from the verb νέμω “to allot, dispense, distribute,” “to possess, inhabit, manage,” from the Indo-European root \**nem-* “dispense, distribute.”<sup>110</sup> Its main sense-nodes can be listed as follows:<sup>111</sup> “custom,” “use” as the normal and regular way of performing a thing or in which something occurs,<sup>112</sup> “habits,”<sup>113</sup> “general opinion, convention,”<sup>114</sup> and hence “law.”<sup>115</sup> In terms of diachrony, the noun appears to have maintained the entire semantic spectrum acquired throughout the history of its usage until late linguistic layers.

It must be emphasized, moreover, that its legal reading took on manifold ideological implications, depending on how the concept of law was treated and developed within different discourse traditions.

Law has been regarded as divine, an emanation of gods or nature.<sup>116</sup> In this ideological framework, the discussion about the ἄγραφοι (or ἱεροί) νόμοι and the θεοῦ νόμοι has a prominent place within Greek literature and deserves

<sup>110</sup> See EDG 2:1006–1007.

<sup>111</sup> For a detailed discussion I refer to Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de Nomos dans le Penta-teuque grec*, 26–54; see also LSJ, s.v. “νόμος,” in particular the glosses included the first meaning: “usage,” “custom,” “statute, ordinance”.

<sup>112</sup> See Hesiod, *Op.* 388 οὗτός τοι πεδίωv πέλεται νόμος “this is the rule for the plains” (Most, LCL), and Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 93 ὡς νόμος βροτοῖς ἴσ’ ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖσι πέμπουσιν τάδε στέφη “as it is the custom among mankind, that he should repay with blessings those who sent him these honours” (Sommerstein, LCL).

<sup>113</sup> See Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 241 “and yet suppliant banches are lying beside you, before the Assembled Gods, in accordance with our customs” (Sommerstein, LCL).

<sup>114</sup> See Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.38 “if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs (νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων), each, after examination made, would place its own first; so well is each persuaded that its own are by far the best” (Godley, LCL); Demosthenes, *1 Aristog.* 16 “the law is that which all men ought to obey for many reasons, but above all because very law is an invention and gift of the gods, a tenet of wise men, a corrective of errors voluntary and involuntary, and a *general covenant*” (Vince, LCL); see Plato, *Leg.* 1.164d, and Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1094b16.

<sup>115</sup> See Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.86 “under every regime the straight-talking man excels” (Race, LCL).

<sup>116</sup> See Hesiod, *Op.* 276: τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων, ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηροῖς καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεγηνοῖς ἔσθην ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποισι δ’ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἢ πολλὸν ἀρίστη γίνεται “This is the law that Cronus’ son has established for human beings: that fish and beasts and winged birds eat one another, since Justice is not among them; but to human beings he has given Justice, which is the best by far” (Most, LCL); in this passage the construct νόμον διέταξε, that is not attested in the Septuagint, is quite remarkable; see also Hesiod, *Op.* 388 “this is the rule for the plains.”

special attention. The notion of “unwritten laws” is set by Sophocles in tragedy within the famous passage of Antigone:

*Ant.* 450–454

οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε, οὐδ' ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη τοιούσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὥρισεν νόμους, οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥομην τὰ σὰ κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητά γ' ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν

“Yes, for it was not Zeus who made this proclamation, nor was it Justice who lives with the gods below that established such laws among men, nor did I think your (viz. king Creon's) proclamations strong enough to have power to overrule, mortal as they were, *the unwritten and unfailing ordinances of the gods.*” (Lloyd-Jones, LCL)

These “unwritten and unfailing ordinances” (ἄγραπτα νόμιμα)<sup>117</sup> can be described as divine since they involve morals and piety. Later on, lists of such laws, as eclectic syntheses of the classical tradition, can be found in didactic-moralistic literature.<sup>118</sup> These kinds of laws, which include both ancestral customs (πάτρια καὶ παντάπασιν ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα), and written laws (μεταξὺ πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐν γράμμασιν τεθέντων), have been called by Plato δεσμοὶ πάσης πολιτείας “bonds of every constitution” (*Leg.* 7.793b).<sup>119</sup>

Hence, the term νόμος begins to take on a more secular political value as well, becoming the symbol of the authority of the πόλις and the element (often in the plural νόμοι) that underlies its foundation and constitution as a state (πολιτεία) and that ensures its persistence.<sup>120</sup> The noun comes to have a

<sup>117</sup> See chapter 3 § 3.2.

<sup>118</sup> Example of such lists can be found in Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.4.20, or Ps.-Plutarch, *Lib. Ed.* 7E: πῶς θεοῖς πῶς γονεῦσι πῶς πρεσβυτέροις πῶς νόμοις πῶς ἀλλοτρίοις πῶς ἀρχουσι πῶς φίλοις πῶς γυναιξὶ πῶς τέκνοις πῶς οἰκέταις χρηστέον ἐστί· ὅτι δεῖ θεοὺς μὲν σέβεσθαι, γονέας δὲ τιμᾶν, πρεσβυτέρους αἰδεῖσθαι, νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν, ἀρχουσιν ὑπεῖκειν, φίλους ἀγαπᾶν, πρὸς γυναικας σωφρονεῖν, τέκνων στερκτικὸς εἶναι, δούλους μὴ περιυβρίζειν “that one ought to reverence the gods, to honour one's parents, to respect one's elders, to be obedient to the laws (νόμοις), to yield to those in authority, to love one's friends, to be chaste with women, to be affectionate with children, and not to be overbearing with slaves; and, most important of all, not to be overjoyful at success or overmuch distressed at misfortune, nor to be dissolute in pleasures, nor impulsive and brutish in temper” (Babbitt, LCL).

<sup>119</sup> See Andrea Nightingale, “Writing/Reading a Sacred Text: A Literary Interpretation of Plato's Laws,” *Classical Philology* 88/3 (1993): 279–300, especially 288–289.

<sup>120</sup> See Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 7.1 Πολιτεῖαν δὲ κατέστησε καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἄλλους, τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν. ἀναγράφαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῆ βασιλείῳ καὶ ὤμοσαν χρήσεσθαι πάντες. “And he (Solon)

more universalistic reference, indicating the principle that coordinates and unifies the *κόσμος*.<sup>121</sup> Finally, *νόμος* could also pertain to the royal sphere, as an emanation of the *βασιλεύς*, especially in Hellenistic period.<sup>122</sup>

It must be emphasized that none of the listed values ever overrode the others in such a way as to permanently obscure them. A few examples from historical-narrative language may elucidate this point. Now I will compare the attestations of *νόμος* in the following contexts from the late prose of Polybius:

Polybius, *Hist.* 3.115.3

μάχην ἀληθινὴν καὶ βαρβαρικὴν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ νόμους ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς καὶ μεταβολῆς ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' εἰσάπαζ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο συμπλεκόμενοι κατ' ἄνδρα, παρακαταβαίνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

“The struggle that ensued was truly barbaric; for there were none of the *normal* wheeling evolutions but having once met they dismounted and fought man to man.” (Paton, LCL)

Polybius, *Hist.* 2.58.5

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδοξε σφίσι καθόλου τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος χάριν καὶ φιλίαν ἀθετεῖν, τῶν γε προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν ἐχρῆν δήπου φεισαμένους εἶσαι πάντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔθος ἐστὶ συγχωρεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους.

“For in resolving to foreswear their friendship and gratitude, they should at least

---

established a constitution and made other laws and they ceased to observe the ordinances of Draco, except those relating to homicide. They wrote up the laws on the Boards and set them in the Royal Colonnade, and all swore to observe them” (Rackham, LCL); in this case, the verb *καθίστημι* “to be established or instituted” exploits the origin WOS of the noun *νόμος*, whereas *χράσμαι* its telic one; for its idiomatic meaning “to be subjected to, live under” in combination with *νόμος*, see *LSJ*, s.v. “*χράσμαι*.”

<sup>121</sup> This is true especially within Stoic discourse tradition, see Chrysippus, *fr.* 323 (*SVF* 3, apud Philo, *Ios.* 29): ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγαλόπολις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ καὶ μιᾷ χρῆται πολιτεία καὶ νόμῳ ἐνὶ “for this world is a sort of large state, and has one constitution, and one law”; cf. compare “for this world is the Megalopolis or “great city,” and it has a single polity and a single law” (Colson, LCL). For Stoic ideas on the divine or cosmic city, see Malcolm Schofield, *Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially 57–92.

<sup>122</sup> In this regard, see the definition of *νόμος* within a monarchy structure in Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 3.43: λέγεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ νόμιμος ἀνθρώπων διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια ἀνθρώπων κατὰ νόμον, βασιλεία δὲ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχή, ὁ δὲ νόμος βασιλέως δόγμα “government is defined as the lawful ordering of men and as oversight over men in accordance with law; monarchy, as an irresponsible government where the king’s will is law,” (Cohoon, LCL).

have spared the lives of these men and allowed them all to depart under terms. Such custom is, according to the shared conventions of men, accorded even to enemies.”<sup>123</sup>

Polybius, *Hist.* 5.11.3

τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καταφθεῖρειν φρούρια, λιμένας, πόλεις, ἄνδρας, ναῦς, καρπούς, τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, δι' ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὑπεναντίους ἀσθενεστέρους ἂν τις ποιήσαι, τὰ δὲ σφέτερα πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς δυναμικωτέρας, ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκάζουσιν οἱ τοῦ πολέμου νόμοι καὶ τὰ τούτου δίκαια δρᾶν.

“For it is one thing to seize on and destroy the enemy’s forts, harbours, cities, men, ships, crops and other things of a like nature, by depriving him of which we weaken him, while strengthening our own resources and furthering our plans: all these indeed are measures forced on us by the usages and laws of war.” (Paton, LCL)

Polybius, *Hist.* 6.16.3

ἐὰν γὰρ τις εἰσφέρει νόμον, ἢ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενός τι τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῆ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς ἢ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς καταλύων αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία ποιῶν ἐλαττώματα περὶ τοὺς βίους. πάντων ὁ δῆμος γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων καὶ θεῖναι καὶ μὴ κύριος.

<sup>123</sup> I think that Paton’s translation “such treatment is, by the common law of nations accorded even to enemies” here is too technical. Commenting on this passage, Walbank stresses that the concept of general rules governing men’s conduct – as human beings and not only as Greeks – was not alien from Greek thought and well attested in literature. In Herodotus for example, the expression τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα refers to a similar idea (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.136). This universalistic view underwent a sort of narrowing process over time, especially during the fifth century, when the idea of a common code of conduct apply mostly to Greeks alone (for example the Thucydidean expression ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμος; Thucydides, *Hist.* 3.58.3; 3.67.6). Later on, Isocrates and his followers were particularly concerned with the problem of international laws with reference to both τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐθισμοὺς (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 13.23.4) and τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα (*Bibl.* 13.26.2); finally, the Aristotelian school laid the foundations for the famous line of comparative law studies reaching out towards a concept of law embracing more than Greeks; see Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 1:264. According to Cicero, Aristotle investigated mainly *mores, instituta*, and *disciplinas*, while Theophrastus was the one who dealt specifically with the *leges* of almost all of Greece and of some barbarian countries. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of the enormous amount of books dedicated by Theophrastus to legal subjects are extant; Diogenes Laertius lists five of them: *Νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον* in twenty-four books, *Νόμων ἐπιτομῆς* in ten books, *Περὶ νόμοθετῶν*, in three books, *Περὶ νόμων*, in one book, and *Περὶ παρανόμων* in one book; see Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Philos.*, 5.42-45. On this topic, see also Antonio Banfi, *Sovranità della Legge. La legislazione di Demetrio del Falero ad Atene (317-307 a.C.)*, Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Diritto Privato e Storia del Diritto; Sezione di Diritto romano e Diritti dell’Antichità 45 (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 2010), 38–45.

“For if anyone introduces a law meant to deprive the senate of some of its traditional authority, or to abolish the precedence and other distinctions of the senators or even to curtail them of their private fortunes, it is the people alone which has the power of passing or rejecting any such measure.” (Paton, LCL)

The prepositional phrase *κατὰ νόμους*<sup>124</sup> can be used both adverbially (*Hist.* 3.115.3), and adnominally (*Hist.* 2.58.5) with the meaning “usual(ly),” “normal(ly).” In the first two examples it refers to practices characterized by a certain degree of conventionality in the context of international relations or war. In the third example the plural form *οἱ νόμοι* occurs with the nominalization *τὰ δίκαια* referring again to war (*Hist.* 5.11.3). It is reasonable to assign the general meaning of “customs” to *οἱ νόμοι* in this case, while the second component of the pair points to official documents, in particular treaties between political entities.<sup>125</sup> In fact, the specialized meaning “law,” “statute,” “ordinance” made by authority is plausible for *νόμος* only in the fourth example (*Hist.* 6.16.3), in which case, however, the verbal selector is responsible for the sense-modulation, and the expression thus originated, viz. *εἰσφέρειν νόμον*, must be considered idiomatic as a whole.<sup>126</sup>

This is not an isolated case. The meaning “law,” in fact, arises very often in the context of idiomatic expressions within historical-narrative language. Verbs such as *τάσσω*, and *τίθημι* accompany *νόμος* without a determiner as a complement to indicate the act of establishing or imposing a measure as legally binding by lawgivers, rulers, or political bodies able to legislate:

Phylarchus, *fr.* 32b (Jacoby 2a.81F)<sup>127</sup>

ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξε νόμον  
“Originally Lycurgus made a law”

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 12.58.7

ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ νόμον μήτε τίκτειν ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ μήτε θάπτειν

<sup>124</sup> Compare the meaning “Brauch,” “Sitte” in *Polybios-Lexikon*, 1:1685; see in particular the expression *κατὰ νόμους* “nach Reglement.”

<sup>125</sup> Compare the meaning “Verpflichtung,” “Abmachung” in *Polybios-Lexikon*, 1:535.

<sup>126</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. “εἰσφέρω,” namely *εἰσφέρω νόμον* equal to Lat. *legem rogare*.

<sup>127</sup> Apud Plutarch, *Ag. Cleom.* 9.4: ἔφασαν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ ταύτης μαντεῖα προστάττειν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἴσους γενέσθαι πάντας καθ’ ὃν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξε νόμον “it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess (viz. Pasiphaë) ordained that all Spartans should be on a equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus” (Perrin, LCL).



“They (the Athenians) also *passed a law* that neither birth nor burial should be allowed on Delos.” (Oldfather, LCL)

Thucydides, *Hist.* 5.63.4

νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὃς οὐπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς· δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν προσεῖλοντο αὐτῷ ζυμβούλους

“They (the Lacedaemonians) for the present *enacted a law* which has no precedent among them; for they chose ten of the Spartiates as counsellors.” (Forster Smith, LCL)

Within the idiomatic expressions involving the reading “law,” the combination *χραδομαι νομοις* deserves special attention because of its frequency and salience. The reading which arises thereof corresponds to “to be subjected to,” “to be governed by,” or “to live under a system of laws”:

Polybius, *Hist.* 18.46.5

Ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος, καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφιάσιν ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις

“The senate of Rome and Titus Quintius, the proconsul, having conquered king Philip and the Macedonians, leave the following peoples free, without garrison, and subject to no tribute, *and governed by their countries' laws.*” (Paton, LCL)

The act of obeying the law, on the other hand, is encoded by combination with the verb *πειθομαι*:

Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.4.15

τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι, οἵτινες ἂν τοῖς πολίταις αἰτιώτατοι ὦσι τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι, οὗτοι ἄριστοὶ εἰσι, καὶ πόλις, ἐν ἣ ἄλλιστα οἱ πολῖται τοῖς νόμοις πείθονται, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε ἄριστα διάγει καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνυπόστατος ἐστίν;

“Among rulers in cities, aren't you aware that those who do most to make the citizens *obey the laws* are the best, and that the city in which the citizens are most obedient to the laws has the best time in peace and is irresistible in war?” (Marchant, LCL)

Polybius, *Hist.* 6.4.4–5

παραπλησίως οὐδὲ δημοκρατίαν, ἐν ἣ ἅν πλῆθος κύριον ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ, τι ποτ' ἂν αὐτὸ βουλευθῆ καὶ πρόβηται παρὰ δ' ἄλλο πάτριον ἐστὶ καὶ σύνηθες θεοῦ σέβασθαι, γονεῖς θεραπεύειν, πρεσβυτέρους αἰδεῖσθαι, νόμοις πείθεσθαι, παρὰ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις συστήμασιν ὅταν τὸ τοῖς πλείοσι δόξαν νικά, τοῦτο καλεῖν (δεῖ) δημοκρατίαν



“Similarly that is no true democracy in which the whole crowd of citizens is free to do whatever they wish or purpose, but when, in a community where it is traditional and customary to reverence the gods, to honour our parents, to respect our elders, and to obey the laws, the will of the greater number prevails, this is to be called a democracy.” (Paton, LCL)

Finally, verbs such as καθίστημι “to appoint,” “to establish” can co-occur with the adverbial modifier κατὰ νόμον to stress that the official act they refer to is done “lawfully,” “legitimately,” “according to the rules”:

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 14.54.5

διόπερ Ἱμίλκωνα βασιλέα κατὰ νόμον καταστήσαντες, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ὅλης, ἔτι δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας συνήγαγον δυνάμεις

“Consequently, lawfully according Himilcon sovereign power, they (the Carthaginians) gathered armaments from all Libya as well as from Iberia, summoning some from their allies and in other cases hiring mercenaries.” (Oldfather, LCL)

#### 4.2. Less Frequent Equivalents

Coming back to the data from the LXX translations concerning my database, I will first consider the infrequent cases in which the equivalence *tôrâ*–νόμος does not happen or is discarded.

To begin with, in Josh 1:7 LXX displays a *minus* in correspondence with MT *hattôrâ*:

Josh 1:7

ἴσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καθότι ἐνετείλατό σοι Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς μου (MT *kəḳol hattôrâ 'āšer šiwwəḳā Mōšeh 'ahdī*), καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀριστερά, ἵνα συνῆς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐὰν πράσσης

“be strong, therefore, and manly, to observe and act as Moyses my servant commanded you, and you shall not turn aside from them to the right or to the left so that you may be perceptive in everything you do.” (Greenspoon, NETS)

With regard to the book of Joshua as a whole, many contexts, such as the present one, have induced scholars to believe that “it was not the LXX translator who was guilty of omission, but his Hebrew *Vorlage* that was lacking the

word or phrase in question.”<sup>128</sup> On the relation between the Old Greek version (OG) and MT, some scholars are inclined to consider OG as prior.<sup>129</sup> According to de Troyer, for example, the OG’s text would come first, then the Proto-masoretic one, and then 4QJos<sup>a</sup> as an interpretive re-reading. Trebolle Barrera assumes the existence of a shorter Hebrew text.<sup>130</sup>

Returning to 1:7, many consider the MT plus *kəkol hattôrâ* as a secondary addition that was missing in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. Rofé, in particular, thinks that this phrase constitutes a Masoretic interpolation, belonging to category of nomistic corrections. He explains this type of correction in the light of the “democratization of religion” phenomenon. Since the Torah was no longer a legacy of priests but of scribes, this fact determined the emergence of the exegetical method of *midraš-halakâ*; such a method of interpretation aimed basically at reconciling the discrepancies between the different documents of the Torah, adapting obsolete laws to the reality of Persian and Macedonian times.<sup>131</sup> The syntagmatic analysis supports this redactional-critical explanation.

In fact, on the one hand, *tôrâ* very rarely occurs in the book of Joshua without any adnominal modifier that could restrict its reference, namely a geni-

<sup>128</sup> See Harry M. Orlinsky, “The Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua,” in *Congress Volume Rome 1968*, ed. G.W. Anderson et al., VTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 187–195, here 193; see also Émile Puech, “Les copies du livre de Josué dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte: 4Q47, 4Q48, 4Q123 et XJosué,” *RB* 4 (2015): 481–506.

<sup>129</sup> See Emanuel Tov, “The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,” in *Studies in Bible 1986*, ed. Sara Japhet, Scripta Hierosolimitana 31 (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1986), 321–339; and Kristin de Troyer, “Building the Altar and Reading the Law: the Journeys of Joshua 8:30–35,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: the Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*, ed. Kristin de Troyer and Armin Lange, SBL Symposium Series 30 (Atlanta GA: SBL, 2005), 141–162.

<sup>130</sup> See J. Trebolle Barrera, “The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and the Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua,” in *Interpreting Translation: Studies in the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 401–413, especially 410–411: “a textual tradition that differs both from the MT and the LXX, showing in this way the plurality of textual forms or editions of Joshua.”

<sup>131</sup> See Rofé, “The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and Its Occurrence in 4QSa-m<sup>a</sup>,” 247; see also Michaël van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation. The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*, VTSup 102 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), especially 210–222.

tive<sup>132</sup> or a relative clause.<sup>133</sup> Exeptions are the phrases *dibrê hattôrâ* (8:34) and *sēper hattôrâ* (Josh 1:8; 8:34), which, however, characterize *tôrâ* more as an instruction, a teaching, rather than as law. In several cases, on the other hand, MT witnesses the short reading *kəkol/ləkol* 'āšer plus the verb *šiwwâ* in the relative clause, without mentioning *tôrâ*. In the relevant examples, taken from the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua,<sup>134</sup> the adverbial phrase functions as a modifier of the verb, exactly as in Josh 1:7:

Deut 1:3

*dbr mšh 'l bny ysr 'l kkl 'šr šwh YHWH 'tw 'lhm*

ἐλάλησεν Μωυσῆς πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτούς

“Moyses spoke to all the sons of Israel according to all that the Lord had commanded him for them.” (Peters, NETS)

Josh 9:2 (= MT 8:30–31)

*'z ybnh yhwš' mzbh IYHWH 'lhy ysr 'l bhr 'ybl 'šr šwh mšh 'bd YHWH*

τότε ὠκοδόμησεν Ἰησοῦς θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ὄρει Γαιβαλ καθότι ἐνετείλατο Μωυσῆς ὁ θεράπων κυρίου

“Then Iesous built an altar to the Lord on Mount Gaibal, as Moyses the attendant of the Lord had commanded.” (Greenspoon, NETS)

Taking up the overview of the exceptions to the equivalence *tôrâ*–νόμος, we encounter further examples of textual reworking according to nomistic ideology.

In Gen 26:5 the compilation of the nouns for rules and regulations clearly presupposes the Deuteronomic style.<sup>135</sup> Quite remarkably, this context represents the only attestation of *tôrâ* in the entire book of Genesis:

<sup>132</sup> Compare *twrt mšh* (Josh 8:31.32; 23:6), and *twrt 'lhym* (24:26).

<sup>133</sup> Compare *'t hmšwh w' t htwrh 'šr šwh 'tkm mšh 'bd YHWH* (Josh 22:5).

<sup>134</sup> See also Deut 1:19.41; 4:5; 5:12.16; Josh 4:10; 8:35; 22:2. The text of Josh 22:5 would reflect a similar nomistic ideology; in this case the LXX ἀλλὰ φυλάξασθε ποιεῖν σφόδρα τὰς ἐντολάς καὶ τὸν νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν ποιεῖν Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς κυρίου follows precisely the MT wording *rq šmrw m' d' l' šwt 't hmšwh w' t htwrh 'šr šwh 'tkm mšh 'bd YHWH* “but take great care to practice the commandments and the Law which Moses, servant of Yahweh, has given you” (NASB).

<sup>135</sup> Compare Deut 11:1 *w' hbt 't YHWH 'hyk wšmrt mšmrtw wḥqtqw wmšpṭw wmšwtqw kl hy-mym*; see Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, BKAT (Neukirchener Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 518; and Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, 441.

Gen 26:4–5

*whrbyty 't zr'k kkwkby hšmym wntty l'zr'k 't kl h'rst h'l whtbrkw b'zr'k kl gwy h'rs (5) 'qb šr šm' 'brhm b'qly wyšmr mšmrty mšwt y h'qwt y wtwrty*

“I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto your seed all these lands; and by your seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves; because Abraam your father hearkened to my voice, and observed my charge, and my commandments, and my statutes, and my instructions.”<sup>136</sup>

LXX (v. 5) ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσεν Ἀβρααμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἐφύλαξεν τὰ προστάγματα μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου.

“Since your father Abraam obeyed my voice and kept my ordinances and my commandments and my statutes and my precepts.” (Hiebert, *NETS*)

In this passage God renews his promises to Isaac on account of Abraham's obedience. The text represents Abraham as observing the commandments, the statutes and the instructions of YHWH, before they were made known to the people by priests or revealed by YHWH through the mediation of Moses at the Sinai.<sup>137</sup> Although some linguistic facts echo the usage of the term *tôrâ* in juridical-cultic language, as the plural form and the pronominal suffix indicating YHWH, the overall influence of Deuteronomy here is hardly negligible. The noun *mišmeret*, for example, is attested in SBH4 with the meaning “guard, duty,” especially in connection with tabernacle.<sup>138</sup> The general reading “duties,” which characterizes *mišmartî* in this passage, however, relies clearly on Deuteronomic discourse tradition.<sup>139</sup> In terms of translation, it is interesting to note that the translator chose the nominalization τὰ νόμιμα to render the first attestation of the noun *tôrâ* in the Hebrew Bible. The adjective νόμιμος, morphologically related to νόμος, is often used as a noun in the neuter singular within the LXX to render the phrase *ḥuqqat 'ôlām*<sup>140</sup> or its variant *hōq 'ôlām*.<sup>141</sup> Such expressions function as concluding *formulae* that sanction the

<sup>136</sup> Compare modern translations: “my charge, My commandments, My statutes and My laws” (NASB; NJB; NKJV; RSV); “my requirements, my commands, my decrees and my laws” (NIV); “My charge: My commandments, My laws, and My teachings” (NJPS).

<sup>137</sup> A similar idea is formulated in Sir 44:20: “Abraham, father of many peoples, (...) obeyed the Most High's command” (*šmr mšwt 'lywn*, MS B XIV r. 5; LXX συνετήρησεν νόμον ὑψίστου).

<sup>138</sup> See Num 1:53; 3:7.28.38; 8:26.35; 9:19.23; 31:30.47.

<sup>139</sup> See Deut 11:1; Josh 22:3; 1 Kgs 2:3.

<sup>140</sup> Compare Exod 12:14.17; 27:21; 28:43; Lev 7:36; 10:9; Num 10:8.

<sup>141</sup> Compare Exod 29:28; 30:21; Lev 6:11; 7:34; 18:8.

various cultic prescriptions included in Exodus, Numbers, and Leviticus. This phraseology is, however, alien to Deuteronomy.<sup>142</sup>

In addition to the cases examined so far, it is worth mentioning that the translator of 2 Paralipomena (2 Chronicles) seems to display a special oscillation in rendering *tôrâ*. In 5 occasions out of the 19 attestations of the term, he deviates from the established norm *tôrâ*-νόμος. The main alternative he opts for is ἐντολή, both in the plural and in the singular:

2 Par 12:1

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία Ῥοβοάμ καὶ ὡς κατεκρατήθη, ἐγκατέλιπεν τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου (MT *et tôraġ YHWH*) καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ μετ' αὐτοῦ

“And it happened that, as Roboam’s reign became established and as it became confirmed, he abandoned the *Lord’s commandments* and all Israel with him” (Cowe, *NETS*)

2 Par 30:16

καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ κρίμα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν Μωυσῆ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ (MT *katôraġ Mōšeh ’iš hā’ Ēlōhîm*)

“And they (the priests) stood at their stations according to their judgment *in accordance with the commandment of Moyses, man of God.*” (Cowe, *NETS*)

The term πρόσταγμα as well can be counted among the alternative equivalents:

2 Par 19:10

πᾶς ἀνὴρ κρίσιν τὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἀνά μέσον αἵματος αἵμα καὶ ἀνά μέσον προστάγματος (MT *bên tôrâ*) καὶ ἐντολῆς καὶ δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα καὶ διαστελεῖσθε αὐτοῖς

“Should there be any man of your brothers who dwell in their cities with a case that leads to you, involving shedding of blood and *involving an ordinance* or commandment, or statutes and judgments, you will then make a pronouncement for them.” (Cowe, *NETS*)

Finally, one example is particularly striking; it occurs within the narrative of the cult reform by king Hezekiah:

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix 4, § 1.4.2, and Appendix 5, § 1.4.2.

2 Chr 31:4

wayyō' mer lā'ām ləyōšbē Yərūšāla'im lātēt mənāt hakkōhānīm wəhalləwiyim ləma'an yehezqū bātōrat YHWH

“Also, he commanded the people who lived in Jerusalem to give the portion due to the priests and the Levites, that they might devote themselves to the law of the Lord.” (NASB)

LXX 2 Par 31:4

καὶ εἶπεν τῷ λαῷ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ δοῦναι τὴν μερίδα τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν, ὅπως κατισχύσωσιν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ οἴκου κυρίου.<sup>143</sup>

“And he told the people who lived in Ierousalem to give the portion due to the priests and the Leuites so that they might be strong in the ministry of the Lord’s house.” (Cowe, NETS)

The divergences between the MT and the LXX have remarkable ideological implications. The Greek rendering ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ οἴκου κυρίου would presuppose a Hebrew variant like *b'bwdt byt YHWH*. It is interesting to compare this verse with another passage in which a similar Hebrew wording occurs:

2 Chr 35:2

wayyāmēd hakkōhānīm 'al mišmərōtām wayyəhazzəqēm la' 'ābōdat bēt YHWH

“He set the priests in their offices and encouraged them in the service of the house of the Lord.” (NASB)

LXX καὶ κατίσχυσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ἔργα οἴκου κυρίου

The similarity between the 2 Chr 31:4 and 2 Chr 35:2 is tempting and asks to be taken into due consideration. From the double cross-checking of the two contexts, one could venture several hypotheses.

First, the LXX translator would have harmonized the text in the light of 2 Chr 35:2. This seems unlikely, however, since the equivalent for 'ābōdā is τὰ ἔργα in that context.<sup>144</sup>

Second, the readings *btwrt YHWH* and *b'bwdt byt YHWH* would have

<sup>143</sup> It must be stressed that the reading ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ οἴκου κυρίου is witnessed by all manuscripts extant.

<sup>144</sup> It is worth mentioning that the noun 'ābōdā occurs 15 times in the Second book of Chronicles, and the LXX fluctuates between various equivalents: λειτουργία (2 Par 8:14; 31:2.16; 35:10.15.16), δουλεία (2 Par 10:4; 12:8x2), and ἐργασία (2 Par 24:12; 31:21; 34:13x2) τὸ ἔργον/τὰ ἔργα (2 Par 29:35; 35:2).

been two independent variants, which would attest to the multiform nature of the Hebrew texts circulating at the time of the translation of 2 Chronicles.

Third, the MT reading *btwrt YHWH* would have arisen from a scribal error. This is quite unlikely too. Although a misreading between *בעבודתה* and *בתורה* could be plausible, the reading *b'bwrt byt YHWH* would imply the addition of the word *בית*, which sounds difficult without an interpretative elaboration.

A further fourth hypothesis is perhaps the most intriguing. The MT reading would have been original, and the LXX *Vorlage* would be responsible for the harmonization with verse 35:2, carried out to highlight the continuity between Hezekiah and his successor Josiah.

The differences between the 2 Chr 31:4 and 2 Chr 35:2, however, call for caution and the question cannot be resolved with too speculative reasoning. The LXX reading *ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ οἴκου κυρίου* in 2 Par 31:4 fits the context very well: king Hezekiah urges that the priests and Levites be fed at the people's expenses so that they may devote their energies to the service of the temple instead of earning a living elsewhere.<sup>145</sup> The priestly claim of control over the *tôrâ*, nevertheless, fits very well the priestly ideology underlying the Chronicler's discourse tradition.

#### 4.3. Syntagmatic Combinations

In the light of the data collected in this chapter, I can safely draw some concluding observations. On the one hand, the polysemy of the Hebrew word *tôrâ* is largely determined by the context in which it occurs. On the other hand, the LXX equivalence between *tôrâ* and *νόμος* turns out to be a stereotyped mechanism; in fact, it is applied regardless of the referential polysemy shown by the Hebrew word, ranging from "teaching," to "Torah as normative text," and then "law," which is particularly tied up with the variation of its syntagmatic patterns of usage across time and discourse traditions. This perspective of analysis can help us to grasp the peculiar linguistic and stylistic effects that stereotyped translations produced and to highlight to

<sup>145</sup> See Leslie Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic text. Part 2: Textual Criticism*, VTSup 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 99.

what extant such combinations could have affected the idiomatic usage of the Greek term νόμος.

I will begin with the combination with the verb ἐντέλλομαι. I have previously observed that the restrictive adnominal relative with the verb *ῥιωνῶ* has a remarkable impact on the semantics of *tôrâ*, coercing the reading “law” in context. The combination between ἐντέλλομαι and νόμον produced a comparable phenomenon in Greek.

First, the equivalence *ῥwh*–ἐντέλλομαι is far from obvious. To summarize the observations drawn in section 3.4, ἐντέλλομαι belongs the lexical field of the Greek verbs of command, which includes κελεύω and τάσσω with its compounds ἐπιτάσσω, προστάσσω, and συντάσσω. Compared to its semantically related verbs, ἐντέλλομαι appears to be the less frequent in terms of distribution both in Greek literature (apart from Herodotus) and in documentary sources. This fact has aroused the interest of LXX scholars. Lee thinks that these verbs differ in terms of register: ἐντέλλω would be more formal and official-sounding than κελεύω.<sup>146</sup> Pelletier, on the other hand, thinks they differ in terms of meaning: ἐντέλλω would convey a mitigated idea of command (*adouissement*).<sup>147</sup>

Whatever explanation one considers the most effective, it must be stressed that the verb ἐντέλλω does not refer to the activity of lawgivers, in which case the idiomatic Greek involves the usage of the expression τάσσω νόμους “to impose laws”<sup>148</sup> or the intransitive verb νομοθετέω “to frame laws,”<sup>149</sup> a compound consisting of the stems related to the noun νόμος and

<sup>146</sup> See Lee, “A Lexical Study Thirty Years on, with Observations on ‘Order’ words in the LXX Pentateuch,” 513–524.

<sup>147</sup> See Pelletier, “L’autorité divine d’après le Pentateuque Grec”, 236–242. According to Pelletier, the verb ἐντέλλομαι expresses the idea of a command given by a benevolent authority (*autorité bienveillante*); see also Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse, La Bible d’Alexandrie 1* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 54. In particular, Pelletier refers in this regard to Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.147 and Polybius, *Hist.* 1.44.1; 3.94.9, where the verb applies to people charged by a city of a diplomatic mission or a military operation; he adds, moreover, a telling example from Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 2.16: κελεύουσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προστάττουσι δεσπότεαι δούλοις, ἐντέλλονται δὲ φίλοι “masters command their slaves, but friends order friends.”

<sup>148</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. “τάσσω.”

<sup>149</sup> For a study of νομοθετέω within the LXX, see Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de Nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*, especially 131–135. Monsengwo Pasinya comes to the conclusion that: “dans la Septante, *nomotheteîn* signifie « instruire, enseigner ». Les traducteurs alexandrins se désolidarisent donc de la tradition classique: ils abandonnent le sens classique de *nomotheteîn* « imposer une loi, légiférer », au profit d’une acception proche de la racine hébraïque *yhr*.”



the verb τίθημι.<sup>150</sup> The verb ἐντέλλω does not even refer to the law-making process within a democratic system, in which case the usage of καθίστημι<sup>151</sup> and τίθημι is much more common. The combination of the verb and the object νόμον/νόμους, therefore, must be considered a translation-triggered feature typical of the LXX.

I will consider now those selectors of νόμος that imply the activities of transmission and interpretation. The Hebrew verbs *bā'ar* (*piel*) “to expound, to explain,”<sup>152</sup> and *dāraš* “to seek,” “to interpret” are translated in Greek respectively as διασαφείν νόμον<sup>153</sup> and ζητεῖν νόμον.<sup>154</sup>

Besides the occurrences relevant in the present discussion, the verb διασαφέω is attested only in the book of Daniel within the LXX translations,<sup>155</sup> as a synonym of ἀναγγέλλω “to proclaim, report” within a Greek *plus* to the Aramaic text:

Dan 2:6

*whn hlm' wpsrh thhwn*

“if you declare the dream and its interpretation” (NASB)

LXX (OG) ἂν δὲ τὸ ἐνύπνιον διασαφήσητέ μοι καὶ τὴν τούτου σύγκρισιν ἀναγγείλητε<sup>156</sup>

“if you *make plain* to me the dream and tell its sense.” (McLay, *NETS*)

The verb applies to the mysterious dream of Nebuchadnezzar whose hidden meaning only Daniel will be able to reveal.

In Greek literature the usage of διασαφέω is maximized in historical-narrative prose, namely in Polybius, who mostly uses the verb in the framework

<sup>150</sup> See τιθέναι νόμον “down or give a law, of a legislator” in *LSJ*, s.v. “τίθημι.”

<sup>151</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. “καθίστημι,” in particular “to establish” especially of laws, constitutions, ceremonies.

<sup>152</sup> The *piel* stem of *b' r* occurs three times in the Bible, it is rendered twice with the adverb σαφῶς (see Deut 27:8; Hab 2:2).

<sup>153</sup> See Deut 1:5.

<sup>154</sup> See Ezra 7:10.

<sup>155</sup> It occurs, nevertheless, seven times in the Second book of Maccabees (2 Macc 1:18.20; 2:9; 3:9; 7:6; 10:26; 11:18) with the meaning “to declare,” “to make a clear statement about something.”

<sup>156</sup> Dan<sup>o</sup>, on the other hand, sticks fast to his Aramaic *Vorlage*: ἂν δὲ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ γνωρίσητέ μοι “only tell me the dream and its interpretation.”

of diplomacy:<sup>157</sup> it is employed, in particular, for describing ambassadors, legates, and spokespersons who “expose,” “explain” or “report”<sup>158</sup> a specific situation by means of official speeches given to the authorities.<sup>159</sup> It is relevant to observe that the subject of διασαφέω can be metaphorically a written document, as official letters.<sup>160</sup> Polybius witnesses also a metalinguistic usage of the term,<sup>161</sup> which comes to indicate the literary treatment of a specific topic:

Polybius, *Hist.* 2.1.1

Ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ διεσαφήσαμεν πότε Ῥωμαῖοι συστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐγγχειρεῖν ἤρξαντο πράγμασιν

“In the preceding book I *stated* in the first place at what date the Romans, having subjected Italy, began to concern themselves in enterprises outside the peninsula.” (Paton, LCL)

Finally, a passage from Plato in which the verb occurs in the frame of the lawgiving activity deserves to be mentioned. In *Laws* book 10, in a section devoted to falsehood, fraud or adulteration in sales, Plato criticizes the common opinion that any such action will generally be right if it be done opportunely, and claims:

Plato, *Leg.* 10.916e

νομοθέτη δὲ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο ἀόριστον ἔαν, ἀλλὰ ἡ μείζους ἢ ἐλάττους ὅρους ἀεὶ δεῖ διασαφεῖν.

“It is not fitting for the lawgiver to leave this matter undefined; he must always *declare clearly* the limitations, great or small.” (Bury, LCL)

<sup>157</sup> The LXX original compositions parallel this usage; see 2 Macc 1:20, and 2 Macc 3:9.

<sup>158</sup> See Polybius, *Hist.* 3.20.9.

<sup>159</sup> Polybius, *Hist.* 1.18.8; 1.29.8.

<sup>160</sup> See Polybius, *Hist.* 1.79.10, 5.38.5. Compare 2 Macc 10:26 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπέναντι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κρηπίδα προσπεσόντες ἤξιον ἕλεως αὐτοῖς γενόμενον ἐχθρεύσαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντικεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις καθὼς ὁ νόμος διασαφεῖ “falling down at the foot of the altar, they implored him (God) to be gracious to them and to be an enemy to their enemies and an adversary to their adversaries, as the law shows plainly” (Schaper, NETS); the text alludes to Exod 23:22 *ky 'm šm' tšm' bqlw w'šyt kl 'šr 'dbr w' ybty 't 'ybyk wšrty 't šryrk* “but if you truly obey his voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies and an adversary to your adversaries” (NASB), rendered by the LXX as ἐχθρεύσω τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου καὶ ἀντικείσομαι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις σοι. Comparing LXX Exod and its quotation in 2 Macc 10:26, one can observe that the reported speech implies a shift in personal deixis; the correct reading of νόμος here is thus “Torah,” as an authoritative record.

<sup>161</sup> See 2 Macc 2:9.

Concerning the verb *dāraš*, it is typically used in the SBH1 in relation to the function of the prophet vis-à-vis the royal power. The king “resorts to,” or “seeks” the prophet in order to attain the knowledge of the divine will in specific circumstances.<sup>162</sup> In the context of the scribal activity, on the other hand, this knowledge comes from the consultation of a text, especially in LBH1. The reading that must be assigned to the verb *dāraš* in the latter case is therefore “to examine,” “to interpret,” “to give meaning,”<sup>163</sup> which gets close to the meaning of the verb *šākal* (*hiphil*) “to have insight, comprehension,”<sup>164</sup> as the following passage from the book of Nehemiah clearly shows:

Neh 8:13

*wbywm hšny n'špw r'šy h'bw t lkl h'm hkhnym whlwym 'l 'zr' hspr wlhšky l 'l dbry htwrh*  
 “Then on the second day the heads of fathers’ households of all the people, the priests and the Levites were gathered to Ezra the scribe *that they might gain insight into the words of the Torah.*” (NASB)<sup>165</sup>

In SBH1 and SBH2, the verb *škl* (*hiphil*) indicates a kind of prudence that leads to prosperity and success in practical matters, such as, for example, foresight in the administration of property.<sup>166</sup> In LBH, however, the verb develops a specific meaning related to the activity of teaching focused on written documents. Hurvitz has analyzed this development in a study dedicated to the semantic change of some words in post-exile writings.<sup>167</sup> Within LBH1 we find one example in which God is said to perform this action,<sup>168</sup> in particular when he gives his instructions to David for the preparation of the work of the temple showing him a model (*tabnît*) divinely made:

<sup>162</sup> See 2 Kgs 3:11 *wy'mr yhwšp' h'y n ph nby' lYHWH wndršh 't YHWH m'wtw* “Jehoshaphat said: ‘Is there not here a prophet of YHWH, that we may inquire of YHWH by him?’”

<sup>163</sup> In poetry, I found a similar use; see Ps 111:2 *gdlym m'šy YHWH drwšym lkl hpsyhm* “great are the works of YHWH, worthy of study for those who have delight therein”; compare “the works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have delight therein” (NJPS).

<sup>164</sup> See HALOT, 9741.

<sup>165</sup> Some modern translations render *wlhšky l* as “to study” (NJB, RSV, NJPS).

<sup>166</sup> Compare Prov 10:5 “he who gathers in summer is a prudent son (*bn mšky l*), but he who sleeps in harvest is a son who brings shame.”

<sup>167</sup> See Avi Hurvitz, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical-Hebrew. The Case of Semantic Change in Post-exilic writings,” 1–10.

<sup>168</sup> See also Neh 9:20; Dan 9:22 (LBH2).

1 Chr 28:19

*hkl bktb myd YHWH 'ly hškyt kl ml' kwt htbnyt*

“All this he *made clear* to me in writing from the hand of YHWH, all the work to be done according to the plan.” (RSV)

Within the LXX translations, the verb ἐκζητέω normally renders *dāraš*, whereas ζητέω is the typical equivalent of *bāqāš* (*piel*) “to seek to find” (an object or a person). Within the LXX original compositions, on the other hand, the compounded form is quite exceptional,<sup>169</sup> whereas the simple form is well attested with the meaning “to seek (to do something),” or “to seek to find,”<sup>170</sup> which is its more idiomatic meaning in free Greek compositions. It is remarkable that ζητέω applies also to philosophical investigation<sup>171</sup> and judicial inquiries<sup>172</sup> in Greek literature. None of these usages, however, implies any reference to the study and interpretation of written texts.

I will cross-linguistically scan those expressions that refer to obedience to the law. First, it must be pointed out that verbs such as ποιεῖν or φυλάσσειν are normally not used in such construals in free Greek compositions, contrary to their Hebrew counterparts *‘āsā* and *šāmar*. As I have observed above, the idea of compliance with the laws is typically encoded by the expression πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις. Although no examples of this wording can be found in the LXX, the comparable expression τὸν νόμον/τοῦ νόμου εὐπειθεία “ready obedience” occurs twice in 4 Macc:

4 Macc 5:16

οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην βιαιοτέραν εἶναι νομίζομεν τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν εὐπειθείας

“We consider no compulsion to be more forcible as *ready obedience to our law*” (Westerholm, *NETS*)

<sup>169</sup> Compare Wis 8:2, where the object of ἐκζητέω is σοφία “Wisdom.”

<sup>170</sup> Compare the expressions ἐζήτησεν κακοποιῆσαι (Esth 1:18, text with the siglum *L* in Göttingen's edition; *AT* in *NETS*), ζητοῦσι κακοποιεῖν (Addition E v. 3, that follows MT 8:12; *AT* in *NETS*) “seeking to harm”; see also ἐζήτησε κατακρατῆσαι τῆς βασιλείας “he sought to take control of the kingdom” (1 Macc 11:1); ἐζήτησεν γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί με “he has sought to kill me” (11:10); ζητοῦντι τὴν ἐτέρων λυσιτέλειαν “who he seeks the benefit of others” (2 Macc 2:27); in this brief sketch, the nominalization ὁ ζητούμενος “the wanted” deserves also a mention (14:32; and 4 Macc 1:13). The verb ἐκζητέω is used metaphorically also in Wis 1:1; 13:6 (the object is God) and 6:12.16; 8:2 (the object is Wisdom), or literally in 19:17 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυρῶν τὴν δίοδον ἐζήτει “(each) tried to find the way through their own doors.”

<sup>171</sup> See Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.15, where the term applies to heavenly phenomena, and Plato, *Men.* 79d, where it applies to virtue (see *supra* the usage in Wis).

<sup>172</sup> See Dinarchus, *Aristog.* 1.8; 1.10; and 1.55.

4 Macc 9:2

αἰσχυρόμεθα γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εἰκότως εἰ μὴ τῇ τοῦ νόμου εὐπειθείᾳ καὶ  
συμβούλῳ Μωυσεῖ χρησαίμεθα

“For we would cause our forebears to be ashamed with good reason, if we did not show *ready obedience to the law* and to Moses our counsellor.” (Westerholm, *NETS*)

As for the other Greek idiomatic construals that involve a political reading of the lexeme νόμος, a couple of attestations of the structure *χραόμαι* or *πολιτεύομαι* τῷ νόμῳ/τοῖς νόμοις occurs within the historical-narrative language of LXX original compositions. The decree of amnesty issued by Antiochus proclaims:

2 Macc 11:31

χρησθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασιν καὶ νόμοις καθὰ καὶ τὸ πρότερον

“(The assurance of safety and liberty) to follow their own way of life and *their own laws*” (Schaper, *NETS*)

4 Macc 4:23

εἴ τινες αὐτῶν φάνοιεν τῷ πατρίῳ πολιτευόμενοι νόμῳ θάνοιεν

“(Antiochus issued a decree that) if any of them were found *living according to their ancestral laws*, they should die.” (Westerholm, *NETS*)

Finally, among the Greek idiomatic selectors of νόμος, the adjective πάτριος deserves special attention.<sup>173</sup> It modulates a very broad reading of

<sup>173</sup> It is worth mentioning that in LXX free compositions in Greek the adjective πάτριος also occurs as an adjective 18 times; the nominalization τὰ πάτρια is attested only in 2 Macc 7:24 (μεταθέμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πατρίων “if he would turn from the ancestral customs”). It is interesting to mention the list of its selectees besides νόμος (2 Macc 6:1; 7:2.37; 4 Macc 4:23; 5:33), they are: φωνή “language” (2 Macc 7:8; 7:21; 7:27; 12:37; 15:29); δόγματα “decrees” (3 Macc 1:3); ᾠδὴ “song” meant to praise God (3 Macc 6:32); θεσμός “ordinance, law” (4 Macc 8:7); ἐντολαί “commandments” (4 Macc 9:1); πρόνοια “providence” (4 Macc 9:24); εὐσέβεια “piety” (4 Macc 9:29); ἔθνη “customs” (4 Macc 18:5). In the sole occurrence of πάτριος outside the books of Maccabees, the adjective remarkably selects βιβλία “books” (Sir Prolog v. 10). The phrase πατρίων βιβλίων has been commented by van der Kooij as follows: “this qualification makes it clear that the books were regarded as making up the national literary heritage. The books were ancient, and thus authoritative. It also implies that these books, in being ancestral and thus being part of the tradition, constituted a basic element of Jewish religion and culture”; see Arie van der Kooij, “The Canonization of Ancient Books Kept in the Temple of Jerusalem,” in *Canonization and Decanonization: Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9-10 January 1997*, ed. Arie

the noun that corresponds to “ancestral use,” or “ancestral custom,” viz. an inherited way of behaving or doing something that is specific to a particular community.<sup>174</sup> The nominalization τὰ πάτρια is attested, moreover, with a comparable meaning, often in adverbial expressions.<sup>175</sup>

Although the construal πάτριον νόμος is not attested in translations nor is the adjective πάτριος<sup>176</sup> we find this expression in LXX original Greek compositions:

---

van der Kooij and Karen van der Toorn, *Studies in History of Religions* 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 17–40, here 31.

<sup>174</sup> The community corresponds to the body of citizens of a given πόλις in many examples from the Greek historical-narrative tradition, especially in the classical age; in this framework, πάτριος νόμος corresponds to what characterizes its political identity and defines it as corporate body of citizens, viz. πολιτεύμα; see, for example, Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.34.1: Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφᾷς ἐποίησαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρώτων ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε “the same winter the Athenians, according to their ancient custom, solemnized a public funeral of the first slain in this war in this manner” (Forster Smith, LCL); Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.82: ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον “I believe, therefore, that we who were liberated through one man should maintain such a government, and, besides this, that we should not alter our ancestral customs that are good; that would not be better” (Godley, LCL); and Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.8.5: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα Ξενοφῶν προσελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο καὶ ὠλοκάντει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλίεροι “and the next day, upon coming to Ophrynum, Xenophon proceeded to sacrifice, offering whole victims of swine after the custom of his fathers, and he obtained favourable omens” (Dillery, LCL).

<sup>175</sup> Compare Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.2.4: εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ζυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄπλα “that if any man, according to the ancient custom of all the Boeotians, would enter into the same league of war with them, he should come and bring his arms to theirs” (Forster Smith, LCL); Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.180: ὀρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίων αἱ παρθέναι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισι τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῇ αὐθιγενεῖ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέουσαν “they celebrate a yearly festival of Athena, where their maidens are separated into two bands and fight each other with stones and sticks, thus (they say) honoring in the way of their ancestors that native goddess whom we call Athena” (Godley, LCL); Polybius, *Hist.* 15.12.8: ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐγγύς ἦσαν ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια συναλαλάζαντες καὶ συμφοφῆσαντες τοῖς ζίφεισι τοὺς θυρεοὺς προσέβαλλον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις “when they came within distance the Roman soldiers charged the enemy, shouting as usual their war-cry, and clashing their swords against their shields” (Paton, LCL); see also the phrase τὰ πάτρια “nach Vätersitte,” “nach altem Brauch,” in *Polybios-Lexikon*, 2:191.

<sup>176</sup> From this lexical family, I found instead the noun πατριά in LXX translations, exclusively in the phrase οἴκοι πατριῶν “the households of their ancestral lineages” (Perkins, *NETS*) for the Hebrew *bēt ’ābōt* (Exod 6:14.19; 12:3).

2 Macc 6:1

ἔξαπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς γέροντα Ἀθηναῖον ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μεταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι

“The king sent an Athenian senator to compel the Judeans to forsake *their ancestral laws* and no longer to live by the laws of the God” (Schaper, *NETS*)

2 Macc 7:2

εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν γενόμενος προήγορος οὕτως ἔφη τί μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν ἡμῶν ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἔσμεν ἢ παραβαίνειν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους

“One of them (the Maccabees), acting as their spokesman, said ‘What do you intend to ask and learn from us? For we are ready to die rather than transgress *our ancestral laws*’” (Schaper, *NETS*)

2 Macc 7:37

ἐγὼ δὲ καθάπερ οἱ ἀδελφοί καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν προδίδωμι περὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων

“I, like my brothers, give up body and life *for our ancestral laws*” (Schaper, *NETS*)

4 Macc 5:33

οὐχ οὕτως οἰκτίρομαι τὸ ἔμαυτοῦ γῆρας ὥστε δι' ἔμαυτοῦ τὸν πάτριον καταλύσαι νόμον

“I do not so pity my old age as to subvert *the ancestral law* by my own act.” (Westerholm, *NETS*)

From the examples collected here especially from 2 Maccabees, it follows that the reference to the *ancestral laws* was felt to be the salient factor that defined the identity of the Jews vis-à-vis other communities. Invoking the *πάτριος νόμοι* within a speech before political interlocutors (especially before the authority of the Hellenistic rulers) functions as a rhetorical device to claim the right to exist as a people through a language shared and familiar to the Jewish and non-Jewish Greek audience.

These founding laws are undoubtedly an updated formulation to indicate the Torah not as much as a canonical text but as a cultural heritage. Although the formulation *πάτριος νόμοι* in reference to the Torah could imply a certain vulgarization and introduce a relativistic view of it, it is certainly an effective and understandable way to convey its significance within a dominant Greek-speaking culture.





## Chapter 4. The Use of *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* in the Historical-narrative Language

### 1. The Use of *ḥōq*

The noun *ḥōq*<sup>1</sup> occurs 40 times in historical-narrative language, 27 times in SBH1 (9 in the singular, 18 in the plural), and 13 times in LBH1 (2 in the singular, 11 in the plural).<sup>2</sup> Together with *tôrâ* and *mišpāt*, the lexeme is attested from ABH onwards.<sup>3</sup> The related verbal root *ḥqq*<sup>4</sup> “to carve out, to

<sup>1</sup> See HALOT, 3151, that lists the following nine meanings: 1) “portion, term”; 2) “prescribed task”; 3) “appropriate portion”; 4) “due”; 5) “allotted portion”; 6) “appointed time”; 7) “limit”; 8) “law, regulation”; 9) “prescription, rule” both secular and God-given. Compare DCH 3:299-302 that singles out seven of them 1) “statute, decree, law, rule, instruction” issued by God, or human ruler or superior, or social “convention, custom”; 2) “institution,” arising from regular observance of statute, and, similarly, legal or conventional right, or expected allocation of food and territory; 3) “lot, appointed destiny”; 4) “law” in general, “legal instruction,” “law of nature”; 5) perhaps “prescription, will, intention” of person or God; 6) “boundary of earth”; 7) apparently “metre of psalms”; and finally BDB 3393: something prescribed, a statute or due; namely: 1) “prescribed task”; 2) “prescribed portion, or allowance of food”; 3) “action prescribed for oneself, resolve”; 4) “prescribed due of the priests from offerings”; 5) “prescribed limit, boundary”; 6) “enactment, decree, ordinance” of either God or man.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 4, pages 390-391.

<sup>3</sup> See the expression *gdlym ḥqqy lb* “notables are resolved of heart” (Judg 5:15); see Jack M. Sasson, *Judges 1-12*, AB 6d (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014), 278. The reading, however, has been regarded as corrupted and then emended in the light of v. 5:16 *gdwlym ḥqry lb* “discussion/investigation of mind”; see George F. Moore, *Judges*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1966), 154; and also HALOT, 3151.

<sup>4</sup> The root *ḥqq* occurs also in the by-form *ḥqh*; see HALOT, 3155 *qal*: 1) “to carve”; 2) “to inscribe, carve, draw”; 3) “to enact, decree”; *pual mēḥuqqāq* “what is decreed”; *poal* 1) “to order, to decide,” *mēḥōqeḳ*, *mēḥōqeḳim* “ruler, commander”; *hophal* “to be recorded”; BDB 3392: 1) “to cut in”; 2) “to cut in or on, upon, engrave, inscribe”; 3) “to trace, mark out”; 4) of a law “to engrave, inscribe (on a tablet),” figuratively for “to enact, decree,” participle “prescriber of laws,” hence (as

engrave,”<sup>5</sup> “to write,”<sup>6</sup> “to decide, to fix, to determine with authority,”<sup>7</sup> is attested early in BH as well. Lexicographers have accounted for the legal meaning of these lexemes in terms of semasiological development from the concrete meaning “to engrave,” assuming implicitly that the juridical meanings derive their legal value from the practice of engraving laws in stone tablets: what has been inscribed or written (and thus made public and approved) is, perforce, considered legally binding.<sup>8</sup> It is important to take into account, however, a number of important and intriguing observations drawn by scholars who have criticized this tacit assumption.<sup>9</sup> To begin with, van der Ploeg has stressed that for a nomadic or seminomadic civilization, as the biblical Israel was, the inscription of the laws has to be regarded as a phenomenon so exceptional and abnormal that it realistically could not constitute the point of departure of the semantic development of the notion of command, precept, and law. Moreover, he reasons that “the oldest laws of Israel were not in writing but consisted of an oral tradition based on judicial precedent and custom.”<sup>10</sup> Elaborating van

---

sovereign authority in a warlike clan) “commander”; and *DCH* 3:303-304, *qal* 1) “to cut, engrave, decree”; 2) Passive “be decreed,” “be engraved”; 3) As a noun “commander”; *pual* 1) “be engraved”; 2) Used as a noun “decree”; *pual* “decree,” “commander,” “commander’s staff, sceptre.”

<sup>5</sup> This meaning is attested also in SBH2 (Isa 22:16, and 49:16, in parallel with *hšb* “to hew”), SBH4 (Ezek 4:1), and LBH3 (Job 13:27); see *hql* in SBH1 (1 Kgs 6:35), and SBH4 (Ezek 8:10); see Ringgren, *TDOT* 5:141.

<sup>6</sup> Remarkably, the verb is attested in parallel with *ktb* (Isa 10:1; 30:8, and Job 19:23); see Ringgren, *TDOT* 5:141.

<sup>7</sup> See Jer 31:35; Prov 8:15; Judg 5:9; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, “Studies in Hebrew Law,” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12/3 (1950): 248–259, here 250.

<sup>8</sup> Noticeably, this assumption is found in Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* 2:389. Many scholars ground their interpretation of the term on this etymological argument; Levine, for example, states: “key term is *hqm* “statutes,” from the root *hqq* “to incise, inscribe,” that predicates a written form. One is obliged to obey *hqm* because they were, in the first instance, written. Like the *mglh* “scroll” and the authoritative *spr* “document,” the concept of *hqm* was most likely introduced in the near-exilic period and is prominent in the writings of the Deuteronomist. It is also dominant in some of the priestly writings of the Torah, where we encounter the feminine form *hql*”; see Levine, *Numbers* 21-36, 439.

<sup>9</sup> See Zeev W. Falk, “Hebrew Legal Terms,” *JSS* 5 (1960): 350-354.

<sup>10</sup> Falk, “Hebrew Legal Terms,” 350. To these observations must be added that the greater part of the material attesting for writing as a current practice in Israel during the monarchy belongs after 750 BCE, in the last 150 years of Judah’s history; texts from earlier dates are very sparse; the Samaria Ostraca alone witness to the use of writing in Israelite administration; see Alan R. Millard, “An Assessment of the Evidence of Writing in Ancient Israel,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 301–312, especially 305.

der Ploeg's views, Falk observes that both senses "to engrave" and "to prescribe" have been employed at the same time, neither being derived from each other. He thinks that both *mišpāt* and *ḥōq* shared a common reference to casuistic laws at an early stage of their semantic development, and only later their meaning underwent an expansion to include laws in general, either casuistic or apodictic. To prove this claim, Falk focuses on a group of quite early attestations in which the reference to a judicial decision fits very well the usage of both *ḥāqaq* and *ḥōq*,<sup>11</sup> concluding that the meaning "portion" and "boundary" can be understood as a result of a legal decision between contestant parties:

The verb *ḥqq* could, then, originally have meant the engraving upon the land of a boundary, the inscription of a certain text on a landmark and generally the writing of a court decree. Hence the sense of portion fixed by law and of law in general seems to be derived.<sup>12</sup>

The *poel* stem *mḥqq* itself bears witness to the close relationship between the root and the idea of the exercise of judicial power, since it designates both the judge himself – and the king acting as judge – and his scepter of command.<sup>13</sup>

Coming back to the synchronic analysis of the noun *ḥōq*, it is worth highlighting that while the occurrences in prose and poetry are roughly equivalent within SBH,<sup>14</sup> the noun turns out to characterize more specifically poetical language in later layers of the language.<sup>15</sup> Based on syntagmatic facts, the morpho-syntactic features that have an impact on the selection of the readings and their modulation in historical-narrative language appear to be the number, the governed genitives, and the semantics of its verbal selectors. The

<sup>11</sup> Namely, Deut 33:21; Judg 5:9-10; 5:14; Isa 10:1-2; Zeph 2:1-2; Prov 8:15-16.

<sup>12</sup> Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms," 352.

<sup>13</sup> The term is attested with *šebet* (Gen 49:10), this noun points to royal sceptre as an instrument to punish by striking (Isa 11:4; Mic 4:14), becoming thus a symbol for the judicial office of the king; see Ps 45:7 *šbt myšr šbt mlkwtk* "the sceptre (rod) of your kingdom is a sceptre (rod) of equity"; the throne (*kissē*) must also be included among the symbols of this judicial power; see Zeev W. Falk, "Two Symbols of Justice," VT 10 (1960): 72–74. Falk, moreover, envisages a similar line of semantic development in the term *dyn*, namely from "legal case" towards the post-biblical meaning "law," adducing the two expressions *šwt ḥdyn* the strict "law," and *lpnym mšwt ḥdyn* "inside the line of the law," that is "equity" in Rabbinic Hebrew; see Mek. ad Exod 18.20.

<sup>14</sup> Namely, 27 occurrences in SBH1 and 23 in LBH1.

<sup>15</sup> I counted 11 occurrences in LBH1, 25 in LBH2, and 7 in LBH3.

strong tendency to use the term in chains of synonymical lexemes should also be mentioned.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.1. Allocation, Quota

The sense-nodule “allotted portion” is correlated to the usage of the term in the singular (namely with a nominal complement introduced by the preposition *lə*) or in suffixed form: *ḥōq*, *ḥoqkem*, *ḥuqqām*.<sup>17</sup>

This syntagmatic type conveys a conceptualization of *ḥōq* as a referential noun pointing to a quota estimated by measurement, established (*šym*) by an authority (God, Pharaoh, Joseph acting as his administrator), and assigned to a subject or a category of persons (normally expressed by the pronominal suffix or by the complement introduced by *lə*).<sup>18</sup> In referential terms, the noun is rather vague: it points to land or food,<sup>19</sup> understood as that from which one can draw the necessary sustenance:

Gen 47:22

*ky ḥq lkhnym m't pr'h w'klw 't ḥqm 'šr ntn lhm pr'h*

“For the priests had an *allocation* (of land) from Pharaoh and did eat thanks to their *allocation* which Pharaoh gave them.”<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This phenomenon is conspicuous both in SBH1 (Exod 15:26; 18:16.20; Deut 4:40.45; 7:11; 26:16; 27:10; 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58; 2 Kgs 17:15.37), and LBH1 (2 Chr 19:10; 29:19; 33:8; 34:31; Neh 1:7; 10:30); the examples in which the binomial *ḥqym* plus *mšp̄tm* occurs without other legal terms will be discussed separately; see chapter 4 § 1.5.

<sup>17</sup> This text-type occurs in Gen 47:22x2; 47:26; Exod 5:14 (SBH1).

<sup>18</sup> Zorell provides a perfectly apt gloss: “aliquid statutum, determinatum, fixum”; according to van der Ploeg this has to be regarded as the original meaning of the noun; see van der Ploeg, “Studies in Hebrew Law,” 251.

<sup>19</sup> See also SBH2: *lhm ḥqy* “the bread of my *ḥq*” (Prov 30:8).

<sup>20</sup> Compare modern translations: “for the priests had an *allotment* from Pharaoh, and they *lived off the allotment* which Pharaoh gave them” (NASB); “they had a *fixed allowance* from Pharaoh and lived on this” (NEB); “because they received a *regular allotment* from Pharaoh and *had food enough from the allotment* Pharaoh gave them” (NIV); “for the priests received an *allowance* from Pharaoh and *lived on the allowance* that Pharaoh gave them” (NJB); “for the priests had *rations allotted* to them by Pharaoh, and they ate *their rations* which Pharaoh gave them” (NKJV); “for the priests had a *fixed allowance* from Pharaoh, and *lived on the allowance* which Pharaoh gave them” (RSV); “for the priests had an *allotment* from Pharaoh, and they *lived off the allotment* which Pharaoh had made to them” (NJPS). Speiser renders “only the priests’ land he did not take over; for it was the priest’s allotment from Pharaoh, and they lived off the allotment”; see Ephraim A.

The number of bricks that the Israelites must produce each day while being reduced to forced labor in Egypt represents their *ḥōq*:

Exod 5:14

*mdw' l' klytm ḥqkm llbn ktmwl šlšm gm tmwl gm hywm*

“Why have you not fulfilled *your quota* of brickmaking either yesterday or today, as you did before?”<sup>21</sup>

The narrator had previously informed the audience that this quota was established through a king’s decision and that Pharaoh has commanded the overseers of the people and their officers as follows:

Exod 5:7–8

*l' t' spwn ltt tbn l' m llbn hlbnyw ktmwl šlšm hm ylkw wqššw lhm tbn (8) w' t mtknt hlbnyw šr hm 'šym tmwl šlšm tšymw 'lyhm l' tgr'w mmmw*

“You shall no longer provide the people with straw for making bricks as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves. (8) But impose upon them *the same quota*<sup>22</sup> of bricks as they have been making heretofore; do not reduce it.” (NJPS)

It is notable that *ḥōq* in the speech of the superintendents has *matkōnet* “measurement” as its counterpart in the speech of Pharaoh and that these lexemes turn out to be synonymous in terms of reference. Remarkably, the latter lexeme takes on a nuance of fairness and equity in later layers of the language, coming to mean the appropriate measurement.<sup>23</sup>

---

Speiser, *Genesis*, AB 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 349–350. See also *w' rḥtw 'rḥt tmyd ntnh lw m' t mlk bbl* “and for his (Jehoiachin king of Judah’s) allowance, there was a continual allowance given him of the king of Babylon” (Jer 52:34).

<sup>21</sup> Compare modern translations: “your required amount ... in making brick” (NASB); “your requirement for brickmaking” (NET); “the usual number of bricks” (NEB); “your quota of bricks” (NIV); “your quota of bricks made” (NJB); “your task in making brick” (NKJV); “your task of making bricks” (RSV); “the prescribed amount of bricks” (NJPS).

<sup>22</sup> NASB, NKJV, and NET render *mtknt* as “quota,” whereas NIV and RSV as “number,” and NJB as “quantity.”

<sup>23</sup> Such a meaning is discernible in 2 Chr 24:13 and specially in Sir 31/34:27 “wine is very life to humans, [[ ] if taken *in due measure* (*'m yštnw bmtkntw*)”; see Patrick Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986), 385.

### 1.2. Custom

In a group of attestations, the reference to a legal framework or royal activity is hardly sustainable, and it is quite clear that *ḥōq* refers rather to a traditional and widely accepted way of behaving or doing something. Anything consolidated through repeated practice and regarded as a standard within the community can be thus termed *ḥōq* “custom.” The following are the relevant examples collected from SBH1 and LBH1:

Judg 11:39–40

*wthy ḥq byśr'l (40) mymym ymymh tlknh bnwt yśr'l ltnwt lbt yptḥ hgl' dy `rb' t ymym bśnh*

“And it became a custom in Israel (v. 40) that the daughters of Israel went year by year to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year.” (RSV)

This passage explains the origin of an annual festival celebrated in Gilead. The complement *bəYiśrā'ēl* specifies the place or the community within which this *ḥōq* is consolidated and recognized as justified. It is obvious that the noun does not point here to anything prescribed or enforced by royal or priestly authority.<sup>24</sup> This is a customary behavior, developed over time through practice, which became generally accepted.

The sense-nodule “custom” is attested also in LBH1:

2 Chr 35:25

*wyqwnn yrmyhw `ly' šyhw wy' mrw kl hšrym whšrwt bqynwtyhm `ly' šyhw `d hywm wyt-nwm lhq `lyśr' l whnm ktwbym `l hqynwt*

“Then Jeremiah chanted a lament for Josiah. And all the male and female singers speak about Josiah in their lamentations to this day; they made it a custom in Israel; and indeed, they are written in the Laments.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See Sasson, *Judges 1-12*, 443.

<sup>25</sup> Compare modern translations: “and they made them an ordinance in Israel; behold, they are also written in the Lamentations” (NASB); “it has become customary in Israel to sing these; they are recorded in the Book of Laments” (NET); “these became a tradition in Israel and are written in the Laments” (NIV); “they have made it a rule in Israel; they are recorded in the Lamentations” (NJB); “they made it a custom in Israel; and indeed they are written in the Laments” (NKJV); “they made these an ordinance in Israel; behold, they are written in the Laments” (RSV); “they became customary in Israel and were incorporated into the laments” (NJPS). In this passage, mention is made of the fact that such funeral chants are written *l hqynwt* “in the Dirges.” It is difficult to equate *tout court* this text with the biblical book known as Lamentations (named after the first word of the composition *Ekā*). It must be recall, however, that this canonical book

In this passage the noun is specified by a prepositional complement ‘*al*’ “in,” “within” that designates the special scope of the custom. Customs are thus associated with a particular area or ethnicity. Here the *ḥōq* refers to the mention of king Josiah in elegiac songs (*qînôt*).<sup>26</sup> This custom can be described thus as a kind of literary rule or *topos*,<sup>27</sup> which does not presuppose any enacting process by a constituted authority.

### 1.3. Statute, Regulation

The verb *šîm* “to establish”<sup>28</sup> plays a key-role in the modulation of the legal meaning in the noun *ḥōq*, mainly via two constructions characterized by a discernable idiomatic value. These expressions are specialized for naming the conclusive determination of boundaries,<sup>29</sup> regulations, or laws. Concerning the first construal, *šîm* takes *ḥōq* as a direct object (mostly in the singular indefinite). The verbal phrase that arises from this combination can be further specified by complements pointing to communities in their geographical or ethnic dimension, which constitutes the scope of the specific *ḥōq* at stake. Concerning the second construal, *šîm* takes *ḥōq* as a predicative complement (*šîm ləḥōq*), which refers to a previous NPh within the clause or

---

is called *Qînôt* by the Babylonian Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b) and other early Jewish writings; see Delbert R. Hillers, *Lamentations*, AB 7c (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), XVII. Admittedly, the book of Lamentations, as it has come to us, contains nothing that specifically refers to king Josiah. The text to which the Chronicler refers may thus have been lost.

<sup>26</sup> See HALOT, 8823.

<sup>27</sup> Compare the expression *ḥqry mzmwr 'l ḥwq* “composers of psalms according the norm” in Sir 44:5, MS B XIII verso; see also Morla’s rendering “inventores de cantos según la norma”; Victor Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira. Traducción y notas*, Asociación Bíblica Española 59 (Estella, Navarra: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2012). Remarkably, the correction *ḥwqw* made in the margin of the manuscript would lead to the rendering “according its norm” that is most likely relevant to the literary structure of the psalms themselves; see Pancratius C. Beentjes, ed., *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*. VTSup 68 (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1997), 77. Skehan’s translation “melodious psalms”, on the other hand, is based on MS M, that reads *'l qāw*; see Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 120. The noun *qaw* means literally “line, cord,” within musical jargon, however, it refers metonymically to “sound, music, melody, rhythm”; see DCL 7:210.

<sup>28</sup> See HALOT, 91121, in particular the meaning listed as 19: “to establish.”

<sup>29</sup> See, for example *gbwl šmt* “you set a boundary” (Ps 104:9) within SBH2.



to an entire textual section.<sup>30</sup> Both construals provide the syntactic slot to encode the agent responsible for the promulgation or implementation of a given *ḥōq*, which allows an encoding of its origin linguistically. As a result, we can make a clear-cut distinction between the theological use of the term and the political, administrative, or legal one. Moreover, it is remarkable that *ḥōq* often occurs in close connection with *mišpāṭ* in these patterns.<sup>31</sup> We can thus appreciate the significance of this particular lexeme within the legal framework.

It is worth pointing out that these constructs are proper to SBH1 and SBH2, while they are not attested in SBH4. In fact, in juridical-cultic language, as in LBH in general, the verb *šim* is usually replaced by *nāṭan* in similar expressions.<sup>32</sup>

### 1.3.1. Expression of Human Authority

The combination *šim laḥōq* refers preferably to human agency within SBH1. In the framework of the agrarian reform adopted by Joseph to avoid the catastrophe during the famine in Egypt, one particular measure is termed *ḥōq*. It is important to stress that in the narrative Joseph acts as a plenipotentiary of the king over the people.<sup>33</sup> Having stored up all the surplus of the land

<sup>30</sup> See Gottfried Vanoni, “שִׁימ,” *TDOT* 14:89–111, here 105.

<sup>31</sup> It is quite striking to find that Weinfeld neglects to add *ḥq* when he mentions the collocation *šim mšpṭ* within the treaties' phraseology. I think, on the contrary, that *ḥq* represents the most relevant component in the combination *šim ḥq wmšpṭ*. In the passages relevant to this expression, *mšpṭ* occurs either as a conjunct of *ḥq* (Exod 15:25), or it is selected as complement by the idiomatic expression *šim lpnym* “to put before.” The term *ḥq*, on the other hand, is selected by *šim* as complement also alone, without any conjunct (Gen 47:26; compare Prov 8:29). It is worth dwelling briefly on the meaning of the expression *šim lpnym*. It is specialized for food and beverages with the meaning “to offer” (1 Sam 9:24; 28:22); it can be put in operation, nevertheless, also metaphorically as “to set before, to offer (for consideration),” which ultimately equates “to inform,” “to acquaint”; so the following expressions should be understood: *wyšim lpnyhm 't kl ḥdbrym h'lh 'šr šwhw YHWH* “(Moses) acquainted them with everything that YHWH had commanded him” (Exod 19:7, compare NJB); *w'lh ḥmšpṭym 'šr tšym lpnyhm* “these are the laws that you shall make known to them” (Exod 21:1); *wz 't ḥtwrh 'š šm Mšh lpny bny Yšr'l* “this is the teaching which Moses presented to the Israelites” (Deut 4:44).

<sup>32</sup> Compare Num 18:8.11; Ezek 20:25 (SBH4); Prov 31:15; Ps 148:6 (SBH2); 2 Chr 35:25 (LBH1); Neh 9:13 (LBH2).

<sup>33</sup> In Gen 41:40–46 Joseph' elevation is described as an investiture ceremony that involves the transfer of precise royal symbol such as the signet-ring (*ṭaba' at*) and the gold chain (*rābīd*



during the seven years of abundance, he has a monopoly on basic supplies for the seven years of famine. In pursuing the interests of Pharaoh, however, his faithful administrator is not limited to this role. Joseph collects the Egyptians' money, then their livestock, and finally their land and their bodies in exchange for food. After all this became the property of Pharaoh, Joseph makes a further "proposal" to the enslaved people:

Gen 47:23–24.26

wy'mr ywsp 'l h' m hn qnyty 'tkm hywm w't 'dmtkm lpr'h h' lkm zr' wzr'tm 't h'dmh (24) whyh btbw't wnttm ḥmyšyt lpt'h w'rb' hydt yhyh lkm lzt' ḥsdh wl'klkm wl'šr bbytkm wl'kl ltpkm ... (26) wyšm 'th ywsp lḥq 'd hywm hzh 'l 'dmt mšrym lpr'h lḥmš

"Then Joseph said to the people, 'Behold, I have this day bought you and your land for Pharaoh. Now here is seed for you, and you shall sow the land. (24) And at the harvests you shall give a fifth to Pharaoh, and four fifths shall be your own, as seed for the field and as food for yourselves and your households, and as food for your little ones.' (...) So, Joseph established it a statute<sup>34</sup> concerning the land of Egypt, and it stands to this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth."<sup>35</sup>

The purport of Joseph's *ḥōq* lies specifically in the decision that a fifth of the harvest must be given to Pharaoh. Remarkably, the judgment enunciated by Joseph in vv. 23–24 is named *ḥōq* only after some sort of consent has been expressed by the other party.<sup>36</sup> Although such a response from people by now impoverished and deprived of their freedom can be understood as bitter and ironic,<sup>37</sup> it still remains an expression of consent that allows the decision to

---

*hazzāhāb*). Noticeably, the king reserves for himself only the throne (*kissē'*) as a specific sign of his superiority.

<sup>34</sup> Modern translations fluctuate here between "statute" (NASB; RSV), and "law" (NIV; NJB; NKJV; NJPS).

<sup>35</sup> Compare RSV.

<sup>36</sup> See v. 25 *ḥytnw nms' ḥn b'yny 'dny whyynw 'bdym lpr'h* "you have saved our lives: may we find favour in the eyes of our lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants." The expression "may it please my lord" (literally: "may we find favour in your eyes") is idiomatic in BH; it constitutes a deferential expression of gratitude equal to "thank you" (compare 1 Sam 1:18; Ruth 2:13); see See Jean-Marc Babut, *Les expressions idiomatiques de l'hébreu Biblique: signification et traduction. Un essai de analyse componentielle*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 33 (Paris: Gabalda, 1995), 169–170.

<sup>37</sup> The answer of the Egyptians would mark an authorial stance in telling of Joseph's economic policy; on the level of the discourse (the communication going on between the author and the reader), it is hard not to think there is some authorial irony in the Egyptians' response, the professed gratitude should be understood thus as a muted curse.

become a statute in force. Besides Joseph, other leaders responsible for the action of *šîm ḥōq ûmišpāt* are Joshua and David.

It should be emphasized that such an expression focuses more on the law enforcement process rather than on its formulation process. This aspect can be ascertained by analyzing the sole attestation of the term in the book of Joshua. The clause occurs in the postscripts of the Shechem covenant narrative:<sup>38</sup>

Josh 24:25

*wykr̥t yhwš' bryt l' m bywm hhw' wysm lw ḥq wmšp̥t bškm*

“So, Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and established *rules and regulations* for them in Shechem.”<sup>39</sup>

It is important to note that the characterization of Joshua mostly as a national-military leader is a typical feature of the Deuteronomistic strand of the eponymous book,<sup>40</sup> while in other textual components the portrait highlights

<sup>38</sup> We find the same expression in Exod 15:25, in a section apparently alien from the context. Propp translates it as “rule and law,” he observes, moreover, that Jewish tradition holds that several basic norms were enacted or reiterated at Marah as the Sabbath and the filial piety (see *Tg. Ps.-J.*; *Mek. Wayyassa* 1; *b. Shab.* 87b; *b. Sanh.* 56b); see Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 577. Among earlier commentators, Luzzatto claims that the “rule,” “law,” and “test” (*nsh*) refer simply to the comprehensive commandment of obedience; see Samuel Davide Luzzatto, *Esodo* (Padova: Tipografia F. Sacchetto, 1872), 165. The closest parallel to the Exodus’ passage would be just Josh 24:25, where *ḥōq ûmišpāt* refers to a general exhortation. It should be noted, however, that the same expression points to specific practices enacted by David in 1 Sam 30:25.

<sup>39</sup> Compare “and made for them *a statute and an ordinance*” (NASB); “and he established *rules and regulations*” (NET); “he drew up for them *decrees and laws*” (NIV); “he laid down a statute and ordinance” (NJB); “and made for them *a statute and an ordinance*” (NKJV); “and made *statutes and ordinances*” (RSV); “he made *a fixed rule*” (NJPS). Among commentators, Boling and Wright stand fast to the Hebrew expression and translates literally “statute and judgment,” in their comment, however, they claim “it is another hendiadys, representing the general content of the agreement,” and propose the alternative rendering “Joshua concluded a covenant for the people that day, and established for it *legal precedent* at Shechem”; see Robert G. Boling and G. Ernest Wright, *Joshua*, AB 6 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 539; see also Christophe Nihan, “The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah. New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 187–223.

<sup>40</sup> See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, especially 50; and Jeremy Corley, “Joshua as a Warrior in Hebrew Ben Sira 46:1-10,” in *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2010. Visions of Peace and Tales of War*, ed. Jan Liesem and Pancratius C. Beentjes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 207–248.

other aspects of his persona: he is represented as a national-religious leader who leads the Israelites across a dry Jordan (chapters 3–4); he establishes a covenant (chapter 24); he circumcises the Israelites (5:2–8); and he divides the country by lot before God.<sup>41</sup> Unlike his predecessor Moses, who was the law-giver *par excellence*, the character of Joshua is not typically associated with the activity of enacting laws, either in the biblical narrative or in the subsequent interpretive tradition. Moreover, one must pay attention to the fact that the Shechem covenant is characterized more as a vassalship treaty than a real law-code. In fact, it can be said along with Weinfeld that “the primary aim of Shechem covenant was to reaffirm loyalty to God, which was so strongly at stake as a result of Canaanite-Israelite amalgamation, of which Shechem turned out to be the main centre.” Moreover, a further aim of the covenant seems to have been “the introduction to the autochthonic population of a new faith; which had to be affirmed through the solemn obligation made in the covenant ceremony.”<sup>42</sup> It is not surprising therefore that the enforcement of *ḥōq ûmišpāt* takes place after a kind of acceptance formula has been uttered by the recipient:

Josh 24:24

*’t YHWH ’lhynw n ’bd wbqwlw nšm’*

“YHWH our God we will serve, and his voice we will obey.” (RSV)

Assuming that Joshua acts more like the founder of a settled community than as a lawgiver in this passage, I could even venture the hypothesis that the meaning of the word *ḥōq* is fully exploited, and the combination *ḥōq ûmišpāt* does not function as a hendiadys in this context. If so, the covenant that Joshua is making at Shechem would consist properly in establishing for his people both a boundary (*ḥōq*) and a system of rules (*mišpāt*).<sup>43</sup>

The function of founder and organizer perfectly fits the character of David as well. Straight after his coronation, he is portrayed as establishing *mišpāt*

<sup>41</sup> See Sarah Lebharr Hall, *Conquering character. The characterization of Joshua in Joshua 1-11* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 156.

<sup>43</sup> For borders as a narrative theme within the book of Joshua, see L. Daniel Hawk, “Fixing Boundaries: The Construction of Identity in Joshua,” *Ashland Theological Journal* 32 (1996): 21–31; and Steven Grosby, *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002).

*ûṣədāqâ* “justice and righteousness.”<sup>44</sup> There is enough evidence to believe that *‘āsâ mišpāt ûṣədāqâ* is a technical expression for indicating the main function of the kings in biblical narrative.<sup>45</sup> It must be stressed, however, that in Israel’s tradition it became conventional that all the laws that Israel would ever need were dispensed during the Sinai wanderings. In this regard it is worth mentioning an observation of Sanders, who considers the possibility that no royal edicts were placed in the books of Joshua or Samuel and Kings was the result of a conscious editorial stance. He argues:

Royal decrees were the most common form of law in antiquity, and the Bible gives ample evidence that law and order were maintained in Israel and Judah at least in part by royal decrees; but we have no hint of any such decrees whatever in the royal books of the Bible. Why not? There are undoubtedly two answers. One is that many if not most were filtered out (...) the other is that those which were retained are now embedded within the Pentateuch under the guise of Mosaic authority.<sup>46</sup>

One case, however, seems to have escaped this editorial policy, where the lexicon appears to give us a clue of this royal governmental activity on a legal basis. The following passage from 1 Samuel narrates about David’s expedition against the Amalekites. Although not yet king, David seems to act as such when he set a fixed precedent (*wayəšimehā ləḥōq ūləmišpāt*) that warriors must share the spoils with non-combatants in the army. According to the classification put forward by Childs, the usage of the formula *‘ad hayyôm hazzeh* “unto this day” is a mark of redactional intervention with the function of legal aetiology.<sup>47</sup> Remarkably, this passage not only makes explicit the *terminus ad*

<sup>44</sup> See 2 Sam 8:15.

<sup>45</sup> See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 153–154.

<sup>46</sup> See Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, in particular 26–53, here 27.

<sup>47</sup> Childs argues on linguistic grounds that very often the formula *‘d hywm hzh* “has been secondarily added as a redactional commentary on existing traditions”; this formula was mostly used to validate some aspects of the tradition that can still be verified in his own time; see Brevard S. Childs, “A Study of the formula ‘Until this day,’” *JBL* 82 (1963): 279–292, here 290. Furthermore, Geoghegan attributes this particular intervention to the “History of David rise’s source”, providing relevant examples. He explains the occurrence of the formula in 1 Sam 27:6 as a political aetiology, aimed at giving a reason for the origin of the dominion of Judah on the city of Ziklag; then he mentions 2 Sam 4:3, which consists of an ethnic aetiology about the presence of Beerothies in Gittaim; see Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, “‘Until this day’ and the Pre-exilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 201–227, here 206. The introduction of this material can be explained by the fact that such traditions were not rooted on the canonical writings

*quem* ('*ad hayyôm hazzeh*, the time deixis indicates the time of the editor) but also the *terminus a quo*, that is, the moment in which David has passed the judgment at stake:

1 Sam 30:25

*wyhy mhywm hhw' wm 'lh wysmh lhq wlmšpt lysr' l 'd hywm hzh*

"it was so from that day on, that he (viz. David) made it as *a statute and an ordinance* for Israel unto this day."<sup>48</sup>

The judgment of David, mentioned in the previous verse, runs as follows:

1 Sam 30:24

*ky khqlq hyrd bmlḥmh wkhqlq hyšb 'l hklym yḥdw yḥlqw*

"For as is the share of him that goes down to the battle, so shall be the share of him that carries by the baggage; they shall share alike."

David issues (*śim*) a *ḥōq ūmišpāt* that settles a dispute among soldiers. Actually, David's action takes the form of a judgment *inter partes* about the sharing of the spoils of war, which later assumes a validity *erga omnes*, viz. the status of regulation with immediate effect.<sup>49</sup> Remarkably, no mention is made about acceptance on the part of the recipients of the judgment. The alternative proposal, to exclude from the spoils of war those who did not participate in the fight, put forward by the soldiers previously in the narrative<sup>50</sup> falls by the wayside, and the verdict of David imposes itself, silencing disputes: not only is it executed without reply as an order, but also it is enacted as a *ḥōq*.

The usage of the binomial *ḥōq ūmišpāt* shows notable developments within LBH1. To begin with, the phrase occurs in parallel with *tōrat YHWH*. As I men-

---

attributed to Moses, and then needed to be justified through their aetiologies and the reference to a different accepted authority such as king David.

<sup>48</sup> Among modern translations, the majority opts for "a statute and an ordinance" (NASB; NIV; NKJV; RSV); in some cases, the translators read the expression as a hendiadys: "a binding ordinance" (NET), "a fixed rule" (NJPS). Hertzberg chooses "and from that day forward he made it *a statute and an ordinance* for Israel to this day"; see Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 226; McCarter, on the other hand, renders "a statute and custom"; see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 430; compare NJB "a rule and a custom."

<sup>49</sup> The reasoning behind this rule is characteristic of the Israelite ideology of warfare: victory belongs to YHWH alone. No man, therefore, whatever his contribution to the battle, has any claim over another; all share the spoils alike (compare Deut 20:14).

<sup>50</sup> See 1 Sam 30:22.

tioned above, the verb *dāraš* in its late meaning “to research” appears among the verbal selectors of *tōraṭ YHWH* and has a remarkable impact on the reading of this nominal expression. Hurvitz pointed out that all the selectees of *dāraš* in post-exilic writings, viz. *tōrâ*, *ḥuqqîm*,<sup>51</sup> *mišwōt*, *piqqûdîm*, share the feature of designating objects that have come to us “in the form of written texts.”<sup>52</sup> The close connection between the verbal root *dāraš* and written records is further highlighted by its nominal derivative, the noun *midrāš*, which is attested in a late linguistic layer with the overarching meaning “literary – written composition.”<sup>53</sup> For this reason, it seems reasonable to think that the pair *ḥōq ûmišpāṭ*, when used in parallel with *tōraṭ YHWH*, somehow hints at written documents. In fact, the binomial occurs as an object of *’āšâ*, which is the obvious verb for the duty of obedience throughout BH, and *lāmad* (*piel*):

Ezra 7:10

*ky ’zr’ ḥkyn lbbw ldrwš ’t twrt YHWH wl’št wllmd bysr’l ḥq wmšpṭ*

“For Ezra had set his heart to study the Torah of YHWH, and to do and to teach statutes and ordinances in Israel.”<sup>54</sup>

This usage of *ḥōq ûmišpāṭ* has important implications for semantics and reference. Based on the passage quoted above, a relation of inclusion can be assumed between *tōraṭ YHWH*, the hyperonymous expression, and *ḥōq ûmišpāṭ*. The passage would thus imply that Ezra draws his ability to educate the people from his knowledge of the Torah as a written document. I have already observed to what extent the usage of the expression *šîm ḥōq ûmišpāṭ* characterizes the action of administrators (Joseph) and kings (David). Now, the comparable expression *limmed ḥōq ûmišpāṭ* characterizes the activity of Ezra as a scribe.

<sup>51</sup> See Ps 119:155 (LBH2).

<sup>52</sup> Hurvitz has discussed in particular the occurrences of the verb in Ezra 7:10; 1 Chr 28:8; Ps 119:45.94; see Hurvitz, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical-Hebrew,” 9, and idem, “The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology,” *RB* 81 (1974): 24–56; see chapter 3 § 4.3.

<sup>53</sup> Compare 2 Chr 13:22 and 24:27; see Hurvitz, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical-Hebrew,” 9.

<sup>54</sup> Many modern translations understand the first infinitive construct *wl’št* as related to *twrt YHWH* with strong value, namely as indicating the purpose of the action of *ldrwš*, see Joüon, § 124 l; compare “For Ezra had set his heart to study the law of the Lord and to practice it, and to teach His statutes and ordinances in Israel” (NASB, RSV).

According to Artaxerxes's edict, quoted in full in the book,<sup>55</sup> the principal responsibility that was invested in Ezra consisted of the implementation and administration of Jewish law. Concerning his specific function, the Aramaic text of the edict says:

Ezra 7:25

w'nt 'zr' kḥkmt 'lhk dy bydk mny špṭyn wdynyn dy lhwn d'yynyn lkl 'mh dy b'br nhrh lkl yd'y dty 'lhk wdy l' yd' thwd'wn

“And you, Ezra, according to the wisdom of your God which is in your hand, appoint magistrates and judges who may judge all the people in the province Beyond the River, all such as know *the laws of your God*; and those who do not know them, *you shall teach.*” (RSV)

This charge is entirely consonant with what we know about the scribal function in general. As Williamson pointed out, in the present document Ezra is represented as an “important civil servant at the Achaemenid court with responsibility for the handling of all matters relating to the Jewish community in their relationship with the imperial crown.”<sup>56</sup> Although the reference to his civil authority would disappear completely from view in post-biblical history of interpretation, where Ezra would assume predominantly the role of a great religious leader, it is still discernible in the biblical narrative through the expression *ḥōq ūmišpāt*, which clearly recalls his executive power.<sup>57</sup>

Some additional observations must be made on the semantic development of the verb *lāmad* (*piel*) across time. The text type *limmed ḥōq ūmišpāt* occurs both in SBH1 (with both the nouns in the plural) and LBH1. In the former case the subject is Moshe, in the latter Ezra. Ezra's teaching of the law is, however, something remarkably different from Moses's.<sup>58</sup> Ezra derives his knowledge of the law from the study of written texts established as the legislative code in force for the Israelites, viz. *tōrat YHWH* and *ḥōq ūmišpāt* (both expressions rely on a unified and continuous conceptualization of the law),<sup>59</sup> and he teaches it accordingly. This understanding that focused on the study,

<sup>55</sup> See Ezra 7:12–26.

<sup>56</sup> See Hugh G.M. Williamson, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 70.

<sup>57</sup> Blenkinsopp considers *ḥq* related to basic provisions of the law, whereas *mšpṭ* to their application in judicial cases; see Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 139.

<sup>58</sup> Compare Deut 4:1.5.14.

<sup>59</sup> See chapter 5 § 3.1.2.



teaching, and hermeneutics of the law (along with its observance) arose already within LBH1 writings and had a determining impact on the subsequent development of rabbinic Judaism.<sup>60</sup>

### 1.3.2. Expression of Divine Authority?

Based on linguistic data, it is difficult to establish whether the action of *šîm ḥōq ûmišpāṭ* applies fundamentally to human agency or can be attributed directly to God as well. The occurrence of the clause in Exod 15:25, within a section apparently alien from the context, which narrates the Marah incident, seems to offer promising evidence for answering the question. This narrative unit is essential for the appraisal of the literary development of the book of Exodus as a whole; it is located immediately after the episode of the Red Sea and inaugurates the epic of the people's wanderings in the wilderness. Moreover, this is the first time that the people manifest their discontent toward the circumstances they must face by murmuring against Moses,<sup>61</sup> who is forced to turn to YHWH for help. God's response consists of healing the bitter waters of Marah so that the people can drink. The text is very dense and complex in terms of themes, composition, and redaction. The following passage constitutes its conclusion:

<sup>60</sup> See Williamson, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, especially 69 ff.; Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemia*, 137; Henri Cazelles, "La mission d'Esdras," *VT* 4 (1954): 113–140; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Sage, Scribe and Scribalism in the Chronicler's Work," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John Gammie and Leo Perdue (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 307–315, especially 312–314; Cornelis Houtman, "Ezra and the Law: Observations on the Supposed Relation Between Ezra and the Pentateuch," in *Remembering All the Way. A Collection of Old Testament Studies*, ed. Adam S. van der Woude, *OtSt* 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 91–115; R. North, "Civil authority in Ezra," *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1971), 377–404. For an overall study on the role and the importance of scribes within the history of Judaism, see Schaefer, Hans Heinrich, *Ezra der Schreiber*, *BHT* 5 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1930); Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period*, *JSOTSup* 291 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Martin S. Jaffe, *Torah in the Mouth. Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism 200 BCE-400 CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Leo G. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus. An Introduction to Wisdom in the Ages of Empires* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), especially 184–186.

<sup>61</sup> The first attestation of the verb *lwn l* "to murmur against" is found in Exod 15:24 *wylmw h'm l mšh* "so the people murmured against Moses"; the act of murmuring is understood in biblical narrative as a manifestation of disapproval, disobedience and rebellion against the leaders of the community and even against God; see K.D. Schunk, "לָוַן," *TDOT*, 7:509–512.



## Exod 15:25–26

wyš 'q 'l YHWH wywrhw YHWH 'š wyšlk 'l hmym wymtqw hmym šm šm lw hq wmšpř  
wšm nshw (26) wy 'mr 'm šmw' lqwl YHWH 'lhyk whyšr b 'ynyw t 'šh wh 'znt lmswtym wšmrt  
kl hqyw kl hmhlh 'šr šmty bmsrym l ' 'šym 'lym ky 'ny YHWH rp 'k

“And he (Moses) cried to YHWH; and YHWH showed him a tree, and he (Moses) threw it into the water, and the water became sweet. There *he*<sup>62</sup> set for them *rules and regulations*, and there *he*<sup>63</sup> tested them. And *he*<sup>64</sup> said, ‘If you will diligently listen to the voice of YHWH your God, and do that which is right in *his* eyes, and give ear to *his* commandments and keep all *his* statutes, I will put none of the diseases on you that I put on the Egyptians, for I am YHWH, your healer.’”<sup>65</sup>

Verse 26 presents a style markedly influenced by the Deuteronomistic discourse tradition.<sup>64</sup> Many scholars believe that verse 25b should also be attributed to the same “D-like” editorial layer.<sup>65</sup>

In terms of personal deixis, the reading of the passage represents a tricky question. Strictly speaking, the subject of the verbs *šām* and *nissāhū* (v. 25b) can be either Moses or YHWH. Moreover, the 3<sup>rd</sup> masculine singular personal pronoun suffixed to the verb *nāsā* (*piel*) may point, in principle, to Moses, to the people, or even to YHWH. So, who is testing whom?<sup>66</sup>

There is a consensus among scholars to read the passage as meaning that God tests the people. What exactly this test would consist of, however, remains a matter of debate. We can find diverging opinions among schol-

<sup>62</sup> As for the translation “them,” the pronoun *lw* is realistically coreferential with *h'm* in v. 15:24.

<sup>63</sup> See Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 573; Childs translates: “there he made for them a statute and an ordinance and there he put them to the test”; see Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1974), 265; NJPS, on the other hand, understands *hq wmšpř* as a hendiadys and renders it accordingly “a fixed rule”; see Harry M. Orlinsky, *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1969), 171.

<sup>64</sup> With, however, a number of caveats; see Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 267.

<sup>65</sup> Many scholars think that vv. 25b-26 display affinities with Deuteronomy and related literature and assess for this wording as a “D-like” language; see Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 575; see also Martin Noth, *Exodus*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 127; James Philip Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971), 171; and William Johnstone, *Exodus*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 82.

<sup>66</sup> It should be pointed out that the verb *nsh* (*piel*) is quite polisemous, and the modulation of its meaning depends largely on the subject; in Pentateuch God tests an individual or the people as a whole (Gen 22:1; Exod 16:4; 20:20; Deut 8:2.16; 13:4). Vice versa, the people tempt God (Exod 17:7; Num 14:22; Deut 6:16). Such a testing is possible also between men (Deut 33:8); see also Franz Josef Helfmeyer, “**נסד**,” *TDOT* 9:443–455.

ars. Cassuto, following Rashbam, linked the test to the experience of thirst.<sup>67</sup> According to Propp, on the other hand, the test consists of total obedience to the commandments,<sup>68</sup> assuming that even before Sinai, Israel's faith was tempered by the discipline of covenant duty.

Interestingly enough, the verb *nāsâ* (*piel*) applies to God in a remarkably similar context.<sup>69</sup> We read in the closing formula of the the narrative of Massah (Exod 17:1–7):

Exod 17:7

wyqr' šm hmqwm msh wmrybh 'l ryb bny ys'r' l w' l nstm 't YHWH l' mr hys' YHWH bqrbr-  
nw 'm 'yn

“And he called the place Massah and Meribah because the contention of the Israelites and because *they tested* YHWH saying, ‘Is YHWH among us or not?’”

In this case the personal deixis is overt and plain. It is the people who test YHWH through their contending (*rîb*).

The same vagueness affects the expression *šim ḥōq ūmišpāt* in Exod 15:25b. Understanding the action as attributed to God's agency is far from being plain. What kind of *ḥōq ūmišpāt* does God establish for Israel at Marah? Although Jewish traditional interpretation holds that several basic norms were enacted or reiterated at Marah,<sup>70</sup> I think that it is advisable to assign a generic

<sup>67</sup> See Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), 184; compare Deut 8:15-16; Judg 2:22; 3:1.

<sup>68</sup> See Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 577–578; compare Gen 22:1; Exod 16:4; 20:20. This idea will come again to the fore later on, in particular in Wisdom discourse tradition. In Sir 4:16–17 it is about Wisdom that tests (*bhr*) the wise to determine whether or not he will remain faithful to her: *ybhṛmw bnsywnwt* “he will be proven worthy through trials”; the reference to the commandments turns out to be explicit in the LXX's version, where we find *πειράσει αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτῆς* “and She (Wisdom) will test him with her statutes” (Wright, *NETS*).

<sup>69</sup> Some scholars have envisaged a kind of melting of these two traditions; see Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 268.

<sup>70</sup> See *Tg.Ps.-J.* Exod 15:25 *tmn šwy lyh mymr' dYY gzrt šbt' wqyym 'yqr 'b' w'm' dyny pd'' wmišqwy wqnsyn dmqnsy lhyyby' wtmn nsyy' bnysyywn' šyryt'* “and there the Word of the Lord appointed to him the ordinance (*gzrt*) of the Sabbath, and the statute (*wqyym*) of honouring father and mother, the judgments (*dyny*) concerning wounds and injuries, and the punishments with which offenders are punished; and there he tried (them) with the tenth trial (*bnysyywn' šyryt'*).” According to the Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael on Exod 15:25, *ḥōq* refers precisely to the Sabbath, whereas *mišpāt* to the honouring of father and mother; whereas, according R. Eli' ezer Hamoda 'i, the first term points rather to rules against illicit relations (Lev 18:30), and the latter one to laws of ravishment, penalties, and injuries (see *Mek. Wayyassa' 1*); see also *b. Shab. 87b*; *b. Sanh. 56b*.

reading to the formula here, without reference to any specific regulation or statute, let alone the revelation of the Ten Commandments, which is later in the narrative. Perhaps the book of Exodus provides a clue that pre-Sinaitic Israel already had an acquaintance about what God's will was for his people, viz. confidence and obedience.

Nevertheless, one must admit that Moses as well is a good candidate as the subject of *šim ḥōq ūmišpāt*. He figures among the main actors throughout the narrative. Moreover, he is the subject of the immediately previous verbs (*wayyiš' aq*, *wayyôrêhû*, *wayyišlak*), and if it were also true for the verb *sām*, this would ensure the thematic continuity of the textual unit.<sup>71</sup>

#### 1.4. Divine Laws

The reading “divine laws” is mainly triggered by context. The syntagmatic patterns that elicit the modulation of this reading provide the following features: 1) the usage in the plural (*ḥuqqîm*); 2) the combination with pronominal suffixes pointing to YHWH<sup>72</sup> as the authority from which they originate (*ḥuqqay*, *ḥuqqāyw*); 3) the combination with a governed genitive as *hā' Ēlōhîm* with a similar semantic function (viz. agentive WOS); 4) the combination with a governed relative clauses specifying the origin of the laws or the medium between YHWH (their origin) and the people of Israel (their recipient);<sup>73</sup> 5) a combination of these modifiers.<sup>74</sup>

Since the activation of this reading strictly depends on this text type, the sense “divine laws” should be regarded as highly context-dependent. It turns

<sup>71</sup> It must be said, however, that assigning a subject to the following *wy'mr* (v. 15:26) is a very tricky operation in the light of the utterance it introduces. In fact, Moses represent the deictic centre of the first part of the utterance (see the reference of the pronouns in *b'ywyw*, *lmšwtyw* and *ḥgyw*). The deictic centre moves then abruptly to YHWH in the second part (see the verbs *šmty*, *l' šym* and the pronoun *'ny*). All this makes the interpretation of the whole passage quite difficult and argues in favour of a complex redactional activity on the textual material.

<sup>72</sup> See 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:61; 2 Kgs 17:15 (SBH1); 1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 34:31; Ezra 7:11; Neh 10:30 (LBH1).

<sup>73</sup> See *'šr 'nwky mlmd 'tkm l'šwt* “which I (Moses) teach you, to do them” (Deut 4:1); *'šr dbr mšh 'l bny ysr' l* “which Moses spoke unto the Israelites” (Deut 4:45); *'šr 'nwky mšwk hywm l'šwtm* “which I (Moses) command you this day, to do them” (Deut 7:11); *'šr ktb lkm* “which he (YHWH) wrote for you” (2 Kgs 17:37). In later linguistic layers, only the verb *šwh piel* occurs in such relative clauses, see: *'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh 'lysr' l* “which YHWH commanded Moses concerning Israel” (1 Chr 22:13); *'šr šwyt 't mšh 'bdk* “which you (YHWH) commanded Moses your servant” (Neh 1:7).

<sup>74</sup> See Deut 4:40; 27:10; 1 Kgs 8:58; 9:4 (SBH1); 2 Chr 7:17 (LBH1).

out to be, moreover, typical of the Deuteronomistic hortatory discourse tradition, which is focused on fidelity and obedience to the divine will as it is formulated in the teaching of Moses.

In this case, *ḥuqqîm* occurs not only in conjunction with *mišpāṭîm*<sup>75</sup> but also within more complex chains including *mišwâ*<sup>76</sup> and *tôrâ*,<sup>77</sup> conveying a discrete conceptualization of the divine will. There are few examples, however, in which the noun occurs in isolation,<sup>78</sup> specified by textual deictic elements as the demonstrative *'ēlleh* and the quantifier *kol*. These elements serve to circumscribe the reference of the noun or, in other words, to bound the nouns's conceptualization in the flow of narration.

This pattern of usage may also suggest the existence of different collections of such laws. What I can observe is that when the deictic *'ēlleh* designates clearly identifiable portions of text, it is about rules of private law, regulating family life and concerning in particular obligations (*'issār*), vows (*nēder*), and oaths (*šəbū'â*) made by women.

Num 30:17

*'lh ḥḥqym 'šr šwh 't mšh byn 'yš l' štw byn 'b lbtw bn 'ryh byt 'byh*

“These are the laws which YHWH commanded Moses, as between a man and his wife, and between a father and his daughter, while in her youth, within her father's house.” (RSV)

Based on the rules contained in Numbers 30, the father (if the woman is unmarried) or the husband (if the woman is married) are entitled to validate or cancel these female obligations; only the widow (*'almānâ*) and the disowned (*gərūšâ*) can evade this male control. According to Levine, this textual unit appears to be aimed especially at restricting the right of women to make verbal commitments that involved cost and value.<sup>79</sup>

In Deuteronomy, the textual type *kol ḥaḥuqqîm ḥā'ēlleh* occurs, however, in the scope of general exhortations to obey the law, both within SBH1 sections, as in the following case:

<sup>75</sup> See Deut 4:1.5.8.14; 1 Kgs 9:4 (SBH1); 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17 (LBH1).

<sup>76</sup> See Deut 7:11; 1 Kgs 8:58 (SBH1); 2 Chr 19:10; Neh 1:7; 10:30 (LBH1).

<sup>77</sup> See 2 Chr 33:8 (LBH1).

<sup>78</sup> See Deut 4:6; Num 30:17 (SBH1), compare also Deut 6:24 (SBH4).

<sup>79</sup> See Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 434; for a study on the institution of *nēder* “vow” in biblical Israel, see Jacques Berlinerblau, *The Vow and the Popular Religious Groups of Ancient Israel. A Philological and Sociological Inquiry*, JSOTSup 210 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

Deut 4:6

*wšmrtm w'šytm ky hw' ḥkmtkm wbyntkm l'yny h'mym 'šr yšm'wn 't kl ḥḡym h'lh w'm-  
rw rq 'm ḥkm wnbwn ḡwy ḡgdwl hzh*

“Keep and do <them>;<sup>80</sup> for that will be your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples, who, when they hear *all these laws*,<sup>81</sup> shall will say, ‘Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.’”<sup>82</sup> (RSV)

and within a section pertaining to SBH4, as in the following one:

Deut 6:24

*wyšwnw YHWH l'šwt 't kl ḥḡym h'lh lyr'h 't YHWH 'lḡynw lṡwb lnw kl ḡymym lḡytnw  
kḡym hzh*

“YHWH commanded us to put into practice *all these laws*, to revere YHWH our God, for our good always, that He might preserve us alive, as it is at this day.”<sup>83</sup>

### 1.5. The Idiomatic Combination *ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm*

Among the polynomial structures designating the will of God as a discrete set of rules and regulations to be observed and put into practice, the binomial *ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm* appears to be the most stable across functional languages<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Although the verbs *wšmrtm w'šytm* have no object here, it is sensible assuming that they refer to the previous mentioned *ḡym wmišpāṭîm*; see v. 4:5 “Behold, I have taught you *ḡym wmišpāṭîm*, even as YHWH my God commanded me, that you should do so in the midst of the land whither you go in to possess it.”

<sup>81</sup> Tigay translates “laws”; see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996).

<sup>82</sup> Weinfeld translates “this nation is nothing but a wise and discerning people”; Weinfeld *Deuteronomy 1-11*, 195.

<sup>83</sup> It is worth mentioning in the comment by Tigay about this verse: “Moses has a twofold purpose in teaching the laws: ensuring their performance and inculcating reverence for God. Thus the laws were not only an expression of reverence for God but also a mean of *teaching* reverence, like the theophany at Mount Sinai, the festivals, and reading the Teaching. The idea that the habit of observing God’s laws has the long-term effect of instilling reverence for him is expressed in the rabbinic statement that God would even tolerate Israel abandoning Him if it would observe His commandments, since that would lead Israel back to Him”; see Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 75.

<sup>84</sup> Within SBH1, compare Deut 4:1.5, and 8 (with the unified adjectival modifier *šaddîqîm* “righteous”); 4:14, and 45 (where it is preceded by *ḡā' edōṭ* “testimonies”); 7:11 (followed by *'et ḡam-mišwâ*); 1 Kgs 8:58 (preceded by *mišwōṭāyiw*); 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37 (followed by *hattôrâ wḡhammišwâ*). Regarding SBH4, compare Lev 26:46 (followed by *tôrâ*); Deut 5:1, and 31 (preceded by *kol ḡam-*

and the most fixed in the order of its components.<sup>85</sup> This pair designates something that structures the identity of any people; for Israel, something that is equal to *tôvâ*.<sup>86</sup> Among the verbal selectors of *ḥuqqîm ûmišpâṭîm*, viz. *šiwwâ*, *’āšâ*, *šāmar*, the verb *lāmad* (*piel*) has a particular significance in terms of frequency and salience within the Deuteronomic discourse:<sup>87</sup>

Deut 4:1

w’th yśr’l šm’ l ḥqym w’l hmšpṭym ’šr ’nky mlmd ’tkm

“And now, O Israel, give heed to *the laws and the ordinances* which I teach you”

Deut 4:5

r’h lmdty ’tkm ḥqym wmšpṭym k’šr šwny YHWH ’lhy

“Behold, I have taught you statutes and ordinances as YHWH my God commanded me”

Deut 4:14

w’ty šwh YHWH b’t hhw’ llmd ’tkm ḥqym wmšpṭym

“And YHWH commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and ordinances.”

The function of teaching strongly characterizes the figure of Moses<sup>88</sup> who embodies the archetype of all the functions that make up the community as such. The teaching responsibility is here particularly connected with the ex-

---

*mišwâ*); 6:1 (preceded by *hammišwâ*), and 20 (preceded by *hâ’ēdôt*); 11:32; 12:1; 26:16, and 17 (with *ûmmišwôtāyw* in between); Ezek 20:25 (with separate modifiers: *ḥuqqîm lō’ ṭôbîm ûmišpâṭîm lō’ yiḥyû bāhem*). Within SBH2, compare Mal 3:22. Within LBH1, compare 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17; 19:10; Neh 1:7 (preceded by *’et hammišwâ*); 10:30 (in reverse order). Regarding LBH2, see Neh 9:13 (*mišpâṭîm yōšārîm wəṭôrôt’ ’emet ḥuqqîm ûmišwôt ṭôbîm*), and Ps 147:19.

<sup>85</sup> The unique example of reverse order occurs in Neh 10:30, as previously highlighted.

<sup>86</sup> See Deut 4:8; see also chapter 5 § 3.1.1.

<sup>87</sup> See also Deut 4:5.14 (SBH1), and Deut 5:1.31; 6:1 (SBH4).

<sup>88</sup> As for the function of teaching in reference to the figure of Moses and its development within the biblical Israel, see A. S. Kapelrud, “מִדָּוָה,” *TDOT* 8:4–10; André Lemaire, “Education in Ancient Israel,” *ABD* 2:305–312; James L. Crenshaw, “Education in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 601–615; idem, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence*, AYBRL (New York: Yale University Press, 1998); Graham I. Davies, “Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. Emerton*, ed. John Day et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 199–211; Benno Landsberger, “Scribal Concepts of Education,” in *City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, December 4-7, 1958*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling and Robert MacAdams (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 94–123.

hortation to obey all the rules and regulations (pointing to a discrete conceptualization of the law).<sup>89</sup> The fact of providing reasons for obedience seems to be an integral part of the teacher's behavioral pattern. The main ones are generally formulated as follows:

Deut 4:1

*lm 'n tḥyw wb 'tm wyrštm 't h 'rṣ 'šr YHWH 'lhy 'btykm ntn lkm*

“that you may live, and go in and possess the land which YHWH, the God of your fathers, gives you.”

## 2. The Use of *ḥuqqâ*

The feminine variant *ḥuqqâ*<sup>90</sup> is attested 45 times in historical-narrative language, 44 times in SBH1 (17 in the singular, 27 in the plural), and once in LBH1 (in the plural). Concerning its overall distribution, the noun is typical of SBH4,<sup>91</sup> while it disappears altogether within the LBH1.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the morphological number seems to have a decisive impact on its usage. While the noun retains a certain autonomy in the singular, its usage is limited to synonymical chains in the plural,<sup>93</sup> pointing to the whole Israelite legislation conceptualized as a set of discrete entities, mostly within the Deuteronomic parenetic discourse and the writings influenced by this tradition.

### 2.1. Purity Regulation

The sense-nodule “purity regulation or rule” is triggered in context by the following syntagmatic types: 1) *ḥuqqat* ‘*ḏlām*; 2) *ḥuqqat* specified by governed genitives pointing to the matter to be regulated; 3) *haḥuqqâ hazzō 't* designating a textual section concerning a specific religious matter. Within SBH1,

<sup>89</sup> Ezra as well is said teaching *ḥq w mšpṭ*, see above chapter 4 § 1.3.

<sup>90</sup> See HALOT, 3153, that lists the following meanings: 1) “due”; 2) “(human) statute”; 3) “divine statute”; compare DCH 3:299-302, in which we find: 1) “statute, ordinance, law, decree”; 2) “statute, custom” of human beings; and BDB 3394, 1) “statute”; 2) pl. “statutes.”

<sup>91</sup> See Appendix 5, pages 416-417.

<sup>92</sup> Within the late languages, it occurs only in Ps 119:16 (LBH2), and Job 38:33 (LBH3).

<sup>93</sup> See Gen 26:5; Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15.45; 30:10.16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 9:6 (*mšwty ḥqwt*, with a peculiar asyndetic coordination); 11:11.34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13 (*mšwty ḥqwt*); 23:3; Jer 44:10.23.



these patterns characterize the usage of the term in the books of Exodus and Numbers. None of them is attested in Deuteronomy, within either SBH1 or SBH4 sections of this book.

The noun applies to religious regulations related to *Pesah*.<sup>94</sup> According to Propp, the usage of the formula *ḥuqqat ʿôlām* is representative of secondary editorial work aimed at expanding separate documents, namely ritual compendia, which consisted of lists of commands concerning various religious procedures intended for use by priests. These apodictic commands would have been textualized according the casuistic style that characterizes the priestly discourse tradition and would have been validated as *ḥuqqat ʿôlām*, viz. the official regulation to follow once for all.<sup>95</sup>

In addition to the regulation of *Pesah*, other religious rituals are marked like this,<sup>96</sup> namely the feast of unleavened bread (*ḥag hammaṣṣôt*),<sup>97</sup> or the regular involvement of grain offerings (*minḥâ*) and libations (*nesek*) as accompaniments of animal sacrifices,<sup>98</sup> or the purification procedure (mixture of ashes and living water) for persons or objects that had been contaminated by the dead.<sup>99</sup>

The technical meaning of the term, however, turns out to be mitigated when it refers to less crucial ritual aspects that should be retained as a permanent feature of a given ceremony. In the book of Numbers, for example, the use of trumpets for the gathering of the assembly is branded as *ləḥuqqat ʿôlām ləḏōrōtēkem*.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See Exod 12:14.43; Num 9:12.14.

<sup>95</sup> According to Propp, based on Cassuto, the “*Pesah* rule” can be reassembled from this material, consisting of a list alternating negative and positive injunctions, structured as follows: 1) Any foreigner’s son may not eat of it; 2) Any slave may eat of it; 3) A resident or a hiringling may not eat of it; 4) In one house it must be eaten; 5) A bone of it you must not break; 6) All Israel’s congregation must do it; 7) Any uncircumcised may not eat of it. This regulation would have been then expanded; see Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 375. A similar phenomenon of expansion of legal material has been assumed for the casuistic laws in Deuteronomy; see Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel. An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 333–341.

<sup>96</sup> The phrase *ḥuqqat ʿôlām* has been variously rendered by modern translators, compare “eternal rule” (Propp, AB); “permanent basis,” and “everlasting statute” (Levine, AB); “law for all time” (Milgrom, AB).

<sup>97</sup> See Exod 12:17; 13:10.

<sup>98</sup> See Num 15:15.

<sup>99</sup> See Num 19:10.21.

<sup>100</sup> See Num 10:8, see also Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 306.



## 2.2. Priestly Allocation

The expression *ḥuqqat* 'ōlām is vague in referential terms, since it can refer either to established rituals as described above or to an established quota. Within a section that includes a set of laws governing the duties of the priests, the tenth part (*ma* 'āšēr)<sup>101</sup> is the amount due to the priests by the Israelite people in exchange for their services on behalf of the community. This allocation is meant to be compensation for the territories not granted to Levites as they were to the other tribes:

Num 18:23-24

w'bd hlwy hw' 't 'bd t' hl mw' d whm yś' w' wnm ḥqt ' wlm ldrtykm wbtwk bny yśr' ll' yn-  
ḥlw nḥllh (v. 24) ky 't m' śr bny yśr' l' śr yrymw lYHWH trwmh nty llwym lnḥlh ' lkn ' mrty lhm  
btwk bny yśr' ll' ynḥlw nḥllh

“It (the tithes) is a permanent statutory allocation throughout your generation. But they (the Levites) will not receive a land grant among the Israelite people (24) for I have given to the Levites, in lieu of a granted estate, the tithes of the Israelite people, which they collect for YHWH as levied donations. Consequently, I have informed them that they will not receive a land grant among the Israelite people.” (Levine, AB)<sup>102</sup>

## 2.3. Rule, Provision

There is compelling textual evidence that the Nph *ḥuqqat* specified by a nominal complement pointing to the source of the rule must be read as a singulative structure.<sup>103</sup> This textual type suggests a bleached usage of *ḥuqqâ* which

<sup>101</sup> Here is meant the tenth part of the grain crops, fruits, and the increment of the flocks; originally it was probably a form of royal taxation of their subjects (compare 1 Sam 8:15-17), it is firstly mentioned as a temple taxation in Deuteronomy (see Deut 2:6.17-18); see Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 450.

<sup>102</sup> Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 439.

<sup>103</sup> Singulative is a term relating to form; in meaning such forms are singular; singulative is normally used when the singular form of a word is derived morphologically from some other form, typically a collective form, and carries a number marker (for example in Arbore, a Cushitic language, the form *lassa-n* “a loaf” is derived from *lassa* “bread”); see Corbett, *Number*, 17. In the cases here discussed I consider *ḥuqqat hattôrâ* and *ḥuqqat mišpât* as singulative structures syntactically derived from the collective reading of the respective governed nouns; see Giovanni Gobber, “Numerabilità, culminazione semantica e categorizzazione,” *Lanalisi linguistica e letteraria* 1 (1993): 149–173; and Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 49–50. Within such structures the

turns out to indicate a specific provision excerpted from a more complex system of laws conceptualized as a code (semantically speaking, an aggregate). This usage is typical of the book of Numbers, in which such a construction is attested both with *mišpāṭ* or *tôrâ* as complements.

### 2.3.1. The Text Type *ḥuqqat mišpāṭ*

This pattern occurs twice in the book of in Numbers.<sup>104</sup> We have already come across a rule of law (*ḥuqqat mišpāṭ*) providing for the territory of a man who died without leaving a male heir to pass to his daughter.<sup>105</sup> I will now focus on the other occurrence of this construct:

Num 35:29

*whyw 'lh lkm lhqt mšpṭ ldrtykm bkl mwšbtykm*

“These (the previous mentioned *mišpāṭim*) shall serve you as a *rule of law*<sup>106</sup> throughout your generations, in all your settlements.”<sup>107</sup>

It is not clear whether *'elleh* refers to what precedes (namely vv. 11–28) or to what follows (vv. 30–34) within the textual unit. It is reasonable to think that the demonstrative pronoun here closes the textual sub-section introduced by *'al hammišpāṭim hā 'elleh* (v. 24).<sup>108</sup> The unit limited by these discourse deictics treats the criminal procedure in the case of the inadvertent or acci-

---

noun *ḥuqqâ* functions as a *classifier*, i.e. a lexical item that allows to encode linguistically the expression of a singular and atomic entity starting from an aggregate or a homogeneous mass; Chierchia observes, moreover, that “Often the objects associated with classifiers display the behavior of ‘containers’ and are used to refer to their content”; see Gennaro Chierchia, “Plurality of Mass Nouns and the Notion of Semantic Parameter,” in *Events and Grammar*, ed. Susan Rothstein, Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 70 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), 53–103, here 73.

<sup>104</sup> See Num 27:11 and 35:29.

<sup>105</sup> See chapter 1 § 3.

<sup>106</sup> Compare modern translations “a statutory ordinance” (NASB; NET); “legal requirements” (NIV); “the legal rule” (NJB); “a statute of judgment” (NKJV); “a statute and ordinance” (RSV); “law of procedure” (NJPS).

<sup>107</sup> Levine renders here “judicial statute”; see Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 549, and 558.

<sup>108</sup> Namely, Num 35:22–24 “If, however, one knocked another down suddenly, without enmity, or threw any sort of tool at him without prior intent; (23) or let fall on him any deadly stone without noticing, so that he died – in a case where one was not the other’s enemy, or seeking to do him harm – the communal assembly shall adjudicate between the slayer and the restored of

dental taking of a human life (as opposed to premeditated murder previously regulated). The predicative phrase *lḥuqqat mišpāt* brings the plurality of provisions back to a thematic unit. The provisions included in the section, viz. laws on homicide or laws on homicide without premeditation (depending on the interpretation given to the demonstrative pronoun), are considered as a unified heading within the broader body of laws that govern the life of the community.

### 2.3.2. The Text Type *ḥuqqat hattôrâ*

The phrase *ḥuqqat hattôrâ*<sup>109</sup> appears to fulfill the same singulative function as its counterpart *ḥuqqat hammišpāt*. From this usage relevant information on the paradigmatic relationship between the lexemes *tôrâ* and *mišpāt* is derivable, namely we can ascertain their mutual semantic delimitation on syntagmatic grounds.

In Num 19:2 the expression *zō 't ḥuqqat hattôrâ 'ăšer šiwwâ YHWH* refers to a complex purification procedure to be followed in the event of contamination with a corpse that would defile the sanctuary. That procedure is used to restore the purity. In Num 31:21 the same wording (with the addition of *'et Mōšeh*) introduces a judgment passed by the priest Eleazar on the occasion of the war against the Midianites. Eleazar's disposition is about the spoils of war (vv. 22–24) and provides that plundered objects susceptible to ritual contamination had to be purified before they could be used by Israelites. Both provisions have to do with the restoration of ritual purity.

From the combined analysis of the two contexts, I can safely argue that the term *tôrâ* points to the “law of purity,” as a consistent system of rules managed by priests. According to Levine, the expression must be regarded as a redundant expression in Num 19:2.<sup>110</sup> I think, on the contrary, that in both occurrences its usage proves to be fully functional in semantic terms. Moreover,

---

the blood according to the (following) legal norms (*'al hammišpāṭim hā'ēlleh*); Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 549–550.

<sup>109</sup> See Num 19:2; 31:21, variously rendered by modern translations as “the statute of the law” (NASB; RSV); “the ordinance of the law” (NET); “legal precedent” (NEB); “a requirement of the law” (NIV); “a decree of the Law” (NJB); “the ordinance of the law” (NKJV); “the ritual law” (NJPS).

<sup>110</sup> Levine, for example, is of this opinion: “the combination *ḥuqqat hattôrâh* is redundant. It is unique to this verse, though each of its two components, *tôrâh* and *ḥuqqâh*, occurs frequently in priestly texts”; see Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 460.

I believe that the contrastive analysis of the phrases *ḥuqqat mišpāt* and *ḥuqqat hattôrâ* can shed a light on the meanings and mutual relations of the three items at stake within SBH1 and within SBH in general.

On the one hand, such constructions bear witness to the semantic bleaching of the noun *ḥuqqâ*, which comes to designate anything sufficiently consolidated to be considered a rule in non-specific, generic, and inclusive ways. On the other hand, the reading of the phrase *ḥuqqat hattôrâ* turns out to be referentially equal to the reading associated with the usage of *tôrâ* alone within SBH4.<sup>111</sup> In other words, the examples from SBH1 show clearly that *tôrâ* refers to the body of priestly instructions regarded as a consistent law of purity, distinct from *mišpāt* and *ḥuqqim ûmišpāṭim*. That being the case, the language must resort to singulative strategies in order to excerpt a single rule from that continuous set.

This is not the case for the juridical-cultic language, where the lexeme *tôrâ* can be used both for one specific rule (see the singular construct *tôrât* combined with a governed Nph pointing to the matter to be regulated)<sup>112</sup> and in the plural (*tôrôt*) for a multiplex discrete set of rules.<sup>113</sup>

#### 2.4. Custom

The meaning “custom” is correlated with the usage of *ḥuqqâ* in the plural, specified by governed complements (or pronominal suffixes) corresponding to ethnonyms, nouns designating human groups, or individuals. We find this text type instantiated in the following forms: *bəḥuqqôt Dāwid*,<sup>114</sup> *bəḥuqqôt haḡ-gôyim*,<sup>115</sup> *bəḥuqqôt Yisrā'el*,<sup>116</sup> and *kəḥuqqôtām kəmišpāṭām*.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>111</sup> See the examples discussed in chapter 3 § 1.

<sup>112</sup> See *twrt h'lh* “the law of purity (or priestly instruction intended as a law) concerning the burnt-offering” (Lev 6:2); *twrt ḥsr't* “the law of purity concerning leprosy” (Lev 14:57).

<sup>113</sup> See *lh ḥqym whmšpṭym whtwrt 'šr ntn YHWH bynw wbyn bny ysr'l bhr syny byd mšh* “these are the rules and regulations and the laws of purity which YHWH gave between him (YHWH) and the Israelites in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses” (Lev 26:46); see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 688.

<sup>114</sup> See 1 Kgs 3:3.

<sup>115</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:8; compare Ezek 11:12 (SBH4).

<sup>116</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:19.

<sup>117</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:34; concerning this context, it is tricky to assign an unequivocal reference to the pronominal suffixes, and the whole passage turns out to be rather vague, the text reads *'d hywm hzh hm 'šym kmšpṭym hr'šnym 'ynm yr'ym 't YHWH w'ynm 'šym khqtm wkmšpṭm wktwrh wkmšwt 'šr šwh YHWH 't bny'y'qb 'šr šm šmw ysr'l* “unto this day they do after the former *mišpāṭim*”

The passage at 2 Kgs 17:7–8 reads:

*wyhy ky h't w bny ysr 'l YHWH 'lhyhm ... wyyr'w 'lhyhm 'hrym* (8) *wylkw bhqwt hgwym*  
 “And it was so<sup>118</sup> because the Israelites had sinned against YHWH ... they wor-  
 shipped other gods (8) and and followed *the customs of the nations*.”<sup>119</sup>

they fear not YHWH, neither do they after their *huqqōt* and *mišpāṭim*, or after the *tôrâ* or after the *mišwâ* which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel.” Who are “they” in this context? The Samaritans perhaps, or maybe the peoples from Babylon, coming from Cutha, Avva, Hamath, Sepharvaim, mentioned in v. 24? In fact, the importation of foreign settlers into Samaria has been attributed to the king Sargon II by Assyrian texts; see Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 209. The king’s policy turned out producing an amalgam of religions and forms of worship. It must be said, however, that the phrase *khqtm wkmšptm* in v. 34 might point in principle also to the Israelites’ customs and traditions rather than to those of the people settled in Samaria from elsewhere.

<sup>118</sup> The passage here assumes an implicit reference to the fact that YHWH was angry with Israel. It is worth dealing briefly with the study of the Greek versions that may shade light on the MT’s text history in this case. The Vaticanus reading *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι ἤμαρτον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ*, chosen by Rahlfs in his LXX’s edition, reflects very closely its MT’s counterpart. The Greek Antiochene text, on the other hand, contains a significant *plus*, namely *καὶ ἐγένετο <ὀργή Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ δι>ὅτι ἤμαρτον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ* “the anger of the Lord was against Israel because the children of Israel had sinned against the Lord God” (compare Judg 2:20). Remarkably, such an addition is reflected also by the Old Latin version; see Julio Treballe, “Readings of the Old Latin (Beuron 91–95) Reflecting ‘Additions’ of the Antiochene Text in 3–4 Kingdoms,” in *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d’Aquila*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, *De Septuaginta Investigationes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 120–145. Given the reliability of the witnesses, it is sensible to believe that in the case of 2 Kgs 17:7 the Antiochene text preserves the OG reading, which later underwent re-  
 censional activity aimed at bringing the Greek text as close as possible to MT; see Jürgen Werlitz and Siegfried Kreuzer, “Basileion IV / Das vierte Buch der Königtümer / Das zweite Buch der Könige. Nach dem antiochenischen Text,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch, Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 946–977, here 964–965. The Antiochene reading would have had thus a different *Vorlage* with the Hebrew wording *’p YHWH ’l ysr ’l*. Moreover, such an addition makes a significant point, it reflects on YHWH’s anger being against Israel, explaining in the context precisely what led to Israel’s destruction. The harsh tone of this claim was probably the cause of its removal from the developing MT tradition and within the Greek tradition; see Jonathan M. Robker, “Samaria’s Downfall in the Versions: The Masoretic Text, Vaticanus, and the So-Called Lucianic Recension,” in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 133–144, here 141.

<sup>119</sup> Compare modern translations: “the customs of the nations” (NASB; RSV; NJPS); “the practices of the nations” (NET; NIV; NJB); “the statutes of the nations” (NKJV); and “the laws and customs” (NEB).

Many modern versions render *ḥuqqôṭ* as “statutes”; I think that this choice produces a stereotyped translation, which does not take into due account the polysemy of the noun and charges its reading with a legal nuance alien to the context in this case. The clause *wayyēlkū bəḥuqqôṭ ḥaggôyim* refers in a rather generic way to the fact that the Israelites had assimilated themselves to the customary practices of the peoples of the land of Canaan, especially in matters of cult. They worshipped other gods alongside YHWH, they built *bāmôṭ*, they set up pillars and sacred poles, they arranged open air cultic sites, or they integrated some of these practices into the cult of YHWH. Not to be outdone, Judah *wattēlkū bəḥuqqôṭ Yisrā’ēl ’āšer ’āšû* “followed the habits of Israel, to which Israel had become accustomed.”<sup>120</sup> A similar broad reading fits the following example as well, which applies to the behavior of Solomon:

1 Kgs 3:3

*wy’hb šlmh ’t YHWH llkt bḥqwt dwd ’byw rq bbmwt hw’ mzbḥ wmqṭyr*

“Solomon loved YHWH, following *the customs* of David his father, only he sacrificed and burnt incense at the high places.”<sup>121</sup>

It must be emphasized that *ḥuqqâ* once again displays a range of usages very similar to *mišpāṭ* in terms of both syntax and meaning.<sup>122</sup>

## 2.5. Divine Laws

The sense-nodule “divine laws” arises from the usage of *ḥuqqâ* in the plural, specified by genitive complements or pronominal suffixes designating YHWH.<sup>123</sup> An example of such a pattern is found in the exhortation addressed by God to king Solomon. God will reward the king’s obedience to the commandments with stability and success for the Davidic lineage and security and prosperity for the Israelites:

<sup>120</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:34.

<sup>121</sup> Compare modern translations: “the statutes of his father David” (NASB; NIV; NKJV; RSV); “the practices of his father David” (NET; NJPS); “the precepts of his father David” (NJB); “the precepts laid down by his father David” (NEB).

<sup>122</sup> See chapter 2 § 5.

<sup>123</sup> See Gen 26:5; Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15.45; 30:10; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12; 9:6 (parallel to 2 Chr 7:19); 11:11.34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13; 23:3; Jer 44:10.23 (SBH1).

1 Kgs 6:12

*hbyt hzh 'sr 'th bnh 'm tlk bhqty w't mšpṭy t'sh wšmrt 'l kl mšwty llkt bhm whqmtly 't dbry 'tk 'sr dbrty 'l dwd 'byk*

“Concerning this house that you are building, if you will walk *in my laws* and obey my rules and keep all my commandments and walk in them, then I will establish my word with you, which I spoke to David your father.”

### 3. Contrastive Analysis of the Greek Equivalents

The term *hōq*, unlike the nouns analyzed so far, has no stereotyped equivalent within the Greek versions. If we limit the investigation to the Hebrew corpus analyzed so far, viz. to SBH1 and LBH1, two Greek words cover the majority of occurrences: *πρόσταγμα* (17 times)<sup>124</sup> and *δικαίωμα* (13 times).<sup>125</sup> I also find other equivalents which appear to be expertly employed by the most skilled translators, namely *δόμα* and *δόσις*,<sup>126</sup> *συντάξις*,<sup>127</sup> *νόμιμον*,<sup>128</sup> *νόμος*,<sup>129</sup> and *μαρτύριον*.<sup>130</sup> If we extend the investigation to the entire LXX corpus, we discover the following distribution of these lexemes, arranged according to groups based on translational style:<sup>131</sup>

<sup>124</sup> See Exod 18:16.20; Judg 11:39; 1 Sam 30:25; 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58.61; 9:4; Ezra 7:10.11; Neh 1:7; 1 Chr 22:13; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:17; 33:8; 34:31; 35:25.

<sup>125</sup> See Exod 15:25.26; Deut 4:1.5.6.8.14.40.45; 7:11; 27:10; 2 Kgs 17:37; 2 Chr 19:10.

<sup>126</sup> See Gen 47:22.26.

<sup>127</sup> See Exod 5:14.

<sup>128</sup> See Exod 12:24.

<sup>129</sup> See Josh 24:25.

<sup>130</sup> See 2 Kgs 17:15.

<sup>131</sup> Concerning the “translations in Good koinè Greek” group, the following equivalents must be added to the list, although their use is entirely marginal: *ἐντολή* (Deut 16:12); *διαλείπω* (Isa 5:14); *συντάξις* (Exod 5:14); and *δόμα* (Gen 47:22). Concerning the “literal versions” group, also the following equivalents deserve to be mentioned: *νόμος* (Jer 31:36); *ἀκριβασμός* (Judg A 5:15; this equivalent is typical of Aquila recension; compare Gen 47:22; Deut 4:14; 6:17.20); *ἐξικνούμενοι* (Judg B 5:15); *μαρτύριον* (2 Kgs 17:15). Finally, it is worth adding that *δικαίωμα* occurs as an equivalent of *hōq* also in Ezek 36:27. Thackeray considered Ezek 36:24–38 section as a translation unit incorporated in the LXX tradition from another source, namely “an early Christian Pentecost lesson ..., the lectionary use of which was inherited from Judaism, is clearly marked off from its context by peculiarities of style”; see Henry St. J. Thackeray, “Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk,” *JTS* 12 (1911): 191–213, here 210; see also idem, “The Greek Translators of Ezekiel,” *JTS* 4 (1903): 398–411, in particular 407–408; and idem, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, 11–12.

	Translations in Good Koinè Greek	Indifferent	Literal versions
δικαίωμα	x21 Exod 15:25.26 Num 30:17 Deut 4:1.5.6.8.14.40.45; 5:1.31; 6:1.17.20.24; 7:11; 17:19; 26:16.17; 27:10	x24 Ps 50:16; 105:45; 119:5.8. 12. 23.26. 33. 48. 54. 64.68. 71. 80.83. 112.117.118. 124. 135. 145. 155. 171; 147:19	x2 2 Kgs 17:37 2 Chr 19:10
νόμιμον	x15 Exod 12:24; 29:28; 30:21 Lev 6:11; 7:34; 10:11.13(x2).14(x2).15; 24:9 Num 18:8.11.19	x5 Ezek 16:27; 20:18 Mic 7:11 Zech 1:6 Mal 3:7	-
νόμος	x2 Lev 6:15 Josh 24:25	-	-
πρόσταγμα	x7 Gen 47:26 Exod 18:16.20 Lev 26:46 Deut 11:32; 12:1 Isa 24:5	x19 1 Sam 30:25 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58.61; 9:4 1 Chr 22:13; 29:19 Ps 2:7; 81:5; 94:20; 99:7; 105:10; 148:6 Jer 5:22 Ezek 20:25; 45:14 Mal 3:22 Amos 2:4	x10 Judg 11:39 2 Chr 7:17; 33:8; 34:31; 35:25 Ezra 7:10.11 Neh 1:7; 9:13.14 Mic 7:11 Zech 1:6 Mal 3:7 Ezek 16:27; 20:18

Table 4. Equivalents of *hōq* in the LXX translations.

The term *hūqqâ* as well does not have a stereotyped equivalent within the Greek versions. In this case the range of variants further widens, including *δικαίωμα*, *νόμος*, *πρόσταγμα*, *νόμιμον*, and in a single but significant case *διαστολή*.<sup>132</sup> Their distribution turns out to be as follows:<sup>133</sup>

<sup>132</sup> See Num 19:2.

<sup>133</sup> Concerning the “translations in Good koinè Greek” group, the following marginal equivalents must be added to the list: *κρίμα* (Lev 26:15). Concerning the “indifferent Greek versions” group I must mention also *έντολή* (Ezek 18:21). For the sake of completeness, *τροπή* should be included (Job 38:33) in the group named by Thackeray “literary paraphrases.”



	Translations in Good Koinè Greek	Indifferent	Literal versions
δικαίωμα	x12 Gen 26:5 Lev 25:18 Num 27:11; 31:21; 35:29 Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:45; 30:10.16	x9 2 Kgs 17:8.13.19.34 Ps 18:23; 89:32; 119:16 Mic 6:16 Ezek 5:6	x3 2 Sam 22:23 1 Kgs 2:3 2 Kgs 23:3
νόμιμον	x24 Exod 12:14.17; 27:21; 28:43 Lev 3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29.31.34; 17:7; 18:3.26.30; 20:23; 23:14.21.31.41; 24:3 Num 10:8; 18:23; 19:10.21	x4 Jer 10:3 Ezek 5:6.7; 18:19	-
νόμος	x10 Exod 12:43; 13:10 Lev 19:19.37 Num 9:3.12.14(x2); 15:15(x2)	-	-
πρόσταγμα	x6 Lev 18:4.5; 20:8.22; 26:3.43	x22 1 Kgs 3:3; 9:6; 11:11.38 2 Ch 7:19 Jer 5:24 Ezek 11:20; 18:9.17; 20:11.13.16.19.21.24; 33:15; 43:11(x2).18; 44:5.24; 46:14	x2 Jer 44:10.23

Table 5. Equivalents of *huqqâ* in the LXX translations.

If we extend the investigation to the original Greek compositions included in the LXX corpus that can be treated as pertaining to historical-narrative language, we discover that the distribution of these lexemes turns out to be as follows:<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> It is worth recalling that Thackeray included the First book of Maccabees in the “Good Koinè Greek translations” group, assuming a Hebrew *Vorlage* not extant for this book; concerning this writing the distribution is as follows: *δικαίωμα* 4 occurrences (1 Macc 1:13.49; 2:21.40); *νόμιμον* 6 occurrences (1 Macc 1:14.42.44; 3:21.29; 6:59); *πρόσταγμα* 7 occurrences (1 Macc 1:60; 2:18.23(x2).68; 6:23; 10:14). The noun *δικαίωμα* occurs also in 1 Esdr 8:7, in which case as well a Hebrew *Vorlage* is presumable.

πρόσταγμα: 6 occurrences (2 Macc 1:4; 2:2; 7:30; 10:8; 3 Macc 4:1; 7:11)  
 νόμιμον: 4 occurrences (2 Macc 4:11; 11:24; 3 Macc 1:3; 3:2)  
 δικαίωμα: no occurrences.

This remarkable variation can be explained in multiple ways and depends on multiple factors. Sometimes it seems to be attributable to the polysemy inherent in the Hebrew lexemes *hōq* and *hūqqâ*; at others it seems to be related to different translational styles, in which case, the semantics of the Hebrew terms is simply irrelevant. It happens that when *hōq* indicates customs or traditions, for example,<sup>135</sup> we come across the equivalent *πρόσταγμα*,<sup>136</sup> a lexeme with strong legal implications in idiomatic Greek, which clearly would not fit this particular sense-nodule of the Hebrew term.<sup>137</sup> This fact suggests that *πρόσταγμα* was probably already considered by those responsible for the translation units of Judges and 2 Chronicles as the established equivalent for *hōq*. This hypothesis is corroborated by the distribution of the equivalents in those translation units that are stylistically less oriented to the target-language, except for the case of the Psalm 119, where *δικαίωμα* clearly prevails.

Since each case has its own peculiar characteristics, it is useful to treat the most relevant equivalents separately in order to understand if and to what extent one can identify some logic underlying their use and their distribution.

### 3.1. The Equivalence *hōq*–*δόμα*

The equivalence *hōq*–*δόμα* is clearly related to semantic factors relevant to Hebrew. The contextual reading “allocation, quota” associated with the Hebrew noun, although largely triggered by context, was sharply isolated by the Pentateuch translators and rendered accordingly either as *δόμα*, *δόσις*,<sup>138</sup> or *συντάξις*.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> See Judg 11:39; 2 Chr 35:25.

<sup>136</sup> Regarding Judg 11:39, there is no difference between the A and B texts in this case.

<sup>137</sup> See chapter 2 § 4.2.

<sup>138</sup> See Gen 47:22.

<sup>139</sup> See § 1.1.; see also *LSJ*, s.v. “συντάξις,” especially the readings listed in II.3 heading, namely “assigned impost, tribute, levy”; compare the occurrences of the noun within documentary sources from the third century BCE, in particular [ύφ]ίσταται τοῦ ζυτοπωλίου [το]ῦ [έν] Φιλαδελφεία[ι] σύνταξιν δώσειν εἰς τὸ βασιλι[κ]ὸν τὴν ἡμέραν κριθῶν (άρταβῶν) ἕβ’ (he) under-

The lexeme δῶμα is a nominal derivative of the verb δίδωμι “to give.” Within the LXX, it is normally used to translate the nouns *mattānā* and *mattān* “gift, present,” also derived from the verb *nātan* “to give.” This felicitous equivalence thus matches the Hebrew counterpart both formally and semantically. Although δῶμα occurs very sporadically in Greek literature,<sup>140</sup> it is widely attested in the LXX, designating numerous referents. It is used for multiple types of gift or donations: cultic offerings (*ἑνὸν ἄρτον*),<sup>141</sup> donations made to relatives as compensation (*mattānā*),<sup>142</sup> donations by the king to his courtiers,<sup>143</sup> gifts of hospitality (*mattān*).<sup>144</sup> It is also used for the bride-price (*mōhar*)<sup>145</sup> and the inheritance of Zelophehad’s daughters.<sup>146</sup> The term is also employed figu-

---

takes to deliver the product (in beer) of 12 artabae of barley per day,” (*P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59199 line 4, Alexandria, 254 BCE); for the English translation, see Bauschatz, *Policing the Chōra*, here 321, n. 47.1; compare also and also *P.Rev. Laws* 43r line 12 (Arsinoites, 259–258 BCE).

<sup>140</sup> The term occurs twice in Ps.-Plato, *Def.* (415b-d), in which cases it is used to gloss either παρακαταθήκη “deposit of money or property entrusted to one’s care” (παρακαταθήκη δῶμα μετὰ πίστεως), and θυσία “offering incense to a deity” (θεῶν δῶμα θύματος); see *LSJ*, s.v. “δῶμα,” and Lee, *A lexical study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch*, 100.

<sup>141</sup> See Lev 7:30.

<sup>142</sup> See Gen 25:6.

<sup>143</sup> See 2 Sam 19:43, where the clause ἴμ νίσσει τὸ νίσσει “has he given us any gifts?” is rendered as ἡ δῶμα ἔδωκεν.

<sup>144</sup> See 1 Kgs 13:7.

<sup>145</sup> See 1 Sam 18:25. See also Gen 34:12 and Exod 22:15.16; in other cases, the Greek equivalent for *mōhar* is instead the more specific φερνή “dowry” (Gen 34:12; Exod 22:16). It must be stressed, however, that in Greek φερνή refers to assets that have to be collected by the bride’s family and given to the husband, in particular “ce substantive désigne l’apport de la mariée”; see Anne-Marie Vérilhac and Claude Vial, *Le Mariage grec du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. à l’époque d’Auguste*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplément 32; (Paris: De Boccard, 1998), especially 125–207, here 135. Vérilhac and Vial emphasize how in Greek culture and society the dowry was the obligation of the woman’s family. The institution designated by the Hebrew word *mōhar*, on the contrary, corresponds precisely to the bride-price (see HALOT, 4872 “bride-money”; BDB 5082 “purchase-price of wife” which the groom has to pay for the girl to his father), and has to be distinguished from the gift of marriage. According to Houtman, such a price must not be regarded as a purchase-price but as a compensation for the girl’s family for losing a worker and a member able to bear children; see Houtman, *Exodus*, 3:209; see also Werner Plautz, “Die Form der Eheschliessung im Alten Testament,” *ZAW* 76 (1964): 298–318; and Francesco Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2010). It is worth mentioning that φερνή is used with its genuine Greek meaning and reference in LXX original compositions (see 2 Macc 1:14).

<sup>146</sup> See Num 27:7. Strictly speaking, the *figura etymologica* δῶμα δώσεις renders an infinitive absolute (*nātōn tittēn* “you must certainly give”) Num 27:7. The noun δῶμα turns out to be equal to the following κατάσχισιν κληρονομίας “a hereditary holding” (*‘āhuzzat nahālā*).

ratively: Levites are a δόμα for YHWH and for the Israelites;<sup>147</sup> the priesthood itself is a δόμα for Levites.<sup>148</sup> In the historical-narrative language of 1 Maccabees the term is attested with the same vague meaning and applies mostly to gifts and immunities granted by the king,<sup>149</sup> gifts meant to ingratiate oneself with the king or officials,<sup>150</sup> or wedding gifts from the groom to the bride and her family.<sup>151</sup>

### 3.2. The Equivalence *ἡδῶ*—τὸ νόμιμον and τὰ νόμιμα

From the analysis of the LXX translation units characterized by a more idiomatic Greek usage and greater interest in producing a more stylistically refined text, I have the impression that some translators were inclined to regard the Pentateuchal *ἡυqqîm* (and *ἡυqqôî*) as “customs” rather than “laws” in the strictly juridical sense. The choice of the nominalization τὸ νόμιμον/τὰ νόμιμα seems to be a proof of that.

This equivalent fits the provisions for *Pesah*<sup>152</sup> and for the *ḥaggîm*,<sup>153</sup> the ceremonies prescribed for the *yôm ḥakippurîm* in Leviticus<sup>154</sup> and those regarding the day of the waving of the sheaf,<sup>155</sup> the prescriptions for the ritual of the red cow’s ashes<sup>156</sup> and other lustral ceremonies,<sup>157</sup> various procedures pertaining to the bloody sacrifice,<sup>158</sup> and the lamp maintenance.<sup>159</sup> It covers the division of sacrificial offerings,<sup>160</sup> the prescribed portion due to the priests from offerings and the manner of eating them.<sup>161</sup>

The term also fits less crucial aspects of rituals such as the washing of the

<sup>147</sup> See Num 3:9; 18:6.

<sup>148</sup> See Num 18:7.

<sup>149</sup> See 1 Macc 3:30; 10:39; 15:5.

<sup>150</sup> See 1 Macc 10:60; 12:43; 16:19.

<sup>151</sup> See 1 Macc 10:54.

<sup>152</sup> See Exod 12:24 (*ḥdῶ*) and 12:14 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>153</sup> See Exod 12:17; Lev 23:21.41 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>154</sup> See Lev 16:29.31.34; 23:31 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>155</sup> See Lev 23:14 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>156</sup> See Num 19:10 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>157</sup> See Num 19:21 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>158</sup> See Lev 17:17 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>159</sup> See Exod 27:21; Lev 24:3 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>160</sup> See Lev 3:17 (*ἡυqqâ*).

<sup>161</sup> See Exod 29:28; Lev 6:11; 7:34; 10:11.13(x2).14(x2).15; 24:9; Num 18:8.11.19 (*ḥdῶ*); Lev 7:36; Num 18:23 (*ἡυqqâ*).

hands before entering the tent to minister,<sup>162</sup> the vestments of priests,<sup>163</sup> and the prohibition of drinking wine before officiating.<sup>164</sup>

In the plural τὰ νόμιμα renders equally the divine law, binding for Israel, and the customs of other peoples, and this happens remarkably within the same textual unit, as the following examples show:

Lev 18:26

wšmrtm 'tm 't hqty w't mšpṭy

“You shall keep *my laws and my ordinances*”

LXX και φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ νόμιμά μου και πάντα τὰ προστάγματα μου

“You shall keep *all my* (viz. YHWH's) *precepts* and all my ordinances” (Büchner, NETS)

Lev 18:3

km 'sh 'rṣ mšrym 'šr yšbtm bh l' t'šw wkm 'sh 'rṣ kn 'n 'šr 'ny mby' 'tkm šmh l' t'šw wbhqt-yhm l' tlkw

“You must not do as they do in Egypt, where you used to live, and you must not do as they do in the land of Canaan, where I am bringing you. Do not follow *their customs*”<sup>165</sup>

LXX κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν ἣ κατῳκῆσατε ἐπ' αὐτῇ οὐ ποιήσετε και κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Χανααν εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ οὐ ποιήσετε και τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν οὐ πορεύσεσθε

“you shall not act according to the practices of the land of Egypt, wherein you lived, and you shall not act according to the practices of the land of Canaan, there where I am bringing you, and you shall not live *by their customs*.”<sup>166</sup>

In Greek historical-narrative language, the nominalization τὸ νόμιμον – either in the singular or in the plural – normally refers to customary behaviors, practices,<sup>167</sup> or habits applicable not only to ethnic communities or cities

<sup>162</sup> See Exod 30:21 (*hōq*).

<sup>163</sup> See Exod 28:43 (*huqqâ*).

<sup>164</sup> See Lev 10:9 (*huqqâ*).

<sup>165</sup> Modern translations opt for the inclusive “their practices” (NIV) or alternate the legally nuanced renderings “ordinances” (NKJV), “statutes,” and “laws” (NJPS).

<sup>166</sup> Compare: “by their precepts” (Büchner, NETS).

<sup>167</sup> It is often attested within the pair ἔθνη και νόμιμα, see Polybius, *Hist.* 6.29.12 “usage and custom.”

but also to individuals classified by their role or status. Polybius, for example, says that it was not τὰ βασιλικά νόμιμα in Illyria to prohibit private persons from taking booty at sea.<sup>168</sup>

The reference of the term is so vast that it ranges from behaviors and practices concerning clothing and make-up to the institutions that characterize the legal system of a specific city. This can be illustrated by some clear examples.

Habits like adorning with pencillings beneath the eyes (κεκοσμημένον και ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφή), rubbing rouge on the face (χρώματος ἐντρίψει), and using wigs of false hair (κόμαις προσθέτοις), are all termed νόμιμα among Medes.<sup>169</sup> Syracusians, Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aeginetae, who as Doric peoples share the same language and customs (καὶ αὐτοῖς τῆ αὐτῆ φωνῆ και νομίμοις), including rules and regulations.<sup>170</sup> The activity of Lycurgus – the legislator *par excellence* – consists in establishing the laws at Sparta (κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῆ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα).<sup>171</sup> Finally, some νόμιμα are shared by all people, as not killing heralds.<sup>172</sup>

1 Maccabees<sup>173</sup> and the original Greek compositions in the LXX bear witness to the same broad meaning for the nominalization τὰ νόμιμα. The lexeme is used for customs, institutions, and traditions of peoples<sup>174</sup> or regions.<sup>175</sup> It defines the way of life of the members of a given community, otherwise called ἀγωγή<sup>176</sup> or τοῦ πορεύεσθαι.<sup>177</sup>

1 Macc 6:59

καὶ στηῶμεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πορεύεσθαι τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν ὡς τὸ πρότερον χάριν γὰρ τῶν νομίμων αὐτῶν ὧν διεσκεδάσαμεν ὠργίσθησαν και ἐποίησαν ταῦτα πάντα

<sup>168</sup> See Polybius, *Hist.* 2.8.11.

<sup>169</sup> See Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.2.

<sup>170</sup> See Thucydides, *Hist.* 7.57.2.

<sup>171</sup> See Xenophon, *Lac.* 7.1.2.

<sup>172</sup> See Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.136.

<sup>173</sup> The nominalization τὰ νόμιμα remarkably occurs thirteen times in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc 1:14.42.44; 3:21.29; 6:59; 2 Macc 4:11; 11:24; 3 Macc 1:3; 3:2; 4 Macc 5:36; 7:15; 15:10).

<sup>174</sup> See τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν (1 Macc 1:14).

<sup>175</sup> See νομίμων ἀλλοτριῶν τῆς γῆς (1 Macc 1:44).

<sup>176</sup> For the meaning, see *LSJ*, s.v. “ἀγωγή,” in particular the heading II.4) “way of life,” “conduct”; this usage is attested also in documentary sources, see *P.Tebt.* 1.24 line 57 (Arsinoites, 117 BCE): μ[ο]χθηρὰν ἀγωγήν.

<sup>177</sup> For the meaning of the verb, see *LSJ*, s.v. “πορεύεσθαι,” especially II.3) “to live”; see also Polybius, *Hist.* 5.106.1.

“Let us allow them to follow *their own customs* as formerly, for on account of those customs, which we took away, they became angered and did all these things.” (Zervos, *NETS*)

2 Macc 11:24

ἀκηχοότες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ συνευδοκούντας τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μεταθέσει ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀγωγὴν αἰρετίζοντας ἀξιούντας συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ νόμιμα

“We have heard that the Jews do not accept our father’s decree for a change over to Greek ways but prefer their own pattern of life and ask that they be allowed to follow *their own (legal) usages*.” (Schaper, *NETS*)

The nominalization does not embed *per se* the reference to the legal status of these customary practices. The term νόμιμα as a collective noun applies to the ancestral customs of a given community that have been ratified by law over time or not. With the advent of the Hellenistic kings, any authority that comes to be in power over these communities, however, must deal with their customs, and often the issue becomes a battleground. The customs can be tolerated by the official authority (συγχωρεῖν);<sup>178</sup> otherwise, they can be changed (μεταβάλλειν),<sup>179</sup> renewed (καινίζειν),<sup>180</sup> abolished (καταλύειν, διασκεδάζειν),<sup>181</sup> or even suppressed (αἰρεῖν)<sup>182</sup> through authoritative decisions enforced by the imposition of penalties. These alterations can be either willingly accepted

<sup>178</sup> See 2 Macc 11:24; for the meaning of the verb, see *LSJ*, s.v. “συγχωρεῖν,” especially the meanings 2) “allow,” and 3) “concede, grant”; the verb is attested also in bureaucratic language of documentary sources, in which case the verb is used when two parts agree on a sum, a price, or a fee; compare *P.Entreux*. 25 (Ghoran Arsinoites, 222 BCE) [ο]ὐδ’ ὡς μοι δέδωκεν οὐθὲν τῶν συγχωρηθέντων “he did not give me any of the agreed-upon things”; see also *P.Mich.* 3.183 (Arsinoites, 182 BCE) συ<γ>χωρῶ ὑμῖν διαγράψαι Νικάνδρῳ Συρακοσίῳ τὸν φό[ρον το]ῦ ὄλου παραδείσου χαλκοῦ τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ “I agree with you that you are to pay to Nikandros, Syracusan, the rent for the entire garden, 48 talents of copper.”

<sup>179</sup> See 1 Macc 1:41–63.

<sup>180</sup> See 2 Macc 4:11; strictly speaking, the object of καινίζειν is ἔθισμούς in this context. The noun ἔθισμός is attested with the meaning “habits,” “which is customary” also in LXX translations, see *GELS*, 189; it is attested twice in LXX translations, mostly in adverbial expressions as κατὰ τὸν ἔθισμόν. In Gen 31:35, it is found in attributive function in the phrase τὸ κατ’ ἔθισμόν τῶν γυναικῶν “the usual women’s thing” (MT *drk nšym*) and refers to menstruations; in 1 Kgs 18:28 it points to the Baal priest’s customary ritual behavior of crying aloud and cutting themselves with blades.

<sup>181</sup> See, respectively, 2 Macc 4:11 and 1 Macc 6:59.

<sup>182</sup> See 1 Macc 3:29.

by the community (συνευδοκείν)<sup>183</sup> or experienced as violence and an abuse, causing discord and uprisings.<sup>184</sup>

### 3.3. The Equivalence *hōq*–*πρόσταγμα*

The equivalence *hōq*–*πρόσταγμα*, as also the noun *πρόσταγμα* alone, is scarcely attested within the LXX translations ascribable to the “Good Koinè Greek” group. In the book of Deuteronomy, for example, the use of this equivalence is exceptional and almost limited to the cases in which the Hebrew lexeme occurs in the pair *hmqām ūtišpāṭim*.<sup>185</sup>

The lexeme *πρόσταγμα* comes to the fore almost exclusively when the text makes explicit the authority that issues a given decision. Joseph “imposed as an ordinance” (ἔθετο ... εἰς πρόσταγμα);<sup>186</sup> Moses, acting like a magistrate, “passes judgment” (διακρίνειν) and “declares (συμβιβάζειν) the ordinance of God” (τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ);<sup>187</sup> God establishes his decrees between himself and Israel (ἔδωκεν κύριος ἀνά μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνά μέσον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ).<sup>188</sup> Unlike words pointing to a customary understanding of the rule at stake, viz. τὸ νόμιμον and νόμος,<sup>189</sup> the noun *πρόσταγμα* appears to be chosen when the au-

<sup>183</sup> See 2 Macc 11:24.

<sup>184</sup> See 1 Macc 3:21.29.

<sup>185</sup> See Deut 11:32 e 12:1.

<sup>186</sup> See Gen 47:26, see chapter 4 § 1.3.1.

<sup>187</sup> See Exod 18:16.20; for the usage of the verb *συμβιβάζειν* within the legal jargon, see *LSJ*, s.v. “*συμβιβάζειν*,” in particular the meanings listed as 2) “to bring to terms, reconcile,” and “to bring about an agreement”; compare *χσ[μβι]βασάντων*, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 61* (Methone Decrees, 430/29-424/3 BCE); for an English translation see Stanley M. Burstein, “*IG I<sup>3</sup> 61 and the Black Sea grain trade*,” in *Text and tradition. Studies in Greek history and historiography in honor of Mortimer Chambers*, ed. Ronald Mellor and Lawrence A. Tritle (Claremont: Regina Books, 1999), 93–104.

<sup>188</sup> See Lev 26:46.

<sup>189</sup> For the usage of *νόμος* in reference to customary laws, see Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” 209: “les papyrus ptolémaïques nous font connaître – outre les *νόμοι πολιτικοί*, « règles du droit grec commun » subordonnées aux *prostagma* et aux *diagrammata* royaux – et les *νόμοι τῆς χώρας*, « règles pratiquées par les autochtones », dont un « coutumier » local”; see also Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, “Les règles de droit dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, American Studies in Papyrology 1 (New Haven: American Society of Papyrologists, 1966), 125–173, here 151–154, 161; and idem, “Droit et justice dans le monde hellénistique au IIIe siècle avant notre ère : expérience lagide,” in *Mnēmê Georges A. Petropoulos*, vol. 1, ed. Arnaldo Biscardi, Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski and Hans J. Wolff (Athens: Ant. N. Sakkoulas, 1984), 55–77, here 57–60, and 70–72.



thority behind the provision is clearly recognizable. The same applies to the equivalence *huqqâ*–*πρόσταγμα*, which is attested exclusively in Leviticus for the expression *huqqōtāy* “my statutes” within divine speeches urging obedience.<sup>190</sup> In addition to *hōq* and *huqqâ*, the Greek substantive occurs within a number of Hebrew expressions pertaining to juridical-cultic language like *dāḅar haššamittâ* “the provision for the release” (τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἀφέσεως),<sup>191</sup> and *dāḅar hārōšēah* “the provision for the murderer” (τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ φονευτοῦ),<sup>192</sup> projecting on the extremely vague noun *dāḅār* a more distinctive legal nuance.

These data altogether suggest that translators expertly administered the use of *πρόσταγμα*. As I have shown above, the bureaucratic language of the Ptolemaic documentary sources coeval with the early LXX translations bears witness to the technical usage of the term for royal ordinances.<sup>193</sup> The noun appears to have been picked up by the translators precisely for its juridical implications. This happened only when they felt driven by the solemnity of the context to lend a more official-sounding meaning to various nouns that are often quite vague in semantic terms, such as *hōq*, *dāḅār*,<sup>194</sup> *mišwâ*,<sup>195</sup> *mišmeret*,<sup>196</sup> *mišpāt*,<sup>197</sup> and *peh*.<sup>198</sup> This leads me to think that the most refined among the translators, and especially those of the Pentateuch, were well aware of the technical meaning of *πρόσταγμα* and for this very reason they refrained from establishing a stereotyped equivalence between this word and any of the Hebrew terms above mentioned.

In original Greek compositions in the LXX ascribable to historical-narrative language, *πρόσταγμα* is used in manifold ways. In some attestations, it exhibits its idiomatic technical meaning “royal ordinance.”<sup>199</sup> It also applies, however, to decisions ratified through suffrage.<sup>200</sup> In other attestations, it

<sup>190</sup> See Lev 18:4.5; 20:8.22; 26:3.43.

<sup>191</sup> See Deut 15:2.

<sup>192</sup> See Deut 19:4.

<sup>193</sup> See chapter 2 § 4.2., see also Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” especially 208: “Le mot *πρόσταγμα*, après avoir désigné « l'ordre » ou « la prescription » en grec classique, il est spécialisé à l'époque hellénistique dans le sens de « ordinance royale » promulguée par les Lagides, source initiale de la volonté du souverain qui ne légifère pas à proprement parler, mais qui « ordonne », à la manière d'un chef militaire.”

<sup>194</sup> See Gen 24:50; Deut 15:2; 19:4.

<sup>195</sup> See Exod 20:6; Lev 4:2; 26:14.

<sup>196</sup> See Gen 26:5; Lev 18:30.

<sup>197</sup> See Lev 18:26; 19:37; 26:46.

<sup>198</sup> See Lev 24:12; Num 9:20.23; 33:38; 36:5.

<sup>199</sup> See 2 Macc 7:30; 3 Macc 4:1.

<sup>200</sup> See 2 Macc 10:8 *ἔδογμάτισαν δὲ μετὰ κοινοῦ προστάγματος καὶ ψηφίσματος* “they decreed by public ordinance” (Schaper, *NETS*).

points to the divine commandments,<sup>201</sup> in particular to dietary laws.<sup>202</sup> The authors of these works are clearly aware that the term belongs to a formal and official register. This can be seen also from the fact that they exploit its technical meaning in order to obtain dramatic contrast effects, as in the following case:

2 Macc 7:30

ὁ νεανίας εἶπεν ... οὐχ ὑπακούω τοῦ προστάγματος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ δὲ προστάγματος ἀκούω τοῦ νόμου τοῦ δοθέντος τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ Μωυσέως.

“The young man said ... ‘I will not obey *the king’s ordinance*, but I obey *the ordinance of the law that was given to our fathers through Moses*.’” (Schaper, NETS)

It is remarkable that according to the young Jew who delivers this speech before being killed by ordinance of the king, the king’s *πρόσταγμα* must give way not to the ordinance of God but to the dictate of a personified Law of Moses.

Finally, it is worth adding to this survey some observations concerning the usage of *πρόσταγμα* within the LXX book of Daniel and its Greek revisions. Although the noun *ḥōq* is not attested in the Hebrew sections of this text, the Greek term *πρόσταγμα* occurs 19 times. It is employed for rendering a few Aramaic and Hebrew words and expressions that designate either royal edicts and commands or divine messages revealed through visions. The expressions at stake are *dāṭ*,<sup>203</sup> *millat malkā*,<sup>204</sup> *dāḥar YHWH*,<sup>205</sup> *mišwōtāyw*,<sup>206</sup> and *dāḥār*, which points to the prophetic message.<sup>207</sup> It is surprising to see how consistently Theodotion’s revision treats these occurrences of *πρόσταγμα*, replacing it as appropriate with *γνώμη*,<sup>208</sup> *τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως*,<sup>209</sup> *λόγος κυρίου*,<sup>210</sup> *τὰς ἐντολάς σου*,<sup>211</sup> and *λόγος/λόγοι*.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>201</sup> See 2 Macc 1:4; 2 Macc 2:2.

<sup>202</sup> See 3 Macc 7:11 τὰ θεῖα ... *προστάγματα* “the divine ordinances.”

<sup>203</sup> See Dan 2:15.

<sup>204</sup> See Dan 3:22.

<sup>205</sup> See Dan 9:2.

<sup>206</sup> See Dan 9:4.

<sup>207</sup> See Dan 9:12.23.25; 10:1.11.15; 12:4.9.

<sup>208</sup> See Dan<sup>o</sup> 2:15.

<sup>209</sup> See Dan<sup>o</sup> 3:22.

<sup>210</sup> See Dan<sup>o</sup> 9:2.

<sup>211</sup> See Dan<sup>o</sup> 9:4.

<sup>212</sup> See Dan<sup>o</sup> 9:12.23.25; 10:1.11.15; 12:4.9.

### 3.4. The Equivalence *hōq*–δικαίωμα

The noun *δικαίωμα* stands out in terms of frequency among the equivalents of *hōq*, and it turns out to be the favorite for *hūqqâ*. Leaving aside for a moment the translation of Deuteronomy, I easily found that the attestations of *δικαίωμα* are far superior to those of any other available equivalent.<sup>213</sup> From the qualitative analysis of its usage, I could identify a few salient features. First, the occurrences of *δικαίωμα* appear to be limited to the cases in which the reading of *hōq* and *hūqqâ* is equal to “divine statutes.” Here is a collection of examples from the Pentateuch:

Gen 26:5

ὑπήκουσεν Αβρααμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἐφύλαξεν τὰ προστάγματα μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαίωματά μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου

“Your father Abraam obeyed my voice and kept my ordinances and my commandments and *my statutes* and my prescriptions.” (Hiebert, *NETS*)

MT *hūqqōtāy*

Exod 15:26

ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσης τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ποιήσης καὶ ἐνωτίση ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλάξης πάντα τὰ δικαίωματα αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν νόσον ἣν ἐπήγαγον τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐκ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σέ

“If you by paying attention listen to the voice of the Lord, your God, and do before him pleasing things, and give ear to his commandments, and keep *all his statutes*, every disease which I brought upon the Egyptians, I will not bring upon you.” (Perkins, *NETS*)

MT *kol hūqqāyw*

Lev 25:18

καὶ ποιήσετε πάντα τὰ δικαίωματά μου καὶ πάσας τὰς κρίσεις μου καὶ φυλάξασθε καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτὰ καὶ κατοικήσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεποιθότες

“And you shall observe *all my statutes* and all my judgments, and you shall guard yourselves and do them, and you shall dwell on the land feeling confident.” (Büchner, *NETS*)

MT *et hūqqōtāy*

Num 30:17

ταῦτα τὰ δικαίωματα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον πατρὸς καὶ θυγατρὸς ἐν νεότητι ἐν οἴκῳ πατρὸς

<sup>213</sup> The word *δικαίωμα* is used 25 times over 29 occurrences of the nouns *hq/hqh*.

“These are *all the statutes*, as many as the Lord commanded Moyses, between a man and his wife and between a father and his daughter in youth, in her father’s house.”  
(Flint, NETS)

MT *hāḥuqqîm*

Deut 4:6

καὶ φυλάξεσθε καὶ ποιήσετε ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σοφία ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ σύνεσις ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσοι ἐὰν ἀκούσωσιν πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα ταῦτα

“And you shall keep and do them, because this is your wisdom and discernment before all the nations, as many as might hear *all these statutes*.” (Peters, NETS)

MT *’et kol hāḥuqqîm hā’ēlleh*

Deut 8:11

πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ μὴ φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κρίματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον

“Take heed for yourself lest you forget the Lord your God, so as not to keep his commandments and his judgments, and *his statutes*, which I command you today.”  
(Peters, NETS)

MT *wāḥuqqōtāyw*

Before tackling the analysis of the equivalence beyond the Pentateuch, it is important to dwell briefly on the history of the word *δικαίωμα* in the Greek language. I begin with the attestations in literary writings, with special attention to the historical-narrative discourse tradition. Although the noun is exceptionally rare, it is attested with a certain frequency in the works of Thucydides.<sup>214</sup> The following is a typical example of its usage:

Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.41.1

δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν ἱκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους

“These, then, are *the considerations of right* which we urge upon you, and they are adequate according the institutions of the Hellenes.” (Forster Smith, LCL)

The narrative tells about an assembly that is convened to resolve the dis-

<sup>214</sup> See also *Hist.* 5.97.1 “as to pleas of justice (*δικαιώματι*), they think that neither the one nor the other lacks them,” and *Hist.* 6.79.2: “and it is monstrous if they, suspicious of what this fine plea of right (τοῦ καλοῦ δικαιώματος) really means in practice, are unreasonably prudent” (Forster Smith, LCL); see also Elie A. Bétant, *Lexicon Thucydideum* (Genevae: É. Carey, 1843), 259–260, namely the glosses: 1) “*iusta ratio, causae praesidium*,” 2) “*titulus, species, aequitatis confirmatio*.”

pute between Corinthians and Corcyraeans, members of the same league. The representatives of these cities confront each other in a public debate. This passage is taken from the conclusion of the Corinthians speech, where the expression *δικαιώματα τάδε* refers to what Hellenic law entitles them to claim as a right.

The frequency of the term is radically higher in documentary sources from Ptolemaic Egypt, in which its meaning appears to be rather technical, especially within the juridical language. Cadell devoted a special investigation to the usage of *δικαίωμα* in legal records from the third century BCE. Based on her database,<sup>215</sup> she has come to a set of conclusions that can be summarized as follows: 1) the litigants must appear before the judge with all the documents that support their claims or their defense, that is to say their *δικαιώματα*; 2) consequently, the *δικαιώματα* are documents closely related to the course of judicial proceedings, to the point that, without their production before the judge, the proceeding cannot *ipso facto* take place; 3) the *δικαιώματα* always contain texts having the force of law, viz. *προστάγματα*, *διαγράμματα*, *πολιτικοὶ νόμοι*, or *νόμοι τῆς χώρας*; 4) it is essential to recall their existence and their content (whether or not it is transcribed *verbatim* in the minutes) for the defendant.

Linguistically speaking, the lexeme *δικαιώματα* is often selected as a complement to verbs such as *ἔχειν* “to have, to have in hand” or *τιθέναι* “to put, to produce,” which clearly shows its concrete reading corresponding to a physical object, namely a written document. The following examples illustrate this point:

*P.Petr.* 3.21 line 39 (Krokodilopolis, Arsinoites, 227 BCE)<sup>216</sup>

[γραπ]τὸν λόγον θ[ε]μένης καὶ τὰ δικ[α]ιώματα

“producing both a written report and *the supporting documents*.”<sup>217</sup>

This papyrus informs us of a trial that pitted two Jews, a man called Dositheos against a woman called Herakleia. Dositheos accuses Herakleia of having badly insulted him. Herakleia must show up at the court with relevant documents in her defense. The *δικαιώματα* presented include the text of im-

<sup>215</sup> For the collection of the relevant material, see Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” she mentions in particular *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59368 line 6 (240 BCE); *P.Lille* 29.1 line 25 (third century BCE); *P.Petr.* 3.21 lines 39 and 41 (226 BCE); and *P.Hal.* 1 (third century BCE).

<sup>216</sup> It corresponds to *P.Gur.* 2 line 39.

<sup>217</sup> Compare: “(en présence de son tuteur, Aristidès fils d Prôtéas, Athénien de l'épigone) qui produisit à la fois un rapport écrit et les pièces justificatives”; Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” 212.

portant regulations essential for the reconstruction of the rules of law applicable to processes in the third century BCE Egypt.

*P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59368 lines 5–6 (Philadelphia, 240 BCE, letter from Sostratos to Zenon and Xenophon)

[καί] ἔχοντας πάντα τὰ δικαιώμαθ' ὅπως, καθότι ἤξιώκαμεν, ἐνθ' ἡμῖν κριθῶσιν  
 “Having all the relevant documents, as required, under these circumstances they brought us to trial.”

This document is about a procedure concerning beekeepers. The latter were improperly imprisoned for having moved out of the limits hives they had leased and whose swarms were lost for want of care, to the chagrin of two brothers, owners of these hives. In the line mentioned above, it is specifically requested that beekeepers present themselves with δικαιώματα “the relevant documents” so that the trial can take place.

Considering the meaning of the noun in documentary sources, the LXX equivalence *ḥōq*–δικαίωμα sounds rather peculiar. Which semantic development may have determined the overlap between the sense-nodule “divine statutes” and this noun? How can this particular usage be reconciled to the current meaning “supporting document” that the term clearly bears in the language of coeval judicial papyri?

Tov, on the one hand, has answered these questions by claiming that δικαίωμα is a typical example of “Greek word with Hebrew meaning.” In other words, the Greek lexeme underwent a semantic development in order to represent its Hebrew counterpart.<sup>218</sup> Such an explanation, however, leaves open the question why this particular word was picked up from the Greek vocabulary to represent *ḥōq*-*ḥuqqâ* and on what basis the semantic overlap of the equivalence was first established.

Other scholars have tried to solve the problem by analyzing the semantic development of the lexeme within the Greek language. Cadell has put forward a particularly fascinating and convincing alternative explanation. According to her view, the term underwent a metonymical extension already within the language of documentary sources, coming ultimately to designate collections made of copies of laws of any kind.<sup>219</sup> She argues that the judges could not

<sup>218</sup> See Tov, “Greek words and Hebrew meanings,” in particular 114.

<sup>219</sup> See Cadell, “Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque,” 220: “des sortes de recueils rassemblent les copies indispensables de textes de loi de nature diverse.”

have at the time, everywhere and even more in the villages of the countryside, a complete legal library that could collect in full the complex corpus of rules and regulations in force, together with their amendments, that they might have needed during a trial. It was therefore up to the parties and their lawyers to collect a copy of the relevant legal texts in a file.

The LXX would then witness to an idiosyncratic development of the noun *δικαίωμα*, namely the shift from the meaning “justification, pleadings, documents in a suit” to the metonymical reading “regulations, ordinances, laws.” This semantic development, internal to the Greek language, would then justify the overlap between the Greek noun *δικαίωμα* and the reading “laws” taken by lexemes such as *ḥuqqîm* and *ḥuqqôṭ* in the Hebrew Bible. The fact that such words often occur in chains of synonyms may have further favored this interpretation.

Although I find this explanation quite convincing, it must be emphasized that this usage of *δικαίωμα* is limited to the LXX translations. Moreover, the extent of the phenomenon can be further narrowed, since the equivalence *ḥōq*–*δικαίωμα* blurs in translations that are classified as literal or not particularly concerned with the Greek style<sup>220</sup> to the benefit of the noun *πρόσταγμα*. In fact, the case of *δικαίωμα* clearly shows that the analysis of a term in isolation cannot provide all the elements necessary for a correct appraisal of the translational phenomena at stake within the LXX corpus. If we integrate the framework sketched so far of the analysis conducted on the noun *πρόσταγμα*, we can better understand why some translators have opted for an innovative choice such as *δικαίωμα*.

I have shown that the word *πρόσταγμα* was probably used with an ideological connotation because of its close relation with the activity of the Hellenistic monarch. Cadell herself has observed that there were some points of contact between the agency of the Hellenistic monarch and the agency of God as it is represented in the Greek Bible. Nevertheless, the points of divergence were perhaps even more crucial in the eyes of the translators. Although the Ptolemaic monarchs, and the Hellenistic kings in general, represented the absolute power and embodied the law in their person, their legislative power, whatever its extent, was actually limited by a number of factors, the most relevant of which was probably the survival of a local customary law peculiar to the indigenous populations. The power of YHWH, on the other hand, expressed through his laws, had to be regarded as an absolute regulatory prin-

<sup>220</sup> This does not apply, however, to translation of Psalm 119.



ciple, not subject to any restriction or limitations. Most likely, this difference was considered so salient by the translators of the Pentateuch, as to justify the parsimonious use of *πρόσταγμα* and the introduction of the vaguer term *δικαίωμα*. This latter term was fresh and so to speak free to take on new interpretations and values, especially outside the bureaucratic jargon.

I now turn to the usage of *δικαίωμα* in original Greek compositions in the LXX. Within this corpus of texts, the reference to the divine laws turns out to be considerably diluted, and the reference to the legal sphere, so clear in the Greek documentary sources, appears quite attenuated. The noun is attested with a broader meaning, indicating in general the customs and institutions that characterize the identity of a given human group. Such a heritage unites the members of a community and separate that community from others. In the historical-narrative language, some *δικαιώματα* are classified as “ours,” and other *δικαιώματα* as “theirs.” The term thus does not exhibit any positive or negative nuance in terms of polarity. Syntagmatically speaking, it is attested neither in the singular<sup>221</sup> nor with open reference to God, which frequently happens in the LXX translations. In 1 Maccabees the expression *τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἐθνῶν* refers to those practices that characterized the Greeks, including the building of gymnasia.<sup>222</sup> The noun is used as a synonym of *τὰ νόμιμα*.<sup>223</sup> Lists of such *δικαιώματα* punctuate the text. In 1 Macc 1:49, Hellenized Jews are said to have changed all the customs (*ἀλλάξαι πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα*). This bitter observation concludes the section introduced by the following sentence:

<sup>221</sup> One exception escapes this rule, in Bar 2:17 we read *οὐχ οἱ τεθνηκότες ... δώσουσιν δόξαν και δικαίωμα τῷ κυρίῳ* “the dead ... will not give glory and justification to the Lord” (Michael, *NETS*). The expression *δόξαν και δικαίωμα* is echoed by the parallel *δόξαν και δικαιοσύνην* in the following verse. It is sensible to think that either *δόξαν και δικαίωμα* and *δόξαν και δικαιοσύνην* would imply the formula *kābôd ûšəḏāqâ* in Hebrew. Moore opts here for the rendering “glory and vindication,” explaining the difficult passage as follows: “the dead ones can neither praise the Lord nor testify to the justness of his action towards his people”; see Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: the Additions*, AB 44 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 288; see also Alison Salvesen, “Baruch with the Letter of Jeremiah,” in *The Apocrypha*, ed. Martin Goodman, The Oxford Bible Commentary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 112–119. I counted three further occurrences of *δικαίωμα* in Baruch, two of them within a confessional prayer (2:12.19), and one in the prophetic exhortation (4:13). The word occurs in plural in these cases and displays a pattern of usage more similar to that of the LXX’s versions; it designates the “divine precepts” (2:12; 4:13), or, with a considerable shift in perspective, the fathers and the kings’ “acts deemed righteous.”

<sup>222</sup> See 1 Macc 1:13.

<sup>223</sup> Compare the phrase *κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν* in 1 Macc 1:14.



1 Macc 1:44

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς βιβλία ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα πορευθῆναι ὀπίσω νομίμων ἀλλοτρίων τῆς γῆς

“The king sent letters by messengers to Jerusalem and the towns of Judah containing orders to follow customs foreign to the land.” (Goldstein, AB)

The changing of customs by the Jews has a manifold aspect. On the one hand, they abandon the cultic practices typical of the Jewish religion. In particular, they put a stop to burnt offerings, meal offerings, and libations in the temple,<sup>224</sup> they violate Sabbaths and festivals, they defile the temple and the holy things,<sup>225</sup> they leave their sons uncircumcised and forget the Torah.<sup>226</sup> On the other hand, the changing of customs consists in adopting alien practices. In particular they are said to build illicit altars and temples and idolatrous shrines and sacrifice swine and ritually unfit animals. The term *δικαιώματα* appears to be used with a very general and inclusive meaning, coming to designate institutions, traditions, or customs. The original legal meaning of the term turns out to be definitely attenuated.

The noun *δικαιώματα* is attested also in the binomial *νόμος καὶ δικαιώματα*,<sup>227</sup> with reference to the set of features that characterize the Jewish identity from a religious and cultural point of view. The maintenance of such *δικαιώματα* is represented as an essential point for the very survival of Jewish community within the speeches of exhortation to resistance pronounced by the Maccabean leaders:

1 Macc 2:40

καὶ εἶπεν ἀνὴρ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐὰν πάντες ποιήσωμεν ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν καὶ μὴ πολεμήσωμεν πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων ἡμῶν νῦν τάχιον ὀλεθρευούσουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

“If we all do as our brothers have done and do not fight against the gentiles for our life and our *traditions*, they will now quickly wipe us off the face of the earth.”<sup>228</sup>

<sup>224</sup> This is equal to put to an end the continual daily offering (*tāmīd*), as it is prescribed in Num 28:3–8 and described in Dan 8:11–13 and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5.4 §251; see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 221.

<sup>225</sup> See 1 Macc 1:45.

<sup>226</sup> See 1 Macc 1:49.

<sup>227</sup> See 1 Macc 2:21.

<sup>228</sup> Compare Goldstein’s rendering “laws”; the noun *δικαιώματα* functions here as synonymous of τὰ νόμιμα “customs,” but also “institutions”; Goldstein’s translation sounds too legally connoted in this context.

One last example deserves to be added. This lexeme occurs also within the additions to the book of Jeremiah, in a passage pertinent to the prayer of the exiled community,<sup>229</sup> which has a close parallel in the book of Daniel.<sup>230</sup> In the passage at stake *δικαιώματα* is attested with the meaning “human righteous deeds,”<sup>231</sup> that is witnessed also in NT writings<sup>232</sup>:

Bar 2:19

ἐπὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς καταβάλλειν τὸν ἔλεον ἡμῶν κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν

“for it is not *because of the merits of our fathers or our kings* that we present our humble plea before you” (Michael, *NETS*)

According to Thackeray, the book of Baruch from chapter 1 to 3:8 should be regarded as a literal version of a Hebrew text not extant. Thanks to the multiple sources that preserve this particular prayer, not only can we compare the Greek version contained in the book of Baruch with that handed down in the book of Daniel, but we can also establish a direct comparison of the Greek versions with an existing Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Dan 19:18

οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς δικαιοσύναις ἡμῶν<sup>233</sup>

MT *kī lō' al šidqōtēnū*

The usage of the noun *šādāqā* in the plural with the meaning “righteous acts” is attested in poetry since ABH and until LBH. It applies equally to the gracious acts of mercy made by God towards his faithful ones,<sup>234</sup> but also to

<sup>229</sup> See Bar 2:11–35; Moore leans towards a Greek original for this book, see Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: the Additions*, 259–260.

<sup>230</sup> See Dan 9:4–20. The two prayers come from a common source, probably a synagogal prayer used in various forms from the last pre-Christian centuries; see Louis F. Hartman, Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 248.

<sup>231</sup> See BDAG, s.v. “δικαίωμα,” in particular the meaning 2: “an action that meets expectations as to what is right or just, righteous deed.”

<sup>232</sup> See, for example, Rom 5:18 οὕτως καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαίωματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς “through one act of uprightness justification and life came to all human beings”; see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, AB 33 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 420.

<sup>233</sup> In this reading the OG and the Theodotion's revision agree.

<sup>234</sup> See Judg 5:11 (ABH); Mic 6:5; Isa 45:24 (SBH2); Ps 103:6; Dan 9:16 (LBH2).

meritorious deeds of people.<sup>235</sup> In the Greek version of Daniel, we find the obvious equivalent *δικαιοσύνη*. By the cross-examination of the available witnesses of this prayer, we can fully appreciate how much the reading of *δικαίωμα* attested by Baruch is an accurate anticipator of future developments.

### 3.5. The Equivalence *huqqâ*–*διαστολή*

Among the equivalents of *huqqâ*, the noun *διαστολή* deserves a separate treatment. Through the corpus-based analysis, I have been able to identify a few instances in which the Hebrew term occurs within singulative constructs such as *huqqat mišpāṭ*<sup>236</sup> and *huqqat hattôrâ*,<sup>237</sup> which basically serve to excerpt a single portion from a more complex system of regulations. I have argued that the meaning of *huqqâ* equals “provision, rule” in these cases. There is enough evidence to claim that the Pentateuch translators were able to discern the bleached reading of the Hebrew term within such phrases. In fact, their lexical choices, which fell basically on two equivalents, seem to prove this. On the one hand, they opted for *δικαίωμα*,<sup>238</sup> characterized, as I have shown, by a highly vague and flexible meaning. On the other hand, they picked up the noun *διαστολή*, which is quite exceptional in LXX translations.<sup>239</sup> The choice of this noun prompts some further considerations.

In Greek language, *διαστολή* displays the core meaning “distinction, separation, discrimination.”<sup>240</sup> It is used, however, also with the specialized meaning “detailed statement, explanation.”<sup>241</sup> Ptolemaic papyri from the second century BCE bear witness of this latter technical usage, which is put in

<sup>235</sup> See Isa 33:15; 64:5; Ps 11:7, in addition to Dan 19:18 (SBH2).

<sup>236</sup> See Num 27:11; 35:29.

<sup>237</sup> See Num 19:2; 31:21.

<sup>238</sup> See *δικαίωμα κρίσεως* (Num 27:11) and *δικαίωμα κρίματος* (Num 35:29).

<sup>239</sup> To be precise, it occurs only three times (Exod 8:23; Num 19:2; 30:7). For the meaning of *διαστολή* within the LXX, see GELS, 160: 1) “discrimination,” 2) “express, precise verbal statement”; see *κατὰ τὴν διαστολήν τῶν ξειλέων αὐτῆς* “in accordance with her own express, oral statement” (Exod 8:23), 3) “a tract of land agreed to be ceded”; see 1 Macc 8:7.

<sup>240</sup> See LSJ, s.v. “*διαστολή*”; this meaning would be attested also in the LXX, in particular in Exod 8:19 where *διαστολή* corresponds to the Hebrew *ḥōdūt* “redemption,” it must be mentioned, however, that the MT text is rather uncertain.

<sup>241</sup> See Preisigke 1:362, who lists six distinct meanings: 1) “Einzelübersicht,” “Lifte mit Angabe der Einzelkosten”; 2) “Einzelabmachung, Einzelbestimmungen eines Vertrages”; 3) “Austrag,

operation to name specific parts of larger written documents as the clauses of a contract.<sup>242</sup>

It is worth adding a telling example from the late historical-narrative language of Polybius, in which the verb διαστελλομαι takes νόμος as direct object:<sup>243</sup>

Polybius, *Hist.* 12.16.7

τὸν δὲ διαστείλασθαι τὸν νόμον, φήσαντα παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀγωγὴν αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι, παρ' οἷς ἂν ἔσχατον ἀδήριτον ἢ χρόνον τινὰ γεγονὸς τὸ διαμφισβητούμενον

He (the cosmopolis) *defined the law* as meaning that the abduction was always from the party who had last been in undisputed possession of the property for a certain time." (Paton, LCL)<sup>244</sup>

The magistrate uses a relevant article of law to settle an issue concerning the property. It is clearly not difficult, *mutatis mutandis*, to parallel this narrowed use of the verb διαστελλομαι with that of its nominal cognate witnessed in biblical translations.

---

Anordnung, Weisung, Verhaltensmaßregel"; 4) "Zahlungsauftrag"; 5) "Eingabe des Klägers, insbes des Gläubigers"; 6) "Abgabenart."

<sup>242</sup> See *P.Mich.* 3.182 lines 21–22 (Arrangement Regarding Payments, Krokodilopolis, 182 BCE): κατὰ τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς διαστολάς "according to the clauses in the contracts"; for the translation see Jane Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), n. 164. The phrase ἐν αὐταῖς refers to the previous mentioned συγγραφαί ("written contracts notarized and hand-written"); see Preisigke 2:495. See also *P.Genova* 3.108 (Arsinoites, 229/228 BCE) l. 8 αἱ διαστολαὶ δηλοῦνται ἐν [...] τῇ συγγραφῇ.

<sup>243</sup> See in particular the meaning "detaillierte (eingehende) Darstellung, Behandlung, Erklärung," in *Polybios-Lexikon*, 1:500; see also Jules-Albert de Foucault, *Recherches sur la langue et le style de Polybe* (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1972), 339: "explication détaillé."

<sup>244</sup> See Polybius, *The Histories*, 389.

## Chapter 5. Configurational Structure of the Linguistic notion of Rules and Regulations in BH Historical-narrative Language

**B**efore illustrating the conclusions of this lexical study, I briefly recall the principles that have served as its foundation. The meaning of a word within the theoretical framework of this work can be defined as

some kind of summation of conceptual content made accessible by the use of that word (as opposed to any other) in particular contexts”; the notion by which it is possible to describe its articulations is that of a nodule of sense, or a relatively autonomous unit of sense capable of playing an independent role in various semantic processes (...) which form and dissolve context change.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of my research has been thus to investigate the meaning of the words included in the field “rules and regulations” in BH historical-narrative language, within a lexicological model suitable to represent their semantic microstructure in terms of flexibility and variability. Within this reference model, the terms of sense relations such as synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy and meronymy are ultimately readings and sense-nodes. Even the semantic paradigmatic relations that a given word holds within the lexicon turn out to be radically affected by such dynamism. Finally, I tried to distinguish between more autonomous units of sense and fully context-dependent readings, through the identification of syntagmatic types associated to each sufficiently recognizable usage of the words analyzed. The output of my investigation will be summarized in the following paragraphs by means of an inventory of sense-nodes: each node entails an associated list of Hebrew lexemes distinguished by functional language, and a list of Greek equivalents

<sup>1</sup> See Cruse, “Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning,” 30.

splitted into the translation types identified by the Thackeray's grouping. The sub-units of sense listed in each paragraph have been assessed as less autonomous readings basically arising from meaning-composition operations.

## 1. Sense-nodules inventory

### 1.1. *Quota*

Quota is intended as a fixed share of something that a person or group is entitled to receive or compelled to provide.

SBH1

*ḥōq* (Gen 47:22x2; Exod 5:14)

*ḥuqqâ* (Num 18:23)

*mišpāt* (1 Sam 2:13; 1 Kgs 5:8)

LBH1

*mišwâ* (Neh 13:5)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè translations*

δόσις/δόμα (Gen 47:22)

συντάξεις (Exod 5:14)

νόμιμον (Num 18:23)

*Indifferent Greek*

δικαίωμα (1 Sam 2:13 → Κα)<sup>2</sup>

σύνταξις (1 Kgs 5:8 → Κγγ)<sup>3</sup>

*Literal versions*

ἐντολή (Neh 13:5)

<sup>2</sup> See n. 20 "Introduction".

<sup>3</sup> See n. 20 "Introduction".

## 1.2. Right

### 1.2.1. Equity

Equity is intended as what is legally correct, fair, and impartial.

SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 3:11; 6:38; 10:9)

LBH1

*mišpāṭ* (1 Chr 18:14; 2 Chr 9:8; Qoh 3:16; 5:7)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίσις (Gen 18:19)

*Indifferent Greek*

κρίμα (2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 3:11 → Kα/Kββ<sup>4</sup>; 1 Chr 18:14; 2 Chr 9:8)

κρίματα (1 Kgs 6:38 → Kββ)<sup>5</sup>

διάταξις (1 Kgs 10:9 → Kββ)<sup>6</sup>

*Literal versions*

κρίμα (Qoh 3:16; 5:7 → work similar to α')

### 1.2.2. Justice

Justice is intended as what is right, just, or as it should be and as such is also an attribute of God within the biblical corpus considered in this study. Justice in broad and *erga omnes* sense encompasses the ideas of wisdom, mercy, love, and covenant between God and his people.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 20 "Introduction".

<sup>5</sup> See n. 20 "Introduction".

<sup>6</sup> See n. 20 "Introduction".

SBH1

*mišpāt* (Gen 18:25; 1 Kgs 3:28)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίσις (Gen 18:25)

*Indifferent Greek*

δικαίωμα (1 Kgs 3:28 → Κββ)<sup>7</sup>

### 1.2.3. Rights

A right (or rights) is intended as a legal entitlement to have or do something.

SBH1

*mišpāt* (Exod 21:9; Deut 10:18; 1 Sam 10:25; 1 Kgs 8:45.49.59x2)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαίωμα (Exod 21:9)

κρίσις (Deut 10:18)

*Indifferent Greek*

δικαίωμα (1 Sam 10:25; 1 Kgs 8:45.49.59x2 → Κα/Κββ)

### 1.3. Judgment

In a broad sense, judgment points to the ability to make considered decisions or come to sensible conclusions; issuing judgment is conventional in legal contexts. The linguistic meanings associated with this concept are wide-ranging within the domain of the administration of justice, and they designate different aspects of the judicial proceedings necessary to enforce individual rights. The configurational structure of the notion of judgment in

<sup>7</sup> See n. 20 “Introduction”.



BH includes various processes and acts; it starts from a dispute in which one party proceeds against another. The litigants appeal to an individual or a body that holds the authority and the legitimacy to pass judgment. The proceedings end with the pronouncement of a verdict that is binding on both parties.

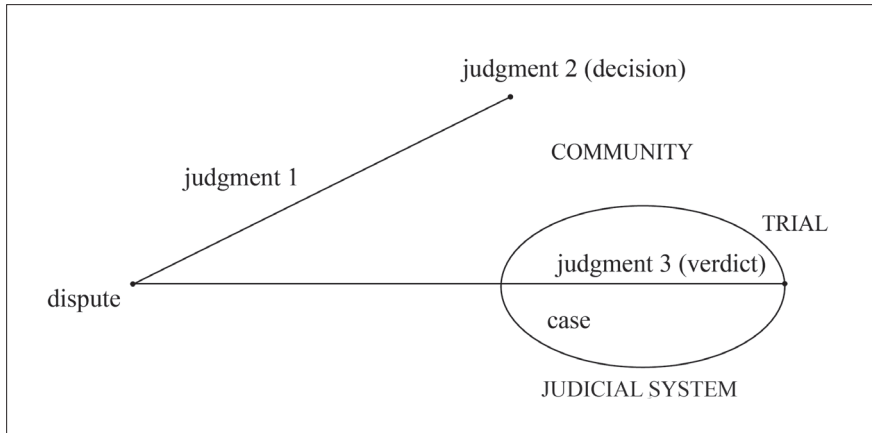


Figure 3. The configurational structure of the notion JUDGMENT that can be expressed linguistically

### 1.3.1. Dispute

SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (2 Sam 15:4)

Greek equivalents

*Literal version*

κρίσις

### 1.3.2. Case

SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Num 27:5)

## Greek equivalents

*Literal version*

κρίσις

## 1.3.3. Judgment

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Deut 1:17x2; Judg 4:5; 1 Sam 8:3; 2 Sam 15:2; 1 Kgs 7:7)

## LBH1

*mišpāṭ* (2 Chr 19:6)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίσις (Deut 1:17x2)

*Indifferent Greek*

δικαιώματα (1 Sam 8:3)

κρίνειν (1 Kgs 7:7) / κρίνεσθαι (Judg A 4:5)

κρίσις (2 Chr 19:6)

*Literal Versions*

κρίσις (Judg B 4:5; 2 Sam 15:2)

## 1.3.4. Trial

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Num 35:12; Josh 20:6; 2 Sam 15:6; Jer 52:9)

## LBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Qoh 11:9; 12:14)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίσις (Num 35:12)

*Literal versions*

κρίσις (2 Sam 15:6; Qoh 11:9; 12:14; Jer 52:9)

## 1.3.5. Verdict

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Num 27:21; 1 Kgs 3:28; 20:40; 2 Kgs 25:6)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίσις (Num 27:21)

*Indifferent Greek*

κρίμα (1 Kgs 3:28)

*Literal Version*

κρίσις (2 Kgs 25:6)

1.4. *Manner, Habits, and Customs*

## 1.4.1. Manner

Manner is intended as any way or fashion in which a thing is done or happens.

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Exod 21:31; Josh 6:15; 2 Kgs 1:7)

## LBH1

*mišpāṭ* (2 Chr 4:7.20; 30:16; Qoh 8:5.6)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαίωμα (Exod 21:31)

*Indifferent Greek*

κρίμα (2 Chr 4:7.20; 30:16)

*Literal versions*

κρίσις (2 Kgs 1:7; Qoh 8:5.6)

## 1.4.2. Habits

Habit (or habits) is intended as a consolidated social behavior.

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Judg 13:12; 1 Sam 8:9.11; 27:11)

## Greek equivalents

*Indifferent Greek*

δικαίωμα (1 Sam 8:9.11; 27:11)

κρίμα (Judg A 13:12)

*Literal versions*

κρίσις (Judg B 13:12)

## 1.4.3. Customs

Custom (or customs) is intended as a traditional and widely accepted way of behaving or performing something that is specific to a community, place, or time.

## SBH1

*mišpāṭ* (Gen 40:13; Num 9:14; Judg 18:7; 1 Kgs 18:28; 2 Kgs 11:14; 17:26x2.27.33.34x2.40)

*ḥuqqâ* (1 Kgs 3:3; 2 Kgs 17:8.19)

*ḥōq* (Judg 11:39)

## LBH1

*mišpāṭ* (1 Chr 6:17; 15:13; 23:31; 35:13)

*ḥōq* (2 Chr 35:25)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

ἀρχή (Gen 40:13)

σύνταξις (Num 9:14)

*Indifferent Greek*

ἔθισμός (1 Kgs 18:28)

κρίμα (1 Chr 15:13)

κρίσις (1 Chr 6:17; 23:31)

προστάγματα (1 Kgs 3:3)

σύγκρισις (Judg A 18:7)

*Literal versions*

δικαιώματα (2 Kgs 17:8.19)

κρίμα (2 Kgs 11:4; 17:26x2.27.33.34.40)

κρίσις (Judg B 18:7; 2 Kgs 17:34; 2 Chr 35:13)

πρόσταγμα (Judg 11:39; 2 Chr 35:25)

**1.5. Teaching**

Teaching is intended as a set of ideas or principles taught by an authority.

## 1.5.1. The Teaching of Moses

## SBH1

tôrâ (Deut 1:5; 4:8.44; 27:3.8; 28:58; 29:28; 31:9.11.12.24; 32:46)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

νόμος

## 1.5.2. The Teaching of Moses as the Israelitic Law

## SBH1

mišwâ (Deut 7:11; 8:1; 11:8.22; 27:1; 30:11; 31:5; Josh 22:3.5)

tôrâ (Josh 22:5)

## LBH1

*mišwâ* (2 Chr 8:13; 19:10; 31:21; Ezra 10:3)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

ἐντολή (Deut 30:11; Josh 22:3)

ἐντολαί (Deut 7:11; 8:1; 11:8.22; 27:1; 22:5; Josh 22:5)

νόμος (Josh 22:5)

*Indifferent Greek*

ἐντολή (2 Chr 19:10)

ἐντολαί (2 Chr 8:13)

προστάγματα (2 Chr 31:21)

*Literal versions*

ἐντολαί (Ezra 10:3)

## 1.5.3. The Torah of Moses as a norm

## SBH1

*tôrâ* (Deut 28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:26; Josh 1:7.8; 8:31.32; 23:6; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 22:8.11; 23:24)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

νόμος

*Literal versions*

νόμος (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 22:8.11; 23:24)

νόμοι (2 Kgs 14:6)

## 1.5.4. The Torah of God as a norm

## SBH1

*tôrâ* (Josh 24:26)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

νόμος

### 1.6. *Command*

#### 1.6.1. Order

Order is intended as a prescription imparted by an authority (namely by kings or directly by God) which is valid under specific circumstances.

SBH1

*mišwâ* (1 Sam 13:13; 1 Kgs 2:43; 13:21; 2 Kgs 18:36; Isa 36:21)

LBH1

*mišwâ* (2 Chr 24:21; 29:25; Esth 3:3; Qoh 8:5)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

τὸ προστάζει (Isa 36:21)

*Indifferent Greek*

ἐντολή (1 Sam 13:13; 1 Kgs 2:43; 13:21; 2 Chr 24:21; 29:25)

*Literal versions*

ἐντολή (2 Kgs 18:36; Qoh 8:5; Jer 35:16.18)

*Literary free renderings*

τὰ λεγόμενα (Esth 3:3)

#### 1.6.2. Will

Will is equal to the instructions as to what should be done after one's death.

SBH1

*mīšwâ* (Jer 35:14.16.18x2)

Greek equivalents

Literal versions

ἐντολή (Jer 35:16.18)

### 1.7. Rules and Regulations

#### 1.7.1. Continuous Conceptualizations

The following expressions encode a unified conceptualization of law as the system of rules that a particular community recognizes as regulating the actions of its members and that may be enforced by the imposition of penalties.

##### 1.7.1.1. Legislation

SBH1

*hōq ûmišpāt* (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25)

*mīšpāt* (Num 27:11)

*tôrâ* (Exod 12:49)

LBH1

*hōq ûmišpāt* (Ezra 7:10)

*mīšpāt* (Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:18)

Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαιώματα καὶ κρίσεις (Exod 15:25)

νόμος καὶ κρίσις (Josh 24:25)

κρίσις (Num 27:11)

νόμος (Exod 12:49)

*Indifferent Greek*

πρόσταγμα καὶ δικαίωμα (1 Sam 30:25)



*Literal versions*

προστάγματα καὶ κρίματα (Ezra 7:10)

κρίμα (Neh 8:18)

κρίσις (Ezra 3:4)

## 1.7.1.2. Law of Purity

SBH1

*tôrâ* (Num 31:21)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

νόμος

## 1.7.1.3. Israelitic Legislation

SBH1

*tôrâ* (Exod 13:9; 16:4; 24:12; Josh 8:34x2; 2 Kgs 10:31; 17:13.34.37; 21:8; 23:25)

*mišwâ* (Exod 24:12; 2 Kgs 17:34.37)

## LBH1 (Divine legislation)

*tôrâ* (1 Chr 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chr 12:1; 14:3; 15:3; 17:9; 19:10; 23:18; 25:4; 30:16; 31:3.4.21; 33:8; 34:14.15.19; 35:26; Ezra 3:2; 7:6.10; 10:3; Neh 8:1.2.3.7.8.9.13.14.18; 9:3; 10:29.30.35.37; 12:44; 13:3)

*mišwâ* (2 Chr 14:3).

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

ἐντολαί (Exod 24:12)

νόμος (Exod 13:9; 16:4; 24:12; Josh 8:34x2)

*Indifferent Greek*

ἐντολαί (2 Chr 12:1; 14:3)

ἐντολή (2 Chr 30:16)

λειτουργία οἴκου θεοῦ (2 Chr 31:4)

νόμος (1 Chr 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chr 14:3; 15:3; 17:9; 23:18; 25:4; 31:3.21; 33:8; 34:14.15.19)

πρόσταγμα (2 Chr 19:10)

*Literal versions*

νόμος (2 Chr 35:26; 3:2; 7:6.10; 10:3; Neh 8:1.2.3.7.8.9.13.14.18; 9:3; 10:29.30.35.37; 13:3)

## 1.7.2. Discrete Conceptualizations

The following expressions encode a discrete conceptualization of law as an aggregate of explicit or understood regulations, governing conducts, or procedures within a particular area of activity. The lexemes associated with each reading cover a specific type of statement that derives its coercive force from the authority that typically issues or maintains it.

## 1.7.2.1. Laws

SBH1

*ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm* (Deut 4:1.5.8.14; 5:1; 11:32; 1 Kgs 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37)

LBH1

*ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm* (1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17; 19:10; 33:8)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα (Deut 4:1.8; 5:1)

δικαιώματα καὶ κρίσεις (Deut 4:5.14)

προστάγματα καὶ κρίσεις (Deut 11:32)

*Indifferent Greek*

προστάγματα καὶ κρίματα (1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17; 33:8)

προστάγματα καὶ ἐντολαί (1 Kgs 9:4)

δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα (2 Chr 19:10)

*Literal versions*

δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα (2 Kgs 17:37)

## 1.7.2.2. Royal regulation

LBH1

*mišwâ* (2 Chr 8:14.15; 29:15.25; 30:6.12; 35:10.15.16; Neh 11:23; 12:24.45)

*mišpāṭ* (2 Chr 8:14)

## Greek equivalents

*Indifferent Greek*

ἐντολαί (2 Chr 8:14.15; 35:15)

ἐντολή (2 Chr 29:15.25; 35:10.16)

κρίσις (2 Chr 8:14)

πρόσταγμα (2 Chr 30:6.12)

*Literal versions*

ἐντολαί (Neh 12:45)

ἐντολή (Neh 11:23; 12:24)

## 1.7.2.3. Rule, Prescription (hyperonym)

SBH1

ἡυqâ (Num 19:2; 27:11; 31:21; 35:29)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

διαστολή (Num 19:2)

δικαίωμα (Num 27:11; 31:21; 35:29)

## 1.7.2.4. Specific Law

SBH1

mišpāṭ (Num 35:24)

ḥōq (Gen 47:26; Exod 12:24)

ἡυqâ (Exod 12:14.17.24.43; 13:10; Num 9:12.14x2; 10:8; 15:15x2; 19:10.21)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

κρίμα (Num 35:24)

νόμιμον (Exod 12:14.17.24; Num 10:8; 19:10.21)

νόμος (Exod 12:43; 13:10; Num 9:12.14x2; 13:10; 15:15x2)

πρόσταγμα (Gen 47:26)

## 1.7.2.5. Divine Instructions

SBH1

tôrōṭ (Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; 18:16.20)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

νόμιμα (Gen 26:5)

νόμος (Exod 16:28; 18:16.20)

## 1.7.2.6. Divine Commandments

## SBH1

*mišwōt* (Gen 26:5; Exod 15:26; 16:28; Num 36:13; Deut 4:2.40; 6:2; 7:9; 8:2.6.11; 10:13; 11:1.13.27.28; 27:10; 28:1.9.13.15.45; 30:8.10.16; Josh 22:5; Judg 2:17; 3:4; 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58.61; 9:6; 11:34.38; 14:8; 18:18; 2 Kgs 17:13.16.19; 18:6; 23:3)

## LBH1

*mišwōt* (1 Chr 28:7.8; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:19; 17:4; 24:20; 34:31; Ezra 7:11; 9:10.14; Neh 1:5.7.9; 10:30; Qoh 12:13)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

ἐντολαί (Gen 26:5; Exod 15:26; 16:28; Num 36:13; Deut 4:2.40; 6:2; 7:9; 8:2.6.11; 10:13; 11:1.13.27.28; 27:10; 28:1.9.13.15.45; 30:8.10.16; Josh 22:5)

*Indifferent*

ἐντολαί (Josh 22:5; Judg 3:4; 1 Kgs 3:14; 6:12; 8:58.61; 9:6; 11:34.38; 14:8; 18:18; 1 Chr 28:7.8; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:19; 17:4; 24:20; 34:31; Ezra 7:11; 9:10.14; Neh 1:5.7.9; 10:30)

*Literal*

ἐντολαί (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 17:13.16.19; 18:6; 23:3; Qoh 12:13)

λόγοι (Judg A 2:17, Indifferent Greek)

## 1.7.2.7. Divine Laws

## SBH1

*ἡυαῖ* (Exod 15:26; 18:16.20; Deut 4:6.40.45; 7:11; 27:10; 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58.61; 2 Kgs 17:15)

*ἡυαῖ* (Gen 26:5; Num 9:3; Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15.45; 30:10.16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12; 9:6; 11:11.33.34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13.34; 23:3; Jer 44:10.23)

## LBH1

*ἡυαῖ* (1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 34:31; Ezra 7:11; Neh 1:7; 10:30)

*ἡυαῖ* (2 Chr 7:19)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαιώματα (Gen 26:5; Exod 15:26; Deut 4:6.40.45; 6:2; 7:11; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 27:10; 28:45; 30:10.16)

νόμος (Num 9:3)

προστάγματα (Exod 18:16.20)

*Indifferent Greek*

προστάγματα (1 Kgs 3:14; 6:12; 8:58.61; 9:6; 11:11.33.34.38; 1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 7:19; 34:31)

*Literal versions*

δικαιώματα (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 17:13.34; 23:3)

προστάγματα (Ezra 7:11; Neh 1:7; Jer 44:10.23)

## 1.7.2.8. Divine Ordinances

## SBH1

*mišpāṭîm* (Exod 21:1; 24:3; Num 36:13; Deut 4:45; 7:11.12; 8:11; 11:1.32; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12; 8:58; 11:33)

## LBH1

*mišpāṭîm* (1 Chr 24:19; 28:7; 2 Chr 19:8; Neh 1:7; 10:30)

## Greek equivalents

*Good Koinè*

δικαιώματα (Exod 21:1; 24:3; Deut 7:12)

κρίματα (Num 36:13; Deut 4:45; 7:11; 8:11)

κρίσεις (Deut 11:1; 30:16)

σύγκρισις (Num 9:3)

*Indifferent Greek*

κρίματα (1 Chr 28:7)

κρίσις (1 Chr 24:19; 2 Chr 19:8)

προστάγματα (1 Kgs 8:58)

*Literal versions*

κρίματα (1 Kgs 2:3; Neh 1:7; 10:30)

### 1.8. *Obligation, Duty*

Obligation is intended as an act or a course of action to which a person is legally bound.

LBH1

*mšwâ* (Neh 10:33)

Greek equivalents

*Literal versions*

ἐντολαί

### 2. Synopsis

Sense-nodule		SBH1	LBH1	Good Koinè
Quota		<i>hq/hqh</i> <i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšwh</i>	δόσις/ δόμα συντάξεις νόμιμον
Right	Equity	<i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšpt</i>	κρίσις
	Justice	<i>mšpt</i>		κρίσις
	Rights	<i>mšpt</i>		δικαίωμα κρίσις
Judgment	Dispute	<i>mšpt</i>		κρίσις
	Case	<i>mšpt</i>		κρίσις
	Judgment	<i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšpt</i>	κρίσις
	Trial	<i>mšpt</i>		κρίσις
	Verdict	<i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšwh?</i>	κρίσις
Manners- customs	Fashion	<i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšpt</i>	δικαίωμα
	Habits	<i>mšpt</i>		δικαίωμα κρίμα
	Customs	<i>hq/hqh</i> <i>mšpt</i>	<i>mšpt</i>	ἀρχή σύνταξις
Teaching	Teaching of Moses	<i>twrh</i>		νόμος
	Teaching of Moses as the law for Israel	<i>twrh</i> <i>mšwh</i>	<i>mšwh</i>	ἐντολή ἐντολαί νόμος
	Torah (written record of the Mosaic teaching)	<i>twrh</i>		νόμος
	Torah (written record of divine law)	<i>twrh</i>		νόμος

Sense-nodule		SBH1	LBH1	Good Koinè	
Command	Order	<i>mšwh</i>	<i>mšwh</i>	τὸ προστάζει τὰ λεγόμενα	
	Will	<i>mšwh</i>		No examples	
Rules and regulations	Continuous conceptualization	Legislation	<i>hq wmšpt</i> <i>mšpt</i> <i>twrh</i>	<i>hq wmšpt</i> <i>mšpt</i>	δικαιώματα καὶ κρίσεις νόμος καὶ κρίσις κρίσις νόμος
		Law of purity	<i>twrh</i>		νόμος
		Legislation in force for Israel	<i>twrh</i> <i>mšwh</i>	<i>twrh</i> <i>mšwh</i>	νόμος ἐντολαί
		Legislation	<i>hqym</i> <i>wmšptym</i>	<i>hqym wmšptym</i>	δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα δικαιώματα καὶ κρίσεις προστάγματα καὶ κρίσεις
	Discrete conceptualization	Royal Decree		<i>mšwh</i> <i>mšpt</i>	No examples
		Rule, prescription	<i>hqh</i>		διαστολή δικαίωμα
		Law(s)	<i>hq/hqh</i>		νόμιμον νόμος πρόσταγμα
		Priestly instructions	<i>twrwt</i>		νόμιμα νόμος
		Divine commandments	<i>mšwt</i>		ἐντολαί
		Divine laws	<i>hqym/</i> <i>hqwt</i>	<i>mšwt</i> combinations	δικαιώματα νόμος προστάγματα
Divine ordinances	<i>mšptym</i>		δικαιώματα κρίματα κρίσεις σύγκρισις		
Obligation, duty			<i>mšwh</i>	ἐντολαί	

Table 6. Synopsis of the sense-nodules activated by the Hebrew words for “rules and regulations” and their equivalents in the LXX texts belonging to the group “Good Koinè Greek translations.”

### 3. Concluding Observations on the Sense-nodule Rules and Regulations

I can now single out the sense-nodule “rules and regulations” from the vast semantic spectrum encompassed by the usage of the words investigated and make some concluding remarks from its lexical coverage within BH historical-narrative language, both in synchronic and diachronic terms.

The following schema, elaborated by Talmy, has helped me to interpret the data collected with my corpus-based analysis. It describes the configurational structure of the notions that can be expressed linguistically:<sup>8</sup>

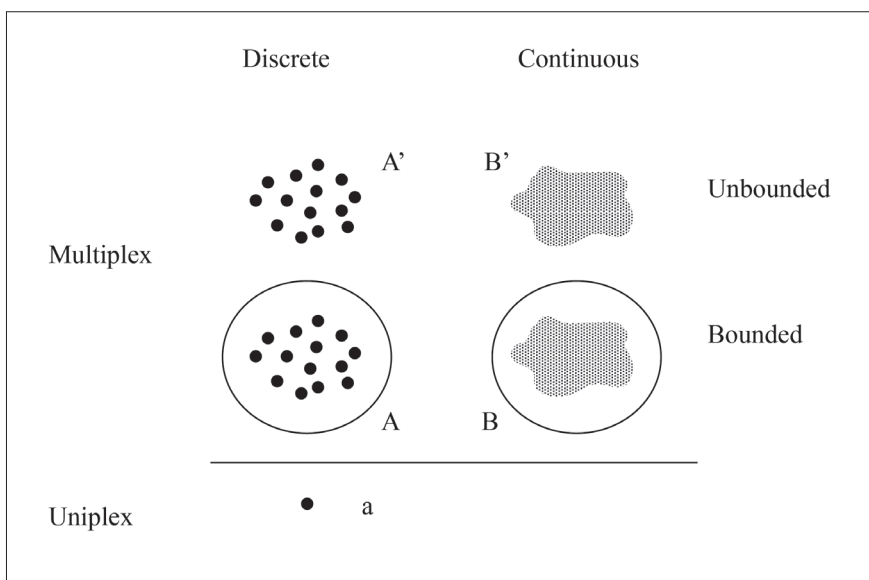


Figure 4. Entity's disposition in conceptual structuring of lexical notions

The three categories “plexity” (with the relevant values: multiplex vs. uniplex), “state of boundedness” (with the relevant values: unbounded vs. bounded), and “state of dividedness” (with the relevant values: discrete vs. continuous) constitute a complex of attributes that may be called “entity's disposition.” Each intersection of attributes in figure 4 can be represented by

<sup>8</sup> See Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 59.



various lexical items. If the referent for which one lexical item is chosen happens to be wedded by that lexical item to an unwanted set of structural specifications, there generally are grammatical means available for converting it to a desired set, as I will show later through some examples from my database.

### 3.1. Multiplex Configurations

With respect to the category *state of dividedness*,<sup>9</sup> the notion “rules and regulations” is represented within BH historical-narrative according two main configurational structures, one being discrete and one continuous.

#### 3.1.1. Discrete Configurations

The discrete configuration is globally the more frequent in SBH1 either unbounded or bounded. Many expressions serve purpose:

SBH1

*ḥuqqîm* plus *mišpāṭîm* (Deut 4:1.5.8.14; 5:1; 7:11; 11:32; 1 Kgs 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37)

*mišwōt* plus *ḥuqqōt* (Deut 10:13; 28:15.45; 30:10; 1 Kgs 9:6; 11:34; 2 Kgs 17:13)

*ḥuqqîm* plus *mišwōt* (Deut 4:40; 1 Kgs 3:14); and the reverse (Deut 27:10)

*ḥuqqōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* (Num 9:3; 1 Kgs 11:33)

*ḥuqqōt* plus *mišwōt* (Deut 6:2; 1 Kgs 11:38)

*ḥuqqîm* plus *tôrôt* (Exod 18:16.20)

*mišwōt* plus *ḥuqqîm* plus *mišpāṭîm* (1 Kgs 8:58)

*mišwōt* plus *ḥuqqōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* (Deut 30:16)

*mišwōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* (Num 36:13)

*mišwōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* plus *ḥuqqōt* (Deut 8:11)

*mišwōt* plus *tôrôt* (Exod 16:28)

*ḥuqqōt* plus *mišwōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* plus *‘ēdōt* (1 Kgs 2:3)

*ḥuqqōt* plus *mišpāṭîm* plus *mišwōt* (Deut 11:1)

*mišwōt* plus *ḥuqqōt* plus *tôrôt* (Gen 26:5)

*mišwōt* plus *‘ēdōt* plus *ḥuqqōt* (2 Kgs 23:3)

<sup>9</sup> According to Talmy: “State of dividedness refers to a quantity’s internal segmentation. A quantity is composite or (internally) discrete if it is conceptualized as having breaks, or interruptions, through its composition. Otherwise, the quantity is conceptualized as (internally) continuous”; see Talmy, *Concept Structuring Systems*, 55.

## LBH1

*ḥqym* plus *mišpāṭîm* (1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17; 33:8<sup>10</sup>)

*mišwōṭ* plus *ḥuqqîm* plus *mišpāṭîm* (2 Chr 19:10; Neh 1:7)

*ḥuqqōṭ* plus *mišwōṭ* (2 Chr 7:19)

*mišwōṭ* plus *‘ēdōṭ* plus *ḥuqqîm* (1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 34:31<sup>11</sup>)

*mišwōṭ* plus *mišpāṭîm* (1 Chr 28:7)

*mišwōṭ* plus *mišpāṭîm* plus *ḥuqqîm* (Neh 10:30)

Each of these expressions arises from an operation of multiplexing (a → A') uniplex entities by the simple grammatical means of morphological number. As uniplex entities, *mišwâ* refers to "order," *mišpāṭ* to "verdict," *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* to "law." Concerning *tôrâ*, the uniplex counterpart "(priestly) prescribed instruction" is attested only in juridical-cultic language (SBH4), while in historical-narrative language (SBH1) the lexeme occurs either in the reading "legislation" or as an element of the chains listed above. It must be stressed that in these combinations the specific purport of each lexical item turns out to be semantically bleached and highly under-specified.

In diachronic terms, the multiplex discrete configuration of the sense-nodule tends to crystallize in fixed expressions, as the table below shows:

Multiplex configuration	SBH1		LBH1	
	With conjuncts	In isolation	With conjuncts	In isolation
<i>mišwōṭ</i> "commandments"	21	23	7	9
<i>mišpāṭîm</i> "ordinances"	20	5	7	0
<i>ḥuqqōṭ</i> "statutes"	21	4	1	0
<i>ḥuqqîm</i> "statutes"	16	3	9	0
<i>tôrōṭ</i> "instructions"	4	0	0	0

Table 7. Number of occurrences in plural by lexemes.

<sup>10</sup> This verse is parallel to 2 Kgs 21:8.

<sup>11</sup> This verse is parallel to 2 Kgs 23:3.

We can here observe from the table that not only is *mišwâ* the most frequent term for statements with force of law, it also exhibits the highest degree of autonomy in its use in isolation. This fact can be appreciated both synchronously as diachronically. Items such as *mišpāṭîm*, *ḥuqqôṭ*, *ḥuqqîm*, and *tôrôṭ* used collectively for indicating “rules and regulations” completely lose their autonomy in LBH1. Their attestations are limited to chains of synonymous nouns that mark the rhetorical language of certain discourse traditions. Over time the expression *mišwâ* has increasingly assumed a dominant position in historical-narrative language ending up diverting this particular sense-nodule from the other terms. Moreover, it is very likely that this particular lexeme came as well to absorb the sense-nodes “verdict”<sup>12</sup> and “decree”<sup>13</sup> that are typically associated with the singular form of *mišpāṭ*<sup>14</sup> and *ḥôq*<sup>15</sup> in SBH1.

### 3.1.2. Continuous Configurations

The unbounded and continuous configuration of “rules and regulations” is lexically covered by the following expressions:

#### SBH1

*ḥôq ûmišpāṭ*, functioning as a hendiadys (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25)

*tôrâ* (Exod 12:49)

*mišwâ* (Exod 24:12; 2 Kgs 17:34.37)

*mišpāṭ* (Num 27:11)

#### LBH1

*ḥôq ûmišpāṭ*, functioning as a hendiadys (Ezra 7:10)

*tôrâ* (2 Chr 15:3; 19:10)

*mišpāṭ* (Neh 8:18)

The fact that the expressions occur within indefinite phrases plays a key role in conveying an idea of “rules and regulations,” which continues on indefinitely, with no necessary intrinsic characteristic of finiteness.

<sup>12</sup> See chapter 1 § 1 and 2.

<sup>13</sup> It is worth pointing out that with the gloss “decree” I refer to more complex regulations typically issued by kings and intended to enforce a policy.

<sup>14</sup> As in 2 Chr 24:21.

<sup>15</sup> As in Neh 12:24.45; 2 Chr 30:16.

A second continuous configuration is, on the other hand, a bounded one, and it is covered by the following expressions:

## SBH1

*hattôrâ* (Num 31:21; Exod 24:12; Josh 8:34x2; 2 Kgs 17:13.34.37; 21:8)

*tôraṭ YHWH* (Exod 13:9; 2 Kgs 10:31)

*tôraṭî* (Exod 16:4)

*tôraṭ Mōšeh* (2 Kgs 23:25)

*hammišwâ* (Exod 24:12; 2 Kgs 17:34.37).

## LBH1

*hattôrâ* (2 Chr 14:3; 25:4; 31:21; 33:8; Ezra 10:3; Neh 8:2.7.14; 10:35.37; 13:3)

*tôraṭ YHWH* (1 Chr 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chr 12:1; 31:3.4; 35:26; Ezra 7:10)

*tôraṭ hâ'Ēlōhîm* (Neh 8:8; 10:29.30)

*tôraṭ Mōšeh* (2 Chr 23:18; 30:16; Ezra 3:2)

*hammišwâ* (2 Chr 14:3).

The continuous configurations can be accounted for as the result of an operation of *melding* ( $A' \rightarrow B'$ ), whereby the separate elements of the original referent (mainly *ḥuqqîm*, and *mišpāṭîm*) are conceptualized as having fused together into a continuum. Proportionally, this configurational structure increases considerably in LBH1.

Definite articles, pronominal suffixes, and governed Nphs pointing to the origin of the legislation function as grammatical means to carry out the cognitive operation of *bounding* ( $B' \rightarrow B$ ). These new configurational structures affect the meaning of the lexemes in terms of semantic specialization, allowing them to refer to the specific legislation in force for the community of Israelites.

Fresh operations can start from this structure ( $B'$ ). On the one hand, it is possible to restore a discrete configurational structure for the unified idea of Torah as the written record of the teaching of Moses by an operation of *discretizing* ( $B \rightarrow A$ ), appreciable in expressions as *dibrê hattôrâ*.<sup>16</sup> On the other

<sup>16</sup> See Deut 27:3.8; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12.24; 32:46; Josh 8:34; 2 Kgs 23:24 (SBH1), and 2 Chr 34:19; Neh 8:9.13 (LBH1). It is worth paying attention to the context *whyw 'lh lkm lhqt mšpṭ* in Num 35:29. The MT reading *lēhuqqat mišpāt* in Num 35:29, with *ḥq* in singular. An alternative reading *lēhuqqot mišpāt* “legal requirements” would bring the adposition in agreement both with the verb and the demonstrative (for the plural reading of *ḥqt*, without mater lectionis, see Lev 20:23 *lēhuqqōt haggōy* “the customs of the people”; Jer 31:35 *ḥuqqōt yārēah* “laws of moon”). The

hand, phrases such as *ḥuqqat hattôrâ* and *ḥuqqat mišpāt*<sup>17</sup> show the operation of *unit excerpting* ( $B \rightarrow [A] \rightarrow a$ ), singling out a uniplex example of the kind of statements of which the legislation is composed. This phenomenon has significant impact for lexical semantics, since it shows that *ḥuqqâ* is the more generic and inclusive term for “rule” in SBH1, applicable both to law (*mišpāt*) and purity legislation (*hattôrâ*).

---

plural reading in Num 35:29 would provide an interesting example of discretizing also for the conceptualization of *mišpāt* as “legislation.”

<sup>17</sup> See, respectively, Num 19:2; 31:21, and Num 27:11.



## Bibliography

- Ackroyd, Peter R. *The Second Book of Samuel*. The Cambridge Commentary on the New English Bible. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli. "Participium coniunctum as a criterion of translation technique." *Vetus Testamentum* 32 (1982): 385–393.
- Allen, Leslie. *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic text. Part 2: Textual Criticism*. Vetus Testamentum Supplements 27. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Amelotti, Mario, Jean Bingen, and Marie-Thérèse Lenger, "Προστάγματα βασιλέων." *Cronique d'Égypte* 25 (1950): 317–321.
- Arambarri, Jesús. *Der Wortstamm „hören“ im Alten Testament. Semantik und Syntax eines Hebräischen Verbs*. Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge 20. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990.
- Avishur, Yitzhak. "Pairs of Synonymous Words in the Construct State and in Appositional Hendiadys in Biblical Hebrew." *Semitics* 2 (1971/1972): 7–81.
- Babut, Jean-Marc. *Les expressions idiomatiques de l'hébreu Biblique: signification et traduction. Un essai d'analyse componentielle*. Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 33. Paris: Gabalda, 1995.
- Bagnall, Roger S., and Peter Derow, eds. *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Banfi, Antonio. *Sovranità della Legge. La legislazione di Demetrio del Falero ad Atene (317-307 a.C.)*. Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Diritto Privato e Storia del Diritto; Sezione di Diritto romano e Diritti dell'Antichità 45; Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 2010.
- Baroni, Marco. "Distributions in text." Pages 803–821 in vol. 1 of *Corpus Linguistics. An International Handbook*. Edited by Anke Lüdeling and Merja Kytö. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 29.1. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008.
- Barr, James. "Did the Greek Pentateuch really serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?" Pages 523–543 in *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies*

- Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday.* Edited by Martin F.J. Baasten and Wido Th. van Peursen. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 118. Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, 2003.
- Barthélemy, Dominique. *Les devanciers d'Aquila: première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète trouvés dans le désert de Juda.* Leiden: Brill, 1963.
- Barthélemy, Dominique. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 1: Josue, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chronique, Esdras, Nehemie, Esther.* *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 50/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982–1986.
- Batten, Loring W. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.* International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913. Reprinted 1961.
- Bauschatz, John. *Policing the Chôra: Law Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Beentjes, Pancratius C., ed., *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts.* *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 68. Leiden / Boston / Köln: Brill, 1997.
- Bencivenni, Alice. "The King's Words: Hellenistic Royal Letters in Inscriptions." Pages 141–171 in *State Correspondence in the Ancient World. From New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire.* Edited by Karen Radner. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Bergmann, Claudia D. *Childbirth as a Metaphor for Crisis. Evidence for the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH 11, 1–18.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.
- Berlinerblau, Jacques. *The Vow and the Popular Religious Groups of Ancient Israel. A Philological and Sociological Inquiry.* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 210. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Ezra–Nehemiah.* The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1988.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. "Sage, Scribe and Scribalism in the Chronicler's Work." Pages 307–315 in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East.* Edited by John Gammie and Leo Perdue. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 1–39.* Anchor Bible 19. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Boling, Robert G. and G. Ernest Wright, *Joshua.* Anchor Bible 6. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982.
- Booth, Osborne. "The Semantic Development of the Term *mišpāt* in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 61 (1942): 105–110.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron. *Reading Between the Lines: the Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies.* *Biblical Tools and Studies* 8. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Braulik, George. "Audsprüche für Gesetz im Buch Deuteronomium." *Biblica* 51 (1970): 39–66.
- Braulik, George. "Die Freude des Festes. Das Kultverständnis des Deuteronomium die älteste biblische Festtheorie." Pages 161–218 in *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums.* Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände Altes Testament 2. Stuttgart, 1988.
- Bréal, Michel. *Essai de sémantique: science des significations.* Paris: Hachette, 1897.



- Broyde, Michael. "Mitsvah." Pages 473–474 in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*. Edited by R.J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bubenik, Vit. *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a sociolinguistic Area*. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 57. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1989.
- Burstein, Stanley M. "IG I<sup>3</sup> 61 and the Black Sea grain trade." Pages 93–104 in *Text and tradition. Studies in Greek history and historiography in honor of Mortimer Chambers*. Edited by Ronald Mellor and Lawrence A. Tritle. Claremont: Regina Books, 1999.
- Cadell, Hélène. "Vocabulaire de la législation Ptolémaïque. Problème du sens de dikaiôma dans le Pentateuque." Pages 207–221 in *Κατὰ τοὺς ο΄. Selon les Septante. Trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante en hommage à Marguerite Harl*. Edited by Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995.
- Carr, David M. *Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Cassuto, Umberto. *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967.
- Cazelles, Henri. "La mission d'Esdras." *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 113–140.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. "Plurality of Mass Nouns and the Notion of Semantic Parameter." Pages 53–103 in *Events and Grammar*. Edited by Susan Rothstein. Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 70. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998.
- Childs, Brevard S. "A Study of the formula 'Until this day'", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 (1963): 279–292.
- Childs, Brevard S. *The Book of Exodus*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1974.
- Cogan, Mordechai, *1 Kings*. Anchor Bible 10. New Heaven/London: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Cogan, Mordechai and Hayim Tadmor, *2 Kings*. Anchor Bible 11. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988.
- Corbett, Greville G. *Number*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Corley, Jeremy. "Septuagintalisms, Semitic Interference, and the Original Language of the Book of Judith." Pages 65–96 in *Studies in the Greek Bible. Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac*. Edited by Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 44. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008.
- Corley, Jeremy. "Joshua as a Warrior in Hebrew Ben Sira 46:1-10." Pages 207–248 in *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2010. Visions of Peace and Tales of War*. Edited by Jan Liesem and Pancratius C. Beentjes. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. "Structure lexicale et enseignement du vocabulaire." Pages 175–217 in *Actes du premier colloque international de linguistique appliquée, organisée par la Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy, 26-31 octobre 1964*. Nancy: Université de Nancy, 1966.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. "Lexicalische Solidaritäten." *Poetica* 1 (1967): 293–303.

- Coseriu, Eugenio. *Principios de Semántica Estructural*. Biblioteca Románica Hispánica 2. Estudios y Ensayos 259. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. *Textlinguistik. Eine Einführung*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik 109. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994<sup>4</sup>.
- Coseriu Eugenio and Horst Geckeler. *Trends in Structural Semantics*. Tübingen Beiträge zur Linguistik 158. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981.
- Crenshaw, James L. "Education in Ancient Israel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104/4 (1985): 601–615.
- Crenshaw, James L. *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence*. The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library. New York: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Croft William and Alan Cruse. *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Cruse, D. Alan. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Cruse, D. Alan. "Aspects of the Micro-structure of Word Meaning." Pages 30–51 in *Polysemy. Theoretical and Computational Approaches*. Edited by Yael Ravin and Claudia Leacock. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Cruse, D. Alan. *Meaning in Language. An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Cruse, D. Alan. "Lexical facets and metonymy." *Ilha do Desterros Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies* 47 (2004): 73–96.
- Davies, Graham I. "Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?" Pages 199–211 in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. Emerton*. Edited by John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and Hugh G. M. Williamson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Deissmann, Adolf. *Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world*. Translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan. New York/London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910.
- Diessel, Holger. *Demonstratives. Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*. Typological Studies in Language 42. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999.
- Dogniez Cécile, and Marguerite Harl. *Le Deutéronome*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 5. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992.
- Driver, Samuel R. *A critical and exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895.
- Evans, Craig A., and Emanuel Tov, eds. *Exploring the Origins of the Bible: Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*. Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2008.
- Evans, Trevor. "Orality, Greek Literacy, and Early Ptolemaic Papyri." Pages 195–208 in *Oral Performance and its Context*. Edited by C.J. Mackie. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Evans, Trevor. "Approaches to the Language of the Septuagint." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56 (2005): 25–33.
- Evans, Trevor. "The Use of Linguistic Criteria for Dating Septuagint Books." *Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 43 (2010): 7–24.

- Evans, Trevor. "Linguistic and Stylistic Variation in the Zenon Archive." Pages 25–40 in *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin: Problems and Methods*. Edited by Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho, and Marja Vierros. Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2012.
- Evans, Trevor and Dirk Obbink, eds. *The Language of the Papyri*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Evans, Vyvyan. *How Words Mean. Lexical concepts, cognitive models and meaning construction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Falk, Zeev W. "Hebrew Legal Terms." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5 (1960): 350–354.
- Falk, Zeev W. "Two Symbols of Justice." *Vetus Testamentum* 10 (1960): 72–74.
- Fauconnier, Gilles. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio. *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio, María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, and José Manuel Cañas Reillo. *Índice griego-hebreo del texto antioqueno en los libros históricos*. Madrid: Instituto de filología del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de filología bíblica y de Oriente antiguo. 2005.
- Fillmore, Charles J. *Lectures in Deixis*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 1971.
- Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor. "Regularity and idiomatity in grammatical constructions: the case of let alone." *Language* 64 (1988): 501–538.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *Romans*. Anchor Bible 33. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993.
- de Foucault, Jules-Albert. *Recherches sur la langue et le style de Polybe*. Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1972.
- Fox, Michael V. *Proverbs 10-31*. Anchor Bible 18b. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- French, Blaire A. *Chronicles Through the Centuries*. Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentaries. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2017.
- Fuhs, Hans F. "עֵבֶר." Pages 408–425 in vol. 10 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- García Lopez, Félix. "צִוָּה." Pages 276–296 in vol. 12 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Geckeler, Horst. *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1971.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. "Vagueness's puzzles, polysemy vagaries." *Cognitive Linguistics* 4/3 (1993): 223–272.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Geeraerts, Dirk and Gitte Kristiansen. "Variationist linguistics." Pages 133–158 in *Cognitive Linguistics. A Survey of Linguistic Subfields*. Edited by Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak. Berlin/Boston, 2019.
- Geoghegan, Jeffrey C. "'Until this day' and the Pre-exilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (2003): 201–227.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard S. "עֲזָב." Pages 584–592 in vol. 10 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Givón, Talmy. "Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum." Pages 39–59 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Gobber, Giovanni. "Numerabilità, culminazione semantica e categorizzazione." *Lanalisi linguistica e letteraria* 1 (1993): 149–173.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. *I Maccabees*. Anchor Bible 41. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. *II Maccabees*. Anchor Bible 41a. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- Gray, John. *I & II Kings*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1977.
- Grondelaers, Stefan, Dirk Speelman, and Dirk Geeraerts, "Lexical Variation and Change." Pages 988–1011 in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Edited by Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Grosby, Steven. *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002.
- Haran, Menahem. *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel. An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.
- Harl, Marguerite. *La Genèse*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 1. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1986.
- Hartman, Louis F. and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*. Anchor Bible 23. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977.
- Hasselbach, Rebecca. "Demonstrative Pronouns." Pages 697–701 in vol. 3 of *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan, Shmuel Bolozky, Steven Fassberg, Gary A. Rendsburg, Aaron D. Rubin, Ora R. Schwarzwald, Tamar Zewi. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Hawk, L. Daniel. "Fixing boundaries: The Construction of Identity in Joshua." *Ashland Theological Journal* 32 (1996): 21–31.
- Hendel, Ronald and Jan Joosten. *How Old is the Hebrew Bible? A Linguistic, Textual, and Historical Study*. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2018.
- Hertzberg, H.W. *I & II Samuel*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1964.
- Helfmeyer, Franz Josef. "נָסַח." Pages 443–455 in vol. 9 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.

- Hillers, Delbert R. *Lamentations*. Anchor Bible 7c. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972.
- Hjelmslev, Louis. "Dans quelle mesure les significations des mots peuvent-elles être considérées comme formant une structure?". Pages 636–654 in *Proceedings of the eighth International Congress of Linguists*. Edited by Eva Sivertsen. Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1958. Repr. under the title "Pour une Sémantique structurale." Pages 96–112 in *Essais Linguistiques*. Edited by Louis Hjelmslev. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague 12, Copenhague: Nordisk Sprog- og Kulturforlag, 1959.
- Hoftijzer, Jacob. "Holistic or Compositional Approach? Linguistic Remark to the Problem." Pages 98–114 in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*. Edited by Johannes C. de Moor. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1995.
- Holmstedt, Robert D. *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 10. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016.
- Hornblower, Simon. *A Commentary on Thucydides, Volume 1 Books I-III*. London: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Houtman, Cornelis. "Ezra and the Law: Observations on the Supposed Relation between Ezra and the Pentateuch." Pages 91–115 in *Remembering All the Way. A Collection of Old Testament Studies*. Edited by Adam S. van der Woude; Oudtestamentische Studiën 21. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Houtman, Cornelis. *Exodus*. Historical Commentary on the Old Testament. 3 vols. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
- Hurvitz, Avi. *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew, A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972 [in Hebrew].
- Hurvitz, Avi. "The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology." *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974): 24–56.
- Hurvitz, Avi. "Continuity and Innovation in Biblical-Hebrew. The Case of Semantic Change in Post-exilic writings." Pages 1–11 in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka; Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series 4. Louvain: Peeters Press, 1995.
- Hurvitz, Avi. "The 'Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts': Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures." Pages 265–280 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Hurvitz, Avi. *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 160. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Hyatt, James Philip. *Commentary on Exodus*. New Century Bible. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971.
- Jackendoff, Ray. *Semantics and Cognition*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983.
- Jackendoff, Ray. "Conceptual semantics and Cognitive Linguistics." *Cognitive Linguistics* 7 (1996): 93–129.
- Jaffe, Martin S. *Torah in the Mouth. Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism 200 BCE-400 CE*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Janssen, Enno. *Juda in der Exilszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 69. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.
- Japhet, Sara. *I & II Chronicles*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1993.
- Jenni, Ernst. *Das hebräische Pi'el. Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament*. Zürich: Evz Verlag, 1968.
- Ježek, Elisabetta. *Lessico. Classi di parole, strutture, combinazioni*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005.
- Johnson, Bo. “משפט,” Pages 86–98 in vol. 9 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Johnstone, William. *Exodus*. Old Testament Guides, Sheffield: Sheffield academic Press, 1990.
- Joosten, Jan. “The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith.” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): 159–176.
- Joosten, Jan. *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew. A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 10. Jerusalem: Simor, 2012.
- Joüon, Paul and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Subsidia Biblica 27. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006.
- Kapelrud, A.S. “למד.” Pages 4–10 in vol. 8 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Kaplan, Jonathan. “1 Samuel 8:11–18 as ‘A Mirror for Princes’.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131/4 (2012): 625–642.
- Knoppers, Gary N. *I Chronicles 10–29*. Anchor Bible 12a. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Koch, Peter. “Metonymy between pragmatics, reference and diachrony.” *Metaphorik. de* 7 (2004): 6–54.
- Koch, Peter. “La sémantique du prototype: Sémasiologie ou onomasiologie?” *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 106 (1996): 223–240.
- van der Kooij, Arie. “The Canonization of Ancient Books Kept in the Temple of Jerusalem.” Pages 17–40 in *Canonization and Decanonization: Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9–10 January 1997*. Edited by Arie van der Kooij and Karen van der Toorn. Studies in History of Religions 82. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- van der Kooij, Arie and Karen van der Toorn, eds. *Canonization and Decanonization: Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9–10 January 1997*. Studies in History of Religions 82. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- König, Ekkehard. “Reciprocals and semantic Typology: Some concluding remarks.” Pages 329–340 in *Reciprocals and Semantic Typology*. Edited by Nicholas Evans, Alice



- Gaby, Stephen C. Levinson and Asifa Majid. *Typological Studies in Language* 98. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011.
- Koryłowicz, Jerzy. "Dérivation lexicale et dérivation syntactique." *Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris* 37 (1936): 79–92.
- Kuntz, J. Kenneth. "Hendiadys as an Agent of Rhetorical Enrichment in Biblical Poetry, with Special Reference to Prophetic Discourse." Pages 114–135 in *God's Word for Our World*. Edited by Deborah L. Ellens, J. Harold Ellens, Isaac Kalimi, and Rolf Knierim. Vol. 1 of *God's Word for Our World*. Edited by Deborah L. Ellens, J. Harold Ellens, Isaac Kalimi, and Rolf Knierim. New York: T&T Clark International, 2004.
- Lakoff, George. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Landsberger, Benno. "Scribal Concepts of Education." Pages 94–123 in *City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, December 4-7, 1958*. Edited by Carl H. Kraeling and Robert MacAdams. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Langacker, Ronald W. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Lebhar Hall, Sarah. *Conquering character. The characterization of Joshua in Joshua 1-11*. New York: T.&T. Clark, 2010.
- Lee, John A.L. *A lexical study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch*. Chico, CA: Scholar Press, 1983.
- Lee, John A.L. "A Lexical Study Thirty Years on, with Observations on 'Order' words in the LXX Pentateuch." Pages 513–524 in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edited by Shalom Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Weston W. Firds, and Eva Ben David. *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 94. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Lee, John A.L. *The Greek of the Pentateuch. Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Lehmann, Christian. "On the typology of relative clauses." *Linguistics* 24 (1986): 663–680.
- Lehmann, Christian. "Relative clauses." Pages 460–462 in vol. 4 of *International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics*. Edited by William Bright. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Reprinted 2003.
- Lemaire, André. "Education in Ancient Israel." Pages 305–312 in vol. 2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by Gary A. Herion, David F. Graf and John David Pleins. 6 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1992.
- Lenger, Marie-Thérèse. *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*. Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques 57/1. Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964. (C.Ord.Ptol.)

- Lenger, Marie-Thérèse. "Ordres administratifs et *prostagmata* dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque." *Cronique d'Égypte* 42 (1967): 145–155.
- Lenger, Marie-Thérèse. "Ordonnances divines et *prostagmata* dans l'empire des Ptolémées." Pages 255–261 in *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology*. Edited by D.H. Samuel. Toronto: Hakkert, 1970.
- Levenson, Jon D. *Esther. A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1997.
- Levine, Baruch A. "מַצְרֵי." Pages 505–514 in vol. 8 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Levine, Baruch A. *Numbers 1–20*. Anchor Bible 4. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993.
- Levine, Baruch A. *Numbers 21–36*. Anchor Bible 4a. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Levinson, Stephen C. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Lillas-Schuil, Rosmari. "A Survey of Syntagms in the Hebrew Bible Classified as Hendiadys." Pages 79–99 in *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon*. Edited by Lutz Edzard and Jan Retsö. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.
- Lindars, Barnabas. "Torah in Deuteronomy." Pages 128–129 in *Words and Meanings: Essays presented to David Winton Thomas*. Edited by Peter R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Lipiński, Edward. "נָהַךְ." Pages 90–107 in vol. 10 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Lohfink, Norbert. "Der Bundesschluss im Land Moab. Redaktionsgeschichtliches zu Dt 28,69–32,47." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 6 (1962): 32–56.
- van der Louw, Theo A.W. *Transformations in the Septuagint*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Lundbom, Jack R. "Hebrew Rhetoric." Pages 325–328 in *Encyclopaedia of Rhetoric*. Edited by Thomas O. Sloane. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Luzzatto, Samuel Davide. *Esodo*. Padova: Tipografia F. Sacchetto, 1872.
- Lyons, Christopher. *Definiteness*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- McCarter, P. Kyle. *I Samuel*. Anchor Bible 8. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980.
- van der Meer, Michaël. *Formation & Reformulation. The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*. Vetus Testamentum Supplements 102. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Modrzejewski, Józef (Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph). "The προστάγματα in the Papyri." *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 5 (1951): 187–206.
- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph. "Les règles de droit dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque." Pages 125–173 in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*. American Studies in Papyrology 1. New Haven: American Society of Papyrologists, 1966.



- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph. "Droit et justice dans le monde hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère : expérience lagide." Pages 55–77 in *Mnêmê Georges A. Petropoulos*, vol. 1. Edited by Arnaldo Biscardi, Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski and Hans J. Wolff. Athens: Ant. N. Sakkoulas, 1984.
- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph. "Law and Justice in Ptolemaic Egypt." Pages 1–11 in *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*. Edited by Markham J. Geller, Herwig Maehler, and A.D.E. Lewis. London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1995.
- Mitchell, Eric Alan. *A Literary Examination of the Function of Satire in the Mišpāt hammelek of I Sam 8*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2007.
- Milgrom, Jacob. *Leviticus 1-16*. Anchor Bible 3. New York: Doubleday, 1991.
- Milgrom, Jacob. *Leviticus 17-22*. Anchor Bible 3a. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Milgrom, Jacob. *Leviticus 22-27*. Anchor Bible 3b. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Millard, Alan R. "An Assessment of the Evidence of Writing in Ancient Israel," Pages 301–312 in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985.
- Moore, Carey A. *Esther*. Anchor Bible 7b. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971.
- Moore, Carey A. *Judith*. Anchor Bible 40. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- Moore, Carey A. *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: the Additions*. Anchor Bible 44. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993.
- Moore, George F. *Judges*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1966.
- Monsengwo Pasinya, Laurent. *La notion de Nomos dans le Pentateuque grec*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973. Repr., *Analecta Biblica* 52. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 2005.
- Morla Asensio, Victor. *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira. Traducción y notas*. Asociación Bíblica Española 59. Estella, Navarra: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2012.
- Mullen, Alex and Patrick James, eds. *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. "Septuagintal Lexicography." Pages 85–90 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor, John A.L. Lee, Peter R. Burton, and Richard E. Whitaker. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. "Recent Discussions on the Septuagint Lexicography." Pages 221–235 in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.-23. Juli 2006*. Edited by Martin A. Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Martin Meiser. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*. Leuven: Peeters, 2016.
- Myers, Jacob M. *I Chronicles*. Anchor Bible 12. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.
- Myers, Jacob M. *II Chronicles*. Anchor Bible 13; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.

- Myers, Jacob M. *Ezra–Nehemiah*. Anchor Bible 14. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.
- Netzer, Yael. “Quantifier.” Pages 311–315 in vol. 3 of *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan, Shmuel Bolozky, Steven Fassberg, Gary A. Rendsburg, Aaron D. Rubin, Ora R. Schwarzwald, Tamar Zewi. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Nicholson, Ernest W. *Deuteronomy and Tradition*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1967.
- Nightingale, Andrea. “Writing/Reading a Sacred Text: A Literary Interpretation of Plato’s Laws.” *Classical Philology* 88/3 (1993): 279–300.
- Nihan, Christophe. “The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua.” Pages 187–223 in *The Pentateuch as Torah. New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- Noth, Martin. *Exodus: A Commentary*. Translated by J.S. Bowden. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1962.
- Nunberg, Geoffrey. “Transfers of meaning.” *Journal of Semantics* 12 (1995): 109–132.
- Olivero, Vladimir. “How Does the Author Know? ‘Az yiqtol as Evidential Strategy in Classical Biblical Hebrew.” Paper presented at the Annual SBL’s Meeting. Denver, CO, 19 November 2018.
- Orlinsky, Harry M. *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah*. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1969.
- Orlinsky, Harry M. “The Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua.” Pages 187–195 in *Congress Volume Rome 1968*. Edited by G.W. Anderson, P.A.H. de Boer, G.R. Castellino, Henry Cazelles, E. Hammershaimb, H.G. May. *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 17. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Panevová, Jarmila. “Contribution of valency to the analysis of language.” Pages 1–17 in *Noun Valency*. Edited by Olga Spevak. *Studies in Language Companion Series* 158. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014.
- Passoni dell’Acqua, Anna. “La versione dei LXX e i papiri: note lessicali.” Pages 621–632 in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York 24-31 July 1980*. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Gerald M. Browne, Ann E. Hanson and Ludwig Koenen. Chico, CA: Scholar Press, 1981.
- Passoni dell’Acqua, Anna. “La terminologia dei reati nei προστάγματα dei Tolemei e nella versione dei LXX.” Pages 335–350 in vol. 2 of *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25-31 May 1986*. 2 vols. Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988.
- Passoni dell’Acqua, Anna. “Innovazioni lessicali e attributi divini: una caratteristica del Giudaismo alessandrino?” Pages 87–108 in *La parola di Dio cresceva (At 12,24). Scritti in onore di Carlo Maria Martini nel suo 70° compleanno*. Edited by Rinaldo Fabris. *Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica* 33. Bologna: EDB, 1998.
- Passoni dell’Acqua, Anna. “Translating as a Means of Interpreting: the Septuagint and Translation in Ptolemaic Egypt.” Pages 322–339 in *Die Septuaginta - Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D.) Wuppertal 23.-27. 7. 2008*. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and

- Martin Meiser. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Pawley, Andrew and Frances Syder. "Two puzzles for linguistic theory: nativelike selection and nativelike fluency." Pages 191–226 in *Language and Communication*. Edited by Jack C. Richards and Richard W. Schmidt. London: Longman, 1983.
- Pelletier, André. "Le vocabulaire du commandement dans le Pentateuque des LXX et dans le NT." *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 41 (1953): 519–524.
- Pelletier, André. "L'Autorité divine d'après le Pentateuque grec." *Vetus Testamentum* 33/2 (1982): 236–242.
- Peters, Kurtis. *Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel: What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?* Biblical Interpretation Series 146. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Petersen, David L. *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977.
- Piątkowska, Marta. *La ΣΚΕΠΗ dans L'Égypte ptolémaïque*. Archiwum Filologiczne 32. Warsaw: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1975.
- Pierce, Sarah J.K. *The words of Moses: studies in the reception of Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 152. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- Plautz, Werner. "Die Form der Eheschliessung im Alten Testament." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 76 (1964): 298–318.
- van der Ploeg, J.P.M. "Studies in Hebrew Law." *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12/3 (1950): 248–259.
- Robert Polzin. *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 12. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.
- Polzin, Robert. *Moses and the Deuteronomist. A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*. 2 vols. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Porzig, Walter. "Wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen." *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 58 (1934): 70–97.
- Pottier, Bernard. "Vers une sémantique moderne." *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 2 (1964): 107–137.
- Pouchelle, Patrick. "ἀνθρωπῶρεσκος." Pages 737–744 in vol. 1 of *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Edited by Eberhard Bons. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Propp, William H.C. *Exodus 1-18*. Anchor Bible 2. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Propp, William H.C. *Exodus 19-40*. Anchor Bible 2a. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Puech, Émile. "Les copies du livre de Josué dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte : 4Q47, 4Q48, 4Q123 et XJosué." *Revue Biblique* 4 (2015): 481–506.
- Pustejovsky, James. *The Generative Lexicon*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995.
- Pustejovsky, James and Elisabetta Ježek. "Semantic Coercion in Language. Beyond Distributional Analysis." *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 20/1 (2008): 181–214.

- Qimron, Elisha. "The Biblical Lexicon in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2/3 (1995): 295–329.
- Rabinowitz, Isaak. "'Az followed by Imperfect Verb-Form in Preterite Context: A Redactional Device in Biblical Hebrew." *Vetus Testamentum* 34 (1984): 53–62.
- Rainer, Franz. "Semantic change in word formation." *Linguistics* 43/2 (2005): 415–441.
- Recanati, François. "Compositionality, Flexibility and Context-Dependence." Pages 175–191 in *The Oxford Handbook of Compositionality*. Edited by Wolfram Hinzen, Edouard Machery and Markus Werning. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Ringgren, Helmer. "כִּכְרִי." Pages 139–147 in vol. 5 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Robker, Jonathan M. "Samaria's Downfall in the Versions: The Masoretic Text, Vaticanus, and the So-Called Lucianic Recension." Pages 133–144 in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Stellenbosch 2016*. Edited by Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer. Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019.
- Rofé, Alexander. "The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and Its Occurrence in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>." *Revue de Qumran* 14/2 (1989): 247–254.
- Rofé, Alexander. "The Book of Deuteronomy: a Summary." Pages 1–13 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. "The Covenant in the Land of Moab." Pages 193–203 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. "Methodological of the study of Biblical law." Pages 205–219 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. "The organization of the Judiciary in Deuteronomy." Pages 103–119 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. "The History of the Cities of Refuge in Biblical Law." Pages 121–147 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. "Family and Sex Laws in Deuteronomy." Pages 169–192 in *Deuteronomy, Issues and Interpretation*. Edited by David J. Reimer. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2002.
- Rofé, Alexander. *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 9. Jerusalem: Simor, 2009.
- Rowlandson, Jane. *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Rüterswörden, Udo. "שִׁמְרֵי." Pages 253–279. in vol. 15 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Jo-

- sef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Ryan, Daniel. “Baruch.” Pages 487–499 in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. Edited by James Aitken. London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015.
- Salvesen, Alison. “Baruch with the Letter of Jeremiah.” Pages 112–119 in *The Apocrypha*. Edited by Martin Goodman. The Oxford Bible Commentary. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Samuel, Alan E. “The Judicial Competence of the oikonomos in the third century B.C.” Pages 444–450 in *Atti dell’XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Milano, 2-8 settembre 1965*. Milano: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, 1966.
- Sanders, James A. *Torah and Canon*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1972.
- Sanders, James A. *Scriptures in Its Historical Context. Volume I: Texts, Canon, and Qumran*. Edited by Craig A. Evans. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 118. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.
- Sasson, Jack M. *Judges 1-12*. Anchor Bible 6d. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Schaeder, Hans Heinrich. *Ezra der Schreiber*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 5. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930.
- Schams, Christine. *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 291. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Schofield, Malcolm. *Stoic Idea of the City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Schunk, K.D. “512–509 “. לרן. In vol. 7 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Seybold, Klaus. *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 107. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.
- Shapiro, Marc. “613 Commandments.” Pages 167–168 in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*. Edited by Adele Berlin. Second edition. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Shead, Stephen L. *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew. Exploring Lexical Semantics*. Biblical Interpretation Series 108. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*. Beihefte Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 151. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. “Canon.” Pages 62–69 in vol. 3 of *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: McMillan, 1987.
- Skehan, Patrick. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. Anchor Bible 39. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986.
- Smith, Henry P. *Samuel*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1961.

- Speiser, Ephraim A. *Genesis*. Anchor Bible 1. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964. Reprinted: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari. *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965.
- Sollamo, Raija. *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes humanarum litterarum 19. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1970.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren and Stuart Weeks. "Tobit." Pages 237–260 in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. Edited by James Aitken. London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu. *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible. Collected Studies*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- Talmy, Leonard. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000.
- Taylor, John R. "Cognitive semantics and Structural Semantics." Pages 17–48 in *Historical Semantics and Cognition. Cognitive Linguistics Research*. Edited by Andreas Blanks and Peter Koch. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John. "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel." *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1903): 398–411.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John. *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. "Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk." *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1911): 191–213.
- Tigay, Jeffrey H. *Deuteronomy*. The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996.
- van der Toorn, Karel. *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Toury, Gideon. "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary." Pages 45–53 in *Translation and Lexicography. Papers read at the Euralex Colloquium held at Innsbruck 2–5 July 1987*. Edited by Mary Snell-Hornby and Esther Pöhl. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989.
- Toury, Gideon. "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary." Pages 287–300 in *Meaning and Lexicography*. Edited by Jerzy Tomaszczyk and Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk. Linguistic and Literary Studies in Eastern Europe 28. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990.
- Toury, Gideon. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Three Dimensions of LXX Words", *Revue Biblique* 83 (1976): 529–544.
- Tov, Emanuel. "The impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of other books." Pages 577–592 in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*. Edited by Pierre Casetti, Adrian Schenker and Othmar Keel. Freiburg: Editions Universitaires, 1981.
- Tov, Emanuel. "The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the



- LXX Translation." Pages 321–339 in *Studies in Bible* 1986. Edited by Sara Japhet. Scripta Hierosolimitana 31. Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1986.
- Tov, Emanuel. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Greek words and Hebrew meanings." Pages 83–96 in *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 28. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1990. Repr. pages 109–128 in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Vetus Testamentum Supplements 72. Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio. "The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and the Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua." Pages 401–413 in *Interpreting Translation: Studies in the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 192. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
- Trebolle, Julio. "Readings of the Old Latin (Beuron 91–95) Reflecting 'Additions' of the Antiochene Text in 3–4 Kingdoms." Pages 120–145 in *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. Edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kahanen. De Septuaginta Investigationes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017.
- Trier, Jost. *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes: Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Heidelberg: Jahrbuch, 1931.
- de Troyer, Kristin. "Building the Altar and Reading the Law: The Journeys of Joshua 8:30–35." Pages 141–162 in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*. Edited by Kristin de Troyer and Armin Lange. SBL Symposium Series 30. Atlanta: SBL, 2005.
- Tyler, Andrea and Vyvyan Evans, "Reconsidering prepositional polysemy networks: the case of over." Pages 95–159 in *Polysemy. Flexible Patterns of Meaning in Mind and Language*. Edited by Brigitte Nerlich, Zazie Tod, Vimala Herman and David D. Clarke. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 142. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003.
- Tyler, Andrea and Vyvyan Evans, *The Semantics of English Prepositions: Spatial Scenes, Embodied Meaning and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Vandelanotte, Lieven. "Deixis and grounding in speech and thought representation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36/3 (2004): 489–520.
- Vandelanotte, Lieven. "From Representational to Scopal 'Distancing Indirect Speech or Thought': A cline of Subjectification." *Text* 24 (2004): 547–585.
- Vanderkam, James C. ed. *From Revelation to Canon. Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 62. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Vanoni, Gottfried. "שִׁירִים." Pages 89–111 in vol. 14 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Vanoni, Gottfried. "שִׁמְרֵם." Pages 142–157 in vol. 14 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Jo-

- sef Fabry, translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977–2004.
- Vergari, Romina. “Interaction between Lexical Innovation and Morphemic Analysis in the Septuagint? Evaluative Study on Hebrew Nominal Derivatives Related to Cultic Realia.” *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 50 (2017): 176–194.
- Vergari, Romina. “Connaître la *tôra* dans l’Ancien Testament: une expertise ou une expérience? Perspectives exégétiques à partir de données linguistiques.” In *Connaissance et expérience de Dieu. Modalités et expressions de l’expérience religieuse*. Edited by Christian Grappe and Marc Vial. Écriture et Société. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2019.
- Vergari, Romina. “Signs of cultural adaptation from the Septuagint vocabulary: the lexical mapping of the Hebrew biblical imagery for ‘protection’ in the light of co-eval documentary sources.” *Estudios Bíblicos* 78/3 (2020): 405–423.
- Vergari, Romina. “Osservazioni su di un uso idiomatico dei dimostrativi  $\text{וְזֶה}$ ,  $\text{זֶה}$  e  $\text{זֶהוּ}$  in ebraico biblico.” *Materia Giudaica* 25 (2021), forthcoming.
- Vérilhac, Anne-Marie and Claude Vial. *Le Mariage grec du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. à l’époque d’Auguste*. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplément 32. Paris: De Boccard, 1998.
- Vivian, Angelo. *I campi lessicali della separazione nell’ebraico biblico, di Qumran e della Mishna: ovvero, applicabilità della teoria dei campi lessicali all’ebraico*, Quaderni di Semitistica 4. Florence: Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientali, 1978.
- Volkmar, Fritz. *Das Buch Josua*. Handbuch zum Alten Testament 1/7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- de Vries, Simon. “Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988): 619–639.
- Walbank, Frank W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. 3 vols. London: Clarendon Press, 1957–1979.
- Wallace, Sherman Leroy. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938.
- Warren, Beatrice. “A Model of Idiomaticity.” *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 4/1 (2005): 35–54.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy 1–11*. Anchor Bible 5. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1991.
- Weinreich, Uriel. “Is a structural dialectology possible?” *Word* 10 (1954): 388–400.
- Weiser, Artur. *The Psalms*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1962.
- Weiser, Artur. “Die Legitimation des Königs David.” *Vetus Testamentum* 16 (1966): 325–354.
- Weisgerber, Leo. “Die Bedeutungslehre—ein Irrweg der Sprachwissenschaft?” *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 15 (1927): 161–183.
- Werlitz, Jürgen and Siegfried Kreuzer. “Basileion IV / Das vierte Buch der Königtümer / Das zweite Buch der Könige. Nach dem antiochenischen Text.” Pages 946–977 in *Septuaginta Deutsch, Erläuterungen und Kommentare*. Edited by Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011.



- Westermann, Claus. *Genesis 12-36. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament*. Neukirchener Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981.
- Wevers, John William. *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*. SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies 39. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.
- Williamson, Hugh G.M. "Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles." *Vetus Testamentum* 26/3 (1976): 351–361.
- Williamson, Hugh G.M. *Ezra and Nehemiah*. Old Testament Guides. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Zanella, Francesco. *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of "Gift" in Ancient Hebrew*. *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 54. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Zatelli, Ida. "Functional Languages and Their Importance to the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew." Pages 55–63 in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka. *Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series* 4. Louvain: Peeters, 1995).
- Zatelli, Ida. "The Study of the Ancient Hebrew Lexicon. Application of the concepts of lexical field and functional language." *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 5 (2004): 129–159.

## Reference Works

### *Lexicons*

- Beekes, Robert. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. 2 vols. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010. = EDG
- Bétant, Elie A. *Lexicon Thucydideum*. Genevae: É. Carey, 1843.
- Botterweck G. Johannes, and Helmer Ringgren, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006. = TDOT
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an appendix containing the biblical Aramaic*. CD-ROM edition. Oxford: Clarendon, 1906. = BDB
- Clines, David J. A., ed. *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014. = DCH
- Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. CD-ROM edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. = BDAG
- Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 18th edition. Revised by Herbert Donner et al. Berlin/Heidelberg/New York: Springer, 1987–2010.
- Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*. 3 vols. Leipzig: L.C.W. Vogel, 1829–1858.

- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: The New Koehler-Baumgartner in English*. Subsequently revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm with Assistance from Benedikt Hartmann, Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, and Philippe Reymond. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. CD-ROM edition. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000. = HALOT
- Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. 2 vols. New York, 1903. = Jastrow
- Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. 2 vols. Revised edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003. = LEH
- Mauersberger, Arno. *Polybios-Lexikon*. 3 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956–2006. Revidet 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2000. = *Polybios-Lexikon*
- Muraoka, Takamitsu, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters, 2009. = GELS
- Preisigke, Friedrich. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluß der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*. 3 vols. Berlin: Selbstverlag der Erben, 1925–1931. = Preisigke
- Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edition revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940. = LSJ
- Zorell, Franz. *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1968. = Zorell

### Concordances

- Hatch, Edwin and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocrypha)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897–1906. Revised second edition, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998. = HRCS
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*. Louvain: Peeters, 2010.

### Bible Editions

- Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by Kurt Elliger, Wilhelm Rudolph et alii. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–1977, 1997.
- Genesis* = כְּרִיאֲשֵׁית. Edited by Avraham Tal. *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2016.
- Deuteronomy* = אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּבָרִים. Edited by Carmel McCarthy. *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* 5. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007.

- Judges* = שפטים. Edited by Fernández Marcos, Natalio. Biblia Hebraica Quinta 7. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011.
- General Introduction and Megilloth* = אסתר / איכה / קהלת / שיר השירים / רות. Edited by Jan de Waard, Piet B. Dirksen, Yohanan A. P. Goldman, Rolf Schäfer, and Magne Sæbø. Biblia Hebraica Quinta 18. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004.
- Ezra and Nehemia* = עזרא ונחמיה. David, Marcus. Biblia Hebraica Quinta 20. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006.
- Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. Edited by Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera revised by Robert Hanhart. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.
- Genesis*. Edited by John William Wevers. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 1. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974.
- Exodus*. Edited by John William Wevers with the collaboration of Udo Quast. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 2,1. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.
- Leviticus*. Edited by John William Wevers with the collaboration of Udo Quast. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 2,2. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Numeri*. Edited by John William Wevers with the collaboration of Udo Quast. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 3,1. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.
- Deuteronomium*. Edited by John William Wevers with the collaboration of Udo Quast. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 3,2. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.
- Paralipomenon liber II*. Edited by Robert Hanhart. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 7,2. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.
- Esdrae liber I*. Edited by Robert Hanhart. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 8,1. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.
- Esdrae liber II*. Edited by Robert Hanhart. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 8,2. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.
- Esther*. Edited by Robert Hanhart. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 8,3. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.
- Maccabaeorum liber I*. Edited by Werner Kappler. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 9,1. 3rd Edition. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990.
- Maccabaeorum liber II*. Edited by Robert Hanhart. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Vol 9,2. 3rd revised edition. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

- Maccabaeorum liber III.* Edited by Robert Hanhart. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Vol 9,2. 2nd revised edition. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.
- Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae.* Edited by Joseph Ziegler. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Vol 15. 4th edition. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco.* Edited by Joseph Ziegler. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Vol 16,2. 2nd partially revised edition, edited by Olivier Munnich with an addendum by Detlef Fraenkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.
- Novum Testamentum graece et latine.* Edited by Augustinus Merk. 11<sup>th</sup> edition. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1992.

### **Bible Modern Translations**

- New American Standard Bible.* (NASB)
- The New English Bible.* (NEB)
- The NET Bible.* Version 1.0. Biblical Studies Foundation. (NET)
- A New English Translation of the Septuagint.* Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. (NETS)
- The Holy Bible: New International Version.* (NIV)
- New Jerusalem Bible.* (NJB)
- Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* (NJPS)
- New King James Version.* (NKJV)
- Revised Standard Version.* (RSV)

### **Ancient Texts Translations**

- Aeschylus. *Persians. Seven against Thebes. Suppliants. Prometheus bound.* Translated by Alan H. Sommerstein. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Aeschylus. *Oresteia. Agamemnon. Libation bearers. Eumenides.* Translated by Alan H. Sommerstein. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Aristotle. *Athenian Constitution. Eudemian Ethics. Virtues and Vices.* Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Demosthenes. *Meidias. Androtion. Aristocrates. Timocrates. Aristogeiton.* Translated by J.H. Vince. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964.

- Dio Chrysostom. *Discourses 1–11*. Translated by J. W. Cohoon. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. 12 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950–1984.
- Herodotus. *Histories*. Translated by A.D. Godley. 4 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Hesiod. *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*. Translated by Glenn W. Most. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Pindar. *Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes*. Translated by William H. Race. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Philo. *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses*. Translated by F. H. Colson. Loeb Classical Library 289. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- Plato. *Laws*. Translated by R. G. Bury. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948.
- Plutarch. *Moralia*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. 16 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–2004.
- Plutarch. *Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin; 11 vols. Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Polybius. *The Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton. Revised by F. W. Walbank, and Christian Habicht. 6 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010–2012.
- Sophocles. *Antigone. The Women of Trachis. Philoctetes. Oedipus at Colonus*. Translated by Hugh Lloyd-Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Strabo. *Geography*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. 8 vols. Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Charles Forster Smith. 4 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919–1923.
- Xenophon. *Anabasis*. Translated by Carleton L. Brownson. Revised by John Dillery. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Xenophon. *Hellenica*. Translated by C.L. Brownson. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.
- Xenophon. *Cyropaedia*. Translated by Walter Miller. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Xenophon. *Memorabilia. Oeconomicus. Symposium. Apology*. Translated by E. C. Marchant, O. J. Todd. Revised by Jeffrey Henderson. Loeb Classical Library 168. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.



## Appendices





## Appendix 1: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun *mišpāṭ*

### Distribution in MT

The noun *mišpāṭ* occurs 422 times, according to the following distribution:

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>bmšpṭ</i>	1	2	14		1	2	2	4	26
<i>bmšpty</i>					6				6
<i>bmšptyhm</i>					1				1
<i>hmšpṭ</i>		3	3	1	6	1			14
<i>hmšptym</i>		9			1	2			12
<i>kmšpṭ</i>		8			9	7	1		25
<i>kmšptk</i>							1		1
<i>kmšpṭm</i>		3			2	4			9
<i>kmšpṭw</i>					1				1
<i>kmšpty</i>					1				1
<i>kmšptyk</i>							1		1
<i>kmšptym</i>		1							1
<i>lmšpṭ</i>		5	14		2	1		2	24
<i>lmšptk</i>							1		1
<i>lmšpty</i>			1						1
<i>lmšptyk</i>							1		1
<i>mmšptyk</i>							1		1

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>mšp̄t</i>	1	21	69	2	24	4	4	9	134
<i>mšp̄th</i>			1						1
<i>mšp̄tk</i>		1	1						2
<i>mšp̄tm</i>		2	1				2		5
<i>mšp̄tn</i>		1							1
<i>mšp̄tw</i>		1	5						6
<i>mšpty</i>		1	11		18		5	5	40
<i>mšptyhm</i>					1				1
<i>mšptyk</i>	1		7				6		14
<i>mšptym</i>		1	3		1		1		6
<i>mšptyw</i>		2	3				1		6
<i>wbmšp̄t</i>				1					1
<i>wbmšp̄ty</i>			1		1				2
<i>wbmšp̄tyhm</i>					1				1
<i>wbmšp̄tyk</i>							1		1
<i>whmšp̄tym</i>		2			5	1			8
<i>wkmšp̄tw</i>		1							1
<i>wkmšp̄ty</i>					1				1
<i>wkmšp̄tyhm</i>					1				1
<i>wlmšp̄t</i>		1							1
<i>wlmšp̄tym</i>						1			1
<i>wmmšp̄t</i>			1						1
<i>wmmšp̄tyk</i>							2		2
<i>wmšp̄t</i>		6	12	1	3	3	1	3	29
<i>wmšp̄tk</i>			1				1		2
<i>wmšp̄ty</i>		2	2		3	2	1		10
<i>wmšp̄tyk</i>				1			1		2
<i>wmšp̄tym</i>		3	1		1		2		7
<i>wmšp̄tyw</i>	1	5			1	1	1		9
TOT	4	81	151	6	91	29	37	23	422

## ABH

## Singular forms (2)

Deut 32:4.41

## Plural forms (2)

Deut 33:10.21

## SBH1

## Singular forms (55)

Gen 18:19.25; 40:13

Exod 15:25; 21:9.31

Num 9:14; 27:5.11.21; 35:12.29

Deut 1:17(x2); 10:18

Josh 6:15; 20:6; 24:25

Judg 4:5; 13:12; 18:7

1 Sam 2:13; 8:3.9.11; 10:25; 27:11; 30:25

2 Sam 8:15; 15:2.4.6

1 Kgs 3:11.28(x2); 5:8; 7:7; 8:45.49.59(x2); 10:9; 18:28; 20:40

2 Kgs 1:7; 11:14; 17:26(x2).27.33.34.40; 25:6

Jer 32:7.8

## Plural forms (26)

Exod 21:1; 24:3

Num 9:3; 35:24; 36:13

Deut 4:1.5.8.14.45; 5:1; 7:11.12; 8:11; 11:1.32; 30:16

1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12.38; 8:58; 9:4; 11:33

2 Kgs 17:34.37

Jer 52:9

## SBH2

## Singular forms (131)

Ps 1:5; 7:7; 9:5.8.17; 17:2; 25:9; 33:5; 35:23; 37:6.28.30; 72:2; 76:10; 81:5; 89:15; 94:15; 97:2; 99:4(x2); 101:1; 106:3; 122:5; 140:13; 149:9

Prov 1:3; 2:8.9; 8:20; 12:5; 13:23; 16:8.10.11.33; 17:23; 18:5; 19:28; 21:3.7.15; 24:23; 28:5; 29:4.26

Isa 1:17.21.27; 3:14; 4:4; 5:7.16; 9:6; 10:2; 16:5; 28:6(x2).17.26; 30:18; 32:1.7.16; 33:5; 34:5; 40:14.27; 41:1; 42:1.3.4; 49:4; 50:8; 51:4; 53:8; 54:17; 56:1; 58:2; 59:8.9.11.14.15; 61:8

Jer 4:2; 5:1.4.5.28; 7:5; 8:7; 9:23; 10:24; 17:11; 21:12; 22:3.13.15; 23:5; 26:11.16;  
30:11.18; 33:15; 46:28; 48:21.47; 49:12; 51:9

Lam 3:35.59

Amos 5:7.15.24; 6:12

Mic 3:1.8.9; 6:8; 7:9

Hab 1:4(x2).7.12

Zeph 2:3; 3:5.8

Zech 7:9; 8:16

Mal 2:17; 3:5

#### Plural forms (20)

2 Sam 22:23

Ps 10:5; 18:23; 19:10; 36:7; 48:12; 72:1; 89:31; 97:8; 105:5.7

Isa 26:8.9; 58:2

Jer 1:16; 4:12; 12:1; 39:5

Zeph 3:15

Mal 3:22

#### SBH3

##### Singular forms (5)

Hos 2:21; 5:1.11; 10:4; 12:7

##### Plural forms (1)

Hos 6:5

#### SBH4

##### Singular forms (51)

Exod 23:6.30; 28:15.29.30(x2)

Lev 5:10; 9:16; 19:15.35; 24:22

Num 15:16.24; 29:6.18.21.24.27.30.33.37

Deut 16:18.19; 17:8.9.11; 18:3; 19:6; 21:17.22; 24:17; 25:1; 27:19

Ezek 7:23; 18:5.8.19.21.27; 21:32; 22:29; 23:24.45(x2); 33:14.16.19; 34:16; 39:21;  
44:24; 45:9

##### Plural forms (40)

Lev 18:4.5.26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; 26:15.43.46

Deut 5:31; 6:1.20; 12:1; 26:16.17

Ezek 5:6(x2).7(x2).8; 7:27; 11:12(x2).20; 16:38; 18:9.17; 20:11.13.16.18.19.21.24.25;  
23:24; 36:27; 37:24; 42:11; 44:24

## LBH1

## Singular forms (22)

1 Chr 6:17; 15:13; 18:14; 23:31; 24:19  
 2 Chr 4:7.20; 8:14; 9:8; 19:6.8; 30:16; 35:13  
 Ezra 3:4; 7:10  
 Neh 8:18  
 Qoh 3:16; 5:7; 8:5.6; 11:9; 12:14

## Plural forms (7)

1 Chr 22:13; 28:7  
 2 Chr 7:17; 19:10; 33:8  
 Neh 1:7; 10:30

## LBH2

## Singular forms (10)

2 Chr 6:35.39  
 Ps 111:7; 112:5; 119:84.121.132.160; 143:2; 146:7

## Plural forms (27)

1 Chr 16:12.14  
 Neh 9:13.29  
 Ps 103:6; 119:7.13.20.30.39.43.52.62.75.91.102.106.108.120.137.149.156.164  
 .175; 147:19.20  
 Dan 9:5

## LBH3

## Singular forms (23)

Job 8:3; 9:19.32; 13:18; 14:3; 19:7; 22:4; 23:4; 27:2; 29:14; 31:13; 32:9;  
 34:4.5.6.12.17.23; 35:2; 36:6.17; 37:23; 40:8

## Plural forms (0).

**A) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Singular Forms**

Singular forms: 299

(Construct State: 51; Pronominal State: 43; Absolute State: 205)

## 1. Adnominal modifiers

### 1.1. *Adjectives*

SBH1

*zh* “this” (Exod 21:31; Josh 6:15)

*r’swn* “former” (Gen 40:13; 2 Kgs 17:40)

SBH2

*ktwb* “written” (Ps 149:9)

SBH4

*’hd* “one” (Num 15:16)

*zh* “this” (Deut 18:3)

### 1.2. *Quantifier*

SBH2

*kl* “all” (Prov 16:33)

LBH2

*kl* “all” (Ps 119:160)

### 1.3. *Pronominal Suffixes*

SBH1

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (1 Kgs 20:40).

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Num 9:14; 1 Sam 27:11; 1 Kgs 5:8)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (1 Kgs 8:45.49; 18:28; 2 Kgs 17:34.40)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural feminine (Num 27:5)

The personal pronoun indicates *Pesah* (Num 9:14), the daughter of Zelophehad (Num 27:5), David (1 Sam 27:11), the people (1 Kgs 8:45.49),<sup>1</sup> the Samaritans (2 Kgs 17:34.40; cf. v. 29), the officers of Salomon (1 Kgs 5:8),<sup>2</sup> the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:28), a prophet (1 Kgs 20:40).

<sup>1</sup> Viz. *’am*.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. *hanniṣṣabim*, v. 7.

SBH<sub>2</sub>

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ps 9:5; 17:2; 35:23; Isa 40:27; 49:4; 50:8; 51:4; Lam 3:59; Mic 7:9; Zeph 3:8)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 37:6)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Jer 30:18; Hab 1:7; Zeph 2:3; 3:5; Prov 16:33)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular feminine (Jer 51:9)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (Jer 49:12)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH (Zeph 2:3; 3:5.8; Isa 51:4; Prov 16:33), the Chaldeans (Hab 1:7), the palace (Jer 30:18),<sup>3</sup> Babylon (Jer 51:9), the psalmist (Ps 9:5; 17:2; 35:23; 37:6), Jacob and Israel as speakers (Isa 40:27), the prophet or Israel as speakers (Isa 49:4; Lam 3:59; Mic 7:9), the prophet as speaker (Isa 50:8), they who cannot drink of the cup (Jer 49:12).

SBH<sub>4</sub>

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ezek 39:21)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Exod 26:30)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (Num 29:6.33)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH (Ezek 39:21), the offerings for the feast of *Sukkot* (Num 29:6.33), the *miškān* (Exod 26:30).

LBH<sub>1</sub>

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (1 Chr 6:17; 24:19; 2 Chr 4:7; 30:16)

The personal pronoun indicates the ministers of the song, viz. the singers (1 Chr 6:17), the priests (1 Chr 24:19), the candlestick (2 Chr 4:7),<sup>4</sup> the priests and the Levites (2 Chr 30:16).

LBH<sub>2</sub>

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (2 Chr 6:35.39)

The personal pronoun indicates the people of Israel.

LBH<sub>3</sub>

1<sup>st</sup> singular masculine (Job 27:2; 29:14; 34:5.6; 40:8)

<sup>3</sup> Viz. *'armon* "citadel," "dwelling place".

<sup>4</sup> Viz. *məṇḏrôt*.

The personal pronoun indicates Job as speaker (Job 27:2; 29:14), Job in a direct speech reported by Elihu (Job 34:5.6), YHWH as the speaker (Job 40:8).

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

SBH<sub>1</sub>

*'ylm*

*'lm hmšpṭ* “the porch of the *mišpāṭ*” (1 Kgs 7:7)

*ḥqḥ*

*ḥqt mšpṭ* “rule of *mišpāṭ*” (Num 27:11; 35:29)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*'lhym*

*'lhy mšpṭ* “God of *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 30:18)

*'lhy hmšpṭ* “God of the *mišpāṭ*” (Mal 2:17)

*'rḥ*

*'rḥ mšpṭ* “path of *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 40:14)

*'rḥwt mšpṭ* “paths of *mišpāṭ*” (Prov 2:8; 17:23)

*b'l*

*b'l mšpṭy* “adversary in my *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 50:8)

*ks'*

*ks'wt lmšpṭ* “the thrones of *mišpāṭ*” (Ps 122:5)

*ml'*

*ml'ty mšpṭ* “full of *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 1:21)

*m'znym*

*pls wm'zny mšpṭ* “balance and scales of *mišpāṭ*,” viz. “just balance and scales” (Prov 16:11)

*ntybh*

*ntybwt mšpṭ* “paths of *mišpāṭ*” (Prov 8:20)



*pls*

*pls wm'zny mšpṭ* “balance and scales of *mišpāṭ*,” viz. “just balance and scales” (Prov 16:11)

*rwlḥ*

*rwlḥ mšpṭ* “spirit of *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 4:4; 28:6)

SBH4

*dbr*

*dbr mšpṭ* “a sentence of *mišpāṭ*” (Deut 17:9)

*ḥṭ'*

*ḥṭ' mšpṭ mwt* “transgression *deserving* of death” (Deut 21:22)

*ḥšn*

*ḥšn (h)mšpṭ* “the breastplate of (the) *mišpāṭ*” (Exod 28:15.29.30)

LBH1

*gzl*

*gzl mšpṭ* “trampling (violent perverting) of *mišpāṭ*” (Qoh 5:7)

*dbr*

*dbr mšpṭ* “an affair of *mišpāṭ*” (2 Chr 19:6)

*mqwm*

*mqwm hmšpṭ* “the place of the *mišpāṭ*” (Qoh 3:16)

LBH3

*šgy'*

*šgy' kh mšpṭ* “excellent in power and *mišpāṭ*” (Job 37:23)

*šn'* (*qal*) participle

*šwn' mšpṭ* “one who hates *mišpāṭ*” (Job 34:17)

#### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

SBH1

*'lhym*

*mšpṭ 'lhy h' rš* “the *mišpāṭ* of the God of the land” (2 Kgs 17:26x2.27)

*l'mnh*

*mšpṭ ytwm w' l'mnh* “the *mišpāṭ* of the fatherless and the widow” (Deut 10:18)

*'wrym*

*bmšpṭ h' wrym* “by the *mišpāṭ* of the Urim” (Num 27:21)

*'yš*

*mšpṭ h' yš 'šr 'lh* “the *mišpāṭ* of the man who came up” (2 Kgs 1:7)

*bt*

*kmšpṭ hbnwt* “according to the *mišpāṭ* of the daughters” (Exod 21:9)

*g'lh*

*mšpṭ hg'lh* “the *mišpāṭ* of redemption” (Jer 32:7)

*mšpṭ hyršh ... hg'lh* “the *mišpāṭ* of inheritance ... (the *mišpāṭ*) of the redemption” (Jer 32:8)

*gwy*

*kmšpṭ hgwym* “according to the *mišpāṭ* of the peoples” (2 Kgs 17:33)

*ytwm*

*mšpṭ ytwm w' l'mnh* “the *mišpāṭ* of the fatherless and the widow” (Deut 10:18)

*khn*

*wmšpṭ hkhnym* “according to the *mišpāṭ* of the priests” (1 Sam 2:13)

*mlk/mlwkh*

*mšpṭ hmlk* “the *mišpāṭ* of the king” (1 Sam 8:9.11)

*'t mšpṭ mlwkh* “the *mišpāṭ* of the kingdom” (1 Sam 10:25)

*n'r*

*mšpṭ hn'r* “the *mišpāṭ* of the boy” (Judg 13:12)

*'bd*

*mšpṭ 'bdw* “the *mišpāṭ* of his servant” (1 Kgs 8:59)

*'m*

*wmšpṭ 'mw* “the *mišpāṭ* of his people” (1 Kgs 8:59)

*šydney*

*mšpṭ šydney* “the *mišpāṭ* of the Zidonians” (Judg 18:7)

SBH2

*’bywn*

*mšpṭ ’bywn* “the *mišpāṭ* of the needy” (Jer 5:28; Ps 140:13)

*’lhym*

*mšpṭ ’lhym* “the *mišpāṭ* of God” (Isa 58:2; Jer 5:4.5)

*’mt*

*mšpṭ ’mt* “*mišpāṭ* of truth,” viz. “truthful *mišpāṭ*” (Zech 7:9)

*’yš*

*mšpṭ ’yš* “*mišpāṭ* of each one” (Prov 29:26)

*gbr*

*mšpṭ gbr* “*mišpāṭ* of a man” (Lam 3:35)

YHWH

*mšpṭ YHWH* “the *mišpāṭ* of YHWH” (Jer 8:7)

*yršh*

*mšpṭ hyršh ... hg’lh* “the *mišpāṭ* of inheritance ... (the *mišpāṭ*) of the redemption” (Jer 32:8)

*mw’b*

*mšpṭ mw’b* “the *mišpāṭ* of Moab” (Jer 48:47)

*mwt*

*mšpṭ mwt* “*mišpāṭ* of death” (Jer 26:11.16)

*’ny*

*mšpṭ ’nyy ’my* “the *mišpāṭ* of the poor ones of my people” (Isa 10:2)

*šlwm*

*mšpṭ šlwm* “*mišpāṭ* of peace” (Zech 8:16)

SBH4

'bywn

mšpṭ 'bywnk “the mišpāṭ of your needy” (Exod 23:6)

'ḥd

mšpṭ 'ḥd “one mišpāṭ” (Lev 24:22)

'lmnh

mšpṭ gr ytwm w 'lmnh “mišpāṭ of ger, fartherless and widow” (Deut 27:19)

'mt

mšpṭ 'mt “mišpāṭ of truth,” viz. “truthful mišpāṭ” (Ezek 18:8)

bkrh

mšpṭ hbkrh “the mišpāṭ of the first-born” (Deut 21:17)

bny ysr 'l

't mšpṭ bny ysr 'l “the mišpāṭ of the Israelites” (Exod 28:30)

gr

mšpṭ gr ytwm “mišpāṭ of sojourner and fartherless” (Deut 24:17)

mšpṭ gr ytwm w 'lmnh “mišpāṭ of sojourner, fartherless and widow” (Deut 27:19)

dm

mšpṭ dmym “mišpāṭ of crimes,” viz. “bloody crimes” (Ezek 7:23)

ytwm

mšpṭ gr ytwm “mišpāṭ of ger and fartherless” (Deut 24:17)

mšpṭ gr ytwm w 'lmnh “mišpāṭ of ger, fartherless and widow” (Deut 27:19)

khn

mšpṭ hkhnym “the mišpāṭ of the priests” (Deut 18:3)

mwt

mšpṭ mwt “mišpāṭ of death” (Deut 19:6; 21:22)

n 'p (qal) participle

mšpṭ n 'pwt wmšpṭ špkwt dm “mišpāṭ of adulteresses and mišpāṭ of women that shed blood” (Ezek 23:45x2)

*šdq*

*mšpṭ šdq* “*mišpaṭ* of justice,” viz. “just *mišpaṭ*” (Deut 16:18)

*špk* (qal) participle

*mšpṭ n'pwṭ wmšpṭ špkwt dm* “*mišpāṭ* of adulteresses and *mišpāṭ* of women that shed blood” (Ezek 23:45x2)

LBH1

*dbr*

*kmšpṭ dbr ywm bywmw* “according the *mišpaṭ* of every day” (Ezra 3:4)

*dwyd*

*mšpṭ dwyd 'byw* “the *mišpāṭ* of David his father” (2 Chr 8:14)

YHWH

*mšpṭ YHWH* “the *mišpāṭ* of YHWH” (2 Chr 19:8)

LBH2

*šdq*

*mšpṭ šdqk* “the *mišpāṭ* of your justice” (Ps 119:160)

LBH3

*'mh*

*mšpṭ 'bdy w'mty* “the *mišpāṭ* of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant” (Job 31:13)

*'ny*

*mšpṭ 'nyym* “*mišpāṭ* of poor ones” (Job 36:6)

*'bd*

*mšpṭ 'bdy w'mty* “the *mišpāṭ* of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant” (Job 31:13)

#### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

SBH1

With the preposition *'t*

*'m*

*wmšpṭ hkhnym 't h'm* “according to the *mišpāṭ* of the priests from the people” (1 Sam 2:13)

With the preposition *l*

*ky lk mšpṭ* “for *mišpāṭ* is yours”<sup>5</sup> (Jer 32:7)

*ky lk mšpṭ hyršh wlk hg'lh* “for the *mišpāṭ* of inheritance (and the *mišpāṭ*) of the redemption is yours”<sup>6</sup> (Jer 32:8)

SBH2

With the preposition *l*

*'yn l'yš hzh mšpṭ mwt* “this man is not *worthy* of death” (Jer 26:16)

*mšpṭ mwt l'š hzh* “this man is *worthy* of death” (Jer 26:11)

With the preposition *l* plus infinitive

*mšpṭm lštwṭ hkws* “their *mišpāṭ* to drink of the cup” (Jer 49:12)

SBH4

With the preposition *m't*

*'m*

*mšpṭ hkhnym m't h'm m't zbḥy hzbḥ* “the priests’ *mišpāṭ* from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice,” (Deut 18:3)

LBH1

With the preposition *'l*

*bny lwy*

*kmšpṭ 'lyhm* “according to the *mišpāṭ* concerning them”<sup>7</sup> (1 Chr 23:31)

*'bwdh*

*kmšpṭm 'l 'bwdm* “according to their *mišpāṭ* concerning their service” (1 Chr 6:17)

With the preposition *byd*

*'hrn*

<sup>5</sup> Viz. Jeremiah's.

<sup>6</sup> Viz. Jeremiah's.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. *bny lwy* “the Levites,” v. 27.

*kmšp̄tm byd 'hrn 'byhm* “according to their *mišpāṭ* (given) by Aaron, their father” (1 Chr 24:19)

LBH2

With the preposition *l*

*'hb (qal)* participle

*kmšp̄ṭ l' hby šmk* “according to the *mišpāṭ* of those who love your name” (Ps 119:132)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH1

With the verb *šwh (piel)*

*'šr šwh YHWH 't bny y' qb 'šr śm šmw yśr'l* “which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel” (2 Kgs 17:34)

With the verb *šp̄ṭ*

*'šr šp̄ṭ hmlk* “which the king has passed” (1 Kgs 3:28)

SBH4

With the verb *'mr*

*'šr y' mrw lk* “which they shall tell you”<sup>8</sup> (Deut 17:11)

With the verb *'śh*

*'šr 'śyty* “which I have executed” (Ezek 39:21)

With the verb *r'h (hophal)*

*'šr hr'yt bhr* “which has been shown you in the mount” (Exod 26:30)

<sup>8</sup> Viz. the priests, the Levites, v. 9.

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *mišpāṭ* as Subject

SBH1

*ky hmšpṭ l'lhym hw* "for the *mišpāṭ* is God's" (Deut 1:17)

*kh mšpṭw kl hymym 'šr yšb bsdh plšty* "so has been his<sup>9</sup> *mišpāṭ* all the time he dwelt in the country of the Philistines" (1 Sam 27:11)

*kn mšpṭk* "so your *mišpāṭ* shall be" (1 Kgs 20:40)

*mh mšpṭ h'yš* "what was the *mišpāṭ* of this man?" (2 Kgs 1:7)

*ky lk mšpṭ* "for the *mišpāṭ* is yours"<sup>10</sup> (Jer 32:7)

*ky lk mšpṭ hyršh wlk hg'lh* "for the *mišpāṭ* of inheritance (and the *mišpāṭ*) of the redemption is yours"<sup>11</sup> (Jer 32:8)

SBH2

*'kn mšpṭy 't YHWH wp'ly 't 'lhy* "yet surely my *mišpāṭ* is with YHWH, and my recompense with my God" (Isa 49:4)

*'yn mšpṭ* "there is no *mišpāṭ*" (Isa 59:8.15; Jer 49:12)

*'yn l'yš hzh mšpṭ mwt* "this man is not *worthy* of death" (Jer 26:16)

*mšpṭ mwt l'š hzh* "this man is *worthy* of death" (Jer 26:11)

*'d hnh mšpṭ mw'b* "thus far is the *mišpāṭ* of Moab" (Jer 48:47)

*'yn mšpṭm lštw hkws* "they did not have the *mišpāṭ* to drink of the cup" (Jer 49:12)

*ky mšpṭy l'sp gwym lqbsy mmlkw lšpk 'lyhm z'my kl ḥrwn 'py* "for my *mišpāṭ* is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them my indignation, even all my fierce anger" (Zeph 3:8)

*šdq wmšpṭ mkwn ks'w/k* "justice and *mišpāṭ* are the foundation of his/your<sup>12</sup> throne" (Ps 89:15; 97:2)

*wmYHWH mšpṭ 'š* "a man's *mišpāṭ* comes from YHWH" (Prov 29:26)

*wmYHWH kl mšpṭw* "all his *mišpāṭ* comes from YHWH" (Prov 16:33)

SBH3

*ky lkm hmšpṭ* "for unto you<sup>13</sup> pertains the *mišpāṭ*" (Hos 5:1)

<sup>9</sup> Viz. David's.

<sup>10</sup> Viz. Jeremiah's.

<sup>11</sup> Viz. Jeremiah's.

<sup>12</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>13</sup> Viz. *byt yšr'l wbyt hmlk*, "house of Israel and house of the king."



SBH4

*lw mšpṭ ḥbkrh* “the *mišpāṭ* of the first-born is his”<sup>14</sup> (Deut 21:17)

LBH1

*ky lkl ḥpṣ yš ‘t wmšpṭ* “for to every matter there is a time and a *mišpāṭ*” (Qoh 8:6)

LBH2

*wl ‘lm kl mšpṭ ṣdqk* “each righteous *mišpāṭ* from you endures forever” (Ps 119:160)

LBH3

*‘yn mšpṭ* “there is no *mišpāṭ*” (Job 19:7)

*km ‘yl wšnyy mšpṭy* “my *mišpāṭ* was as a robe and a turban” (Job 29:14)

### 2.1.2. The Noun *mišpāṭ* as Predicative Nph

ABH

*ky kl drkyw mšpṭ* “for all his (YHWH’s) ways are *mišpāṭ*” (Deut 32:4)

SBH2

*ky ḥq lysr ‘l mšpṭ ‘l lhy y ‘qb* “for it is a statute for Israel, a *mišpāṭ* of the God of Jacob” (Ps 81:5)

*mḥšbwt ṣdyqym mšpṭ* “the thoughts of the righteous are *mišpāṭ*” (Prov 12:5)

LBH2

*m ‘šy ydyw ‘mt wmšṭ* “the works of his (YHWH’s) hands are truth and *mišpāṭ*” (Ps 111:7)

### 2.1.3. The Noun *mišpāṭ* as Predicative Pph

LBH3

*hz ‘t ḥšbt lmšpṭ ‘mrt ṣdqy m ‘l* “Do you think this to be according *mišpāṭ*, when you say: I am righteousness before God?” (Job 35:2)

<sup>14</sup> Of the first-born son; see v. 15 *ky thyyn l ‘yš šty nšym h ‘ḥt ‘ḥwbh wh ‘ḥt šnw ‘h wylḏw lw bnym h ‘ḥwbh whšnw ‘h whyh ḥbn ḥbkwr lšny ‘h* “If a man has two wives, the one beloved, and the other hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated, and if the first-born son be hers that was hated.”

## 2.2. Verbal Clauses

### 2.2.1. The Noun *mišpāt* as Subject

SBH1

With the verb *hyh*

*mh yhyh mšpṭ hn' r wm' šhw* “what shall be the *mišpāt* for the child, and what shall be done with him?” (Judg 13:12)

*zh yhyh mšpṭ hmlk 'šrymlk 'lykm* “this will be the *mišpāt* of the king who will rule over you” (1 Sam 8:11)

*w'ly ybw' kl 'yš 'šr yhyh lw ryb wmšpṭ whšdqty* “that every man who has any suit or *mišpāt* might come unto me (Absalom), and I would do him justice!” (2 Sam 15:4)

SBH2

With the verb *bw' 'l*

*mšpṭ b' 'l rṣ hmyš 'l ḥlwn w' l yhšh w' l myp' t* “*mišpāt* is come upon the tableland, upon Holon, and upon Jahzah, and upon Mephaath” (Jer 48:21)

With the verb *'br*

*wm' lhy mšpṭy y' bwr* “my *mišpāt* is passed over from my God” (Isa 40:27)

With the verb *gll* (*niphal*)

*wygl kmym mšpṭ* “let *mišpāt* well up as waters” (Amos 5:24)

With the verb *yš'*

*'l kn yš' mšpṭ m' ql* “therefore *mišpāt* goes forth perverted” (Hab 1:4)

*wl' yš' lnšḥ mšpṭ* “and *mišpāt* does never go forth”<sup>15</sup> (Hab 1:4)

*mmnw mšpṭw wš' tw yš'* “his *mišpāt* and his majesty (of the Chaldeans) proceed from himself” (Hab 1:7)

*mlpnyk mšpṭy yš'* “let my *mišpāt* come forth from you” (Ps 17:2)

With the verb *ng' 'l*

*ky ng' 'l hšmym mšpṭh* “for her *mišpāt*<sup>16</sup> reaches unto heaven” (Jer 51:9)

<sup>15</sup> Viz. it does not reach maturity.

<sup>16</sup> Viz. of Babylon.

With the verb *swg* (*hophal*)

*wswg 'ḥwr mšpṭ* “*mišpāṭ* is turned away backward” (Isa 59:14)

With the verb *rḥq*

*'l kn rḥq mšpṭ mmmw* “therefore *mišpāṭ* is far from us” (Isa 59:9)

With the verb *šwb*

*ky 'd šdq yšwb mšpṭ* “for *mišpāṭ* shall return unto justice” (Ps 94:15)

With the verb *škn*

*wškn bmdbr mšpṭ* “then *mišpāṭ* shall dwell in the wilderness” (Isa 32:16)

SBH<sub>3</sub>

With the verb *prḥ*

*wprḥ kr' š mšpṭ 'l tlmy šdy* “thus *mišpāṭ* springs up as hemlock in the furrows of the field” (Hos 10:4)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

With the verb *hyh*

*mšpṭ 'ḥd yhyh lkm kgr k' zrh yhyh* “you shall have one *mišpāṭ*, as well for the sojourner, as for the home-born” (Lev 24:22)

*wmšpṭ 'ḥd yhyh lkm wlgr hgr 'tkm* “one *mišpāṭ* shall be both for you, and for the sojourner that sojourns with you” (Num 15:16)

*wzh mšpṭ hkhnym m't h'm m't zbh'y hzbḥ* “this shall be the priests' *mišpāṭ* from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice” (Deut 18:3)

LBH<sub>3</sub>

With the verb *tmk*

*dyn wmšpṭ ytmkw* “judgment and *mišpāṭ* will seize (you)” (Job 36:17)

## 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *mišpāṭ* as Direct Object

SBH<sub>1</sub>

Without any preposition

*dbr* (*piel*) “to speak” (2 Kgs 25:6)

*yd* “to know” (1 Sam 2:13)

*ngd* (*hiphil*) “to declare” (1 Sam 8:9)

*nḥ* “to turn, to incline” (1 Sam 8:3)

ʾšh “to execute” (Gen 18:19.25; Deut 10:18; 2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 3:28; 8:45.49.59x2; 10:9)  
 qrb (*hiphil*) lḥny YHWH “to bring *mišpāt* before YHWH” (Num 27:5)  
 šym “to put,” “to set” (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25)  
 šmʿ “to listen to,” “to hear” (1 Kgs 3:11)

With the preposition ʾt

dbr (*piel*) “to speak” (1 Sam 10:25)  
 ydʿ “to know” (2 Kgs 17:26x2)  
 yrh (*hiphil*) “to teach” (2 Kgs 17:27)  
 šmʿ “to listen to,” “to hear” (1 Kgs 3:28)

SBH2

Without any preposition

ʾhb “to love” (Isa 61:8; Ps 33:5; 37:28; 99:4)  
 byn “to understand” (Prov 2:9; lʿ 28:5)  
 gzl “to tear away” (Isa 10:2)  
 dbr (*piel*) “to speak” (Isa 32:7)  
 dyn “to judge” (Jer 21:12)  
 drš “to seek” (Isa 1:17; 26:5)  
 hpk “to turn, to overturn” (Amos 5:7; 6:12)  
 ydʿ “to know” (Jer 5:4.5; 8:7)  
 yṣʾ (*hiphil*) “to bring out,” “to bring about” (Isa 42:1.3; Ps 37:6)  
 yṣg (*hiphil*) bšʿr “to establish at the gate” (Amos 5:15)  
 lyš (*hiphil*) “to deride” (Prov 19:28)  
 lqḥ “to take,” “to receive” (Prov 1:3)  
 mlʾ (*piel*) “to be filled” (Isa 33:5; Mic 3:8, *qal*)  
 nṯh (*hiphil*) “to turn, to incline,” “to pervert” (Lam 3:35)  
 ntn lʾwr “to bring to light” (Zeph 3:5)  
 ʾzb “to leave” “to abandon” (Isa 58:2)  
 ʾšh “to execute” (Mic 6:8; 7:9; Jer 5:1; 7:5; 9:23; 22:3.15; 23:5; 33:15; Prov 21:3.7.15;  
 Ps 9:5.7; 99:4 ; 140:13; 149:9)  
 pʾl “to execute” (Zeph 2:3)  
 šwh (*piel*) “to command” (Ps 7:7)  
 rgʿ (*hiphil*) “to make shine” (Isa 51:4)  
 šym “to put,” “to set” (Isa 28:17; 42:4)  
 šyr “to sing” (Ps 101:1)  
 šmr “to keep, to observe” (Isa 56:1; Ps 106:3)  
 špṭ “to judge” (Zech 7:9; 8:16; Jer 5:28; Lam 3:59)  
 tʾb (*piel*) “to abhor” (Mic 3:9)

With the preposition *'t*  
*yd'* "to know" (Mic 3:1)

## SBH3

Without any preposition  
*rꜥꜥ* "to crush" (Hos 5:11)  
*šmr* "to keep, to observe" (Hos 12:7)

## SBH4

Without any preposition  
*ml'* "to be filled" (Ezek 7:23 *qal*)  
*nṯh* "to turn, to incline" (Exod 23:6; Deut 16:19; *hiphil* 24:17; 27:19)  
*ntn* "to give," "to grant *mišpāṭ* to someone" (Ezek 21:32; 23:24)  
*'šh* "to execute" (Ezek 18:5.8.19.21.27; 33:14.16.19; 45:9)  
*r'h* "to see" (Ezek 39:21)  
*špṭ* "to judge" (Ezek 23:45x2)

With the preposition *'t*  
*nš'* "to carry" (Exod 28:30)

## LBH1

Without any preposition  
*yd'* "to know" (Qoh 8:5)  
*lmd* (*piel*) "to teach" (Ezra 7:10)  
*'šh* "to execute" (1 Chr 18:14; 2 Chr 9:8; Ps 119:84; 146:7)

## LBH2

Without any preposition  
*'šh* "to execute," "to observe" (Ps 119:121; 2 Chr 6:35.39)

## LBH3

Without any preposition  
*bḥr* "to choose" (Job 34:4)  
*byn* "to understand" (Job 32:9)  
*m's 't* "to reject" (Job 31:13)  
*ntn* "to execute" (Job 36:6)  
*swr* (*hiphil*) "to take away" (Job 27:2; 34:5)  
*'wt* (*piel*) "to make crooked" (Job 8:3; *l'* 34:12)  
*'rk* "to set in order," "to arrange" (Job 13:18; 23:4)

*pr* (hiphil) “to break” (Job 40:8)

*šn* “to hate” (Job 34:17)

### 2.2.3. Verbs Governing *mišpāṭ* as Argument or Adjunct

ABH

With the preposition *b*

*ḥz*

*wṭ ḥz b mšpṭ ydy* “my hand takes hold on *mišpāṭ*” (Deut 32:41)

SBH1

With the preposition *b*

*nkr* (hiphil) *pny*

*l' tkyrw pny b mšpṭ* “you shall not respect persons in *mišpāṭ*” (Deut 1:17)

*š'l*

*wlpny 'l zr hkhn y' md wš' l lw b mšpṭ h' wrym lpny YHWH* “he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the *mišpāṭ* of the Urim before YHWH” (Num 27:21)

With the preposition *k*

*bw* (hiphil)

*whš' rym whtbn lswsym wlrkš yb' w' l hmqwm 'šr yhyh šm 'yš kmšpṭw* “barley also and straw for the horses and swift steeds brought they unto the place where it should be, every man according to his *mišpāṭ*” (1 Kgs 5:8)

*gdd* (hithpael)

*wyqr' w bqwl gdwl wytgddw kmšpṭm bḥrbwt wbrmḥym* “they cried aloud, and cut themselves according to their *mišpāṭ* with swords and lances” (1 Kgs 18:28)

*yr'*

*'t YHWH hyw yr'ym w't 'lhyhm hyw 'bdym kmšpṭ hgwym 'šr hglw 'tm mšm* “they revered YHWH, and served their own gods, according to the *mišpāṭ* of the nations from among whom they had been carried away” (2 Kgs 17:33)

*yšb*

*'t h' m 'šr bqrhbh ywšbt lbṭḥ kmšpṭ šdnym* “the people that were therein, how they dwelt in security, after the *mišpāṭ* of the Zidonians” (Judg 18:7)

*ntn*

*wntt kws pr 'h bydw kmšpṭ hr 'šwn 'šr hyyt mšqhw* “you shall give Pharaoh’s cup into his hand, after the former *mišpāṭ* when you were his butler” (Gen 40:13)

*sbb*

*wysbw 't h 'yr kmšpṭ hzh šb ' p 'mym* “they compassed the city after the same *mišpāṭ* seven times” (Josh 6:15)

*'md*

*hmlk 'md 'lh 'mwd kmšpṭ* “the king stood on the platform, as the *mišpāṭ* was” (2 Kgs 11:14)

*'šh*

*kmšpṭ hbnwt y 'šh lh* “he shall deal with her according to the *mišpāṭ* of daughters” (Exod 21:9)

*kmšpṭ hzh y 'šh lw* “he shall deal with him according to this *mišpāṭ*” (Exod 21:31)

*kḥqt hpsḥ wkmšpṭw kn y 'šh* “according to the *ḥuqqâ* of the *Pesaḥ*, and according to the *mišpāṭ* thereof, so shall he do” (Num 9:14)

*w 'ynm 'šym kḥqtm wkmšpṭm wktwrh wkmšwh 'šr šwh YHWH 't bny y 'qb 'šr šm šmw ysr 'l* “they did not behave after their *ḥuqqôṭ*, or after their *mišpāṭ*, or after the *tôrâ* or after the *miswâ* which YHWH commanded the sons of Jacob, whom he named Israel” (2 Kgs 17:34)

*ky 'm kmšpṭm hr 'šwn hm 'šym* “but they behave after their former *mišpāṭ*” (2 Kgs 17:40)

*qr'*

*wyqr 'w bqwl gdwl wytgddw kmšpṭm* “they cried aloud and cut themselves after their *mišpāṭ*” (1 Kgs 18:28)

With the preposition *l*

*bw'*

*wyhy kl h 'yš 'šr lw ryb lbw' 'l hmlk lmšpṭ* “and it was so, that when any man had a suit which should come to the king for *mišpāṭ*” (2 Sam 15:2)

*wy 's 'bšlwm kdbz hzh lkl ysr 'l 'šr yb 'w lmšpṭ 'l hmlk* “on this manner did Absalom to all Israel that came to the king for *mišpāṭ*” (2 Sam 15:6)

*'lh*

*why' ywšbt tḥt tmr dbwrh byn hrmh wbyn byt 'l bhr 'prym wy 'lw 'lyh bny ysr 'l lmšpṭ*

“she<sup>17</sup> sat under the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim; and the Israelites came up to her for *mišpāṭ*” (Judg 4:5)

*‘md*

*‘d ‘mdw lṗny h ‘dh lṃšpṭ* “until he stands before the congregation for *mišpāṭ*” (Num 35:12)

*wyšb b ‘yr hhy ‘ d ‘mdw lṗny h ‘dh lṃšpṭ* ‘ “he<sup>18</sup> shall dwell in that city, until he stand before the congregation for *mišpāṭ*” (Josh 20:6)

*šym*

*wyhy mhywm hhw ‘ wm ‘lh wysmh lḥq wlmšpṭ lysr ‘l ‘d hywm hzh* “it was so from that day forward, that he<sup>19</sup> made it *hōq* and *mišpāṭ* for Israel unto this day” (1 Sam 30:25)

SBH2

With the preposition *b*

*bw*

*YHWH bṃšpṭ ybw ‘ m zqny ‘mw wśryw* “YHWH will enter into *mišpāṭ* with the elders of his people, and the princes thereof” (Isa 3:14)

*gbh*

*wygbh YHWH šb ‘wt bṃišpāṭ* “but YHWH of hosts is exalted through *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 5:16)

*dyn*

*ydyn ‘mk bšdq w ‘nyyk bṃšpṭ* “he<sup>20</sup> may judge your people with righteousness, and your poor ones with *mišpāṭ*” (Ps 72:2)

*drk* (*hiphil*)

*ydrk ‘nwym bṃšpṭ* “he will guide the humble ones in *mišpāṭ*” (Ps 25:9)

<sup>17</sup> Viz. Deborah.

<sup>18</sup> Viz. the murderer.

<sup>19</sup> Viz. David.

<sup>20</sup> Viz. the king.



*ysr* (*piel*)

*ysrny* YHWH 'k *bmšpṭ* 'l b'pk "correct me, YHWH but in *mišpāṭ*; not in your anger" (Jer 10:24)

*kwn* (*hiphil*)

*wls dh* *bmšpṭ* *wbšdqh* m'th w'd 'wlm "to establish it,<sup>21</sup> and to uphold it through *mišpāṭ* and through righteousness from henceforth even for ever" (Isa 9:6)

*m'l*

*bmšpṭ* l' ym 'l pyw "his<sup>22</sup> mouth should not err in *mišpāṭ*" (Prov 16:10)

*nkr* (*hiphil*) *pny*

*hkr* *pny* *bmišpāṭ* bl t'wb "to have respect of persons (viz. to show partiality) in *mišpāṭ* is not good" (Prov 24:23)

*nṯh* (*hiphil*)

*lhṯwb* ṣdyq *bmšpāṭ* "to turn aside the righteous in *mišpāṭ*" (Prov 18:5)

'*md* (*hiphil*)

*mlk* *bmšpṭ* y' *myd* 'rṣ "the king by *mišpāṭ* establishes the land" (Prov 29:4)

'*šh* 'šr

'*šh* 'šr w'l' *bmšpṭ* "the one who gets riches not by *mišpāṭ*" (Jer 17:11)

*pdh* (*niphal*)

*šywn* *bmišpāṭ* t'pdh "Zion shall be redeemed with *mišpāṭ*" (Isa 1:27)

*qwm*

'l kn l' yqmw rš' ym *bmšpṭ* "therefore the wicked shall not stand in the *mišpāṭ*" (Ps 1:5)

*šb'* (*niphal*)

*wnšb* 't h'y YHWH b' mt *bmšpṭ* *wbšdqh* "he will swear in truth, in *mišpāṭ*, and in righteousness 'As YHWH lives'" (Jer 4:2).

<sup>21</sup> Viz. the kingdom of David.

<sup>22</sup> Viz. king's.

With the preposition *bl'*

*bnh*

*hwy bnh bytw bl' šdq w'lywtyw bl' mšpṭ* “woe unto him that builds his house by unrighteousness, and his upper rooms not by *mišpāṭ'*” (Jer 22:13)

*sph* (*niphal*)

*wyš nspḥ bl' mišpṭ* “but there is that is swept away by want of *mišpāṭ'*” (Prov 13:23)

*tbw 'h*

*ṭwb m'ṭ bšdqḥ mrb tbw'wt bl' mšpṭ* “better is a little with righteousness than great revenues not with *mišpāṭ'*” (Prov 16:8)

With the preposition *l*

*ysr* (*piel*)

*wysrw lmšpṭ 'lhyw* “for he does instruct him in *mišpāṭ'*” (Isa 28:26)

*wysrtyk lmšpṭ* “for I will correct you in *mišpāṭ'*” (Jer 30:11; 46:28)

*yrd 'l*

*ky rwth bšmym ḥrby hnh 'l 'dwm trd w' l 'm ḥrmy lmšpṭ* “for my sword has drunk its fill in heaven; behold, it shall come down upon Edom, and upon the people of my ban, for *mišpāṭ'*” (Isa 34:5)

*kwn* (*piel*)

*lmšpṭ ks'w* “he has established his<sup>23</sup> throne for *mišpāṭ'*” (Ps 9:8)

*'wr* (*hiphil*)

*h'yrh whqyṣḥ lmšpṭy 'lhy w'dny lryby* “rouse you, and awake to my *mišpāṭ'*, even unto my cause, my God and my lord” (Ps 35:23)

*qwh* (*piel*)

*wyqw lmšpṭ whnh mšpḥ* “he<sup>24</sup> looked for *mišpāṭ'*, but behold violence” (Isa 5:7)

*nqwh lmšpṭ w'yn* “we look for *mišpāṭ'*, but there is none” (Isa 59:11).

<sup>23</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. YHWH.

*qwm*

*wkl lšwn tqwm 'tk lmspṭ tršy 'y* “every tongue that shall rise against you in *mišpāṭ* you<sup>25</sup> shall condemn” (Isa 54:17)

*bqwm lmspṭ 'lhym lhwšy 'kl 'nwy 'rš* “when God arose for *mišpāṭ*, to save all the humble of the earth” (Ps 76:10)

*qrb*

*lmspṭ nqrhb* “let us come near together for *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 41:1)

*wqrbty 'lykm lmspṭ* “I will come near to you for *mišpāṭ*” (Mal 3:5)

*šym*

YHWH *lmspṭ šmtw* “O YHWH, you have ordained him<sup>26</sup> for *mišpāṭ*” (Hab 1:12)

*šrr*

*wšrym lmspṭ yšrw* “and as for princes, they shall rule in *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 32:1)

With the preposition *mn*

*lqh (pual)*

*m 'šr wmmšpṭ lqh* “by oppressive *mišpāṭ* he was taken away” (Isa 53:8)

With the preposition *'l*

*bnh (niph'al)*

*w'rmwn 'l mšpṭw yšb* “the palace shall be inhabited upon its *mišpāṭ*” (Jer 30:18)

*yšb*

*lywšb 'l hmšpṭ* “to seat in *mišpāṭ*” (Isa 28:6)

SBH3

With the preposition *b*

*'rš*

*w'rštyk ly bšdq wbmšpṭ* “I will betroth you unto me in righteousness, and in *mišpāṭ*” (Hos 2:21)

<sup>25</sup> Viz. Jerusalem.

<sup>26</sup> Viz. the Chaldean.

SBH4

Without any preposition

špṭ

špṭym wštrym ttn lk bkl š'ryk 'šr YHWH 'lhyk ntn lk lšbtyk wšpṭw 't h'm mšpṭ sdq  
 “judges and officers shall you make you in all your gates, which YHWH your  
 God gives you, tribe by tribe; and they shall judge the people with *mišpāṭ* of  
 justice” (Deut 16:18)

With the preposition 'l

ngš (niphāl)

ky yhyh ryb byn 'nšym wngšw 'l hmšpṭ “if there be a controversy between men,  
 and they come unto *mišpāṭ*” (Deut 25:1)

With the preposition b

'šh

l' t'šw 'wl bmšpṭ “you shall do no unrighteousness in *mišpāṭ*” (Lev 19:15)

l' t'šw 'wl bmšpṭ bmdh bmqql wbmšwrh “you shall do no unrighteousness in  
*mišpāṭ*, in measurements of length, weight, or capacity” (Lev 19:35)

r'h

'r'nh bmšpṭ “I will feed them<sup>27</sup> in *mišpāṭ*” (Ezek 34:16)

With the preposition bl'

'šq

w't hgr 'šqw bl' mšpṭ “the people have oppressed the stranger without *mišpāṭ*”  
 (Ezek 22:29)

With the preposition k

'šh

w't hšny y'šh 'lh kmšpṭ “he shall prepare the second<sup>28</sup> for a burnt-offering, ac-  
 cording to the *mišpāṭ*” (Lev 5:10)

wy'šh kmšpṭ “he offered it (viz. 'ola, the burnt-offering) according to the  
*mišpāṭ*” (Lev 9:16)

w'šw kl h'dh pr bn bqr 'hd l'lh lryh nyhḥ LYHWH wmnḥtw wnskwmšpṭ wš'yr 'zym

<sup>27</sup> Viz. my sheep.

<sup>28</sup> Namely, one of the šty trym 'w šny bny ywnh two turtledoves, or two young pigeons one has presented to YHWH, compare v. 7.

*'ḥd lhṯt* “all the congregation shall offer one young bullock for a burnt-offering, for a sweet savour unto YHWH, with the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof, according to the *mišpāt*, and one he-goat for a sin-offering” (Num 15:24)

*w 'šytm 'lh lryḥ nyḥḥ LYHWH pr bn bqr 'ḥd 'yl 'ḥd kbśym bny šnh šb 'h tmymm* (v. 2) *wmnḥtm slt blwlh bšmn šlšh 'srnym lpr šny 'srnym l'yl* (v. 3) *w 'srwn 'ḥd lkbś h 'ḥd lšb 't hkbśym* (v. 4) *wś 'yr 'zym 'ḥd ḥṯ 't lkpr 'lykm* (v. 5) *mlbd 'lt ḥḥdš wmnḥth w 'lt htmyd wmnḥth wnskyhm kmšpṯm lryḥ nyḥḥ 'š LYHWH* (v.6) “And you shall prepare a burnt-offering for a sweet savour unto YHWH: one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v.2) and their meal-offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth part for the ram, (v. 3) and one tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; (v. 4) and one he-goat for a sin-offering, to make atonement for you, (v. 5) beside the burnt-offering of the new moon, and the meal-offering thereof, and the continual burnt-offering and the meal-offering thereof, and their drink-offerings, according their *mišpāt*, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto YHWH (v. 6)” (Num 29:6)

*qwm* (*hiphil*)

*whqmt 't hmškn kmšpṯw* “you shall rear up the tabernacle according to the *mišpāt* thereof” (Exod 26:30)

*qrb* (*hiphil*)

*whqrḅtm 'lh 'šh ryḥ nyḥḥ LYHWH prym bny bqr šlšh 'sr 'ylm šnym kbśym bny šnh 'rb 'h 'sr tmymm yhyw* (v. 13) *wmnḥtm slt blwlh bšmn šlšh 'srnym lpr h 'ḥd lšlšh 'sr prym šny 'srnym l'yl h 'ḥd lšny h 'ylm* (v. 14) *w 'srwn 'srwn lkbś h 'ḥd l'rb 'h 'sr kbśym* (v. 15) *wś 'yr 'zym 'ḥd ḥṯ 't mlbd 'lt htmyd mnḥth wnskh* (v. 16) *wbywm ḥšny prym bny bqr šnym 'sr 'ylm šnym kbśym bny šnh 'rb 'h 'sr tmymm* (v. 17) *wmnḥtm wnskyhm lprym l'ylm wlkbśym bmsprm kmšpṯ* (v. 18) *wś 'yr 'zym 'ḥd ḥṯ 't mlbd 'lt htmyd wmnḥth wnskyhm* (v. 19) “you shall present a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto YHWH: thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish; (v. 13) and their meal-offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth parts for each ram of the two rams, (v. 14) and a several tenth part for every lamb of the fourteen lambs; (v. 15) and one he-goat for a sin-offering beside the continual burnt-offering, the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof. (v. 16) And on the second day ye shall present twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blem-

ish; (v. 17) and their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 18) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, and the meal-offering thereof, and their drink-offerings. (v. 19)” (Num 29:18)<sup>29</sup>

*bywm hšlyšy prym ‘šty ‘sr ‘ylm šnym kbšym bny šnh ‘rb ‘h ‘sr tmymm* (v. 20) *wmn-htm wnskyhm lprym l’ylm wlkbšym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 21) *wš ‘yr ḥṭ ‘t ‘ḥd mlbd ‘lt htmyd wmnḥth wnskh* (v. 22) “and on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 20) and their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 21) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, and the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof (v. 22)” (Num 29:21)<sup>30</sup>

*bywm hrby ‘y prym ‘srh ‘ylm šnym kbšym bny šnh ‘rb ‘h ‘sr tmymm* (v. 23) *mnḥtm wnskyhm lprym l’ylm wlkbšym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 24) *wš ‘yr ‘zym ‘ḥd ḥṭ ‘t mlbd ‘lt htmyd mnḥth wnskh* (v. 25) “and on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 23) their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 24) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof (v. 25)” (Num 29:24)<sup>31</sup>

*bywm ḥḥmyšy prym tš ‘h ‘ylm šnym kbšym bny šnh ‘rb ‘h ‘sr tmymm* (v. 26) *wmnḥtm wnskyhm lprym l’ylm wlkbšym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 27) *wš ‘yr ḥṭ ‘t ‘ḥd mlbd ‘lt htmyd wmnḥth wnskh* (v. 28) “and on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 26) and their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 27) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, and the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof (v. 28)” (Num 29:27)<sup>32</sup>

*bywm ḥššy prym šmnh ‘ylm šnym kbšym bny šnh ‘rb ‘h ‘sr tmymm* (v. 29) *wmnḥtm wnskyhm lprym l’ylm wlkbšym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 30) *wš ‘yr ḥṭ ‘t ‘ḥd mlbd ‘lt htmyd*

<sup>29</sup> Offerings for the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

<sup>30</sup> Offerings for the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

<sup>31</sup> Offerings for the 4<sup>th</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

<sup>32</sup> Offerings for the 5<sup>th</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

*mnḥth wnskh* (v. 31) “and on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 29) and their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 30) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offerings thereof (v. 31)” (Num 29:30)<sup>33</sup>

*bywm ḥšby 'y prym šb 'h 'ylm šnym kbśym bny šnh 'rb 'h 'sr tmymm* (v. 32) *wmn-ḥtm wnskyhm lprym l 'ylm wlkbśym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 33) *wś 'yr ḥṭ 't 'ḥd mlbd 'lt htmyd mnḥth wnskh* (v. 34) “and on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 32) and their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 33) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof (v. 34)” (Num 29:33)<sup>34</sup>

*bywm ḥšmyny 'šrt thyh lkm kl ml 'kt 'bdh l 't 'św* (v. 35) *whqrbtm 'lh 'šh ryḥ nyḥḥ YHWH pr 'ḥd 'yl 'ḥd kbśym bny šnh šb 'h tmymm* (v. 36) *mnḥtm wnskyhm lpr l 'yl wlkbśym bmsprm kmšpṭ* (v. 37) *wś 'yr ḥṭ 't 'ḥd mlbd 'lt htmyd mnḥth wnskh* (v. 38) “on the eighth day you shall have a solemn assembly: you shall do no manner of servile work; (v. 35) but you shall present a burnt-offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto YHWH: one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; (v. 36) their meal-offering and their drink-offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the *mišpāt*; (v. 37) and one he-goat for a sin-offering; beside the continual burnt-offering, and the meal-offering thereof, and the drink-offering thereof (v. 38)” (Num 29:37)<sup>35</sup>

With the preposition *l*

*'md*

*w 'l ryb hmh y 'mdw lmšpṭ* “and in a controversy they shall stand for *mišpāt*” (Ezek 44:24)

<sup>33</sup> Offerings for the 6<sup>th</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

<sup>34</sup> Offerings for the 7<sup>th</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

<sup>35</sup> Offerings for the 8<sup>th</sup> day of *ḥag Sukkôt*.

With the preposition *ʿl*

*ʿšh*

*ʿl py htwrh ʿšrywrwk w ʿl hmšpṭ ʿšry ʿmrw lk t ʿšh* “according to the wording of the *tôra* which they shall teach you, and according to the *mišpāṭ* which they<sup>36</sup> shall tell you, you shall do” (Deut 17:11)

*LBH1*

With the preposition *b*

*bw ʿ*

*ky ʿl kl ʿlh yby ʿk h ʿlhym bmšpṭ* “for all these things God will bring you into *mišpāṭ*” (Qoh 11:9)

*ky ʿt kl m ʿšh h ʿlhym yb ʿl kl n ʿlm ʿm ṭwb w ʿm r ʿ* “for God shall bring every work into the *mišpāṭ* concerning every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil” (Qoh 12:14)

With the preposition *k*

*bw ʿ*

*lbw ʿ lbyṭ YHWH kmšpṭm byd ʿhrn ʿbyhm* “to come into the house of YHWH according to the *mišpāṭ* (given unto them) by the hand of Aaron their father” (1 Chr 24:19)

*bšl (piel)*

*wybšlw hpšh b ʿš kmšpṭ* “they roasted the *Pesaḥ* with fire according to the *mišpāṭ*” (2 Chr 35:13)

*drš*

*ky l ʿ dršnhw kmšpṭ* “for that we sought him<sup>37</sup> not according to the *mišpāṭ*” (1 Chr 15:13)

*ʿlh (hiphil)*

*wlkl h ʿlwt ʿlwt YHWH lšbtwt lhḏšym wlm ʿdym bmspr kmšpṭ ʿlyhm tmyd lḥny YHWH* “to offer all burnt-offerings unto YHWH, on the sabbaths, on the new moons, and in the appointed seasons, in number according to the *mišpāṭ* concerning them<sup>38</sup> continually, before YHWH” (1 Chr 23:31)

<sup>36</sup> Viz. the priests, the Levites, v. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>38</sup> Viz. *bny lwy mbn ʿšrym wlm ʿlh* “the sons of Levi from twenty years old and upward,” cf. v. 27.



‘*md*

wy‘*mdw kmšp̄tm* ‘*l* ‘*bwdtm* “they<sup>39</sup> took their station at their service according to their *mišp̄āṭ*” (1 Chr 6:17)

wy‘*mdw* ‘*l* ‘*mdm kmšp̄tm ktwrt mšh* ‘*yš h* ‘*lhym* “they<sup>40</sup> stood in their place after their *mišp̄āṭ*, according to the torah of Moses the man of God” (2 Chr 30:16)

‘*md* (*hiphil*)

y‘*md kmšp̄t dwyd* ‘*byw* ‘*t mḥlqwt hkhnym* ‘*l* ‘*bdm whlwym* ‘*l mšmrwtm lhll wlšrt ngd hkhnym lδbr ywm bywmw* “he<sup>41</sup> appointed, according to the *mišp̄āṭ* of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise, and to minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required” (2 Chr 8:14)

‘*šh*

wy‘*š* ‘*t mnrwt hzhb* ‘*sr kmšp̄tm* “he made the ten candlesticks of gold according to the *mišp̄āṭ* concerning them” (2 Chr 4:7)

wy‘*š šlmh* ‘*t kl hklym* ‘*sr byt h* ‘*lhym w* ‘*t mzbh hzhb w* ‘*t hšlhnt w* ‘*lyhm lh̄m hpny* (v.19) w‘*t hmnrwt wrtyhm lb* ‘*rm kmšp̄t l̄pny hδbyr zhb sgwr* (v. 20) “Solomon made all the vessels that were in the house of God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon was the showbread; (v. 19) and the candlesticks with their lamps, that they should burn according to the *mišp̄āṭ* before the Sanctuary, of pure gold (v. 20)” (2 Chr 4:20)

wy‘*šw* ‘*t ḥg hskwt kktwb w* ‘*lt ywm bywm bmspr kmšp̄t dbr ywm bywmw* “they kept the feast of *Sukkôt*, as it is written, and offered the daily burnt-offerings by number, according to the *mišp̄āṭ*, as the duty of every day required” (Ezra 3:4)

wy‘*šw ḥg šb* ‘*t ymym wbywm hšmyny* ‘*šrt kmšp̄t* “they celebrated the festival seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the *mišp̄āṭ*” (Neh 8:18)

<sup>39</sup> Viz. *mšty* *bšyr* “the ones who serve by singing”.

<sup>40</sup> Viz. the priests and the Levites.

<sup>41</sup> Viz. Solomon.

With the preposition *l*

*'md* (*hiphil*)

*wgm byrwšlm h'myd yhwšpṭ mn hlwym whkhnym wmr'šy h'bwt lysr'l l mšpṭ*  
YHWH *wlryb* “moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites and  
the priests, and of the heads of the fathers' houses of Israel, for the *mišpāṭ* of  
YHWH, and for controversies” (2 Chr 19:8)

LBH2

With the preposition *b*

*bw'*

*w'l tbw' b mšpṭ 't 'bdk* “enter not into *mišpāṭ* with your servant” (Ps 143:2)

*kwl* (*pilpel*)

*ṭwb 'yš hwṇn wmlwh yklkl dbryw b mšpṭ* “well is it with the man that deals gra-  
ciously and lends, that orders his affairs in *mišpāṭ*” (Ps 112:5)

With the preposition *k*

*ḥnn*

*pnh 'ly whṇny k mšpṭ l 'hby šmk* “turn you towards me, and be gracious unto me,  
according *mišpāṭ* with those that love your name” (Ps 119:132)

LBH3

With the preposition *b*

*bw'*

*ky l' 'yš kmny ' 'nmw nbw' yḥdw b mšpṭ* “for he<sup>42</sup> is not a man, as I am, that I should  
answer him, that we should come together in *mišpāṭ*” (Job 9:32)

*w' ty tby' b mšpṭ 'mk* “you<sup>43</sup> bring me into *mišpāṭ* with you?” (Job 14:3)

*yb' 'mk b mšpṭ* “that he<sup>44</sup> enters with you into *mišpāṭ*” (Job 22:4)

*hlk*

*ky l' 'l 'yš yšym 'wd l hlk 'l 'l b mšpṭ* “for he<sup>45</sup> does not appoint a time unto any  
man, when he should go before God in *mišpāṭ*” (Job 34:23)

<sup>42</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>43</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>44</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>45</sup> Viz. God.

With the preposition *l*

Nominal clause

*w' m l mšpṭ my yw 'yḏny* “if it be a matter of *mišpāṭ*, who will appoint me a time?”  
(Job 9:19)

With the preposition *l*

*kzb* (*piel*)

*'l mšpṭy 'kzb* “notwithstanding my *mišpāṭ* I am accounted a liar” (Job 34:6)

### 3. Adpositions

SBH2

*wšmty mšpṭ lqw* “I will make *mišpāṭ* a line” (Isa 28:17)

*wmšpṭy l'wr 'mym* “my *mišpāṭ* for a light of the peoples” (Isa 51:4)

*bbqr bbqr mšpṭw ytn l'wr* “morning by morning he<sup>46</sup> brings his *mišpāṭ* as a light”  
(Zeph 3:5)

### 4. Similies

SBH2

*whwš' k'wr šdqk wmšpṭk kšhrym* “he<sup>47</sup> will make your righteousness to go forth  
as the light, and your *mišpāṭ* as the noonday” (Ps 37:6)

### 5. Parallels

SBH2

*'wl* “wickedness” (Prov 19:28)

*'mwnh* “truth” (Jer 5:1)

*yš'* (*hiphil*)

*lhwšy' kl 'nwy 'rṣ* “to save all the humble of the earth” (Ps 76:10)

<sup>46</sup> Viz. God.

<sup>47</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>ʿ</sup>*p*  
*b'p̄k* “in your<sup>48</sup> anger” (Jer 10:24)

*gwrl* “a lot (for casting)” (Prov 16:33)

*gzl* “robbery” (Isa 61:8)

*dyn* “judgment” (Isa 10:2; Jer 5:28; Ps 140:13)

*d't* “knowledge” (Isa 40:14)

*drk*  
*drky* “my<sup>49</sup> way” (Isa 40:27)  
*drkw* “his<sup>50</sup> way” (Ps 25:9)  
*drk tbwnh* “the way of discernment” (Isa 40:14)

*hyšrh* “equity” (Mic 3:9)

*zbb̄* “sacrifice” (Prov 21:3)

*yšw* ‘ “salvation” (Isa 59:11)

*ḥkmh* “wisdom” (Ps 37:30)

*ḥsd* “mercy” (Mic 6:8; Zech 7:9; Ps 33:5)

*ḥq* (Ps 81:5)

*ykh̄* (*hiphil*)  
*lhwykh̄* “the punishment” (Hab 1:12)

*mw* ‘ *d* “appointed time” (Jer 8:7)

*mys̄rym* “uprightness” (Ps 99:4)

<sup>48</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>49</sup> Viz. Jacob's.

<sup>50</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

*mrmh* “deceit, treachery” (Prov 12:2.5)

*‘dh*

*‘dt šdqym* “the congregation of the righteous” (Ps 1:5)

*‘wlh* “injustice” (Isa 61:8)

*‘wth* “the bending of the law,” “oppression” (Lam 3:59)

*‘t* “time,” “occasion” (Jer 8:7)

*p ‘lh* “recompense” (Isa 49:4)

*šdq* “justice” (Isa 5:7; 16:5; Ps 72:2)

*šdqh* “righteousness” (Amos 5:7; Isa 5:7.16; 28:17; 32:16; 56:1; 58:2; 59:9.14; Ps 99:4; 106:3; Prov 8:20; 16:8)

*pry šdqh* “the fruit of righteousness” (Amos 6:12)

*qsm* “divination,” “oracle” (Prov 16:10)

*qrbh*

*qrbt ‘lhym* “closeness of God” (Isa 58:2)

*rḥmym* “tenderness” (Zech 7:9)

*ryb*

*ryby* “my cause” (Mic 7:9; Ps 35:23)

*twrh* “the *tôrâ*” (Hab 1:4; Isa 51:4)

*šqr*

*‘mry šqr* “lying words” (Isa 32:7)

SBH<sub>3</sub>

*ḥsd* “mercy” (Hos 12:7)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

*kbwd*

*kbwdy* “my<sup>51</sup> glory” (Ezek 39:21)

*hms* “violence, wrong” (Ezek 7:23)

*twrh* (Deut 17:11)

*LBH1*

*šdq* “justice” (Qoh 3:16)

*LBH2*

*dbr*

*dbrk* “your<sup>52</sup> word” (Ps 119:160)

*LBH3*

*kḥ* “strength,” “power” (Job 9:19)

*ṭwb* “what is good” (Job 34:4)

*šdq* “justice” (Job 8:3; 29:14)

*twkḥt* “argument,” “reproof” (Job 23:4)

## 6. Antonyms

*SBH2*

*mšpḥ* “bloodshed” (Isa 5:7)

## 7. Synonyms

*SBH2*

*dyn* “judgment” (Isa 10:2; Jer 5:28)

*ṭ‘m* “judgment” (Ps 119:66)

<sup>51</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>52</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

## B) Syntagmatic analysis of the Plural Forms

Plural forms: 123

(Construct State: 12; Pronominal State: 76; Absolute State: 35)

### 1. Adnominal modifiers

#### 1.1. Adjectives

SBH1

'lh “these” (Deut 7:12)

šdyqym “just, righteous” (Deut 4:8)

r'snym “former” (2 Kgs 17:34)

LBH2

yšrym “right” (Neh 9:13)

#### 1.2. Quantifier

SBH1

kl “all” (Exod 24:3; 1 Kgs 6:38)

SBH2

kl “all” (2 Sam 22:23)

SBH4

kl “all” (Num 9:3; Lev 19:37; 20:22)

LBH2

kl “all” (Ps 119:13)

#### 1.3. Pronominal suffixes

ABH

2<sup>nd</sup> singular (Deut 33:10)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 33:21)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

*SBH1*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (1 Kgs 6:12; 9:4; 11:33)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 8:11; 11:1; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:38; 8:58)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH, the temple (1 Kgs 6:38),<sup>53</sup> the offerings for the feast of *Sukkôt* (Num 29:6.33), and the *miškan* (Exod 26:30).

*SBH2*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Jer 1:16; Ps 89:31)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Isa 26:8.9; Ps 10:5; 36:7; 48:12; 72:1; 97:8)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular feminine (Zeph 3:15)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (2 Sam 22:23; Ps 18:23; 105:7)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH (Ps 72:1)<sup>54</sup> and the daughter of Jerusalem/Zion (Zeph 3:15).<sup>55</sup>

*SBH3*

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Hos 6:5)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

*SBH4*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Lev 18:4.5.26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; 26:15.43; Ezek 5:6x2.7; 11:12.20; 18:9.17; 20:11.13.16.19.21.24; 36:27; 37:24; 44:24)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Num 9:3; Deut 26:17)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (Ezek 7:27; 20:18; 23:24; 42:11)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH, *Pesaḥ* (Num 9:3), the doors of the temple's chambers (Ezek 42:11), the peoples (Ezek 23:24),<sup>56</sup> the fathers (Ezek 20:18), and Israel (Ezek 7:27).

<sup>53</sup> Viz. *byt* YHWH.

<sup>54</sup> Viz. 'Ēlohîm.

<sup>55</sup> See *bt šywn*, *bt yrwšlm*, v. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Viz. 'ammim.



LBH1

1<sup>st</sup> singular (1 Chr 28:7; 2 Chr 7:17)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Neh 9:29)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Neh 10:30)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

LBH2

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:20.30.39.43.52.75.91.102.108.120.137.149.156.175; Dan 9:5)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (1 Chr 16:14; Ps 147:19)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

#### 1.4. Nominal complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing nouns or adjectives

SBH2

'rḥ

'rḥ mšpṭyk “the way of your mišpāṭîm” (Isa 26:8)

LBH1

ryb

kl ryb ... byn dm ldm byn twrh lmšwh lḥqym wlmšpṭym “any controversy ... between blood and blood, between tôrâ and mišwâ, ḥuqqîm and mišpāṭîm” (2 Chr 19:10)

LBH2

t'bh 'l

lt'bh 'l mšpṭyk “the longing for your mišpāṭîm” (Ps 119:20)

##### 1.4.2. Governed nouns

SBH2

YHWH

mšpṭy YHWH “the mišpāṭîm of YHWH” (Ps 19:10)

*py*

*mšpṭy pyw* “the *mišpāṭîm* of his<sup>57</sup> mouth” (Ps 105:5)

*šdq*

*mšpṭy šdq* “*mišpāṭîm* of justice,” viz. “righteous *mišpāṭîm*” (Isa 58:2)

SBH4

*gwy*

*kmšpṭy hgwym* “according to the *mišpāṭîm* of the nations” (Ezek 5:7; 11:12)

*n'p (qal)* participle

*mšpṭy n'pwt wšpkt dm* “the *mišpāṭîm* of adulterous and bloody women” (Ezek 16:38)

*špk (qal)* participle

*mšpṭy n'pwt wšpkt dm* “the *mišpāṭîm* of adulterous and bloody women” (Ezek 16:38)

LBH2

*py*

*mšpṭy pyhw* “the *mišpāṭîm* of his<sup>58</sup> mouth” (1 Chr 16:12)

*šdq*

*mšpṭy šdqk* “the *mišpāṭîm* of your justice,” viz. “your righteous *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:7.62.106.164)

*kl mšpṭy pyk* “all the *mišpāṭîm* of your<sup>59</sup> mouth” (Ps 119:13)

### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

LBH2

With the preposition *mn*

*mšpṭyk m'wlm* “your<sup>60</sup> *mišpāṭîm* are of old” (Ps 119:52)

<sup>57</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>58</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>59</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>60</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

## 1.5. Relative clauses

SBH1

With the verb *dbr* (*piel* or *qal*)

*h' dt whḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr dbr mšh 'l bny yśr' l bš' tm mmšrym* “the testimonies and the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which Moses spoke unto the Israelites, when they came forth out of Egypt” (Deut 4:45)

*'t ḥḥqym w' t hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky dbr b' znykm hywm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I speak in your ears this day” (Deut 5:1)

With the verb *ktb*

*w' t ḥḥqym w' t hmšpṭym whtwrh whmšwh 'šr ktv lkm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrâ* and the *mišwâ* which he<sup>61</sup> wrote for you” (2 Kgs 17:37)

With the verb *lmd* (*piel*)

*'l ḥḥqym w' l hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky mlmd 'tkm l'šwt* “to the *ḥuqqîm* and to the *mišpāṭîm* which I<sup>62</sup> teach you, to do them” (Deut 4:1)

With the verb *ntn*

*'t kl ḥḥqym w' t hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky ntn lḥnykm hywm* “all the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I<sup>63</sup> set before you this day” (Deut 11:32)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*hmšwt whmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH byd mšh 'l bny yśr' l b' rbt mw' b' l yrdn yrḥw* “the *mišwôt* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH commanded by the hand of Moses unto the Israelites in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho” (Num 36:13)

*'t hmšwh w' t ḥḥqym w' t hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky dbr mšwk hywm l'šwtm* “the *mišwâ* the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I command you this day, to do them” (Deut 7:11)

*mšwtyw wmšpṭyw whqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm* “his *mišwâ* and his *mišpāṭîm* and his *ḥuqqôt* which I<sup>64</sup> command you today” (Deut 8:11)

<sup>61</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>62</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>63</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>64</sup> Viz. Moses.

*mšwtyw hqywm mšpṭym 'šr šwh 't 'btynw* “his *mišwōt* and his *ḥuqqîm* and his *mišpāṭîm* which he<sup>65</sup> commanded our fathers” (1 Kgs 8:58)

With the verb *šym*

*'šr tšym lṗnyhm* “which you shall set before them” (Exod 21:1)

SBH4

With the verb *hyh b*

*'t hq(w)ty w't mšpṭy 'šr y'šh '(w)tm h'dm why bhm* “my *ḥuqqōt* and my *mišpāṭîm* which if a man does, he shall live by them” (Lev 18:5; Ezek 20:11, cf. Ezek 20:13.21)

*hqym ... mšpṭym l'yhyw bhm* “*ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* whereby they should not live” (Ezek 20:25)

With the verb *lmd (piel)*

*'t kl hmšwh whqym whmšpṭym 'šr tlmdm* “the whole *mišwâ*, the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you<sup>66</sup> will teach them” (Deut 5:31)

With the verb *ntn*

*hḥqym whmšpṭym whtwrt 'šr ntn YHWH bynw wbyn bny ysr' l bhr syny byd mšh* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrôt* which YHWH gave between him and the Israelites in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses” (Lev 26:46)

With the verb *šwh (piel)*

*hmšwh hḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH 'lhykm llmd 'tkm* “the *mišwâ*, the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH your God commanded to teach you” (Deut 6:1)

*h'dt whḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH 'lhynw 'tkm* “the testimonies and the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH our God commanded you” (Deut 6:20)

With the verb *šmr*

*hḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr tšmrwn l'šwt b'rš 'šr ntn YHWH 'lhy 'btyk lk lršth* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you shall observe to do in the land which YHWH, the God of your fathers, has given you to possess it” (Deut 12:1)

<sup>65</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>66</sup> Viz. Moses.

LBH1

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

'*t hḥqym w' t hmšptym 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh 'lysr' l* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH commanded Moses concerning Israel” (1 Chr 22:13)

'*t hmšwt w' t hḥqym w' t hmšptym 'šr šwyt 't mšh 'bdk* “the *mišwōt* the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you commanded Moses your servant” (Neh 1:7)

LBH2

With the verb *ḥyh b*

'*šr y' šh 'dm whyh bhm* “by following which a man shall live” (Neh 9:29)

## 2. Predicative function

### 2.1. Nominal clauses

#### 2.1.1. *mišpāṭîm* as subject

SBH1

'*lh* “these” (Exod 21:1; Num 36:13; Deut 4:45)

*wmy gwy ḡdwl 'šr lw ḥqym wmišpatym šdyqm kkl htwrh hz' t* “and what great nation is there, that has *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* so righteous as all this *tôra*” (Deut 4:8)

SBH2

*ky kl mšptyw lngdy* “for all his<sup>67</sup> *mišpāṭîm* were before me” (2 Sam 22:23)

*k' šr mšptyk l' rš* “when your *mišpāṭîm* come upon the earth” (Isa 26:9)

*mrwm mšpatyk mngdw* “your *mišpāṭîm* are far above out of his sight” (Ps 10:5)

*kl mšptyw lngdy* “all his *mišpāṭîm* are before me” (Ps 18:23)

*mšpty YHWH 'mt* “the *mišpāṭîm* of YHWH are faithfulness,” viz. “true” (Ps 19:10)

*mšptk thwm rbh* “your *mišpāṭîm* are the great deep” (Ps 36:7)

*bkl h' rš mšptyw* “his *mišpāṭîm* are in all the earth” (Ps 105:7)

SBH3

*wmšptyk 'wryš'* “your *mišpāṭîm* are light that goes forth” (Hos 6:5)

SBH4

'*lh* “these” (Lev 26:46; Deut 12:1)

<sup>67</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

*mh h 'dt whḥqym whmšptyw* “what do the testimonies, and the *ḥuqqîm*, and the *mišpāṭîm* mean?” (Deut 6:20)

LBH2

*bkl h 'rš mšptyw* “his<sup>68</sup> *mišpāṭîm* are in all the earth” (1 Chr 16:14, cf. Ps 105:7)

*mšptyk twbym* “your *mišpāṭîm* are good” (Ps 119:39)

*šdq mšptyk* “your *mišpāṭîm* are justice,” viz. “righteous” (Ps 119:75)

*wyšr mšptyk* “your *mišpāṭîm* are upright” (Ps 119:137)

## 2.2. Verbal clauses

### 2.2.1. *mišpāṭîm* as subject

SBH2

With the verb *šdq*

*mšpty YHWH 'mt šdqw yḥdw* “the *mišpāṭîm* of YHWH are faithfulness, they are righteous altogether” (Ps 19:10)

LBH2

With the verb 'zr

*wmšptk y 'zrny* “let your *mišpāṭîm* help me” (Ps 119:175)

### 2.2.2. Verbs governing *mišpāṭîm* as direct object

ABH

Without any preposition

*yrrh* (*hiphil*) “to teach” (Deut 33:10)

*'šh* “to execute” (Deut 33:21)

SBH1

Without any preposition

*dbr* (*piel*) “to speak” (Jer 52:9)

*lmd* (*piel*) “to teach” (Deut 4:5.14)

<sup>68</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

‘šh “to put into practice” (1 Kgs 6:12; 11:33)

šmr “to keep,” “to observe” (Deut 8:11; 11:1; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:58; 9:4)

With the preposition *t*

spr (*piel*) “to recount” (Exod 24:3)

‘šh “to put into practice” (Deut 7:12; 11:32)

šm ‘ “to listen to,” “to obey” (Deut 5:1; 7:12)

šmr “to keep,” “to observe” (Deut 7:11.12)

šmr l’šwt “to take care to put into practice” (2 Kgs 17:37)

SBH2

Without any preposition

dbr (*piel*) “to speak” (Jer 1:16; 4:12; 12:1; 39:5)

zkr “to remember” (Ps 105:5)

ntn “to give” (Ps 72:1)

swr (*hiphil*) “to take away” (Zeph 3:15)

šwh (*piel*) “to command” (Mal 3:22)

š’l “to ask” (Isa 58:2)

SBH4

Without any preposition

ntn “to give” (Ezek 20:25)

‘šh “to put into practice” (Ezek 5:8; 11:12; 18:17; 20:24; 36:27)

šwh (*piel*) l’šwt “to command to observe” (Deut 26:16)

šmr “to keep,” “to observe” (Deut 26:17; Ezek 18:9)

With the preposition *t*

g’l “to abhor” (Lev 26:15)

dbr (*piel*) “to speak” (Deut 5:31)

yd’ (*hiphil*) “to make know” (Ezek 20:11)

m’s “to reject” (Ezek 20:13)

mrh (*hiphil*) “to rebel” (Ezek 5:6)

‘šh “to put into practice” (Lev 18:4; Ezek 5:7; 11:20)

šmr “to keep,” “to observe” (Lev 5:18; 18:5.26; 19:37; 20:22; Ezek 11:20; 20:18.19.21)

LBH1

Without any preposition

h̄zq l’šwt “to be constant in observing” (1 Chr 28:7)

‘šh “to put into practice” (Neh 10:30)

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (2 Chr 7:17)

With the preposition *’t*

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Neh 1:7)

*šmr l’šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (1 Chr 22:13)

LBH2

*zkr* “to remember” (1 Chr 16:12; Ps 119:52)

*yd’* “to know” (Ps 147:20)

*lmd* (*piel*) “to teach” (Ps 119:108; *qal* 119:7)

*ngd* (*hiphil*) “to declare” (Ps 147:19)

*ntn* “to give” (Neh 9:13)

*swr* (*hiphil*) “to turn aside” (Dan 9:5)

*spr* (*piel*) “to recount” (Ps 119:13)

*’šh* “to put into practice” (Ps 103:6)

*šwh* (*piel*) “to set,” “to place” (Ps 119:30)

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ps 119:106)

### 2.2.3. Verbs governing *mišpāṭîm* as argument or adjunct

SBH1

With the preposition *’l*

*šm’*

*w’th ysr’l šm’ ’l hḥqym w’l hmšptym* “and now, O Israel, hear unto the *ḥuqqîm* and unto the *mišpāṭîm*” (Deut 4:1)

With the preposition *k*

*’šh*

*’d hywm hzh hm’šym kmšptym hr’šnym* “unto this day they<sup>69</sup> do after the former *mišpāṭîm*” (2 Kgs 17:34)

With the preposition *l*

*klh*

*wbšnh h’ḥt’šrh byrh bwl hw’ hḥdš hšmyny klh hbyt lkl dbryw wkl mšptyw<sup>70</sup>* “in the

<sup>69</sup> Viz. the Samaritans.

<sup>70</sup> Qere.



eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the *mišpāṭîm* of it” (1 Kgs 6:38)

With the preposition *ʿl*

*špṭ*

*wšpṭw hʿdh byn hmkh wbyn gʿl hdm ʿlhmšpṭym hʿlh* “the congregation shall judge between the one who has smitten and the avenger of blood according to these *mišpāṭîm*” (Num 35:24)

SBH2

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*wbmšpṭy lʿylkwn* “they walk not in my *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 89:31)

With the preposition *lmʿn*

*gyl*

*wtglnh bnwt yhw dh lmʿn mšpṭyk (YHWH)* “the daughters of Judah rejoiced because of your *mišpāṭîm*, O YHWH” (Ps 48:12; 97:8)

SBH4

Without any preposition

*špṭ*

*wšpṭtyk mšpṭy nʿpwt wšpṭt dm* “I will judge you, according to the *mišpāṭîm* of women that break wedlock and shed blood;” (Ezek 16:38)

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*wbmšpṭy yllkw* “they shall also walk in my *mišpāṭîm*” (Ezek 37:24)

*mʿs*

*bmšpṭy mʿsw* “they rejected my *mišpāṭîm*” (Lev 26:43; Ezek 5:6; 20:16)

*špṭ*

*wbmšpṭyhm ʿšpṭm* “and according to their *mišpāṭîm* will I judge them” (Ezek 7:27)

*wšpṭwk wbmšpṭyhm* “they shall judge you according to their *mišpāṭîm*” (Ezek 23:24)

*bmšpṭy yšpṭwhw* “according to my *mišpāṭîm* shall they judge it” (Ezek 44:24)

With the preposition *k*

‘šh

*kkl ḥqtyw wkl mšptyw t‘šw ‘tw* “according to all the *ḥuqqôṭ* of it, and according to all the *mišpāṭîm* thereof, shall you do it (*Pesah*)” (Num 9:3)

*wkmšpty ḥgwym ‘šr sbybwykm l’ ‘šytm* “neither have you done after the *mišpāṭîm* of the nations that are round about you” (Ezek 5:7; 11:12)

SBH2

With the preposition ‘l

*hll* (*piel*)

*šb ‘bywm hlltyk ‘l mšpty šdqk* “seven times a day do I praise you, because of your righteous *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:164)

*ydh* (*hiphil*)

*ḥšwt lyh ‘qwm lhwdwt lk ‘l mšpty šdqk* “at midnight I will rise to give thanks unto you because of your righteous *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:62)

With the preposition *k*

*ḥyh*

*kmšptk ḥyny* “quicken me, according to your *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:149.156)

With the preposition *l*

‘md

*lmšptyk ‘mdw ḥywm* “they<sup>71</sup> stand this day according to your *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:91)

LBH2

With the preposition *l*

*ḥṭ’*

*wbmšptyk ḥṭ’ w bm* “but they sinned against your *mišpāṭîm*” (Neh 9:29)

With the preposition *mn*

*yr’*

*mmšptyk l’ yr’ ty* “I revere your *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:120)

*swr*

*mmšptyk l’ srty* “I have not turned aside from your *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:102)

<sup>71</sup> Viz. everything that has been created, that exists.

With the preposition *l*

*yhl* (*piel*)

*ky lmsp̄tk yhlty* “for I hope in your *mišpāṭîm*” (Ps 119:43)

### 3. Adpositions

LBH<sup>1</sup>

*rq`m yšmrw l`šwt `t kl `šr šwyty lkl htwrh whḥqym whmšp̄tym byd mšh* “if only they will observe to do all that I have commanded them, even all the *tôrâ*, the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* by the hand of Moses” (2 Chr 33:8)

### 4. Parallels

ABH

*šdqh*

*šdqt* YHWH “the righteousness of YHWH” (Deut 33:21)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*ḥqh*

*ḥqtyw* “his<sup>72</sup> *ḥuqqôṭ*” (2 Sam 22:23; Ps 18:23)

*yr`h*

*yr`t* YHWH “the reverence of YHWH” (Ps 19:10)

*šdq*

*šdq* “righteousness” (Isa 26:9)

*šdqh*

*šdqtk* “your<sup>73</sup> righteousness” (Ps 36:7; 72:1)

*twrh*

*twrt mšh* “the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Mal 3:22)

*twrty* “my<sup>74</sup> *tôrâ*” (Ps 89:31)

<sup>72</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>73</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>74</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

SBH3

*'mr**'mry py* “the words of my<sup>75</sup> mouth” (Hos 6:5)

SBH4

*ḥq**ḥqym* (Ezek 20:25)*ḥqy* “my<sup>76</sup> *ḥuqqîm*” (Ezek 11:12; 36:27)*ḥwqy 'btykm* “the *ḥuqqîm* of your fathers” (Ezek 20:18)*ḥqh**ḥqty* “my<sup>77</sup> *ḥuqqôṯ*” (Lev 18:4; 26:15.43; Ezek 5:6x2.7; 11:20; 18:9.17; 20:13.16.19.21.24; 37:24)

LBH2

*dbr**dbrw* “his<sup>78</sup> word” (Ps 147:19)*drk**drk 'mwnh* “the way of faithfulness” (Ps 119:30)*ḥsd**ḥsdk* “your lovingkindness” (Ps 119:149)*ṣdqh**ṣdqwt YHWH* “acts of righteousness of YHWH” (Ps 103:6)*rhymym**rhmyk* “your compassion” (Ps 119:156)<sup>75</sup> Viz. YHWH's.<sup>76</sup> Viz. YHWH's.<sup>77</sup> Viz. YHWH's.<sup>78</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

## Appendix 2: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun *miṣwâ*

### Distribution in MT

The noun *miṣwâ* occurs 181 times, according to the following distribution:

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>bmswt</i>						4			4
<i>bmswtyk</i>							2		2
<i>bmswtyw</i>							1		1
<i>hmswh</i>		11	2		6	1			20
<i>hmswt</i>		1			3	1			5
<i>kmswt</i>						6			6
<i>lmswh</i>						1			1
<i>lmswtk</i>							1		1
<i>lmswty</i>			1						1
<i>lmswtyk</i>							1		1
<i>lmswtyw</i>		1							1
<i>mmswt</i>					1				1
<i>mmswtyk</i>					1		2		3
<i>mswh</i>			3			1			4
<i>mswt</i>		19	4		6	11	1	1	42
<i>mswtk</i>					1		4		5
<i>mswtw</i>		1			1				2

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>mšwtý</i>		8	2		7	2			19
<i>mšwtýk</i>						3	14		17
<i>mšwtýw</i>		17			3	3	1		24
<i>wbmšwh</i>						1			1
<i>wbmšwtýw</i>						1			1
<i>whmšwh</i>		2				1			3
<i>wkmšwh</i>		1							1
<i>wkmšwt</i>						1			1
<i>wmšwt</i>							1		1
<i>wmšwtý</i>		2	4		1	1			8
<i>wmšwtýk</i>							1		1
<i>wmšwtýw</i>		1	1		1				3
<i>wmšwwt</i>							1		1
TOT	0	64	17	0	31	38	30	1	181

## SBH1

## Singular forms (21)

Exod 24:12

Deut 7:11; 8:1; 11:8.22; 27:1; 30:11; 31:5

Josh 22:3.5

1 Sam 13:13

1 Kgs 2:43; 13:21

2 Kgs 17:34.37; 18:36

Isa 36:21

Jer 32:11; 35:14.16.18

## Plural forms (43)

Gen 26:5

Exod 15:26; 16:28

Num 36:13

Deut 4:2.40; 7:9; 8:2.6.11; 10:13; 11:1.13.27.28; 27:10; 28:1.9.13.15.45; 30:8.10.16

Josh 22:5

Judg 2:17; 3:4

1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58.61; 9:6; 11:34.38; 14:8; 18:18

2 Kgs 17:13.16.19; 18:6; 23:3  
 Jer 35:18

## SBH2

## Singular forms (8)

Ps 19:9  
 Prov 6:20.23; 13:13; 19:16  
 Isa 29:13  
 Mal 2:1.4

## Plural forms (9)

Ps 78:7; 89:32  
 Prov 2:1; 3:1; 4:4; 7:1.2; 10:8  
 Isa 48:18

## SBH4

## Singular forms (8)

Num 15:31  
 Deut 5:31; 6:1.25; 15:5; 17:20; 19:9; 26:13

## Plural forms (23)

Exod 20:6  
 Lev 4:2.13.22.27; 5:17; 22:31; 26:3.14.15; 27:34  
 Num 15:22.39.40  
 Deut 5:10.29; 6:2.17; 13:5.19; 26:13.17.18

## LBH1

## Singular forms (22)

2 Chr 8:13.14.15; 14:3; 19:10; 24:21; 29:15.25(x2); 30:6.12; 31:21; 35:10.15.16  
 Ezra 10:3  
 Neh 11:23; 12:24.45; 13:5  
 Esth 3:3  
 Qoh 8:5

## Plural forms (16)

1 Chr 28:7.8; 29:19  
 2 Chr 7:19; 17:4; 24:20; 34:31  
 Ezra 7:11; 9:10.14  
 Neh 1:5.7.9; 10:30.33

Qoh 12:13

LBH<sub>2</sub>

Singular forms (1)

Ps 119:96

Plural forms (29)

Ps 112:1; 119:6.10.19.21.32.35.47.48.60.66.73.86.98.115.127.131.143.151.166.  
172.176

Neh 9:13.14.16.29.34

Dan 9:4.5

LBH<sub>3</sub>

Singular forms (1)

Job 23:12

## A) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Singular Forms

Singular forms: 61

(Construct state: 28; Pronominal State: 3; Absolute State: 30)

### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

#### 1.1. *Adjectives*

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*z't* "this" (Mal 2:1)

*mlmdh* "learned" (Isa 29:13)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

*z't* "this" (Deut 6:25; 15:5)

#### 1.2. *Quantifier*

SBH<sub>1</sub>

*kl* "all," "whole" (Deut 8:1; 11:8.22; 27:1; 31:5)



SBH4

*kl* “all,” “whole” (Deut 5:31; 15:5; 19:9)

### 1.3. Pronominal Suffixes

SBH4

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 26:13)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Num 15:31)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

LBH2

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:96)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

### 1.4. Nominal Complements

#### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

SBH1

*mšmrt*

*'tmšmrt mšwt YHWH 'lhykm* “the charge of the *mišwâ* of YHWH your God” (Josh 22:3)

SBH2

*šmr (qal)* participle

*šmr mšwh* “the one who observe the *mišwâ*” (Prov 19:16)

LBH1

*ḥrd*

*whḥrdym bmšwt 'lhynw* “the ones who tremble at the *mišwâ* of our God” (Ezra 10:3)

*m 'šh b*

*wbkl m 'šh 'šr ḥlḥl b 'bwdt byt h 'lhym wbtwrh wbmšwh* “and in every work that he<sup>1</sup> began in the service of the house of God, and in the *tôrâ*, and in the *mišwâ*” (2 Chr 31:21)

<sup>1</sup> Viz. Hezekias.

*ryb*

*kl ryb ... byn dm ldm byn twrh lmšwh lḥqym wlmšpṭym* “any controversy ... between blood and blood, between *tôrâ* and *mišwâ*, *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm*” (2 Chr 19:10)

*šmr* (*qal*) participle

*šwmr mišwh* “the one who observe the *mišwâ*” (Qoh 8:5)

#### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

SBH1

*'bwt*

*'t mšwt 'byhm* “the *mišwâ* of their fathers” (Jer 35:14.16)

YHWH

*mšwt YHWH 'lhykm* “the *mišwâ* of YHWH your God” (Josh 22:3)

*'t mšwt YHWH 'lhyk* “the *mišwâ* of YHWH your God” (1 Sam 13:13)

*Yhwndb*

*mšwt Yhwndb 'bykm* “the *mišwâ* of Jonadab your father” (Jer 35:18)

*mlk*

*mšwt hmlk* “the *mišwâ* of the king” (Isa 36:21; 2 Kgs 18:36)

SBH2

*'bwt*

*mšwt 'byk* “the *mišwâ* of your father” (Prov 6:20)

*'yš*

*mšwt 'nšym* “the *mišwâ* of men” (Isa 29:13)

YHWH

*mšwt YHWH* “the *mišwâ* of YHWH” (Ps 19:9)

LBH1

*'lhym*

*bmšwt 'lhyntw* “at the *mišwâ* of our God” (Ezra 10:3)

*dwyd*

*mšwt dwyd 'yš h'lhym* “the *mišwâ* of David, man of God” (2 Chr 8:14)

*bmšwt dwyd 'yš h'lhym* “according to the *mišwâ* of David, man of God” (Neh 12:24)

*bmšwt dwyd* “according to the *mišwâ* of David” (2 Chr 29:25)

*kmšwt dwyd* “according the *mišwâ* of David” (2 Chr 35:15; Neh 12:45)

*lwym*

*mšwt hlwym whmšrrym whš'rym* “the *mišwâ* of the Levites, and the singers and the porters” (Neh 13:5)

*mlk*

*'t mšwt hmlk* “the *mišwâ* of the king” (Esth 3:3)

*mšwt hmlk* “the *mišwâ* of the king” (2 Chr 8:15; Neh 11:23)

*bmšwt hmlk* “at the *mišwâ* of the king” (2 Chr 24:21)

*kmšwt hmlk* “according to the *mišwâ* of the king” (2 Chr 29:15; 35:10)

*wkmšwt hmlk* “and according to the *mišwâ* of the king” (2 Chr 30:6)

*kmšwt hmlk y'šyh* “according to the *mišwâ* of the king Josiah” (2 Chr 35:16)

*mšwt hmlk whšrym* “the *mišwâ* of the king and the princes” (2 Chr 30:12)

*mšh*

*kmšwt mšh* “according to the *mišwâ* of Moses” (2 Chr 8:13)

LBH3

*šph*

*mšwt šptyw* “the *mišwâ* of his<sup>2</sup> lips” (Job 23:12)

#### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

LBH1

With the preposition 'l

*khnym*

*mšwt hmlk 'l hkhnym whlwym* “the *mišwâ* of the king concerning the priests and the Levites” (2 Chr 8:15)

<sup>2</sup> Viz. God's.

*lwym*

*mšwt hmlk 'l hkhnym whlwym* “the *mišwâ* of the king concerning the priests and the Levites” (2 Chr 8:15)

*mšrrym*

*mšwt hmlk 'lyhm* “the *mišwâ* of the king concerning them”<sup>3</sup> (Neh 11:23)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH<sub>1</sub>

With the verb *ktb*

*'t lht h 'bn whrwrh whmšwh 'šr ktbt* “the tablets of stone, the *tôrâ* and the *mišwâ*, which I<sup>4</sup> have written,” (Exod 24:12)

*mšwtyw wmšptyw whqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm* “his *mišwâ* and his *mišpâṭîm* and his *ḥuqqôṭ* which I<sup>5</sup> command you today” (Deut 8:11)

*w 't hḥqym w 't hmšptym whtwrh whmšwh 'šr ktv lkm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpâṭîm* and the *tôrâ* and the *mišwâ* which he<sup>6</sup> wrote for you” (2 Kgs 17:37)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*'t mšwt YHWH 'lhyk 'šr šwk* “the *mišwâ* of YHWH your God which he commanded you” (1 Sam 13:13)

*'t hmšwh 'šr šwk YHWH 'lhyk* “the *mišwâ* which YHWH your God commanded you” (1 Kgs 13:21)

*'t hmšwt 'byhm 'šr šwm* “the *mišwâ* of their father, which he<sup>7</sup> commanded them” (Jer 35:16)

*'t kl hmšwh 'šr 'nky mšwh 'km hywm* “the whole *mišwâ* which I<sup>8</sup> command you today” (Deut 27:1)

*khqtm wkmšpṭm wktwrh wkmšwh 'šr šwh YHWH 't bny y' qb 'šr śm śmw ysr 'l* “according to their *ḥuqqôṭ*, or according to their *mišpâṭ*, or according to the *tôrâ* or according to the *mišwâ* which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel” (2 Kgs 17:34)

<sup>3</sup> Viz. *hmšrrym* “the singers.”

<sup>4</sup> Viz. God.

<sup>5</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>6</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. Jonadab.

<sup>8</sup> Viz. Moses.

SBH4

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*kkl hmšwtk 'šr šwytny* “according to the whole *mišwâ* which you<sup>9</sup> commanded me”<sup>10</sup> (Deut 26:13)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The noun *mišwâ* as Subject

SBH1

*ky mšwt hmlk hy' l'mr l' t'nhw* “for the king's *mišwâ* was, ‘Answer him not” (2 Kgs 18:36)

SBH2

*ky nr mšwh* “for the *mišwâ* is a lamp” (Prov 6:23)

*mšwt YHWH brh m'yrt 'ynym* “the *mišwâ* of YHWH is pure, enlightening the eyes” (Ps 19:9)

SBH4

*z't* “this” (Deut 6:1)

LBH1

*ky kn mšwt dwyd 'yš h'lhym* “for so was the *mišwâ* of David” (2 Chr 8:14)

*ky byd YHWH hmšwh byd nby' yw* “for the *mišwâ* was by YHWH and by his prophets” (2 Chr 29:25)<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>10</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>11</sup> The reference is to the worship in the temple previously described in the verse: *wy' md 't hlwym byt YHWH bmšlym bnblym wbknrwt bmšwt dwyd wgd hzh hmlk wntn hnby'* “he (the king Hezekiah) set the Levites in the house of YHWH with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet.”

LBH<sub>2</sub>

*lkl tklh r'yty qš rḥbh mšwtk m'd* “I have seen an end to every perfect thing; but your *mšwâ* is exceeding broad” (Ps 119:96)<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2. Verbal Clauses

### 2.2.1. The Noun *mšwâ* as Subject

No cases.

### 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *mšwâ* as Direct Object

SBH<sub>1</sub>

Without any preposition

*ntn* “to give” (Exod 24:12)

*šmr* “to observe” (Deut 30:11; 2 Kgs 17:37)

*šmr l'šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (Deut 8:1)

With the preposition 't

*qwm* (*hiphil*) “to rise, to build,” “to perform” (Jer 35:16)

*šm'* “to hear, to listen to,” “to obey” (Jer 35:14)

*šmr* “to observe” (Deut 7:11; 11:8.22; 27:1; 1 Sam 13:13; 1 Kgs 2:43; 13:21)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

Without any preposition

*nšr* “to keep” (Prov 6:20)

*yrr'* “to fear,” “to respect,” “to observe” (Prov 13:13)

With the preposition 't

*šllḥ* “to send” (Mal 2:4)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

With the preposition 't

*dbr* (*piel*) “to speak” (Deut 5:31)

<sup>12</sup> Compare Mic 7:11.

*pr̄r* (*piel*) “to break” (Num 15:31)

*šmr* “to observe” (Deut 6:25; 19:9)

*šmr l' šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (Deut 15:5)

*LBH*<sub>1</sub>

Without any preposition

*swr* “to turn aside not” (2 Chr 8:15)

*'šh* “to put into practice” (2 Chr 14:3; 30:12)

With the preposition *'t*

*'br* “to transgress” (Esth 3:3)

### 2.2.3. Verbs Governing *mišwâ* as Argument or Adjunct

*SBH*<sub>1</sub>

With the preposition *'l*

*šm'*

*y'n 'šr šm' tm 'l mšwt yhwndb 'bykm wtšmrw 't kl mšwttyw wt'šw kkl 'šr šwh 'tkm*  
 “because you have hearkened to the *mišwâ* of Jonadab your father, and kept all his precepts, and done according unto all that he commanded you” (Jer 35:18)<sup>13</sup>.

*SBH*<sub>4</sub>

With the preposition *k*

*b' r, ntn*

*b' rty hqdš mn hbyt wgm nttiyw llwy wlgr lytwm wl' lmnh kkl mšwtk* “I have put away the hallowed things out of my house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all your *mišwâ*” (Deut 26:13)

With the preposition *mn*

*swr*

*lbly swr mn hmšwh ymyn wšm' wl* “and that he<sup>14</sup> turn not aside from the *mišwâ*, to the right hand, or to the left” (Deut 17:20)

<sup>13</sup> The *mišwa* of Jonadab to his sons consists of *lbly štwy yyn* “not to drink wine,” see v. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Viz. the king.

LBH1

With the preposition *b*'*md* (*hiphil*)

wy' *md* 't *hlwym* *byt* YHWH *bmsłty*m *bnblym* *wbknrwt* *bmšwt* *dwyd* *wgd* *hzh* *hmlk* *wntn* *hnby* ' "he<sup>15</sup> set the Levites in the house of YHWH with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the *mišwâ* of David, and of Gad the king's seer and Nathan the prophet" (2 Chr 29:25)

*rgm*

wyqšrw 'lyw *wyrgmh*w 'bn *bmšwt* *hmlk* *bḥšr* *byt* YHWH "they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the *mišwâ* of the king in the court of the house of YHWH" (2 Chr 24:21)

With the preposition *k**hlk*

wylkw *hršym* *b* 'grwt *myd* *hmlk* *wšryw* *bkl* *yšr* 'l *wyhw*dh *wkmšwt* *hmlk* 'l 'mr *bny* *yšr* 'l *šwbw* 'l YHWH 'lhy 'brhm *yšḥq* *wyšr* 'l *wyšb* 'l *hplyṯh* *hnš* 'rt *lkm* *mky* *mlky* 'šwr "the posts went with the letters from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the *mišwâ* of the king, saying: 'You children of Israel, turn back unto YHWH, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, that he may return to the remnant that are escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria'" (2 Chr 30:6)

*kwn* (*niphal*)

wtkwn *h* 'bwdh *wy* 'mdw *hkhnym* 'l 'mdm *whlwym* 'l *mḥlqwtm* *kmšwt* *hmlk* "so the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their place, and the Levites by their courses, according to the king's *mišwâ*" (2 Chr 35:10)

wtkwn *kl* 'wdt YHWH *bywm* *hhw* 'l 'šwt *hpsḥ* *wh* 'lwt 'lwt 'l *mzbḥ* YHWH *kmšwt* *hmlk* *y* 'šyhw "all the service of YHWH was prepared the same day, to keep the *Pesaḥ*, and to offer burnt-offerings upon the altar of YHWH, according to the *mišwâ* of king Josiah" (2 Chr 35:16)

'lh 'lwt

'z *h* 'lh *šlmh* 'lwt YHWH 'l *mzbḥ* YHWH 'šr *bnh* *lpny* *h* 'wlm (v. 12) *wbdbr* *ywm* *bywm* *lh* 'lwt *kmšwt* *mšh* *lšbtwt* *wlḥdšym* *wlmw* 'dwt *šlwš* *p* 'mym *bšnh* *bḥg* *hmšwt* *wbḥg* *hšb* 'wt

<sup>15</sup> Viz. the king Hezekiah.



*wbhg hskwt* (v. 13) “Then Solomon offered burnt-offerings unto YHWH on the altar of YHWH, which he had built before the porch (v.12) even as the duty of every day required, offering according to the *mišwâ* of Moses, on the Sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the appointed seasons, three times in the year, even in the feast of *maššôt*, and in the feast of *šabu’ôt*, and in the feast of *sukkôt*” (2 Chr 8:13)

### 3. Adpositions

SBH4

*z’t hmšwh hḥqym whmšp̄tym* “this is the *mišwâ*, the *ḥuqqîm*, and the *mišpāṭîm*” (Deut 6:1)

### 4. Parallels

SBH2

*dbr* “word” (Prov 13:13)

*pqwdym*

*pqwdy YHWH* “the precepts of YHWH” (Ps 19:9)

*twrh*

*twrt ’mk* “the *tôrâ* of your mother” (Prov 6:20)

*twrh* (Prov 6:23)

SBH4

*dbr*

*dbr YHWH* “the word of YHWH” (Num 15:31)

LBH2

*tklh* “completedness,” “perfection” (Ps 119:96)

LBH3

*’mr*

*’mry pyw* “the words of his<sup>16</sup> mouth” (Job 23:12)

<sup>16</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

## B) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Plural Forms

Plural forms: 120

(Construct state: 24; Pronominal State: 87; Absolute State: 9)

### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

#### 1.1. Adjectives

SBH1

*ktwbh* (sic) “written” (Deut 30:10)

SBH4

*lh* “these” (Lev 26:14; Num 15:22)

LBH2

*twbym* “good” (Neh 9:13)

#### 1.2. Quantifier

SBH1

*kl* “all” (Deut 4:6; 28:1.15.45; 30:8; 1 Kgs 6:12; 2 Kgs 17:16; Jer 35:18)

SBH4

*kl* “all” (Lev 4:2.13.22; 5:17; 26:14.15; Num 15:22.39.40; Deut 5:29; 6:2; 13:19; 26:18)

LBH1

*kl* “all” (1 Chr 28:8; 2 Chr 24:20; Neh 10:30)

LBH2

*kl* “all” (Ps 119:6.151.172)

#### 1.3. Pronominal Suffixes

SBH1

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; Deut 11:13; 1 Kgs 6:12; 9:6; 11:34.38; 14:8; 2 Kgs 17:13)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Exod 15:26; Deut 4:40; 7:9; 8:2.11; 11:1; 27:10; 28:1.15.45; 30:8.10.16; Josh 22:5; 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 8:58.61; 2 Kgs 18:6; 23:3; Jer 35:18)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH, once to Jehonadab (Jer 35:18).

SBH2

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Isa 48:18; Ps 89:32; Prov 2:1; 3:1; 4:4; 7:1.2)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 78:7)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH, once to 'El (Ps 78:7); in Proverbs to the wise (*ḥakam*) as speaker.

SBH4

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Exod 20:6; Lev 22:31; 26:3.15; Num 15:40; Deut 5:10.29; 6:2)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 26:13)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 13:5.19; 26:17.18)

The pronoun refers always to YHWH.

LBH1

1<sup>st</sup> singular (1 Chr 28:7; 2 Chr 7:19; Neh 1:9)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (1 Chr 29:19; Ezra 9:10.14)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (2 Chr 14:4; 34:31; Neh 1:5; Qoh 12:13)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH ('*Ēlohîm* in Ezra 9:10.14; 2 Chr 17:4).

LBH2

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:6.10.19.21.32.35.47.48.60.66.73.86.98.127.131.14

3. 151.166.172.176; Neh 9:16.29.34; Dan 9:5)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 112:1; Dan 9:4)

The pronoun refers to YHWH.

## 1.4. Nominal Complements

### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

SBH1

šmr (*qal*) participle

šmry mšwtyw “those who keep his mišwōt” (Deut 7:9)

SBH4

*šmr* (*qal*) participle*wlšmry mšwtyk* “to those who keep my *mišwōt*” (Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10)

LBH1

*dbrym**dbry mšwt YHWH* “the words of the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Ezra 7:11)

LBH2

*drk**drk mšwtyk* “the way of your *mišwōt*” (Ps 119:32)*ntyb**bntyb mšwtyk* “in the path of your *mišwōt*” (Ps 119:35)*šmr* (*qal*) participle*wlšmry mšwtyw* “to those who keep his *mišwōt*” (Dan 9:4)

## 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

SBH1

YHWH

*t mšwt YHWH* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Deut 10:13; Judg 3:4; 1 Kgs 18:18)*mšwt YHWH* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Judg 2:17)*t mšwt YHWH lhykm* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH your (pl.) God” (Deut 4:2; 11:27.28)*t mšwt YHWH lhyk* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH your (sg.) God” (Deut 8:6; 28:9)*l mšwt YHWH lhyk* “unto the *mišwōt* of YHWH your (sg.) God” (Deut 28:13)*t kl mšwt YHWH lhyhm* “all the *mišwōt* of YHWH their God” (2 Kgs 17:16)*t mšwt YHWH lhyhm* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH their God” (2 Kgs 17:19)

SBH4

YHWH

*mkl mšwt YHWH* “from all the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Lev 4:2.13; 5:17)*mmšwt YHWH* “from the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Lev 4:27)*t kl mšwt YHWH* “all the *mišwōt* of YHWH” (Num 15:39)*mkl mšwt YHWH lhyw* “from all the *mišwōt* of YHWH his God” (Lev 4:22)*t mšwt YHWH lhykm* “the *mišwōt* of YHWH your (pl.) God” (Deut 6:17)

LBH1

YHWH

't mšwt YHWH “the mišwōt̄ of YHWH” (2 Chr 24:20)

mšwt YHWH “the mišwōt̄ of YHWH” (Ezra 7:11)

't kl mšwt YHWH “all the mišwōt̄ of YHWH” (Neh 10:30)

kl mšwt YHWH 'lhykm “all the mišwōt̄ of YHWH your (pl.) God” (1 Chr 28:8)

LBH2

'lhy

mšwt 'lhy “the mišwōt̄ of my God” (Ps 119:115)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH1

With the verb *ntn*

mšwty ḥqty 'šr nnty lḥnykm “my mišwōt̄ and my ḥuqqōt̄ which I have set before you” (1 Kgs 9:6)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

hmšwt whmšp̄tym 'šr šwh YHWH byd mšh 'l bny ysr 'l b 'rbt mw 'b 'l yrdn yrḥw “the mišwōt̄ and the mišp̄t̄im which YHWH commanded by the hand of Moses unto the Israelites in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho” (Num 36:13)

't mšwt YHWH 'lhykm 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm “the mišwōt̄ of YHWH your God which I<sup>17</sup> command you” (Deut 4:2)'l mšwty/'l mšwt YHWH 'lhykm 'šr 'nky mšwh 'tkm hywm “to my mišwōt̄/to the mišwōt̄ of YHWH their God which I<sup>18</sup> command you today” (Deut 11:13.27)'t ḥqyw w 't mšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm “the ḥuqq̄im and the mišwōt̄ which I<sup>19</sup> command you today” (Deut 4:40)'t mšwt YHWH w 't ḥqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm “the mišwōt̄ of YHWH and his ḥuqqōt̄ which I<sup>20</sup> command you today” (Deut 10:13)'t mšwtw w 't ḥqyw 'šr 'nwky dbr mšwk hywm “his mišwōt̄ and his ḥuqq̄im which I<sup>21</sup> command you this day” (Deut 27:10)

<sup>17</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>18</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>19</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>20</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>21</sup> Viz. Moses.

't kl mšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm “all his mišwōt̄ which I<sup>22</sup> command you today” (Deut 28:1; 30:8)

't kl mšwtyw whqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm “all his mišwōt̄ and his ḥuqqōt̄ which I<sup>23</sup> command you today” (Deut 28:15)

'l mšwt YHWH 'lhyk 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm lšmr wl 'šwt “to the mišwōt̄ of YHWH your God which I<sup>24</sup> command you today to observe and put into practice” (Deut 28:13)

't kl mšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm “all his mišwōt̄ which I<sup>25</sup> command you today” (Deut 30:8)

mšwtyw whqyw wmšptyw 'šr šwh 't 'btyw “his mišwōt̄ and his ḥuqqîm and his mišpāṭîm which he<sup>26</sup> commanded our fathers” (1 Kgs 8:58)

mšwtyw 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh “his mišwōt̄ which YHWH commanded Moses” (2 Kgs 18:6)

mšwtyw whqtyw 'šr šwk “his mišwōt̄ and his ḥuqqōt̄ which he<sup>27</sup> has commanded you” (Deut 28:45)

SBH4

With the verb *dbr* (*piel*)

't kl hmšwt h 'lh 'šr dbr YHWH 'l mšh “all these mišwōt̄ which YHWH has spoken unto Moses” (Num 15:22)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

hmšwt 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh 'l bny yśr 'l bhr syny “the mišwōt̄ which YHWH commanded Moses for the Israelites at mount Sinai” (Lev 27:34)

't mšwt YHWH 'lhykm w 'dtyw whqyw 'šr šwk “the mišwōt̄ of YHWH your God, and his testimonies and his ḥuqqîm which he<sup>28</sup> has commanded you” (Deut 6:17)

't kl mšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm l 'šwt “all his mišwōt̄ which I<sup>29</sup> command you today to put into practice” (Deut 13:19)

't kl hqtyw wmšwtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk “all the ḥuqqōt̄ and the mišwōt̄ which I<sup>30</sup> command you” (Deut 6:2)

<sup>22</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>23</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>25</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>26</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>27</sup> Viz. God.

<sup>28</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>29</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>30</sup> Viz. Moses.

With the verb *šh*

*mkl mšwt YHWH ('lhyw) 'šr l' t'synh* “from all the *mišwōt* of YHWH (his God) which he<sup>31</sup> has commanded you not to be done” (Lev 4:2.22.27; 5:17)

LBH1

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*'t hmšwt w' t hḥqym w' t hmšptym 'šr šwyt 't mšh 'bdk* “the *mišwōt* the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāḥîm* which you commanded Moses your servant” (Neh 1:7)

LBH2

With the verb *'hb*

*bmšwtyk 'šr 'hbty* “in your *mišwōt* which I have loved” (Ps 119:47.48)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *mišwōt* as Subject

SBH1

*'lh* “these” (Num 36:13)

SBH4

*'lh* “these” (Lev 27:34)

LBH2

*wkl mšwtyk 'mwnh* “all your *mišwōt* are faithful” (Ps 119:86)

*mšwtyk š š'y* “for all your *mišwōt* are my delight” (Ps 119:143)

*wkl mšwtyk 'mt* “all your *mišwōt* are truth” (Ps 119:151)

*ky kl mšwtyk šdq* “for all your *mišwōt* are righteousness” (Ps 119:172)

<sup>31</sup> Viz. YHWH.

## 2.2. Verbal Clauses

### 2.2.1. The Noun *mišwōt* as Subject

LBH2

*ḥkm* (*piel*)

*m' yby ṯḥkmny mšwtyk* “your *mišwōt* make me wiser than my enemies” (Ps 119:98)

### 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *mišwōt* as Direct Object

SBH1

Without any preposition

*m' n* (*piel*) *lšmr* “to refuse to keep” (Exod 16:28)

*'zb* “to forsake” (1 Kgs 18:18)

*'šh* “to put into practice” (Deut 27:10)

*šmr* “to observe” (Gen 26:5; Deut 4:2.40; 8:2.11; 11:1; 28:45; 30:10.16; Josh 22:5; Judg 2:17; 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 8:58.61; 9:6; 11:34.38; 14:8; 2 Kgs 17:13; 18:6; 23:3; Jer 35:18)

With the preposition *'t*

*'zb* “to forsake” (2 Kgs 17:16)

*'šh* “to put into practice” (Deut 30:8)

*šm'* “to listen to,” “to obey” (Judg 3:4)

*šmr* “to observe” (Deut 4:2; 8:6; 10:13; 1 Kgs 6:12; 2 Kgs 17:19)

*šmr l' šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (Deut 28:1.15)

SBH2

Without any preposition

*lqḥ* “to receive” (Prov 10:8)

*nšr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ps 78:7; Prov 3:1)

*špn* “to hide,” “to treasure” (Prov 2:1; 7:1)

*šmr* “to keep” (Ps 89:32; Prov 4:4; 7:2)

SBH4

Without any preposition

*'šh* “to put into practice” (Lev 22:31)

*šmr* “to observe” (Lev 22:31; Deut 26:17.18)

With the preposition *'t*

*zkr* “to remember” (Num 15:39.40)



'šh "to put into practice" (Lev 26:3.14.15; 15:22.40)

šmr "to observe" (Lev 26:3; Deut 6:2.17; 13:5.19)

LBH<sub>1</sub>

Without any preposition

drš "to seek out" (1 Chr 28:8)

'zb "to forsake" (2 Chr 7:19; Ezra 9:10)

'md (*hiphil*) "to set up," "to make" (Neh 10:33)

'šh "to put into practice" (1 Chr 28:7)

pr̄r (*piel*) "to break" (Ezra 9:14)

šmr "to observe" (1 Chr 28:19; Neh 1:5.9; Qoh 12:13)

With the preposition 't

'br "to transgress" (2 Chr 24:20)

'šh "to put into practice" (Neh 10:30)

šmr "to observe" (2 Chr 34:31; Neh 1:7)

LBH<sub>2</sub>

Without any preposition

'hb "to love" (Ps 119:127)

lmd "to learn" (Ps 119:73)

nšr "to keep" (Ps 119:115)

ntn "to give" (Neh 9:13)

swr "to turn aside" (Dan 9:5)

str (*hiphil*) "to hide not" (Ps 119:19)

'šh "to put into practice" (Ps 119:166)

šwh (*piel*) "to command" (Neh 9:14)

škḥ "to forget" (Ps 119:176)

šmr "to observe" (Ps 119:60)

### 2.2.3. Verbs Governing *mišwōt* as Argument or Adjunct

SBH<sub>1</sub>

With the preposition 'l

šm'

'm šm' tšm' w' l mšwty šr' nky mšwh' tkm hywml' hbh 't YHWH 'lhykm wl' bdw bkl lbbkm w bkl npškm (v.13) wntty mṭr' rškm b' tw ywrh wmlqwš w' spt dgnk wtyršk wyšhrk (v.14) "if you shall hearken diligently unto my *mišwōt* which I command you this day, to love

YHWH your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, (v. 13) that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that you may gather in your corn, and your wine, and your oil (v. 14)” (Deut 11:13)

*'t hbrkh 'šr tšm 'w 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhykm* “the blessing, if you shall hearken unto the *mišwōt* of YHWH your God” (Deut 11:27)

*whqllq 'm l' tšm 'w 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhykm* “and the curse, if you shall not hearken unto the *mišwōt* of YHWH your God” (Deut 11:28)

*wntnk YHWH lr 'š wl' lznb whyyt rq lm 'lh wl' thyh lmṯh ky tšm ' 'l mšwt YHWH 'lhyk* “YHWH will make you the head, and not the tail; and you shall be above only, and you shall not be beneath; if you shall hearken unto the *mišwōt* of YHWH your God” (Deut 28:13)

With the preposition *l*

*'zn* (*hiphil*)

*wy 'mr 'm šmw ' tšmw ' lqwl YHWH 'lhyk whyšr b 'yryw t 'šh wh 'znt lmšwtyw wšmrt kl ḥqyw kl mḥlh 'šr šmty bmsrym l' 'šym 'lyk ky 'ny YHWH rp 'k* “he said: ‘If you will diligently hearken to the voice of YHWH your God, and will do that which is right in his eyes, and will give ear to his *mišwōt*, and keep all his *ḥuqqīm*, I will put none of the diseases upon you, which I have put upon the Egyptians; for I am YHWH that heals you” (Exod 15:26)

SBH2

With the preposition *l*

*qšb* (*hiphil*)

*lw' ḥqšnt lmšwty wyhy knhr šlwmk wšdqtk kgly hym* “Oh that you would hearken to my *mišwōt*! Then would your peace be as a river, and your righteousness as the waves of the sea” (Isa 48:18)

SBH4

With the preposition *mn*

*ḥṯ'*

*ky thṯ' bšggh mkl mšwt YHWH 'šr l' t 'šynh* “if anyone shall sin through error, in any of the *mišwōt* which YHWH has commanded not to be done” (Lev 4:2)

*'br*

*l' 'brty mmšwtyk* “I have not transgressed any of your *mišwōt*” (Deut 26:13)

LBH1

With the preposition *b**hlk*

*ky l' lhy 'byw drš wbmšwtyw hlk wl' km 'šh yśr' l* “but he<sup>32</sup> sought to the God of his father, and walked in his *mišwōt*, and not after the doings of Israel” (2 Chr 17:4)

LBH2

With the preposition *'l**nbṭ (hiphil)*

*'z l' 'bwš bhbyty 'l kl mšwtyk* “then should I not be ashamed, when I have regard unto all your *mišwōt*” (Ps 119:6)

*nś' kpy*

*w' s' kpy 'l mšwtyk 'šr 'hbty* “I will lift up my hands also unto your *mišwōt*, which I have loved” (Ps 119:48)

*šm'*

*whm w' btywn hzydw wyqšw 't 'rpm wl' šm' w' l mšwtyk* “but they and our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened their neck, and hearkened not to your *mišwōt*” (Neh 9:16)

*qšb (hiphil)*

*w' t mlkynw śrynw khnynw w' btywn l' 'šw twrtk wl' hqšybw 'l mšwtyk wl' dwtyk 'šr h' ydt bhm* “neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept your *tôrâ*, nor and did not listen to your *mišwōt* and your warnings, wherewith you did testify against them” (Neh 9:34)

*š' ' (hithpael)*

*w' št' š' bmšwtyk 'šr 'hbty* “and I will delight myself in your *mišwōt*, which I have loved” (Ps 119:47)

With the preposition *b**'mn (hiphil)*

*ky bmšwtyk h' mnty* “for I have believed your *mišwōt*” (Ps 119:66)

<sup>32</sup> Viz. Jehoshaphat.

*ḥpš*

*šry 'yš yr' 't YHWH bmswtwy ḥpš m'd* “happy is the man that reveres YHWH that delights greatly in his *mišwōt̄*” (Ps 112:1)

With the preposition *l*

*y'b*

*py p'rt y w 'š' ph ky lmšwtyk y'bty* “I opened wide my mouth, and panted; for I longed for your *mišwōt̄*” (Ps 119:131)

*šm'*

*whmh hzydw wl' šm' w lmšwtyk* “yet they dealt proudly, and hearkened not unto your commandments *mišwōt̄*” (Neh 9:29)

With the preposition *mn*

*šgh* (*hiphil*)

*bkl lby drštyk 'l tšgny mmšwtyk* “with my whole heart have I sought you; O let me not err from your *mišwōt̄*” (Ps 119:10)

*g'rt zdym 'rwrym šgym mmšwtyk* “you have rebuked the proud that are cursed, that do err from your *mišwōt̄*” (Ps 119:21)

### 3. Parallels

*SBH2*

*'mr*

*'mry* “my<sup>33</sup> words” (Prov 2:1; 7:1)

*dbr*

*dbry* “my<sup>34</sup> words” (Prov 4:4)

*ḥqh*

*ḥqty* “my<sup>35</sup> *ḥuqqōt̄*” (Ps 89:32)

*m'll*

*m'lly 'l* “the works of God” (Ps 78:7)

<sup>33</sup> Viz. the wise's/father's.

<sup>34</sup> Viz. the wise's/father's.

<sup>35</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

*pqwdym*  
*pqdy* YHWH “the precepts of YHWH” (Ps 19:9)

*twrh*  
*twrty* “my<sup>36</sup> *tôrâ*” (Prov 3:1; 7:2)

SBH4  
*ḥqh*  
*ḥqty* “my<sup>37</sup> *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Lev 26:3.15)

*mšpṭ*  
*mšpṭy* “my<sup>38</sup> *mišpāṭîm*” (Lev 26:15)

LBH2  
*d't* “knowledge” (Ps 119:66)

*zḥb* “gold” (Ps 119:127)

*ḥq*  
*ḥqyk* “your<sup>39</sup> *ḥuqqîm*” (Ps 119:48)

*ṭ'm* “sense,” “taste,” “judgment” (Ps 119:66)

YHWH (Ps 112:1)

*yšw'h*  
*yšw'tk* “your salvation” (Ps 119:166)

*mšpṭ*  
*mšpṭyk* “your<sup>40</sup> *mišpāṭîm*” (Neh 9:29)

*pz* “pure gold” (Ps 119:127)

<sup>36</sup> Viz. the wise's/father's.

<sup>37</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>38</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>39</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>40</sup> Viz. YHWH's.



### Appendix 3: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun *tôrà*

#### Distribution in MT

The noun *tôrà* occurs 220 times, according to the following distribution:

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>btwrh</i>			2			4			6
<i>btwrt</i>		2	1			9	3		15
<i>btwrtw</i>			1						1
<i>btwrty</i>		2	1				1		4
<i>btwrtyw</i>							1		1
<i>htwrh</i>		27	2		9	10			48
<i>htwrt</i>		1							1
<i>ktwrt</i>						1			1
<i>ktwrtk</i>							1		1
<i>ltwrh</i>			1			1			2
<i>mtwrtk</i>							3		3
<i>twrh</i>	1	1	15		3	2		1	23
<i>twrt</i>		8	12	1	18	9	1		49
<i>twrtk</i>							18		18
<i>twrty</i>			8	2	2				12
<i>twrtyw</i>		1			2				3
<i>wbtwrh</i>						1			1

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>wbtwrk</i>		1							1
<i>wbtwrtw</i>		1	2						3
<i>whtwrh</i>		2							2
<i>whtwrt</i>					1				1
<i>wktwrh</i>		1				1			2
<i>wltwrtw</i>			1						1
<i>wmtwrk</i>			1						1
<i>wtwrh</i>			3		1		1		5
<i>wtwrt</i>			2						2
<i>wtwrk</i>	1		1				5		7
<i>wtwrty</i>		2	2						4
<i>wtwrtyw</i>			1						1
<i>wtwrwt</i>							1		1
TOT	2	49	56	3	36	38	35	1	220

## ABH

Singular forms (2)

Deut 33:4.10

## SBH1

Singular forms (44)

Exod 12:49; 13:9; 16:4; 24:12

Num 31:21

Deut 1:5; 4:8.44; 27:3.8; 28:58.61; 29:20.28; 30:10; 31:9.11.12.24.26; 32:46

Josh 1:7.8; 8:31.32.34(x2); 22:5; 23:6; 24:26

2 Sam 7:19

1 Kgs 2:3

2 Kgs 10:31; 14:6; 17:13.34.37; 21:8; 22:8.11; 23:24.25

Jer 44:10.23

## Plural forms (5)

Gen 26:5

Exod 16:28; 18:16.20

Jer 32:23



## SBH2

## Singular forms (54)

Isa	1:10; 2:3; 5:24; 8:16.20; 30:9; 42:4.21.24; 51:4.7.
Jer	2:8; 6:19; 8:8; 9:12; 16:11; 18:18; 26:4; 31:33.
Amos	2:4
Mic	4:2
Hab	1:4
Zeph	3:4
Hag	2:11
Zech	7:12
Mal	2:6.7.8.9; 3:22
Ps	1:2(x2); 19:8; 37:31; 40:9; 78:1.5.10; 89:31; 94:12
Prov	1:8; 3:1; 4:2; 6:20.23; 7:2; 13:14; 28:4(x2).7.9; 29:18; 31:26
Lam	2:9

## Plural forms (2)

Isa	24:5
Ps	105:45

## SBH3

## Singular forms (3)

Hos	4:6; 8:1.12
-----	-------------

## SBH4

## Singular forms (32)

Lev	6:2.7.18; 7:1.7.11.37; 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:2.32.54.57; 15:32
Num	5:29.30; 6:13.21(x2); 15:16.29; 19:2.14.
Deut	17:11.18.19; 27:26
Ezek	7:26; 22:26; 43:12(x2)

## Plural forms (4)

Lev	26:46
Ezek	43:11; 44:5.24

## LBH1

## Singular forms (38)

Ezra	3:2; 7:6.10; 10:3
Neh	8:1.2.3.7.8.9.13.14.18; 9:3; 10:29.30.35.37; 12:44; 13:3.
1 Chr	16:40; 22:12

2 Chr 12:1; 14:3; 15:3; 17:9; 19:10; 23:18; 25:4; 30:16; 31:3.4.21; 33:8; 34:14.15.19;  
35:26.

## LBH<sub>2</sub>

### Singular forms (33)

Ps 119:1.18.29.34.44.51.53.55.61.70.72. 77.85.92.97.109.113.126.  
136.142.150.153.163.165.174.

Dan 9:11(x2).13

Neh 9:14.26.29.34.

2 Chr 6:16.

### Plural forms (2)

Dan 9:10

Neh 9:13.

## LBH<sub>3</sub>

### Singular forms (1)

Job 22:22

## A) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Singular Forms

Singular forms: 207

(Construct state: 66; Pronominal State: 50; Absolute State: 91)

### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

#### 1.1. *Adjectives*

##### SBH<sub>1</sub>

*ḥt* “one, only one” (Exod 12:49)

*z't* “this” (Deut 1:5; 4:8; 27:3.8; 28:58.61; 29:28; 31:9.11.12; 31:24; 32:46)

##### SBH<sub>4</sub>

*ḥt* “one, only one” (Lev 7:7; Num 15:16.29)

*z't* “this” (Num 5:30; Deut 17:18; 27:26)

**1.2. Quantifier**SBH<sub>1</sub>*kl* “all,” “whole” (Deut 4:8; 27:3.8; 28:58; Josh 1:7; 2 Kgs 17:13; 21:8; 23:25)SBH<sub>4</sub>*kl* “all,” “whole” (Num 5:30)LBH<sub>1</sub>*kl* “all,” “whole” (2 Chr 33:8)**1.3. Pronominal Suffixes**

ABH

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 33:10)

The pronoun indicates YHWH.

SBH<sub>1</sub>1<sup>st</sup> singular (Exod 16:4; Jer 44:10)3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Jer 44:23)

The pronoun indicates YHWH.

SBH<sub>2</sub>1<sup>st</sup> singular (Isa 51:7; Jer 6:19; 16:11; 26:4; 31:33; Prov 3:1; 4:2; 7:2; Ps 78:1; 89:31)2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 40:9; 94:12)3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Isa 42:24; Ps 1:2; 78:10)The pronoun indicates YHWH,<sup>1</sup> and the wise speaking as a father to his son (Prov 3:1; 4:2; 7:2).SBH<sub>3</sub>1<sup>st</sup> singular (Hos 8:1.12)<sup>1</sup> Viz. *’Ēlohîm* (Ps 78:10).

The pronoun indicates God.<sup>2</sup>

SBH4

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ezek 22:26)

The pronoun indicates YHWH.

LBH2

1<sup>st</sup> singular (2 Chr 6:16)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:18.29.34.44.51.53.55.61.70.77.85.92.97.109.113.126.136.142.150.153.163.165.174; Neh 9:26.29.34; Dan 9:11)

The pronoun indicates YHWH.

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

SBH1

*dbrym*

*'t kl dbry htwrh hz't* “all the words of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 27:3.8; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12; 32:46)

*'t dbry htwrh hz't* “the words of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 31:24)

*'t kl dbry htwrh* “all the words of the *tôrâ*” (Josh 8:34)

*'t dbry htwrh* “the words of the *tôrâ*” (2 Kgs 23:24)

*ḥqh*

*ḥqt htwrh* “the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ*” (Num 31:21)

*mšnh*

*mšnh twrt mšh* “the copy of the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Josh 8:32)

*spr*

*bspr htwrh hz't* “in the written record of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 28:61)

*bspr htwrh hzh* “in this written record of the *tôrâ*” (Deut 29:20; 30:10)

<sup>2</sup> Viz. *'Ēlohîm*.

'*t spr htwrh hzh* “this written record of the *tôrâ*” (Deut 31:26)

*spr htwrh hzh* “this written record of the *tôrâ*” (Josh 1:8)

*bspr twrt mšh* “in the written record of the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Josh 8:31; 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6)

*bspr htwrh* “in the written record of the *tôrâ*” (Josh 8:34)

*bspr twrt 'lhym* “in the written record of the *tôrâ* of God” (Josh 24:26)

*spr htwrh* “the written record of the *tôrâ*” (2 Kgs 22:8)

'*t dbry spr htwrh* “the words of the written record of the *tôrâ*” (2 Kgs 22:11)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*tpś (qal)* participle

*wtpśy htwrh* “the ones who handle the *tôrâ*” (Jer 2:8)

SBH<sub>3</sub>

*rb*

*rby twrty* “many things of my *tôrâ*” (Hos 8:12)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

*dbrym*

'*t kl dbry htwrh hz' t* “all the words of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 17:19)

'*t dbry htwrh hz' t* “the words of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 27:26)

*ḥqh*

*ḥqt htwrh* “the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ*” (Num 19:2)

*mšnh*

'*t mšnh htwrh hz' t* “the copy of this *tôrâ*” (Deut 17:18)

LBH<sub>1</sub>

*dbrym*

'*t dbry htwrh* “the words of the *tôrâ*” (2 Chr 34:19; Neh 8:9)

'*l dbry htwrh* “to the words of the *tôrâ*” (Neh 8:13)

*mhyr*

*mhyr btwrt mšh* “ready in the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Ezra 7:6)

*m'šh b*

*wbkl m'šh 'šr h'hl b'bwdt byt h'lhym wbtwrh wbmšwh* “and in every work that he<sup>3</sup> began in the service of the house of God, in the *tôrâ*, and in the *mišwâ*” (2 Chr 31:21)

*mn'wt*

*mn'wt htwrh* “the portions appointed by the *tôrâ*” (Neh 12:44)

*spr*

*spr htwrh* “the written record of the *tôrâ*” (2 Chr 34:15)

*spr twrt YHWH* “the written record of the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (2 Chr 17:9)

*'t spr twrt YHWH* “the written record of the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (2 Chr 34:14)

*'t spr twrt mšh* “the written record of the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Neh 8:1)

*bspr twrt h'lhym* “in the written record of the *tôrâ* of God” (Neh 8:18)

*'l spr htwrh* “unto the written record of the *tôrâ*” (Neh 8:3)

*LBH2*

*npl'wt*

*npl'wt mtwrk* “wondrous things out of your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:18)

*spr*

*bspr twrt YHWH 'lhyhm* “in the written record of the *tôrâ* of YHWH their God” (Neh 9:3)

#### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

*SBH1*

*'dm*

*twrt h'dm* “the *tôrâ* of the men” (2 Sam 7:19)

*'lhym*

*twrt 'lhym* “the *tôrâ* of God” (Josh 24:26)

*YHWH*

*twrt YHWH* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Exod 13:9)

*twrt YHWH 'lhy ysr'l* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH, God of Israel” (2 Kgs 10:31)

<sup>3</sup> Viz. Hezekias.

*mšh**twrt mšh* “the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Josh 8:31.32; 23:6; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 23:25)SBH<sub>2</sub>*'lhym**twrt 'lhym* “the *tôrâ* of God” (Isa 1:10; Ps 37:31)*'m**twrt 'm* “the *tôrâ* of your mother” (Prov 1:8; 6:20)*'mt**twrt 'mt* “the *tôrâ* of truth,” viz. “the truthful *tôrâ*” (Mal 2:6)*ḥkm**twrt ḥkm* “the *tôrâ* of the wise” (Prov 13:14)*ḥsd**twrt ḥsd* “the *tôrâ* of kindness” (Prov 31:26)

YHWH

*twrt YHWH* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Amos 2:4; Isa 30:9; Jer 8:8; Ps 1:2; 19:8)*twrt YHWH šb'wt* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH of hosts” (Isa 5:24)*mšh**twrt mšh* “the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Mal 3:22)SBH<sub>3</sub>*'lhym**twrt 'lhym* “the *tôrâ* of God” (Hos 4:6)SBH<sub>4</sub>*'šm**twrt h'šm* “the *tôrâ* of the guilt-offering” (Lev 7:1)*byt**twrt byt* “the *tôrâ* of the temple” (Ezek 43:12x2)*zblḥ**twrt zblḥ ḥšlmyḥn* “the *tôrâ* of the sacrifice of peace-offerings” (Lev 7:11)

*hṭ't*

*twrt hṭ't* “the *tôrà* of the sin-offering” (Lev 6:18)

*mnḥh*

*twrt hmnḥh* “the *tôrà* of the meal-offering” (Lev 6:7)

*nzyr*

*twrt hnzyr* “the *tôrà* of the Nazirite” (Num 6:13.21)

*twrt nzw* “the *tôrà* of his Naziriteship” (Num 6:21)

*'lh*

*twrt h'lh* “the *tôrà* of the burnt-offering” (Lev 6:2)

*šr't*

*twrt hšr't* “the *tôrà* of leprosy” (Lev 14:57)

*qn't*

*twrt hqn't* “the *tôrà* of the jealousy” (Num 5:29)

*twrt hbhmmh wh'wp wkl nps hḥyh hrmšt bmyw wkl nps hšršt'l h'rš* “the *tôrà* of the beast, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that moves in the waters, and of every creature that swarms upon the earth” (Lev 11:46)

*twrt hyltd lzkr'w lnqbh* “the *tôrà* for her that bears a child, whether a male or a female” (Lev 12:7)

*twrt ng' šr't bgd hšmr'w hpštyw'w hšty'w h'rb'w kl kly'wr lṭhrw'w lṭm'w* “the *tôrà* of the plague of leprosy in a garment of wool or linen, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean” (Lev 13:59)

*twrt hmšr' bywm ṭhrtw* “the *tôrà* of the leper in the day of his cleansing” (Lev 14:2)

*twrt šr bw' ng' šr't šrl' tšyg ydw bṭhrtw* “the *tôrà* of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose means suffice not for (that which pertains to) his cleansing” (Lev 14:32)

*twrt hzbw' šrtš' mmmw škbtzr' lṭm'h bh* “the *tôrà* of him that has an issue, and of him from whom the flow of seed goes out, so that he is unclean thereby” (Lev 15:32)



LBH1

'lhy<sup>m</sup>*twrt h' lhy<sup>m</sup>* “the *tôrà* of God” (Neh 8:8.18; Neh 10:29.30)

YHWH

*twrt YHWH* “the *tôrà* of YHWH” (1 Chr 16:40; 2 Chr 12:1; 17:9; 31:3.4; 34:14; 35:26; Ezra 7:10)*twrt YHWH 'lhyk/'lhy<sup>m</sup>* “the *tôrà* of YHWH your/their God” (1 Chr 22:12)*mšh**twrt mšh* “the *tôrà* of Moses” (2 Chr 23:18; 30:16; Ezra 3:2, 7:6; Neh 8:1)

LBH2

YHWH

*twrt YHWH 'lhyk/'lhy<sup>m</sup>* “the *tôrà* of YHWH your/their God” (Neh 9:3)*mšh**twrt mšh* “the *tôrà* of Moses” (Dan 9:11.13)*py**twrt pyk* “the *tôrà* of your mouth” (Ps 119:72)

### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

LBH1

*twrt YHWH byd mšh* “the *tôrà* of YHWH (given) by Moses” (2 Chr 34:14)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH1

With the verb *ktb**'t llqt h'bn whrwrh whmšwh 'šr ktbt<sup>y</sup> lhwrtm* “the tablets of stone, the *tôrà* and the *mišwâ*, which I<sup>4</sup> have written, that you may teach them” (Exod 24:12)

<sup>4</sup> Viz. God.

*w't hḥqym w't hmšpṭym wḥtwrh whmšwh 'šr ktb lkm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrâ* and the *mišwâ* which he<sup>5</sup> wrote for you” (2 Kgs 17:37)

With the verb *ntn*

*kk l htwrh hz't 'šr 'nky ntn lṗnykm hywm* “as all this *tôrâ* which I set before you this day” (Deut 4:8)

*btwrty wḥḥqṭy 'šr nṭty lṗnykm wlpny 'bwtykm* “in my *tôrâ* and my *ḥuqqôṭ* which I<sup>6</sup> set before you and before your fathers” (Jer 44:10)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*ḥqt htwrh 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh* “the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ* which YHWH has commanded Moses” (Num 31:21)

*kk l htwrh 'šr šwk mšh 'bdy* “according the whole *tôrâ* which Moses my servant commanded you” (Josh 1:7)

*kk l htwrh 'šr šwyty 't 'btykm w 'šr šlḥty 'lykm byd 'bdy hnby'ym* “according the whole *tôrâ* which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by the hand of my servants the prophets” (2 Kgs 17:13)

*ḥḥqtm wkmšpṭm wḥtwrh wkmšwh 'šr šwh YHWH 't bny y'qb 'šr śm śmw yśr'l* “according to their *ḥuqqôṭ*, or according to their *mišpāṭ*, or according to the *tôrâ* or according to the *mišwâ* which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel” (2 Kgs 17:34)

*wkl htwrh 'šr šwh 'tm 'bdy mšh* “according to the whole *tôrâ* which my servant Moses commanded them” (2 Kgs 21:8)

With the verb *śym*

*htwrh 'šr śm mšh lṗny bny yśr'l* “the *tôrâ* which Moses set before the Israelites” (Deut 4:44)

SBH2

With the verb *ntn*

*'t twrty/btwrty 'šr nṭty lṗnyh(/k)m* “my *tôrâ*/in my *tôrâ* which I<sup>7</sup> set before them/you” (Jer 9:12; 26:4)

<sup>5</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>6</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. YHWH.

SBH4

With the verb *yrh*

*'l py htwrh 'šr ywrwk* “according to the wording of the *tôrâ* which they<sup>8</sup> shall teach you” (Deut 17:11)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*ḥqt htwrh 'šr šwh YHWH* “the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ* which YHWH has commanded” (Num 19:2)

*htwrh ... 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh bhr syny bywm šwtw 't bny yšr'l lhqryb 't qrbnyhm LYHWH bmdbr syny* “the *tôrâ* ... which YHWH commanded Moses at mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the Israelites to present their offerings unto YHWH, in the wilderness of Sinai” (Lev 7:37–38)

LBH1

With the verb *ntn*

*btwrt mšh 'šr ntn YHWH 'lhy yšr'l* “in the *tôrâ* of Moses which YHWH, the God of Israel, had given” (Ezra 7:6)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*btwrt YHWH 'šr šwh 'l yšr'l* “in the *tôrâ* of YHWH which he<sup>9</sup> commanded unto Israel” (1 Chr 16:40)

*'t spr twrt mšh 'šr šwh YHWH 'l yšr'l* “the written record of the *tôrâ* of Moses which YHWH had commanded to Israel” (Neh 8:1)

*btwrh 'šr šwh YHWH byd mšh* “in the *tôrâ* which YHWH had commanded by Moses” (Neh 8:14)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *tôrâ* as Subject

SBH1

*z't* “this” (Deut 4:44; 2 Sam 7:19)

<sup>8</sup> Viz. the priests.

<sup>9</sup> Viz. YHWH.

## SBH2

*'m twrty blbm* “the people in whose heart is my *tôrâ*” (Isa 51:7)

*wtwrt YHWH 'tnw* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH is with us” (Jer 8:8)

*twrt YHWH tmmymh mšybt npš* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH is perfect, restoring the soul” (Ps 19:8)

*twrt 'lhyw blbw* “the *tôrâ* of his God is in his<sup>10</sup> heart” (Ps 37:31)

*wtwrk btwk m 'y* “your *tôrâ* is in my inmost parts” (Ps 40:9)

*wtwrh 'wr* “the *tôrâ* is light” (Prov 6:23)

*twrt hkm mqwr hyym* “the *tôrâ* of the wise is a fountain of life” (Prov 13:14)

*wtwrh hsd 'l lšwnh* “the *tôrâ* of kindness is on her<sup>11</sup> tongue” (Prov 31:26)

## SBH4

*z't* “this” (Lev 6:2.7.18; 7:1.11.37; 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:2.32.54.57; 15:32; Num 5:29; 6:13.21; 19:14; Ezek 43:12x2)

*kḥṭ' t k' šm twrh 'ḥt lhm* “(as is the sin-offering) so is the guilt-offering; there is one *tôrâ* for them” (Lev 7:7)

*z't htwrh l'lh lmnḥh wlḥṭ' t wl' šm wmlw' ym wlzbbḥ hšlmym* “this is the *tôrâ* for the burnt-offering, for the meal-offering, and for the sin-offering, and for the guilt-offering, and for the consecration-offering, and for the sacrifice of peace-offerings” (Lev 7:37)

*z't htwrh lkl ng' hšr' t wlntq* “this is the *tôrâ* for all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scab” (Lev 14:54)

## LBH1

*will' twrh* “there is no *tôrâ*” (2 Chr 15:3)

## LBH2

*ṭwb ly twrt pyk m' lpy zhb wksp* “the *tôrâ* of your mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver” (Ps 119:72)

*twrtk š' š' y* “for your *tôrâ* is my delight” (Ps 119:77.174)

*lwly twrtk š' š' y* “unless your *tôrâ* had been my delight” (Ps 119:92)

*wtwrk 'mt* “your *tôrâ* is truth” (Ps 119:142)

<sup>10</sup> Viz. *šaddîq*, “the righteous,” v. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Viz. *'ēšet ḥayil*, “a capable woman,” v. 10.

2.1.2. The Noun *tôrâ* as Predicative Nph or PphSBH<sub>2</sub>

*ky 'm btwrt YHWH ḥpšw* “but his delight is in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Ps 1:2)

LBH<sub>2</sub>

*krw ly zdtm šyḥwt 'šr l' ktwrtk* “the insolents have dug pits for me, which is not according to your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:85)

*ky 'm btwrt YHWH ḥpšw* “but his delight is in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Ps 1:2)

## 2.2. Verbal Clauses

2.2.1. The Noun *tôrâ* as SubjectSBH<sub>1</sub>

With the verb *hyh*

*twrh 'ḥt yhyh<sup>12</sup> l' zrh wlgw hgr ntkkm* “one *tôrâ* shall be to him that is home born, and unto the sojourner that sojourns among you” (Exod 12:49)

*lm 'n thyh twrt YHWH bpyk* “that the *tôrâ* of YHWH may be in your mouth” (Exod 13:9)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

With the verb *'bd*

*ky l' twrh t'bd mkhn* “for *tôrâ* shall not perish from the priest” (Jer 18:18)

With the verb *hyh*

*twrt 'mt hyth bpyhw* “*tôrâ* of truth was in his<sup>13</sup> mouth” (Mal 2:6)

With the verb *yš'*

*ky mšywn tš' twrh* “for out of Zion shall go forth the *tôrâ*” (Mic 4:2; Isa 2:3)

*ky twrh m'ty tš'* “for *tôrâ* shall go forth from me”<sup>14</sup> (Isa 51:4)

With the verb *pwg*

*'l kn tpwg twrh* “therefore *tôrâ* is slacked” (Hab 1:4)

<sup>12</sup> Odd agreement, *twrh* is feminine.

<sup>13</sup> Viz. Levi's.

<sup>14</sup> Viz. YHWH.

## SBH4

With the verb *'bd*

*wtwrh t'bd mkhn* “*tôrâ* shall perish from the priest” (Ezek 7:26)<sup>15</sup>

With the verb *hyh*

*twrh 'ht wmspt'hd yhyh lkm wlgr hgr 'tkm* “one *tôrâ* and one *mišpāt* shall be both for you, and for the sojourner that sojourns with you” (Num 15:16)

*h'zrh bbny ysr'l wlgr hgr btwkm twrh 'ht yhyh lkm* “both he that is home-born among the Israelites, and the sojourner that sojourns among them: you shall have one *tôrâ* for them” (Num 15:29)

2.2.2. Verbs Governing *tôrâ* as a Direct Object

## ABH

Without any preposition

*yrh (hiphil)* “to teach” (Deut 33:10)

*šwh (piel)* “to command” (Deut 33:4)

## SBH1

Without any preposition

*ntn* “to give” (Exod 24:12)

*šmr l'šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (2 Kgs 17:37)

With the preposition *'t*

*b'r (piel)* “to expound, to explain” (Deut 1:5)

*ktb* “to write” (Deut 31:9)

*qr'* “to proclaim” (Deut 31:11)

*šmr l'šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (Josh 22:5)

## SBH2

Without any preposition

*l' 'bh šmw'* “to refuse to hear” (Isa 30:9)

*'dr (hiphil)* “to make glorious” (Isa 42:21)

*'zn (hiphil)* “to hear” (Isa 1:10; Ps 78:1)

*bqš (piel)* “to seek” (Mal 2:7)

<sup>15</sup> Compare Jer 18:18.

*gdł* (*hiphil*) “to make great” (Isa 42:21)  
*zkr* “to remember” (Mal 3:22)  
*ḥms* “to do violence” (Zeph 3:4)  
*ḥtm* “to seal” (Isa 8:16)  
*nṭš* “to forsake” (Prov 1:8; 6:20)  
*nšr* “to keep” (Prov 28:7)  
*ʿzb* “to leave,” “to abandon” (Ps 89:31; Prov 4:2; 28:4)  
*škh* “to forget” (Prov 3:1)  
*šʿl* “to ask” (Hag 2:11)  
*šmʿ* “to listen to,” “to obey” (Prov 28:9)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Prov 7:2; 28:4; 29:18)  
*šym* “to set,” “to establish” (Ps 78:5)

With the preposition *ʿt*

*mʿs* “to reject” (Isa 5:24; Amos 2:4)  
*ntn* “to give” (Jer 31:33)  
*ʿzb* “to leave,” “to abandon” (Jer 9:12)  
*šmʿ* “to listen to,” “to obey” (Zech 7:12)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Jer 16:11)

SBH3

Without any preposition

*škh* “to forget” (Hos 4:6)

SBH4

Without any preposition

*ḥms* “to do violence” (Ezek 22:26)  
*ʿšh* “to put into practice” (Num 5:30)

LBH1

Without any preposition

*ʿšh* “to put into practice” (2 Chr 14:3)

With the preposition *ʿt*

*bwʿ* (*hiphil*) “to bring” (Neh 8:2)  
*drš* “to seek,” “to interpret” (Ezra 7:10)  
*ʿzb* “to leave,” “to abandon” (2 Chr 12:1)  
*šmʿ* “to listen to,” “to obey” (Neh 13:3)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (1 Chr 22:12)

LBH<sub>2</sub>

Without any preposition

*'hb* “to love” (Ps 119:97.113.163.165)

*hnn* “to grant graciously” (Ps 119:29)

*nšr* “to keep” (Ps 119:34)

*'br* “to pass” (Dan 9:11)

*'zb* “to leave,” “to abandon” (Ps 119:53)

*'šh* “to put into practice” (Neh 9:34)

*pr* (*hiphil*) “to break, to frustrate” (Ps 119:126)

*šwh* (*piel*) “to command” (Neh 9:14)

*š'ʿ* (*piel*) “to delight” (Ps 119:70)

*škh* “to forget” (Ps 119:61.109.153)

*šlk* “to cast” (Neh 9:26)<sup>16</sup>

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ps 119:44.55.136)

LBH<sub>3</sub>

Without any preposition

*lqh* “to receive” (Job 22:22)

2.2.3. Verbs Governing *tôrâ* as Argument or AdjunctSBH<sub>1</sub>

With the preposition *b*

*ktb*

*kktwb btwrt mšh* “according to that which is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses” (1 Kgs 2:3)

*hlk*

*hylk btwrt 'm l'* “whether they will walk in my *tôrâ*, or not” (Exod 16:4)

*wyhw' l' šmr llkt btwrt YHWH 'lhy yšr' l bkl lbbw* “but Jehu took no heed to walk in the *tôrâ* of YHWH, the God of Israel, with all his heart” (2 Kgs 10:31)

*wl' hlkw btwrt* “they did not walk in my *tôrâ*” (Jer 44:10)

*wbtrtw wbhqttyw wb' dwttyw l' hlktm* “you have not walked in his *tôrâ*, nor in his *ḥuqqôṭ*, nor in his testimonies” (Jer 44:23)

<sup>16</sup> *wyšlkw 't twrtk 'hry gwm* “they cast your *tôrâ* behind their back.”



With the preposition *k*

*šh*

*w'ynm 'šym khqtm wkmšp̄tym wktwrh wkmšwh* “neither do they after their *ḥuqqôṭ*, or after their *mišpāṭim*, or after the *tôrâ* or after the *mišwâ*” (2 Kgs 17:34)

*šdyq*

*wmy gwy 'šr lw ḥqym wmišp̄tym šdyqm kkl htwrh hz 't* “what great nation is there, that has *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭim* so righteous as all this *tôrâ*” (Deut 4:8)

*šwb*

*l' hyh l'pnyw mlk 'šr šb 'l YHWH bkl lbbw w bkl nṣšw w bkl m'dw kkl twrt mšh* “there was no king before him, that turned to YHWH with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the *tôrâ* of Moses” (2 Kgs 23:25)

*šmr l' šwt*

*rq ḥzq w'mš m'd lšmr l' šwt kkl htwrh* “only be strong and very courageous, to observe to do according to all the *tôrâ*” (Josh 1:7)

*rq 'm yšmrw l' šwt kkl 'šr šwyty w lkl htwrh 'šr šwh 'tm 'bdy mšh* “if only they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the *tôrâ* that my servant Moses commanded them” (2 Kgs 21:8)

*šmr*

*wšmrw mšwty ḥqwty kkl htwrh* “keep my *mišwōṭ* and my *ḥuqqôṭ*, according to all the *tôrâ*” (2 Kgs 17:13)

SBH2

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*'m l' tšm'w 'ly llkt bwtwrt* “if you will not listen to me, to walk in my *tôrâ*” (Jer 26:4)

*wbtwrtw m' nw llkt* “they refused to walk in his *tôrâ*” (Ps 78:10)

*ḥpš*

*ky 'm bwtwt YHWH ḥpšw* “but his delight is in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Ps 1:2)

*kšl (hiphil)*

*hkšltm rbym bwtwrh* “you have caused many to stumble in the *tôrâ*” (Mal 2:8)

*m's*

*wtwrty wym'sw bh* “and as for my *tôrâ*, they have rejected it” (Jer 6:19)

*nš' pnym*

*wnš'ym pnym btwrh* “but you have had respect of persons in the *tôrâ*” (Mal 2:9)

*šm'*

*wl' šm' bwtwtw* “neither were they obedient unto his *tôrâ*” (Isa 42:24)

With the preposition *l*

*drš*

*ydrš b'd hhyym 'l hmtym ltwrh wlt'wdh* “should not a people seek unto their God? On behalf of the living unto the dead for *tôrâ* and for testimony?” (Isa 8:20)

*yhl (piel)*

*wlwtwtw 'yym yyhylw* “the isles shall wait for his *tôrâ*” (Isa 42:4)

With the preposition *mn*

*lmd (piel)*

*'šry hgbr 'šr tysrnw yh wmtwrk tlmđnw* “happy is the man whom you instruct, YHWH, and teach out of your *tôrâ*” (Ps 94:12)

SBH3

With the preposition *'l*

*pš'*

*w'l twrty pš'w* “they have trespassed against my *tôrâ*” (Hos 8:1)

SBH4

With the preposition *'l py*

*'šh*

*'l py htwrh 'šrywrwk w'l hmšpť 'šry'mrw lk t'šh* “according to the *tôrâ* which they shall teach you, and according to the *mišpāť* which they<sup>17</sup> shall tell you, you shall do” (Deut 17:11)

<sup>17</sup> Viz. the priests, the Levites, v. 9.

With the preposition *ʿl*

*ʿšh*

*kn ʿšh ʿl twrt nzw* “so he must do after the *tôrâ* of his Naziriteship” (Num 6:21)

LBH1

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*llkt btwrt ʿlhym* “to walk in God’s *tôrâ*” (Neh 10:30)

*hʒq*

*lm ʿn yhʒqw btwrt YHWH* “that they might give themselves to the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (2 Chr 31:4)

*ktb*

*wkl hktwb btwrt YHWH* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (1 Chr 16:40)

*kktwb btwrt YHWH* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (2 Chr 31:3; 35:26)

*kktwb btwrt mšh* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses” (2 Chr 23:18; Ezra 3:2)

*kktwb btwrt mšh ʿš h ʿlhym* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses, man of God” (Ezra 3:2)

*kktwb btwrt bsp̄r mšh* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ*, the book of Moses” (2 Chr 25:4)

*kktwb btwrth* “according to all that is written in the *tôrâ*” (Neh 10:35.37)

*ktwb btwrh* “written in the *tôrâ*” (Neh 8:14)

With the preposition *byn*

*ryb*

*kl ryb ... byn dm ldm byn twrh lmswh lhqym wlmšp̄tym* “any controversy ... between blood and blood, between *tôrâ* and *mišwâ*, *ḥuqqîm* and *mišp̄ātîm*” (2 Chr 19:10)

With the preposition *k*

*ʿmd*

*wy ʿmdw ʿl ʿmdm kmšp̄tm ktwrt mšh ʿyš h ʿlhym* “they<sup>18</sup> stood in their place after their order, according to the *tôrâ* of Moses the man of God” (2 Chr 30:16)

<sup>18</sup> Viz. the priests and the Levites.

‘šh

*wktrw* y ‘šh “and let it be done according to the *tôrâ*” (Ezra 10:3)

With the preposition *l*

*byn* (*hiphil*)

*wyšw’ wbnw wšrbyh ymyn ‘qwb šbty hwdyh m‘šyh qlyt’ ‘zryh ywzbd ḥnn pl’yh whlwym mbynym ‘t h‘m htwrh* “Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiiah, even the Levites, caused the people to understand the *tôrâ*” (Neh 8:7)

*šmr l‘šwt*

*‘m yšmrw l‘šwt ‘t kl ‘šr šwyty lkl htwrh whḥqym whmšptym byd mšh* “if only they will observe to do all that I have commanded them, even all the *tôrâ* and the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* by the hand of Moses” (2 Chr 33:8)

With the preposition ‘*l*

*bdl* (*niphal*)

*wkl hnbdl m‘my h‘ršwt ‘l twrtk h‘lhym* “and all they that had separated themselves from the peoples of the lands unto the *tôrâ* of God” (Neh 10:29)

LBH2

With the preposition ‘*l*

*šwb* (*hiphil*)

*wt‘d bhm lhšybm ‘l twrtk* “you did forewarn them, that you might bring them back unto your *tôrâ*” (Neh 9:29)

With the preposition *b*

*hllk*

*‘šry tmymy drk hllkym btwrt YHWH* “happy are they that are upright in the way, who walk in the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Ps 119:1)

*rq ‘m yšmrw bnyk ‘t drkm llkt btwrt* “if only your children take heed to their way, to walk in my *tôrâ*” (2 Chr 6:16)

*ktb*

*h‘lh whšb ‘h ‘šr ktwb btwrt mšh ‘br h‘lhym* “the curse and the oath that is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses the servant of God” (Dan 9:11)

*k‘šr ktwb btwrt mšh* “as it is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Dan 9:13)

With the preposition *k*

*krh*

*krw ly zdtm šyhwt 'šr l' ktwrk* “the insolents have dug pits for me, which is not according to your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:85)

With the preposition *mn*

*nbṭ* (*hiphil*)

*w'byṭh npl' wt mtwrk* “that I may behold wondrous things out of your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:18)

*nṭh*

*mtwrk l' ntyty* “yet have I not turned aside from your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:51)

*rḥq*

*mtwrk rḥqw* “they are far from your *tôrâ*” (Ps 119:150)

### 3. Adpositions

*ABH*

*twrh šwh lnw mšh mwršh qhlt y'qb* “Moses commanded us a *tôrâ*, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob” (Deut 33:4)

*SBH2*

*zkrw twrt mšh 'bdy ... ḥqym wmšptym* “remember you the *tôrâ* of Moses my servant ... *ḥuqāim* and *mišpāṭim*” (Mal 3:22)

*LBH1*

*wyqr' bspr btwrt h'lhym* “they read in the book, in the *tôrâ* of God, distinctly” (Neh 8:8)

### 4. Similes

*SBH3*

*'ktb lw rby twrty kmw zr nḥšbw* “I<sup>19</sup> wrote for him many things of my *tôrâ*, but they<sup>20</sup> regarded them as something alien” (Hos 8:12)

<sup>19</sup> Viz. God.

<sup>20</sup> Viz. Israelites.

## 5. Parallels

ABH

*mwršh* possession (Deut 33:4)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*'mr' 'mrh*

*'mrt qdwš yśr' l* “the word of the Holy One of Israel” (Isa 5:24)

*'mry py* “the word of my<sup>21</sup> mouth” (Ps 78:1)

*bryt*

*bryt hlwy* “the covenant of Levi” (Mal 2:8)

*bryt 'lhym* “the covenant of God” (Ps 78:10)

*dbr*

*dbr* “word” (Jer 18:18)

*dbr YHWH* “the word of YHWH” (Mic 4:2; Isa 1:10; 2:3)

*dbry* “my<sup>22</sup> word” (Jer 6:19)

*d't* “knowledge” (Mal 2:7)

*drk*

*drky* “my<sup>23</sup> ways” (Mal 2:9)

*drkyw* “his<sup>24</sup> ways” (Isa 42:24)

*hzw* “vision” (Lam 2:9; Prov 29:18)

*hkmh* “wisdom” (Prov 31:26)

*hq*

*hqyw* (Amos 2:4)

*lqh* “learning,” “teaching” (Prov 4:2)

<sup>21</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>22</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>23</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

*mwsr* 'byk "the discipline of your father" (Prov 1:8)

*mšwh*

*mšwt* 'byk "the *mišwōt* of your father" (Prov 6:20)

*mšwh* "*mišwâ*" (Prov 6:23)

*mšwty* "my<sup>25</sup> *mišwōt*" (Prov 3:1; 7:2)

*mšp̄t*

*mšp̄t* "*mišp̄ā*" (Hab 1:4; Isa 42:4)

*mšp̄ty* "my<sup>26</sup> *mišp̄ā*" (Isa 51:4)

*mšp̄ty* "my<sup>27</sup> *mišp̄ā*tīm" (Ps 89:31)

'*dwt* / *t'wdh*

'*dwt* YHWH "the testimony of YHWH" (Ps 19:8)

'*dwt* "testimony" (Ps 78:5)

*t'wdh* "testimony," "attestation" (Isa 8:16)

'šh "counsel," "advice" (Jer 18:18)

šdq "justice" (Isa 51:7)

qdš "that which is holy" (Zeph 3:4)

qwl

qwly "my<sup>28</sup> voice" (Jer 9:12)

ršwnk "your<sup>29</sup> will" (Ps 40:9)

šqr "deception," "disappointment" (Jer 8:8)

SBH3

*bryt*

<sup>25</sup> Viz. wise's/farther's.

<sup>26</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>27</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>28</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>29</sup> Viz. God's.

*bryty* “my<sup>30</sup> covenant” (Hos 8:1)

SBH4

*mšpṭ* (Deut 17:11)

*ḥzwn* “vision” (Ezek 7:26)

*‘šh* “counsel,” “advice” (Ezek 7:26)

*qdšym*

*qdšy* “my<sup>31</sup> holy things” (Ezek 22:26)

LBH2

*šbt*

*šbt qdšk* “your<sup>32</sup> holy sabbath” (Neh 9:24)

*mšwt*

*mšwtyk* “your<sup>33</sup> *mišwōṭ*” (Neh 9:34)

*šdqh*

*šdqtk* “your righteousness” (Ps 119:142)

*šqr* “deception,” “disappointment” (Ps 119:29.163)

*zmh* “plane, device,” “wickedness” (Ps 119:150)

*yšw* “salvation” (Ps 119:174)

*qwl*

*qwlk* “your<sup>34</sup> voice” (Dan 9:11)

LBH3

*’mr*

*’mryw* “his<sup>35</sup> words” (Job 22:22)

<sup>30</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>31</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>32</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>33</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>34</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>35</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.



## 6. Synonyms

SBH2

*lqḥ* “learning,” “teaching” (Prov 4:2)

### B) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Plural Forms

Plural forms: 13

(Construct state: 2; Pronominal State: 8; Absolute State: 3)

#### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

##### 1.1. Adjectives

No cases.

##### 1.2. Quantifier

SBH4

*kl* “all” (Ezek 44:5)

##### 1.3. Pronominal Suffixes

SBH1

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; Jer 32:23)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Exod 18:16)

The personal pronoun indicates generally YHWH; once *’Ēlohîm* (Exod 18:16).

SBH2

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 105:45)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

SBH4

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ezek 44:24)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ezek 43:11; 44:5)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH and the temple (Ezek 43:11; 44:5).<sup>36</sup>

LBH2

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Dan 9:10)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

No cases.

##### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

LBH2

'*mt*

*wtwrwt 'mt* “the *tôrôt* of truth,” viz. “truthful *tôrôt*” (Neh 9:13)

#### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH4

With the verb *ntn*

*hḡqym whmšpṭym wḥtwrt 'šr ntn* YHWH *bynw wbyn bny ysr 'l bhr syny byd mšh* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrôt* which YHWH gave between him and the Israelites at mount Sinai by the hand of Moses” (Lev 26:46)

<sup>36</sup> Viz. *bayit*.

LBH2

With the verb *ntn*

*btwrtyw šr ntn lpnynw byd 'bdyw hnby'ym* “in his *tôrôt* which he set before us by his servants the prophets” (Dan 9:10)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *tôrôt* as Subject

SBH4

*'lh* “these” (Lev 26:46)

### 2.2. Verbal Clauses

#### 2.2.1. Verbs Governing *tôrôt* as Subject

No cases.

#### 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *tôrôt* as Direct Object

SBH1

Without any preposition

*m`n lšmr* “to refuse to observe” (Exod 16:28)

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Gen 26:5)

With the preposition *'t*

*zhr* (*hiphil*) “to teach” (Exod 18:20)

*yd'* (*hiphil*) “to make know” (Exod 18:16)

SBH2

Without any preposition

*nšr* “to keep” (Ps 105:45)

*'br* “to pass” “to neglect” (Isa 24:5)

SBH4

Without any preposition

*yḏ'* (*hiphil*) "to make know" (Ezek 43:11)

With the preposition 't

*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Ezek 44:24)

LBH2

Without any preposition

*ntn* "to give" (Neh 9:13)

### 2.2.3. Verbs Governing *tôrôt* as Argument or Adjunct

SBH1

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*wbtwrk l' hlkw* "they walked not in your *tôrôt*" (Jer 32:23)

SBH4

With the preposition *l*

*dbr* (*piel*)

*wy'mr 'ly YHWH bn 'dm šym lbk wr'h b'ynyk wb'znyk šm' 't kl 'šr 'ny mdbr 'tk lkl ḥqwt byt YHWH wlkl twrtyw* "YHWH said unto me: 'Son of man, mark well, and behold with your eyes, and hear with your ears all that I say unto you concerning all the *ḥuqqôt* of the house of YHWH, and all the *tôrôt* thereof" (Ezek 44:5)

LBH2

With the preposition *b*

*hlk*

*wl' šm 'nw bqwl YHWH 'lhynw llkt bwrtyw* "we have not heard to the voice of YHWH our God, to walk in his *tôrôt*" (Dan 9:10)

### 3. Adpositions

No cases.

#### 4. Parallels

*SBH<sub>2</sub>*

*bryt*

*bryt* 'wlm "everlasting covenant" (Isa 24:5)

*ḥq*

*ḥq* "hōq" (Isa 24:5)

*ḥqyw* "his *huqqîm*" (Ps 105:45)



## Appendix 4: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun *ḥōq*

### Distribution in MT

The noun *ḥōq* occurs 129 times, according to the following distribution:

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>bḥay</i>					2				2
<i>bḥayk</i>							4		4
<i>bḥayw</i>		1							1
<i>bḥway</i>					1				1
<i>ḥḥaym</i>		6	1		10	2			19
<i>ḥq</i>		4	9		4	1		3	21
<i>ḥqk</i>					3				3
<i>ḥqkm</i>		1							1
<i>ḥqm</i>		1							1
<i>ḥqay</i>	1		1						2
<i>ḥqw</i>			1						1
<i>ḥay</i>		3	2					2	7
<i>ḥayk</i>							15		15
<i>ḥaym</i>		3	1		1		1		6
<i>ḥayw</i>		4	1		1		1	1	8
<i>lḥq</i>		3	1		6	1	1		12

TOT	ABH	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>lhqym</i>						1			1
<i>mhqy</i>			1					1	2
<i>mhqyk</i>							1		1
<i>whhqym</i>		2			2	1			5
<i>whq</i>			2		3				5
<i>whqy</i>			1			1			2
<i>whqyk</i>						1	1		2
<i>whqym</i>							1		1
<i>whqyw</i>		1	1		1	3			6
TOT	1	29	22		34	11	25	7	129

## ABH

Plural forms (1)

Judg 5:15

## SBH1

Singular forms (9)

Gen 47:22(x2).26

Exod 5:14; 12:24; 15:25

Josh 24:25

Judg 11:39

1 Sam 30:25

## Plural forms (20)

Exod 15:26; 18:16.20

Deut 4:1.5.6.8.14.40.45; 5:1; 7:11; 27:10

1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58.61; 9:4

2 Kgs 17:15.37

Jer 32:11

## SBH2

Singular forms (14)

Isa 5:14; 24:5

Jer 5:22

Mic 7:11



Zeph 2:2  
 Ps 2:7; 81:5; 94:20; 99:7; 105:10; 148:6  
 Prov 8:29; 30:8; 31:15

Plural forms (8)

Isa 10:1  
 Jer 31:36  
 Amos 2:4  
 Zech 1:6  
 Mal 3:7.22  
 Ps 50:16; 105:45

SBH4

Singular forms (16)

Exod 29:28; 30:21  
 Lev 6:11.15; 7:34; 10:13(x2).14(x2).15; 24:9  
 Num 18:8.11.19  
 Ezek 16:27; 45:14

Plural forms (18)

Lev 10:11; 26:46  
 Num 30:17  
 Deut 5:31; 6:1.17.20.24; 11:32; 12:1; 16:12; 17:19; 26:16.17  
 Ezek 11:12; 20:18.25; 36:27

LBH1

Singular forms (2)

2 Chr 35:25  
 Ezra 7:10

Plural forms (9)

1 Chr 22:13; 29:19  
 2 Chr 7:17; 19:10; 33:8; 34:31  
 Ezra 7:11  
 Neh 1:7; 10:30

LBH2

Singular forms (1)

1 Chr 16:17

## Plural forms (24)

Ps 119:5.8.12.23.26.33.48.54.64. 68.71.80.83.112.117.118.124.135.145.155  
.171; 147:19

Neh 9:13.14

LBH<sub>3</sub>

## Singular forms (6)

Job 14:13; 23:12.14; 26:10; 28:26; 38:10

## Plural forms (1)

Job 14:5(q)

**A) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Singular Forms**

Singular forms: 48

(Construct state: 16; Pronominal State: 10; Absolute State: 22)

**1. Adnominal Modifiers***1.1. Adjectives*

No cases.

*1.2. Quantifier*

No cases.

*1.3. Pronominal Suffixes*

*SBH<sub>1</sub>*

2<sup>nd</sup> plural masculine (Exod 5:14)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (Gen 47:22)

The personal pronoun indicates the priests (Gen 47:22) and the Israelites (Exod 5:14).

*SBH2*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Prov 30:8)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Prov 8:29)

The personal pronoun indicates the sea (Prov 8:29) and Agur, the son of Jakeh (Prov 30:8).

*SBH4*

1<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Lev 10:13.14; Ezek 16:27)

The personal pronoun indicates Aaron and the priests (Lev 10:13.14), and Jerusalem (Ezek 16:27).

*LBH3*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Job 23:12.14; 38:10)

The personal pronoun indicates Job (Job 23:12.14), and YHWH (Job 38:10).

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

*SBH2*

*lh̄m*

*lh̄m h̄qy* “the bread of my *h̄ōq*” (Prov 30:8).

##### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

*SBH4*

*bn*

*wh̄q bnyk* “the *h̄ōq* of your<sup>1</sup> sons” (Lev 10:13.14)

<sup>1</sup> Viz. Aaron's.

*ʿwlm*

*ḥq ʿwlm* “perpetual *ḥōq*” (Exod 29:28; 30:21; Lev 6:11.15; 7:34; 10:15; 24:9; Num 18:8.11.19)

*šmn*

*whq ḥšmn* “the *ḥōq* of the oil” (Ezek 45:14)

### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

*SBH1*

With the preposition *b*

*ḥq bysr ʿl* “a *ḥōq* in Israel” (Judg 11:39)

With the preposition *l*

*ḥq lkhnym* “a *ḥōq* for the priests” (Gen 47:22)

*ḥq lk wlbnyk ʿd ʿwlm* “for an *ḥōq* for you<sup>2</sup> and for your sons forever” (Exod 12:24)

*ḥqkm llbn* “your<sup>3</sup> *ḥōq* in making brick” (Exod 5:14)

With the preposition *m ʿt*

*ḥq ... m ʿt pr ʿh* “a *ḥōq* ... from Pharaoh” (Gen 47:22)

With the preposition *ʿl*

*ḥq ... hzh ʿl ʿdmt mšrym* “a *ḥōq* concerning the land of Egypt” (Gen 47:26)

*SBH2*

With the preposition *l*

*ḥq lysr ʿl* “a *ḥōq* for Israel” (Ps 81:5)

*SBH4*

With the preposition *l*

*ḥq ʿwlm ldrtykm* “a perpetual *ḥōq* for your generations” (Lev 6:11)

*ḥq lk wlbnyk* “a *ḥōq* for you<sup>4</sup> and for your sons” (Exod 12:21)

<sup>2</sup> Viz. Israel.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. Israelites’.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. *zqny ysrl* “the elders of Israel.”

With the preposition *m't*

*lḥq 'wlm m't bny yśr'l* “for a perpetual *ḥōq* from the Israelites” (Exod 29:28; Lev 7:34)

With the preposition *mn*

*ḥq ... m'šy YHWH* “it is a perpetual *ḥōq* ... from the offerings of YHWH made by fire” (Lev 6:11)

*ky ḥqk wḥq bnyk ... m'šy YHWH* “because it is your *ḥōq*, and your sons' *ḥōq*... from the offerings of YHWH made by fire” (Lev 10:13.14)

LBH2

With the preposition *'l*

*lḥq 'lyśr'l* “as a *ḥōq* in Israel” (2 Chr 35:25)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH2

With the verb *ntn*

*'dtyw wḥq ntn lmw* “his testimonies and his *ḥōq* that he<sup>5</sup> gave them”<sup>6</sup> (Ps 99:7)

## 2. Predicative function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *ḥōq* as Subject

SBH1

*ky ḥq lkhnym m't pr'h* “for the priests had an *ḥōq* from Pharaoh” (Gen 47:22)

SBH4

*wḥq ḥšmn hbt ḥšmn m'śr hbt mn hkr* “the *ḥōq* from the oil, the *bath* of the oil, shall be one-tenth of the *bath* out of the *kor*” (Ezek 45:14)

<sup>5</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>6</sup> Viz. Moses, Aron and Samuel.

### 2.1.2. The Noun *ḥōq* as Predicative Nph

SBH2

*ky ḥq lyśr' l hw'* “for it is a *ḥōq* for Israel” (Ps 81:5)

SBH4

*ḥq 'wlm ldrtym m' šy YHWH* “it is a perpetual *ḥōq* throughout your generations, from the offerings of YHWH made by fire” (Lev 6:11)

*ḥq 'wlm LYHWH klyl tqtr* “it is a perpetual *ḥōq* it shall be wholly made to smoke unto YHWH” (Lev 6:15)

*ky ḥqk wḥq bnyk hw' m' šy YHWH* “because it is your *ḥōq*, and your sons' *ḥōq*, from the offerings of YHWH made by fire” (Lev 10:13.14)

## 2.2. Verbal Clauses

### 2.2.1. The Noun *ḥōq* as Subject

SBH2

*rḥq*

*ywm lbnwt gdryk ywm hhw' yrḥq ḥq* “when your<sup>7</sup> walls will be rebuilt, that day the *ḥōq* shall become distant” (Mic 7:11)

*yld*

*btṛm ldt ḥq* “before the birth of the *ḥōq*” (Zeph 2:2)

### 2.2.2. The Noun *ḥōq* as Predicative Nph

SBH4

*ḥyh*

*whyth lhm ḥq 'wlm lw wlzr' wldrtm* “it shall be a perpetual *ḥōq* for them,<sup>8</sup> even for him and for his seed and for their generations” (Exod 30:21)

<sup>7</sup> Viz. Zion's.

<sup>8</sup> Viz. Aaron and the Levites.

2.2.3. Verbs Governing *ḥōq* as Direct Object

SBH1

*'kl* “to eat” (Gen 47:22)*klh* (*piel*) “to complete,” “to finish” (Exod 5:14)*šym* “to set,” “to issue” (Josh 24:25)

SBH2

*ḥlp* “to sweep on,” metaphorically “to overstep,” “to transgress” (Isa 24:5)*ntn* “to give” (Ps 148:6; Prov 31:15)*'br* “to pass” (Jer 5:22)*šym* “to set,” “to establish” (Prov 8:29)*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ps 99:7)

SBH4

*gr* “to diminish” (Ezek 16:27)

LBH1

*lmd* (*piel*) “to teach” (Ezra 7:10)

LBH3

*ḥwg* “to draw a round” (Job 26:10)*'šh* “to make,” “to establish” (Job 28:26)*šbr* “to break,” “to prescribe” (Job 38:10)*šym* “to set” (Job 14:13)*šlm* (*hiphil*) “to complete,” “to accomplish” (Job 23:14)2.2.4. Verbs Governing *ḥōq* as Argument or Adjunct

SBH2

With the preposition *'l**spr* (*piel*)*'sprh 'l ḥq YHWH 'mr 'ly* “I will tell of the *ḥōq* YHWH said unto me” (Ps 2:7)With the preposition *lbly**p' r**lkn hrḥybh š'wl nḥšh wp' rh pyh lbly ḥq* “therefore the Sheol has enlarged her desire, and opened her mouth without *ḥōq*” (Isa 5:14)

With the preposition 'l

yšr

lyhbrtk ks' hwwt yšr 'ml 'ly hq "shall the seat of wickedness have fellowship with you, which frame mischief against hōq?" (Ps 94:20)

LBH<sub>3</sub>

With the preposition mn

špn

mḥqy špnty 'mty pyw "I have treasured up the words of his<sup>9</sup> mouth more than my hōq" (Job 23:12)

### 3. Adpositions

The expression ləhōq functions often as an adposition to Nphs, or entire textual sections.

SBH<sub>1</sub>

The set of agricultural reforms made by Joseph in Egypt constitutes a hōq, Joseph as lawmaker establishes the Pharaoh's hōq out of the product of the fields from the people:<sup>10</sup>

wy'mr ywsp 'l h'm hn qnyty 'tkm hywm w't 'dmtkm lpr'h h' lkm zr' wzr'tm 't h'dmh (24) whyh btbw't wnttm ḥmyšyt lpt'h w'rb' hydt yhyh lkm lzr' hśdh wl'klkm wl'šr bbtym wl'kl lṭpkm ... (26) wyśm 'th ywsp lhq 'd hywm hzh 'l 'dmt mšrym lpr'h lḥmš rq 'dmt hkhnym lbdm l' hyth lpr'h "Then Joseph said unto the people: Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh. Lo, here is seed for you, and you shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass regarding the product, that you shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones (...) And Joseph made it a hōq concerning the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's" (Gen 47:26)

<sup>9</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

<sup>10</sup> Viz. one fifth.



A judgment by David concerning the sharing of the spoils of war assumes a validity *erga omnes* 'd hywm hzh "unto this day," and becomes a *ḥōq* and *mišpāt* (1 Sam 30:25). It sounds as follows: *ky kḥlq hyrd bmlḥmh kḥlq hyšb 'l hklym yḥdw yḥlqw* "for as is the share of him that goes down to the battle, so shall be the share of him that carries by the baggage; they shall share alike" (1 Sam 30:24)

*wy'mr dwd l' t'sw kn 'ḥy 't 'š ntn YHWH lnw wyšmr 'tnw wytn 't hgdwd hb' 'lynw nydnw* (24) *wmy yšm' lkm ldbr hzh ky kḥlq hyrd bmlḥmh wkḥlq hyšb 'l hklym yḥdw yḥlqw* (25) *wyhy mhywm hhw' wm'lh wyšmh lḥq wlmšpṭ lyšr' l 'd hywm hzh* "Then said David: "You shall not do so, my brothers, with that which YHWH has given unto us, who has preserved us, and delivered the troop that came against us into our hand. For as is the share of him that goes down to the battle, so shall be the share of him that carries by the baggage; they shall share alike. And it was so from that day forward, that he made it as a *ḥōq* and a *mišpāt* for Israel unto this day" (1 Sam 30:25)

SBH2

The oath of YHWH unto Isaac holds as a *ḥōq* for Jacob (Ps 105:10),<sup>11</sup> the content of this *ḥōq* is as follows: *'tn 't 'rš kn 'n ḥbl nḥltkm* "to you I will give the land of Canaan as your allotted heritage."<sup>12</sup>

In Jeremiah, the sand (*ḥūl*) is regarded as *gbwl lym ḥq 'wlm* (Jer 5:22).

SBH4

The arrangements for *Pesaḥ* given by Moses form a *ḥōq*:

*wyqr' mšh lkl zqny yšr' l wy'mr 'lhm mškw wqḥw lkm š'n l mšpḥtykm wšḥṭw hpšḥ* (22) *wlqḥtm 'gdt 'zwb wḥbltm bdm 'šr bsp whg' tm 'l hmšqwp w' l šty hmzwzt mn hdm 'šr bsp w' tm l' tš'w 'yš mḥṭḥ bytw 'd bqr* (23) *w'br YHWH lngp 't mšrym wr'h 't hdm 'l hmšqwp w' l šty hmzwzt wpsḥ YHWH 'l hḥṭḥ wl' ytn hmšḥyt lb' 'l btykm lngp* (24) *wšmrtm 't hḥbr hzh lḥq lk wlbnyk 'd 'wlm* "Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them: "Draw out, and take you lambs according to your families, and kill the *Pesaḥ* (22) And you shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the basin, and strike the

<sup>11</sup> The formula is taken up in 1 Chr 16:17.

<sup>12</sup> See v. 11.

lintel and the two side-posts with the blood that is in the basin; and none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning, (23) For YHWH will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he sees the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side-posts, YHWH will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you. (24) And you shall observe *this thing* for a *ḥōq* for you and for your sons forever” (Exod 12:21-24)

The breast of the *tənûpâ*, and the thigh of the *tərûmâ* offered for the investiture of priests must be considered as a perpetual *ḥōq* due to Aaron and his sons:

*wqdšt 't ḥzh htnwph w't šwq htrwmh 'šr hwnp w'sr hwrn m'yl hml'ym m'srl'hrn wm'sr lbnyw* (28) *whyh l'hrn wlbnyw lḥq 'wlm m't nby ysr'l ky trwmh hw' wtrwmh ylyh m't bny ysr'l mzbḥy šlmyhm trwmtm* YHWH “You shall consecrate the breast of the *tənûpâ*, and the thigh of the *tərûmâ*, which is waved, and which is heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even of that which is Aaron’s, and of that which is his sons’ (28) And it shall be for Aaron and his sons as a *ḥōq* for ever from the Israelites; for it is a *tərûmâ*; and it shall be a *tərûmâ* from the Israelites of their sacrifices of peace-offerings, even their *tərûmâ* unto YHWH” (Exod 29:28)

The same *ḥōq* is reiterated on several occasions in Leviticus, and in Numbers:

*ky 't ḥzh htnwph w't š htrwmh lqḥty m't bny ysr'l mzbḥy šlmyhm w'tn 'tm l'hrn hkhn wlbnyw lḥq 'wlm m't bny ysr'l* “For the breast of the *tənûpâ* and the thigh of the *tərûmâ* have I taken of the Israelites out of their sacrifices of peace-offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a perpetual *ḥōq* from the Israelites” (Lev 7:34)

*šwq htrwmh wḥzh htnwph 'l 'yšy hḥlbym lhnyy tnwph lpny* YHWH *whyh lk wlbnyk 'tk lḥq 'wlm k'sr šwh* YHWH “They shall bring the thigh of the *tərûmâ*, and the breast of the *tənûpâ* upon the burnt-offerings of the fat, which are to be elevated as a *tərûmâ* before YHWH; and it shall be a perpetual *ḥōq* for you and your sons and your daughters with you, as YHWH commanded” (Lev 10:15)

*wydbn YHWH 'l 'hrn w'ny hnh nty lk 't mšmrt trwmty lkl qdšy bny ysr'l lk ntyym lmšḥh wlbnyk lḥ 'lm* (11) *wzh lk trwmt mtnm lkl tnwpt bny ysr'l lk ntyym wlbnyk wlbntyk 'tk lḥq 'wlm kl ḥwr bbytk y'kl 'tw* (19) *kl trwmt hqdšym 'šr yrymw bny*

*yśr' l YHWH nty lk wlbnyk wlbntyk 'tk lḥq 'wlm* “YHWH spoke unto Aaron: “And I, behold, I have given you the charge of my *tərûmôt*; even of all the hallowed things of the Israelites unto you have I given them for a consecrated portion, and to your sons, as a perpetual *ḥōq*” (11) And this is yours: the *təruma* of their gift, even all *tənûpôt* of the Israelites; I have given them unto you, and to your sons and to your daughters with you, as a perpetual *ḥōq*; every one that is clean in thy house may eat thereof (19) All the *tərûmôt* of the consecrated things, which the Israelites offer unto YHWH, have I given you, and your sons and your daughters with you, as a perpetual *ḥōq*” (Num 18:8.11.19)

LBH<sub>1</sub>

Mentioning the king Josiah by the singing men and woman in the funeral lamentations after Jeremiah is regarded as a *ḥōq* in Israel:

*wyqwnn yrmyhw 'ly 'šyhw wy' mrw kl hšrym whšrwt bqynwtyhm 'ly 'šyhw 'd hywm wytnwm lḥq 'lyśr' l whnm ktwbym 'l hqynwt* “And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and singing women spoke of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an *ḥōq* in Israel; and, behold, they are written in the lamentations” (2 Chr 35:25)

#### 4. Parallels

SBH<sub>2</sub>

*'p YHWH ḥrwn 'p YHWH* “fierce anger of YHWH” (Zeph 2:2)

*bryt*

*bryt 'wlm* “perpetual covenant” (Ps 105:10; Isa 24:5)

*ṭrp* “food” (Prov 31:15)

*'dwt*

*'dtyw* “his<sup>13</sup> testimonies” (Ps 99:7)

<sup>13</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

*py*

*pyw* “his<sup>14</sup> commandment” (Prov 8:29)

*mšpṭ* “*mišpāṭ*” (Ps 81:5)

*twrh*

*twrt* “*tôrôṭ*” (Isa 24:5)

LBH3

*mšql* “weight” (Job 28:26)

*mdh* “measure” (Job 28:26)

## 5. Synonyms

SBH2

*gbwl* “border, boundary” (Jer 5:22)

*qšw* “end, border, boundary” (Mic 7:11)

SBH4

*mšḥh* “consecrated portion” (Num 18:8)

*trwmh* “contribution to YHWH set apart for priests” (Ezek 45:14)

## 6. Temporal Specifications

SBH1

*'d hywm* (Gen 47:26; 1 Sam 30:25; 2 Chr 30:25)

*'d 'wlm* (Exod 12:24)

LBH1

*'d hywm* (2 Chr 30:25)

<sup>14</sup> Viz. YHWH's.

## 7. Collocations

SBH1

*ḥq wṁšpṭ*

*ḥq wṁšpṭ* (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25)

*lhq wlmšpṭ* (1 Sam 30:25)

LBH1

*ḥq wṁšpṭ*

*ḥq wṁšpṭ* (Ezra 7:10)

### B) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Plural Forms

Plural forms: 81

(Construct state: 4; Pronominal State: 45; Absolute State: 32)

#### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

##### 1.1. Adjectives

SBH1

*'lh* “these” (Deut 4:6)

*šdyqm* “righteous” (Deut 4:8)

SBH2

*'lh* “these” (Jer 31:36)

SBH4

*'lh* “these” (Deut 6:24; 16:12; 17:19; 26:16)

*l' ṭwbym* “not good” (Ezek 20:25)

LBH2

*ṭwbym* “good” (Neh 9:13)

### 1.2. *Quantifier*

*SBH1*

*kl* “all” (Deut 4:6)

*SBH4*

*kl* “all” (Lev 10:11; Deut 5:31; 6:24; 11:32)

### 1.3. *Pronominal Suffixes*

*SBH1*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (1 Kgs 3:14; 1 Kgs 9:4)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Exod 15:26; Deut 4:40; 27:10; 1 Kgs 8:58.61; 2 Kgs 17:15)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH.

*SBH2*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Mal 3:7; Zech 1:6; Ps 50:16)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 105:45; Amos 2:4)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH.

*SBH4*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ezek 11:12; 36:27)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Deut 6:17; 26:17)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH

*LBH1*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (2 Chr 7:17)

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (1 Chr 29:19)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Neh 10:30; Ezra 7:11; 2 Chr 34:31)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH.

*LBH2*

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:5.8.12.23.26.33.48.54.64.68.71.80.83.112.117.118  
.124.135.145.155.171)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 147:19)

The pronoun refers normally to YHWH.

LBH3

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Job 14:5)

The pronoun refers to *'dm ylwd 'šh* “man born of a woman”.

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

SBH1

*ḥtwm*

*'t spr hmqnḥ 't ḥḥtwm hmšwh whḥqym* “the document of the purchase, that which was sealed, the *mišwâ* and the *ḥuqqîm*” (Jer 32:11)

SBH2

*drk*

*drk ḥqyk* “the way of yours *ḥuqqîm*” (Ps 119:33)

LBH1

*dbrym*

*dbry mšwt YHWH whqyw* “the words of the *mišwōt* of YHWH, and of his *ḥuqqîm*” (Ezra 7:11)

*ryb*

*kl ryb ... byn dm ldm byn twrh lmswh ḥqym wlmšpṭym* “any controversy ... between blood and blood, between *tôrâ* and *mišwâ*, *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpātîm*” (2 Chr 19:10)

LBH2

*tmym*

*yhy lby tmym bhqyk* “let my heart be undivided in your *ḥuqqîm*” (Ps 119:80)

## 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

ABH

*lb**ḥqqy lb* “the *ḥuqqîm* of the heart” (Judg 5:15)

SBH1

*’lhym**’t ḥqy h’lhym* “the *ḥuqqîm* of God” (Exod 18:16)

SBH2

*’wn**ḥqqy ’wn* “*ḥuqqîm* of wickedness” (Isa 10:1)

SBH4

*’bwt**bḥwqy ’bwtym* “in the *ḥuqqîm* of your fathers” (Ezek 20:18)

## 1.4.3. Governed Pph

LBH1

With the preposition *’l**whqyw ’lys’l* “and his<sup>15</sup> *ḥuqqîm* concerning Israel” (Ezra 7:11)

## 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH1

With the verb *dbr* (*piel* or *qal*)*h’dt whqym whmšptym ’šr dbr mšh ’l bny ysrl bš’tm mmšrym* “the testimonies and the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which Moses spoke unto the Israelites, when they came forth out of Egypt” (Deut 4:45)*’t ḥqym w’t hmšptym ’šr ’nwky dbr b’znykm hywm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I speak in your ears this day” (Deut 5:1)<sup>15</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.



With the verb *ktb*

*w't hḥqym w't hmšpṭym whtwrh whmšwh 'šr ktb lkm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrâ* and the *mišwâ* which he<sup>16</sup> wrote for you” (2 Kgs 17:37)

With the verb *lmd* (*piel*)

*'l hḥqym w'l hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky mlmd 'tkm l'swt* “to the *ḥuqqîm* and to the *mišpāṭîm* which I<sup>17</sup> teach you, to do them” (Deut 4:1)

With the verb *ntn*

*'t kl hḥqym w't hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky ntn lḥnykm hywm* “all the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I<sup>18</sup> set before you this day” (Deut 11:32)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*'t ḥqyw w't mšwtw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišwōt* which I<sup>19</sup> command you today” (Deut 4:40)

*'t mšwtw w't ḥqyw 'šr 'nwky dbr mšwk hywm* “his *mišwōt* and his *ḥuqqîm* which I<sup>20</sup> command you this day” (Deut 27:10)

*'t hmšwh w't hḥqym w't hmšpṭym 'šr 'nwky dbr mšwk hywm l'swtm* “the *mišwâ* the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which I command you this day, to do them” (Deut 7:11)  
*mšwtw whqyw wmšpṭyw 'šr šwh 't 'btyrw* “his *mišwōt* and his *ḥuqqîm* and his *mišpāṭîm* which he<sup>21</sup> commanded our fathers” (1 Kgs 8:58)

SBH<sub>2</sub>

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*dbry whqy 'šr šwyty 't 'bdy hnby'ym* “my words and my *ḥuqqîm* which I<sup>22</sup> commanded my servants, the prophets” (Zech 1:6)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

With the verb *dbr* (*piel*)

*'t kl hḥqym 'šr dbr YHWH 'lyhm byd mšh* “all the *ḥuqqîm* which YHWH has spoken unto them by the hand of Moses” (Lev 10:11)

<sup>16</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>17</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>18</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>19</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>20</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>21</sup> Viz. YHWH.

<sup>22</sup> Viz. YHWH.

With the verb *lmd* (*piel*)

*'t kl hmšwh whḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr tlmḏm* “the whole *mišwâ*, the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you<sup>23</sup> will teach them” (Deut 5:31)

With the verb *ntn*

*hḥqym whmšpṭym whtwrt 'šr ntn YHWH bynw wbyn bny ysr' l bhr syny byd mšh* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* and the *tôrôt* which YHWH gave between him and the Israelites at mount Sinai by the hand of Moses” (Lev 26:46)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*hḥqym 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh* “the *ḥuqqîm* which YHWH commanded Moses” (Num 30:17)

*hmšwh hḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH 'lhykm llmd 'tkm* “the *mišwâ*, the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH your God commanded to teach you” (Deut 6:1)

*'t mšwt YHWH 'lhykm w' dtyw whqyw 'šr šwk* “the *mišwôt* of YHWH your God, and his testimonies and his *ḥuqqîm* which he<sup>24</sup> has commanded you” (Deut 6:17)

*h' dt whḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH 'lhyw 'tkm* “the testimonies and the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH our God commanded you” (Deut 6:20)

With the verb *šmr*

*hḥqym whmšpṭym 'šr tšmrwn l' šwt b' rš 'šr ntn YHWH 'lhy 'btyk lk lršth* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you shall observe to do in the land which YHWH, the God of your fathers, has given you to possess it” (Deut 12:1)

LBH1

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*'t hḥqym w' t hmšpṭym 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh 'lysr' l* “the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which YHWH commanded Moses concerning Israel” (1 Chr 22:13)

*'t hmšwt w' t hḥqym w' t hmšpṭym 'šr šwyt 't mšh 'bdk* “the *mišwôt* the *ḥuqqîm* and the *mišpāṭîm* which you commanded Moses your servant” (Neh 1:7)

<sup>23</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. YHWH.

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *ḥuqqîm* as Subject

ABH

*bplgwt r' wbn gdlym ḥqy lb* “among the divisions of Reuben there were great *ḥuqqîm* of heart” (Judg 5:15)

SBH1

*'lh h' dt whḥqym whmšptym* “these are the testimonies, and the *ḥuqqîm*, and the *mišpāṭîm*” (Deut 4:45)

*wmy gwy 'sr lw ḥqym whmšptym šdyqm kkl htwrh hz' t* “what great nation is there, that has *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* so righteous as all this *tôrâ*” (Deut 4:8)

SBH4

*'lh* “these” (Lev 26:46; Num 30:17; Deut 6:1; 12:1)

*mh h' dt whḥqym whmšptym* “what do the testimonies, and the *ḥuqqîm*, and the *mišpāṭîm* mean?” (Deut 6:20)

LBH2

*zmrwt hyw ly ḥqyk bbyt mgwry* “your *ḥuqqîm* have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage” (Ps 119:54)

### 2.2. Verbal Clauses

#### 2.2.1. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqîm* as Direct Object

SBH1

Without any preposition

*lmd (piel)* “to teach” (Deut 4:5)

*šwh llmd* “to command to teach” (Deut 4:14)

*šym* “to set,” “to establish” (Exod 15:25)

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Exod 15:26; Deut 4:40; 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58; 9:4)

With the preposition *'t*

*zhr (hiphil)* “to teach” (Exod 18:20)

*yd'* (*hiphil*) "to make know" (Exod 18:16)  
*m's* "to reject" (2 Kgs 17:15)  
*'sh* "to do," "to put into practice" (Deut 27:10)  
*šm'* "to listen to," "to obey" (Deut 4:6)  
*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Deut 7:11)  
*šmr l'šwt* "to take care to put into practice" (2 Kgs 17:37)

## SBH2

Without any preposition

*ḥqq* "to inscribe," "to decree" (Isa 10:1)  
*spr* (*piel*) "to recount" (Ps 50:16)  
*šwh* (*piel*) "to command" (Mal 3:22)  
*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Amos 2:4; Ps 105:45)

## SBH4

Without any preposition

*yrh* (*hiphil*) "to teach" (Lev 10:11)  
*ntn* "to give" (Ezek 20:25)  
*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Deut 6:17; 26:17)

With the preposition *'t*

*dbr* (*piel*) "to speak" (Deut 5:31)  
*'sh* "to put in practice" (Deut 16:12; 17:19; 26:16)  
*šwh* (*piel*) *l'šwt* "to command to put into practice" (Deut 6:24)  
*šm'* "to listen to," "to obey" (Deut 5:1)  
*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Deut 16:12)  
*šmr l'šwt* "to take care to put into practice" (Deut 11:32)

## LBH1

Without any preposition

*'sh 't* "to do," "to put in practice" (Neh 10:30)  
*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 7:17; 34:31; Neh 1:7)

With the preposition *'t*

*šmr* "to keep," "to observe" (Neh 1:7)  
*šmr l'šwt 't* "to take care to put into practice" (1 Chr 22:13)

## LBH2

Without any preposition

*drš* “to resort to” (Ps 119:155)  
*lmd* (*piel*) “to teach” (Ps 119:12.26.64.68.124.135.171)  
*lmd* (*qal*) “to learn” (Ps 119:71)  
*ngd* “to report,” “to tell” (Ps 147:19)  
*nṯh lb l’šwt* “to incline the heart to perform” (Ps 119:112)  
*nšr* “to keep with fidelity,” “to observe” (Ps 119:145)  
*ntn* “to give” (Neh 9:13)  
*šwh* (*piel*) “to command” (Neh 9:14)  
*škḥ* “to forget” (Ps 119:83)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ps 119:5.8)

LBH3

Without any preposition

‘*šh* “to do,” “to appoint” (Job 14:5)

## 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqîm* as Argument or Adjunct

LBH2

With the preposition *b*

‘*šh*

*w’š’h bhqyk tmyd* “I will look your *ḥuqqîm* continually” (Ps 119:117)

š<sub>y</sub>ḥ

‘*bdk yšyḥ bhqyk* “your servant does meditate in your *ḥuqqîm*” (Ps 119:23)

*w’šyḥh bhqyk* “I will meditate in your *ḥuqqîm*” (Ps 119:48)

With the preposition *mn*

š<sub>g</sub>h

*slyt kl šwgym mhqyk* “you have made light of all them that err from your *ḥuqqîm*”

(Ps 119:118)

## 3. Parallels

SBH2

*bryt*

*bryty* “my<sup>25</sup> covenant” (Ps 50:16)

*zr’*

*zr’ yśr’l* “the seed of Israel” (Jer 31:36)

*’ml* “trouble,” “labor” (Isa 10:1)

*twrh*

*twrt YHWH* “the *tôrâ* of YHWH” (Amos 2:4)

*twrt mšh* “the *tôrâ* of Moses” (Mal 3:22)

*twrtyw* “his<sup>26</sup> *tôrâ*” (Ps 105:45)

SBH4

*drk*

*bdrkyw* “in his<sup>27</sup> ways” (Deut 26:17)

*mšpṭ*

*mšpṭy* “my<sup>28</sup> *mšpṭym*” (Ezek 11:12)

*mšpṭyhm* “their *mšpṭym*” (Ezek 20:18)

*rwḥ*

*rwḥy* “my<sup>29</sup> spirit” (Ezek 36:27)

LBH2

*dbrym*

*dbryw* “his<sup>30</sup> words” (Ps 147:19)

*drk*

*drky* “my ways” (Ps 119:5)

*ḥsd*

<sup>25</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>26</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>27</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>28</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>29</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>30</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

*ḥsḏk* “your<sup>31</sup> goodness” (Ps 119:64)

*mšwh*

*mšwtyk* “your<sup>32</sup> *mišwōl*” (Ps 119:48)

#### 4. Collocations

SBH1

*ḥqym w mšptym*

*ḥqym w mšptym* (Deut 4:5.8.14)

*’l ḥqym w ’l mšptym* (Deut 4:1)

*ḥqy w mšpty* (1 Kgs 9:4)

*mšwh w ḥqym w mšptym*

*’t mšwh w ’t ḥqym w ’t mšptym* (Deut 7:11)

*mšwt w ḥqym w mšptym*

*mšwtyw w ḥqyw w mšptyw* (1 Kgs 8:58)

SBH4

*ḥqym w mšptym*

*’t ḥqym w ’t mšptym* (Deut 5:1)

*kl ḥqym w ’t mšptym* (Deut 11:32)

*ḥqym w mšptym* (Deut 12:1)

*ḥqym h ’lh w ’t mšptym* (Deut 26:16)

*hmšwh w ḥqym w mšptym*

*kl hmšwh w ḥqym w mšptym* (Deut 5:31)

*hmšwh w ḥqym w mšptym* (Deut 6:1)

LBH1

*ḥqym w mšptym*

*’t ḥqym w ’t mšptym* (1 Chr 22:13)

*w ḥqy w mšpty* (2 Chr 7:17)

<sup>31</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

<sup>32</sup> Viz. YHWH’s.

*mšwh wḥqym wmšp̄tym*  
*lmšwh lhqym wlmšp̄tym* (2 Chr 19:10)

*mšwt wḥqym wmšp̄tym*  
 't hmšwt w't hḥqym w't hmšp̄tym (Neh 1:7)

LBH2  
*ḥqym wmšp̄tym*  
*ḥqyw wmšp̄tyw* (Ps 147:19)



## Appendix 5: Distribution and Syntagmatic Analysis of the Noun *ḥuqqâ*

### Distribution in MT

The noun *ḥuqqâ* occurs 104 times, according to the following distribution:

TOT	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>bḥqt</i>				1				1
<i>bḥqty</i>	1			3				4
<i>bḥqtyk</i>						1		1
<i>bḥqwt</i>	3			1				4
<i>bḥqwty</i>	1			6				7
<i>ḥḥqh</i>	1							1
<i>ḥqh</i>	2							2
<i>ḥqt</i>	8	1		12				21
<i>ḥqty</i>	1	1		9				11
<i>ḥqtyw</i>	5			2				7
<i>ḥqwt</i>		4		3			1	8
<i>ḥqwty</i>	2			6	1			9
<i>kḥqt</i>	1							1
<i>kḥqtm</i>	1							1
<i>lḥqt</i>	5			3				8
<i>mḥqwt</i>				1				1

TOT	SBH1	SBH2	SBH3	SBH4	LBH1	LBH2	LBH3	TOT
<i>wbhqty</i>	1							1
<i>wbhqtyhm</i>				1				1
<i>wbhqtyw</i>	1							1
<i>whqty</i>	3			1				4
<i>whqtyw</i>	6	2						8
<i>whqwtly</i>				2				2
TOT	42	8	0	51	1	1	1	104

## SBH1

## Singular forms (17)

Exod 12:14.17.43; 13:10

Num 9:12.14(x2); 10:8; 15:15(x2); 18:23; 19:2.10.21; 27:11; 31:21; 35:29

## Plural forms (24)

Gen 26:5

Num 9:3

Deut 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15.45; 30:10.16

1 Kgs 2:3; 3:3; 6:12; 9:6; 11:11.33.34.38

2 Kgs 17:8.13.19.34; 23:3

Jer 44:10.23

## SBH2

## Plural forms (8)

2 Sam 22:23

Ps 18:23; 89:32

Jer 5:24; 10:3; 31:35; 33:25

Mic 6:16

## SBH4

## Singular forms (15)

Exod 27:21; 28:43; 29:9

Lev 3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29.31.34; 17:7; 23:14.21.31.41; 24:3

## Plural forms (36)

Lev 18:3.4.5.26.30; 19:19.37; 20:8.22.23; 25:18; 26:3.15.43

Deut 6:2

Ezek 5:6(x2).7; 11:20; 18:9.17.19.21; 20:11.13.16.19.21.24; 33:15; 37:24;  
43:11(x2).18; 44:5.24; 46:14

LBH1

Plural forms (1)

2 Chr 7:19

LBH2

Plural forms (1)

Ps 119:16

LBH3

Plural forms (1)

Job 38:33

### **A) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Singular Forms**

Singular forms: 32

(Construct State: 29; Pronominal State: 0; Absolute State: 3)

#### **1. Adnominal Modifiers**

##### **1.1. Adjectives**

SBH1

*z't* "this" (Exod 13:10)

##### **1.2. Quantifier**

SBH1

*kl* "all" (Num 9:12)

##### **1.3. Pronominal Suffixes**

No cases.

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

No cases.

##### 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

SBH<sub>1</sub>

ʿwlm

ḥqt ʿwlm “perpetual ḥuqqâ” (Exod 12:14.17; Num 10:8; 15:15; 18:23; 19:10.21)

psḥ

ḥqt ḥpsḥ “the ḥuqqâ of Pesaḥ” (Exod 12:43; Num 9:12.14)

mšpṭ

ḥqt mšpṭ “as a ḥuqqâ of mišpāṭ” (Num 27:11; 35:29)

twrh

ḥqt htwrh “the ḥuqqâ of the tôrâ” (Num 19:2; 31:21)

SBH<sub>4</sub>

ʿwlm

ḥqt ʿwlm “perpetual ḥuqqâ” (Exod 27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev 3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29.31.34; 17:7; 23:14.21.31.41; 24:3)

##### 1.4.3. Governed Pph

No cases.

#### 1.5. Relative Clauses

SBH<sub>1</sub>

With the verb ṣwh (*piel*)

ḥqt htwrh ʿšr ṣwh YHWH “the ḥuqqâ of the tôrâ which YHWH has commanded” (Num 19:2)

*ḥqt htwrh 'šr šwh YHWH 't mšh* “the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ* which YHWH has commanded Moses” (Num 31:21)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *ḥuqqâ* as Subject

SBH1

*z't ḥqt ḥpsh* “this is the *ḥuqqâ* of *Pesah*” (Exod 12:43)

*z't ḥqt htwrh* “this is the *ḥuqqâ* of the *tôrâ*” (Num 19:2; 31:21)

*ḥqlh ḥqh 'ḥt lkm wlggr ḥgr* “as for the congregation, there shall be one *ḥuqqâ* both for you, and for the sojourner that sojourns with you” (Num 15:15)

### 2.2. Verbal Clauses

#### 2.2.1. The Noun *ḥuqqâ* as Subject

SBH1

With the verb *ḥyh*

*ḥqh 'ḥt yhyh lkm wlggr wl'zrh h'rš* “you shall have one *ḥuqqâ*, both for the sojourner, and for him that is born in the land” (Num 9:14)

#### 2.2.2. The Noun *ḥuqqâ* as Predicative Nph

SBH4

With the verb *ḥyh*

*ḥqt 'wlm thyh z't lhm ldrtm* “this shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* unto them throughout their generations” (Lev 17:7)

#### 2.2.3. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqâ* as Direct Object

SBH1

With the preposition 't

*šmr*

*wšmrt 't hḥqh hz 't lmw 'dh mymym ymymh* “you shalt therefore keep this *ḥuqqâ* in its season from year to year” (Exod 13:10)

#### 2.2.4. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqâ* as Argument or Adjunct

*SBH1*

With the preposition *k*

*'šh*

*kkl ḥqt ḥpsh y 'šw 'tw* “according to all the *ḥuqqâ* of the *Pesah* they shall keep it”<sup>1</sup> (Num 9:12)

*kḥqt ḥpsh wkmšpṭw kn y 'šh* “according to the *ḥuqqâ* of *Pesah*, and according to the *mišpāṭ* thereof, so shall he do” (Num 9:14)

### 3. Adpositions

The following expressions alternate: *ḥuqqat 'ōlam* / *ḥuqqat 'ōlam lādōrōtēkem*.

*SBH1*

Without any preposition

*ldrtykm ḥqt 'wlm thghw* “throughout your generations you shall keep it a feast by a perpetual *ḥuqqâ*” (Exod 12:14)

*wšmrtm 't hywm hzh ldrtykm ḥqt 'wlm* “you shall observe this day throughout your generations by a perpetual *ḥuqqâ*” (Exod 12:17)

*hqlh ḥqh 'ḥt lkm wlgr hgr ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm* “as for the congregation, there shall be one statute both for you, and for the stranger that sojourns with you a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations” (Num 15:15)

*w'bd hlwy hw' 't 'bdt 'hl mw 'd whm yś'w 'wnm ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm wbtwk bny yśr' l' ynḥlw nḥlh* “the Levites alone shall do the service of the tent of meeting, and they shall bear their iniquity; it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations, and among the Israelites they shall have no inheritance” (Num 18:23)

<sup>1</sup> Viz. *Pesah*.

With the preposition *l*

*hyh*

*whyw lkm lḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm* “they shall be to you for a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations” (Num 10:8)

*whyth lhm lḥqt 'wlm* “it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* unto them” (Num 19:21)

*whyth lbny ysr' l lḥqt mšpṭ* “it shall be unto the Israelites as a *ḥuqqâ* of *mišpāṭ*” (Num 27:11)

*whyth lbny ysr' l wlgṛ hgr btwkm lḥqt 'wlm* “it shall be unto the Israelites, and unto the stranger that sojourns among them, for a perpetual *ḥuqqâ*” (Num 19:10)

SBH4

Without any preposition

*b'hl mw'd mḥwš lptkt 'šr 'lh 'dt' tw 'hrwn wbnym m'rb 'd bqr lḥny YHWH lḥqt 'wlm ldrtm m' t bny ysr' l* “in the tent of meeting, without the veil which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall set it in order, to burn from evening to morning before YHWH; it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout their generations on the behalf of the Israelites” (Exod 27:21)

*whyw 'l 'hrn w' l bnyw bb' m' 'l 'hl mw' 'w bgštm 'l hmzblḥ lšrt bqdš wl' ys' 'wn wmtw lḥqt 'wlm lw wizr' w' ḥryw* “they<sup>2</sup> shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die; it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* unto him and unto his seed after him” (Exod 28:43)

*lḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm bkl mwsbtykm kl ḥlb wkl dm l' t' klw* “it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations in all your dwellings, that you shall eat neither fat nor blood” (Lev 3:17)

*z' t mšḥt 'hrn w mšḥt bnyw m' šy YHWH nywm hqryb 'tm lkhn LYHWH (v. 35) 'šr šwh YHWH ltt lhm bywm mšḥw 'tm m' t bny ysr' l lḥqt 'wlm ldrtm* “this is the consecrated portion of Aaron, and the consecrated portion of his sons, out of the offerings of YHWH made by fire, in the day when they were presented to minister unto YHWH in the priest’s office (v. 35) which YHWH commanded to be given

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the priests' clothing.

them of the Israelites, in the day that they were anointed. It is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout their generations” (Lev 7:36)

*yyn wškr 'l tšt 'th wbnky 'tk bb'km 'l 'hl mw'd wl' tmtw ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm* “drink no wine nor strong drink, you, nor your sons with you, when you go into the tent of meeting, that you die not; it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations” (Lev 10:9)

*šbt šbtwn hy' lkm w'nytm 't npštykm ḥqt 'wlm* “it is a *šabbat* of solemn rest unto you, and you shall afflict your souls; it is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ*” (Lev 16:31)

*wlḥ wqly wkrml l' t'klw 'd 'šm hywm hzh 'd hby'km 't 'lhykm ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm bkl mšbtykm* “you shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor fresh ears, until this self-same day, until you have brought the offering of your God; it is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations in all your dwellings” (Lev 23:14)

*wqr'tm b 'šm hywm hzh mqr' qdš yhyh lkm kl ml'km 'bdh l' t'šw ḥqt 'wlm bkl mwšbtykm ldrtykm* “you shall make proclamation on the self-same day; there shall be a holy convocation unto you; you shall do no manner of servile work; it is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* in all your dwellings throughout your generations” (Lev 23:21)

*kl ml'kh l' t'šw ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm bkl mšbtykm* “you shall do no manner of work; it is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations in all your dwellings” (Lev 23:31)

*wḥtm 'tw ḥg YHWH šb't ymy m bšnh ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm bḥdš hšb'y thgw 'tw* “you shall celebrate it (*ḥag Sukkot*) a feast unto YHWH seven days in the year; it is a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* in your generations; you shall celebrate it in the seventh month” (Lev 23:41)

*mḥwš lprkt h'dh b'hl mw'd y'rk 'tw 'hrn m'rb 'd bqr lḥny YHWH tmyd ḥqt 'wlm ldrtykm* “without the veil of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before YHWH continually; it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* throughout your generations” (Lev 24:3)

With the preposition *l*

*whyth lhm khnh lḥqt 'wlm* “the priesthood shall be for them a perpetual *ḥuqqâ*” (Exod 29:9)

*whyth lhm lḥqt 'wlm* “it shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* unto you” (Lev 16:29)

*whyth z't lkm lḥqt 'wlm* “this shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* unto you” (Lev 16:34)



## B) Syntagmatic Analysis of the Plural Forms

Plural forms: 72

(Construct state: 15; Pronominal State: 57; Absolute State: 0)

### 1. Adnominal Modifiers

#### 1.1. Adjectives

SBH1

*ktwblh* “written” (Deut 30:10)

#### 1.2. Quantifier

SBH1

*kl* “all” (Num 9:3; Deut 6:2)

SBH4

*kl* “all” (Lev 19:37; 20:22; Ezek 18:19.21; 43:11x2; 44:5)

#### 1.3. Pronominal Suffixes

SBH1

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Gen 26:5; 1 Kgs 6:12; 9:6; 11:11.33.34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13; Jer 44:10)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Num 9:3; Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15.45; 30:10.16; 1

Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 23:3; Jer 44:23)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (2 Kgs 17:34)

The personal pronoun indicates generally YHWH, once *Pesah* (Num 9:3), and once the Samaritans (2 Kgs 17:34).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Although in this case the reference of the pronominal suffixes seems odd ‘*d hywm hzh hm šym kmšp̄tym hr šnym yn̄m yr ym t YHWH w yn̄m šym kl̄qtm wkmšp̄tm wktwrh wkmšwt šr šwh YHWH t bny y qb šr š šw ysr l*’ “unto this day they (the Samaritans) do after the former *mišpaṭim*: they fear not YHWH, neither do they after their (*sic*) *huqqôṭ*, or after their (*sic*) *mišpaṭim*, or after the *tôrâ* or after the *mišwâ* which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named

*SBH<sub>2</sub>*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Ps 89:32)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (2 Sam 22:23; Ps 18:23)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

*SBH<sub>4</sub>*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (Lev 18:4.5.26; 19:19.37; 20:8.22; 25:18; 26:3.15; 26:43; Ezek 5:6x2.7;

11:20; 18:9.17.19.21; 20:11.13.16.19.21.24; Ezek 37:24; 44:24)

3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine (Ezek 43:11x2)

3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine (Lev 18:3)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH, the temple (Ezek 43:11x2);<sup>4</sup> the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan (Lev 18:3).

*LBH<sub>1</sub>*

1<sup>st</sup> singular (2 Chr 7:19)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

*LBH<sub>2</sub>*

2<sup>nd</sup> singular masculine (Ps 119:16)

The personal pronoun indicates YHWH.

#### 1.4. Nominal Complements

##### 1.4.1. Governing Nouns or Adjectives

*SBH<sub>2</sub>*

šbw'

šb'wt ḥqwt qsy' "the weeks of ḥuqqôṭ of the harvest" (Jer 5:24)

---

Israel"; the pronominal suffixes might point to the Israelites' customs rather than to the Samaritans' ones.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. *bayit*.

## 1.4.2. Governed Nouns

SBH1

'rš

*ḥqwt šmym w' rš* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of heaven and earth” (Jer 33:25)*gwy**bḥqwt ḥgwym 'šr ḥwryš YHWH mṣny bny ysr'l* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the nations, whom YHWH cast out from before the Israelites” (2 Kgs 17:8)*dwd**bḥqwt dwd 'byw* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of David his father” (1 Kgs 3:3)*yśr'l**bḥqwt yśr'l 'šr 'šw* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of Israel which they practiced” (2 Kgs 17:19)*šmym**ḥqwt šmym w' rš* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of heaven and earth” (Jer 33:25)

SBH2

*yrḥ**ḥqwt yrḥ wkwkbym* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the moon and of the stars” (Jer 31:35)*wkwkbym**ḥqwt yrḥ wkwkbym* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the moon and of the stars” (Jer 31:35)*'mym**ḥqwt h' mym* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the peoples” (Jer 10:3)*'mry**ḥqwt 'mry* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of Omri” (Mic 6:16)*qšyr**ḥqwt qšyr* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the harvest” (Jer 5:24)

SBH4

*byt YHWH**lklḥqwt byt YHWH* “all the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the house of YHWH” (Ezek 44:5)

*gwym*

*bḥqwt ḥgwy 'šr 'ny mšlh mḥnykm* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the nation, which I am casting out before you” (Lev 20:23)

*ḥyyym*

*bḥqwt ḥḥyyym* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of life” (Ezek 33:15)

*mzbh*

*ḥqwt ḥmzbh* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the altar” (Ezek 43:18)

*'wlm*

*ḥqwt 'wlm* “perpetual *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Ezek 46:14)

*tw'bh*

*mḥqwt ḥtw'bt 'šr n 'šw lḥnykm* “of the *ḥuqqôṭ* of abomination, which were done before you,” viz. “the abominable *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Lev 18:30)

*LBH3*

*šmym*

*ḥqwt šmym* “the *ḥuqqôṭ* of heavens” (Job 38:33)

### 1.5. Relative Clauses

*SBH1*

With the verb *ntn*

*mšwty ḥqty 'šr nty lḥnykm dbr mšwk ḥywm* “my *mišwōṭ* and my *ḥuqqôṭ* which I have set before you” (1 Kgs 9:6)

With the verb *'šh*

*bḥqwt yšr'l 'šr 'šw* “in the *ḥuqqôṭ* of Israel which they practiced” (2 Kgs 17:19)

With the verb *šwh* (*piel*)

*'t mšwt YHWH w't ḥqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk ḥywm* “the *mišwōṭ* of YHWH and his *ḥuqqôṭ* which I<sup>5</sup> command you today” (Deut 10:13)

<sup>5</sup> Viz. Moses.

*'t kl mšwtyw wḥqtyw 'šr 'nky mšwk hywm* “all his *mišwōt* and his *ḥuqqōt* which I<sup>6</sup> command you today” (Deut 28:15)

*mšwtyw wḥqtyw 'šr šwk* “his *mišwōt* and his *ḥuqqōt* which he<sup>7</sup> has commanded you” (Deut 28:45)

*bryty wḥqty 'šr šwyty 'lyk* “my covenant and my *ḥuqqōt* which I have commanded you” (1 Kgs 11:11)

## 2. Predicative Function

### 2.1. Nominal Clauses

#### 2.1.1. The Noun *ḥuqqōt* as Subject

SBH1

*ḥqwt h'mym hbl hw'* “the *ḥuqqōt* of the peoples are vapor” (Jer 10:3)

SBH4

*'lh* “these” (Ezek 43:18)

### 2.2. Verbal Clauses

#### 2.2.1. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqōt* as Subject

No cases.

#### 2.2.2. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqōt* as Direct Object

SBH1

Without any preposition

*'šh* “to put into practice” (1 Kgs 11:33)

*šym* “to appoint” (Jer 33:25)

<sup>6</sup> Viz. Moses.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. God.

*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Gen 26:5; Deut 8:11; 11:1; 28:45; 30:10.16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 9:6; 11:11.34.38; 2 Kgs 17:13)  
*šmr l'šwt* “to take care to put into practice” (Deut 28:15)

With the preposition *'t*  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Deut 6:2; 10:13; 2 Kgs 23:3)

#### SBH2

Without any preposition  
*ḥll* (*piel*) “to pollute” (Ps 89:32)  
*ntn* “to give” (Jer 31:35)  
*swr* “to turn aside” (2 Sam 22:23)  
*swr* (*hiphil*) “to take away” (Ps 18:23)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Mic 6:16)

#### SBH4

Without any preposition  
*m's* “to reject” (Ezek 20:24)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Ezek 37:24)

With the preposition *'t*  
*g'l* “to abhor” (Lev 26:43)  
*yd'* (*hiphil*) “to make known” (Ezek 43:11x2)  
*mrh* (*hiphil*) “to rebel” (Ezek 5:6)  
*ntn* “to give” (Ezek 20:11)  
*'šh* “to put into practice” (Lev 25:18)  
*šmr* “to keep,” “to observe” (Lev 18:4.5.26; 19:19.37; 20:8.22; Ezek 18:19.21; 44:24)

#### LBH1

Without any preposition  
*'zb* “to leave,” “to abandon” (2 Chr 7:19)

#### LBH3

*yd'* “to know” (Job 38:33)

2.2.3. Verbs Governing *ḥuqqôṭ* as Argument or AdjunctSBH<sub>1</sub>With the preposition *b**hlk**hlk* “to walk in (metaphorical)” (1 Kgs 3:3; 6:12; 2 Kgs 17:8.19; Jer 44:10.23)With the preposition *k**ʿšh*

*tʿšw ʿtw bmw ʿdw kkl ḥqtyw wkkl mšptyw tʿšw ʿtw* “according to all the *ḥuqqôṭ* of it, and according to all the *mišpāṭim* thereof, shall you celebrate it”<sup>8</sup> (Num 9:3)  
*wʿynm ʿsym khqtm wkmšpṭm wktwrh wkmšwh ʿsršwh YHWH ʿtbnny ʿqb ʿsršm šmw ysrʿl* “they<sup>9</sup> did not behave after their (*sic*) *ḥuqqôṭ*, or after their (*sic*) *mišpāṭim*, or after the *tôrâ* or after the *mišwâ* which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel” (2 Kgs 17:34)

SBH<sub>4</sub>With the preposition *b**hlk*

*hlk* “to walk in (metaphorical)” (Lev 18:3; 20:23; 26:3; Ezek 5:6.<sup>10</sup>7; 11:20; 18:9.17; 20:13.16<sup>11</sup>.19.21; 33:15)

*mʿs*

*wʿm bhqty tmʿsw wʿm ʿt mšpty tgʿl npškm lblty ʿšwt ʿkl mšwty lhprkm ʿtbryty* (v. 15) *ʿp ʿny ʿšh zʿt lkm whpqdy ʿlykm bhlh ʿt hšlḥpt wʿt ḥqdḥt mklwt ʿynym wmdybt npš wz-rʿtm lryq zrʿkm wʿklhw ʿybykm* (v. 16) “if you shall reject my *ḥuqqôṭ*, and if your soul abhor my *mišpāṭim*, so that you will not do all my *mišwôṭ*, but break my covenant (v. 15) I also will do this unto you: I will appoint terror over you, even consumption and fever, that shall make the eyes to fail, and the soul to languish; and you shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it” (Lev 26:15)

With the preposition *mn**ʿšh*

*lblty ʿšwt mḥqwt htwʿbt ʿšr nʿšw lpnykm* “never to practice any of these *ḥuqqôṭ*

<sup>8</sup> Viz. *Pesaḥ*.<sup>9</sup> Viz. the Samaritans.<sup>10</sup> With anaphoric pronoun *bhm*.<sup>11</sup> With anaphoric pronoun *bhm*.

of abomination, which were done before you,” viz. “abominable *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Lev 18:30)

With the preposition *l*

*dbr* (*piel*)

*bn 'dm śm lbk wr 'h b 'ynyk wb 'znyk śm ' tkl 'šr 'ny m dbr ' tk lkl ḥqwt byt YHWH wkl twrtwy* “son of man, mark well, and behold with your eyes, and hear with your ears all that I say unto you concerning all the *ḥuqqôṭ* of the house of YHWH, and all the *tôrôṭ* thereof” (Ezek 44:5)

LBH2

With the preposition *b*

*š' ' (piel)*

*bḥqtyk 'št 'š' ' “I will delight myself in your *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Ps 119:16)*

### 3. Adpositions

SBH4

*wmnḥh t'šh 'lyw bbqr bbqr ššyt h'yph wšmn šlyšyt ḥhyn lrs 't hslt mnḥh lYHWH ḥqwt 'wlm tmyd* “and you shall prepare a meal-offering with it morning by morning, the sixth part of an ephah, and the third part of a hin of oil, to moisten the fine flour: a meal-offering unto YHWH continually by perpetual *ḥuqqôṭ*” (Ezek 46:14)

### 4. Parallels

SBH4

*mšwt*

*mšwty* “*mišwôṭ*” (Lev 26:3)

*mšpṭ*

*mšpṭy* “my *mišpāṭîm*” (Lev 18:4; 26:15.43; 26:43)

*tw'bh*

*htw'bw* “abomination” (Lev 18:26).



## Index of References

### Hebrew Bible

#### Genesis

2:16	<b>114</b> , 115	27:25	<b>47</b>
6:22	115	27:3	37
7:1	32	27:8	115
7:21	75	28:1	115
12:1	40	28:7	86
12:16	42	30:17	86
12:17	39	30:22	86
12:20	115	30:43	42
13:10	46	31:27	141
14:18	47	32:3	44
18:8	150	32:5	115
18:9	61	32:11	144
18:19	<b>105</b> , 106, 229, 281, 298	33:17	39
18:25	<b>61</b> , 62, 64, 67, 68, 230, 281, 298	34:12	209
19:3	39	34:17	86
21:4	115	39:4	39
22:1	191, 192	40:13	<b>56</b> , 234, 235, 281, 284, 301
23:16	85	41:40–46	182
24:35	42	41:44	122
24:38	39	42:25	37, 115
24:50	215	43:16	114
25:6	209	44:13	41
26:11	106	44:21	46
26:4–5	<b>162</b>	45:23	41
26:5	82, 127, 152, 161, 197, 204, 207, 215, <b>217</b> , 241, 242, 243, 247,	47:11	109, 111
		47:22	<b>178</b> , 205, 208, 228, 390, 392,

332, 344, 350, 358, 383, 385,  
416, 423, 428

	394, 395, 397	12:17	162, 198, 207, 210, 241, 416, 418, 420
47:23	<b>183</b>	12:21	309
47:24	<b>183</b>	12:21-24	404
47:26	178, 182, <b>183</b> , 205, 206, 214, 241, 390, 394, 398, 402	12:24	206, 241, 390, 394, 402
49:10	177	12:35	106
49:14	41	12:43	198, 207, 241, 416, 418, 419
49:29	92, 114	12:49	238, 249, 358, 360, 371
49:33	92, 97, 114	13:2	146
49:5	37	13:9	146
50:16	92, 114	13:10	207, 241, 416, 417, 420
50:2	92, 114	13:12	146
<b>Exodus</b>		15:24	190, 191
1:17	106	15:25	205, 182, 184, 190, 192, 206, 238, 249, 281, 298, 390, 403, 409
1:22	106	15:25-26	191
4:28	115	15:26	178, 193, 205, 206, <b>217</b> , 242, 243, 332, 344, 352, 390, 404, 409
5:6	106	16:4	178, 193, 205, <b>217</b> , 239, 250, 358, 361, 374
5:7-8	<b>179</b>	16:16	106, 129
5:8	108	16:28	80, 82, 127, 152, 241, 242, 247, 332, 341, 342, 344, 350, 358, 383, 385
5:11	108	16:32	129
5:14	108, 178, <b>179</b> , 205, 228, 390, 392, 394, 397	16:34	106
5:18	108	17:7	191, <b>192</b>
6:13	106	18:13	54
6:14	172	18:16	127, 152, 178, 152, 205, 206, 214, 241, 242, 243, 247, 358, 383, 385, 390, 406, 410
6:19	172	18:20	112, 127, 152, 178, 205, 206, 214, 241, 242, 243, 247, 358, 390, 409
6:30	86	18:23	114
7:2	39, 115	19:7	84, 106, 129, 182
7:4	86	20:6	111, 115, 116, 215, 333, 345, 346
7:13	86, 114	20:20	191, 192
7:22	86	20:25	137
7:28	39	20:5-6	<b>112</b>
8:11	86		
8:15	86		
8:23	114, 225		
9:12	86, 105		
11:9	86		
12:3	172		
12:4	39		
12:14	162, 198, 207, 210, 241, 416, 418, 420		

21:1	182, 243, 281, 322, 323	40:21	106
21:9	55, 230, 281, 288, 301	40:23	106
21:31	233, 281, 284, 301	40:25	106
22:15	209	40:27	106
22:16	209		
22:23	86		
23:6	282, 290, 299	<b>Leviticus</b>	
23:15	115	3:17	207, 210, 416, 418, 421
23:22	114, 168	4:2	111, 115, 116, 215, 333, 344, 346, 349, 352
23:30	282	4:13	333, 344, 346
24:3	75, 243, 281, 317, 325	4:22	333, 344, 346, 349
24:7	45	4:27	333, 346, 349
24:12	74, <b>80</b> , 81, 149, 239, 249, 250, 332, 338, 340, 358, 367, 372	5:10	282, 306
26:30	285, 293, 307, 318	5:17	333, 344, 346, 349
27:21	162, 207, 210, 416, 418, 421	5:18	325
28:15	282, 287	6:2	115, 126, 136, 202, 359, 366, 370
28:29	282, 287	6:7	126, 359, 366, 370
28:30	282, 287, 290, 299	6:11	162, 206, 210, 391, 394, 395, 396
28:43	162, 207, 211, 416, 418, 421	6:15	206, 391, 394, 396
29:28	94, 162, 206, 210, 391, 394, 395, 400	6:18	126, 136, 359, 366, 370
29:35	115	7:1	126, 359, 365, 370
29:38	<b>142</b>	7:7	359, 360, 370, 419
29:9	416, 418, 422	7:11	126, 359, 365, 370
30:21	162, 206, 211, 391, 394, 396	7:28-36	60
32:8	115	7:30	209
32:32	45	7:34	94, 162, 206, 210, 391, 394, 395, 400
34:4	106	7:36	162, 207, 210, 416, 418, 422
34:32	114	7:37	126, 359, 370
35:1	84, 114, 129	7:37-38	369
35:4	129	8:4	106
36:6	109, <b>111</b>	8:5	115
37:19	105, 106, 108	8:9	106
38:21	105	8:13	106
39:7	106	8:17	106
39:21	106	8:36	84, 129
39:26	106	9:6	114
39:29	106	9:16	282, 306
39:31	106	9:21	106
39:43	106	10:1	109, 111
40:19	106	10:9	
		10:11	75, 206, 210, 391, 404, 407, 410



- 5:29-30 **125**  
 5:30 151, 359, 360, 361, 373,  
 6:1 126  
 6:13 359, 366, 370  
 6:13-21 359, 366, 370  
 6:21 359, 366, 370, 377  
 7:38 162  
 8:3 106  
 8:22 106  
 8:26 162  
 8:35 162  
 9:3 75, 242, 243, 247, 207, 281, 317,  
 9:12 **76**, 198, 207, 241, 416, 417, 418,  
 420  
 9:14 108, 198, 207, 234, 235, 241,  
 281, 284, 416, 418  
 9:19 162  
 9:20 162  
 9:23 162  
 10:8 162, 198, 207, 241, 416, 418  
 12:3 75  
 14:22 191  
 15:15 198, 207, 241, 416, 418  
 15:16 282, 284, 297, 359, 360, 372  
 15:22 333, 344, 348  
 15:24 108, 282, 307  
 15:29 359, 360, 372  
 15:31 74, 333, 335, 341, 343  
 15:36 106  
 15:39 333, 344, 346, 350  
 15:40 333, 344, 346, 350  
 18:6 210  
 18:7 210  
 18:11 182, 206, 210, 391, 394, 401  
 18:19 206, 210, 391, 394, 401  
 18:23 210, 228, 416, 418, 420  
 18:23-24 **199**  
 18:8 182, 206, 391, 394, 401, 402  
 18:19 206, 210, 391, 394, 401  
 19:2 84, 106, 201, 206, 225, 241, 251,  
 359, 363, 369, 416, 418, 419  
 19:10 198, 207, 210, 241, 391, 394,  
 401, 416, 418, 421  
 19:14 126, 359, 370  
 19:21 198, 207, 210, 241, 416, 418, 421  
 26:4 106  
 27:5 231, 281, 284, 298  
 27:7 146, 209  
 27:11 **53**, 106, 200, 207, 225, 238,  
 241, 249, 251, 281, 286, 416,  
 418, 421  
 27:1-11 53  
 27:21 233, 281, 288, 300  
 28:3 **143**, 223  
 28:3-8 223  
 29:6 282, 285, 307, 318  
 29:18 282, 308  
 29:21 282, 308  
 29:24 282, 308  
 29:27 282, 308  
 29:30 282, 309  
 29:33 282, 285, 309, 318  
 29:37 282, 309  
 30:2 129  
 30:6 129  
 30:7 225  
 30:17 84, **194**, 206, **217**, 391, 408, 409  
 31:20 38  
 31:21 201, 207, 225, 239, 241, 250,  
 251, 358, 362, 398, 416, 418, 419  
 31:30 162  
 31:31 106  
 31:41 106  
 31:47 106, 162  
 35:12 **49**, 232, 281, 302  
 35:22-24 200  
 35:24 241, 281, 327  
 35:29 200, 225, 207, 241, 250, 251,  
 286, 416, 418  
 35:9-29 50  
 36:5 215  
 36:13 **52**, 115, 242, 243, 247, 281, 321,  
 323, 332, 347, 349

<b>Deuteronomy</b>		4:30	86
1-11	52	4:36	86, 129
1:16	115	4:40	82, 115, 129, 178, 193, 205, 206, 242, 243, 247, 332, 344, 347, 350, 390, 404, 407, 409
1:17	<b>50</b> , 232, 281, 294, 300	4:44	77, 127, 129, <b>130</b> , 134, 149, 182, 235, 358, 368, 369
1:19	161	4:44-28:68	77, 129
1:21	150	4:45	178, 193, 195, 205, 206, 242, 243, 281, 321, 323, 390, 406, 409
1:3	<b>161</b>	5:1	52, 77, 86, 195, 196, 206, 240, 247, 281, 321, 325, 390, 406, 410, 413
1:34	86	5:9-10	<b>112</b>
1:41	161	5:10	111, 116, 333, 345, 346
1:45	86	5:12	161
1:5	129, 134, 135, 150, 167, 235, 358, 360, 372	5:15	106
1:8	150	5:16	161
2:31	150	5:19	129
2:33	150	5:23	86
2:36	150	5:24	86
2:37	115	5:25	86
3:18	115	5:27	86
3:26	86, 86	5:28	77, 86
4:1	51, 52, 86, 189, 193, 194, 195, <b>196</b> , <b>197</b> , 205, 206, 240, 247, 281, 321, 326, 390, 407, 413	5:29	333, 344, 345
4:2	<b>82</b> , 115, 129, 242, 332, 346, 347, 350	5:31	52, 74, 75, 121, 195, 196, 206, 282, 322, 325, 333, 335, 340, 391, 404, 408, 410, 413
4:5	51, 52, 161, 189, 194, 195, <b>196</b> , 196, 205, 206, 240, 247, 281, 324, 390, 409, 413	6-11	77
4:6	75, 86, 194, <b>195</b> , 205, 206, <b>218</b> , 242, 243, 344, 390, 403, 404, 410	6:1	51, 52, 74, 77, 115, 196, 206, 282, 322, 333, 339, 343, 391, 408, 409, 413
4:8	52, <b>128</b> , 129, 134, 149, 150, 194, 195, 196, 205, 206, 235, 240, 247, 281, 317, 323, 358, 360, 361, 368, 375, 390, 403, 409, 413	6:6	84, 129
4:10	86, 129	6:9	77
4:13	84, 115, 129	6:16	191
4:14	51, 52, 63, 64, 68, 189, 194, 195, <b>196</b> , 196, 205, 206, 240, 247, 281, 324, 390, 409, 413	6:17	205, 206, 333, 346, 348, 351, 391, 404, 408, 410
4:22	134	6:2	75, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 247, 333, 344, 345, 348, 351, 416, 423, 428
4:23	106	6:20	51, 205, 206, 282, 322, 324, 391,

	408, 409		
6:24	75, 194, <b>195</b> , 206, 391, 403, 404, 410	11:22	344, 347, 352 74, 77, 79, 121, 235, 236, 332, 334, 340
6:25	74, 121, 333, 334, 341	11:22-25	77
7:1	68	11:26	150
7:1-11	77	11:26-27 (28?)	<b>83</b>
7:2	150	11:27	85, 86, 115, 242, 332, 346, 347, 352
7:9	<b>54</b> , 242, 332, 344, 345	11:28	85, 86, 242, 332, 346, 352
7:11	51, 52, 69, 74, 81, 115, 178, 193, 194, 195, 205, 206, 235, 236, 243, 247, 281, 325, 332, 340, 390, 407, 410, 413	11:32	52, 75, 77, 112, 150, 196, 206, 214, 240, 243, 247, 281, 321, 325, 391, 404, 407, 410, 413
7:12	51, <b>63</b> , 63, 64, 68, 86, 235, 243, 281, 317, 325	11:32-12:1	77
7:23	150	12:1	77, 112, 196, 206, 214, 282, 322, 323, 391, 408, 409, 413
8:1	51, 74, 77, <b>78</b> , 121, 235, 236, 332, 334, 340,	12:5-7	<b>140</b>
8:2	191, 242, 332, 344, 350	12:7	141
8:6	242, 332, 346, 350	12:18	141
8:11	51, 82, 115, 197, 204, 207, <b>218</b> , 242, 243, 247, 281, 318, 321, 325, 332, 338, 344, 350, 416, 423, 428	12:28	84, 86, 129
8:16	191	13:1	129
8:19	78	13:4	86, 191
8:20	86	13:5	86, 333, 345, 351
9:19	86, 86	13:9	86
9:23	86	13:19	86, 333, 344, 345, 351
10:10	86	14:26	141
10:13	82, 115, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 247, 332, 346, 347, 350, 416, 423, 426, 428	15:2	112, 215
10:17-18	<b>62</b>	15:5	74, 86, 121, 333, 334, 335, 341
10:18	<b>62</b> , 64, 68, 203, 281, 288, 298	15:15	129
11:1	51, 82, 97, 116, 116, 161, 162, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 247, 281, 318, 325, 332, 344, 350, 416, 423, 428	15:19	146
11:8	74, <b>78</b> , 121, 235, 236, 332, 334, 340	16:6	282
11:11		16:12	205, 391, 403, 410
11:13	<b>83</b> , 85, 86, 115, 242, 332, 334,	16:18	282, 291, 306
		16:18-20	54
		16:19	282, 299
		17:3	109, 111
		17:8	54, 282
		17:8-13	54
		17:9	<b>54</b> , 282, 287
		17:11	81, 282, 293, 310, 316, 359, 369, 376, 382
		17:12	86, 86

17:18	359, 360, 363	27:5-6	137, 138
17:19	206, 359, 363, 391, 403, 410	27:5-7	131
17:20	333, 341	27:7	141
18:3	55, 59, 60, 282, 284, 290, 292, 297	27:8	129, <b>131</b> , 131, 134, 167, 235, 250, 358, 360, 361, 362
18:14	86	27:10	82, 86, 178, 193, 206, 242, 243, 247, 332, 344, 347, 350, 390, 404, 407, 410
18:16	86	27:11	<b>132, 134</b>
18:20	109, 111	27:19	55, 282, 290, 299
19:4	112, 215	27:26	359, 360, 363
19:6	290	28:1	<b>75, 75, 86, 115, 134, 242, 332, 344, 348, 350</b>
19:9	74, 121, 333, 335, 341	28:2	86
20:14	187	28:8	114
21:17	55, 282, 290, 295	28:9	96, 116, 116, 242, 332, 346
21:18	86, 86	28:13	<b>83, 85, 86, 115, 242, 332, 346, 348, 352</b>
21:20	86	28:14	84, 129
21:22	209, 282, 287, 290	28:15	75, 82, <b>83, 86, 115, 197, 204, 242, 247, 332, 344, 348, 350, 416, 423, 427, 428</b>
23:6	86	28:45	75, 82, 86, 115, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 247, 332, 344, 348, 350, 416, 423, 427, 428
23:15	150	28:58	129, 134, 235, 250, 358, 360, 361, 362
24:1.3	45	28:58-59	<b>132</b>
24:16	139	28:61	129, 132, 236, 358, 360, 362
24:17	55, 282, 290, 299	28:62	86
24:18	129	28:69	84, 132
24:22	129	28:69-30:20	129
25:1	282, 306	29:8	<b>138, 139</b>
26:2	145, 145	29:18	86
26:7	86	29:20	132, 133, 236, 358, 362
26:13	115, 333, 335, 339, 341, 345, 352	29:28	129, <b>132, 235, 250, 358, 360, 362</b>
26:14	86	30:1	150
26:16	64, 68, 77, 178, 196, 206, 282, 325, 391, 403, 410, 413	30:2	86
26:17	52, 86, 115, 196, 206, 282, 318, 325, 333, 345, 350, 391, 404, 410, 412	30:8	75, 86, 115, 242, 332, 344, 348, 350
26:18	333, 344, 345, 350	30:10	82, 86, 104, 132, 133, 197, 207,
27:1	74, 76, 82, 109, 111, 121, 235, 236, 332, 334, 338, 340		
27:1-3	130		
27:3	129, 134, 235, 250, 358, 360, 361, 362		
27:4	131		
27:4-8	130		
27:5	138		



- 236, 242, 243, 247, 332, 344,  
 350, 358, 362, 416, 423, 428  
 30:11 74, **79**, 121, 235, 236, 332, 340  
 30:15 150  
 30:16 51, 82, 97, 115, 197, 204, 207,  
 242, 243, 247, 281, 318, 325,  
 332, 344, 350, 416, 423, 428  
 30:19 150  
 30:20 86, 129, 132  
 31:5 74, 121, 150, 235, 332, 334  
 31:9 129, **133**, 134, 135, 136, 150, 235,  
 358, 360, 372  
 31:10-11 **133**  
 31:11 129, 134, 150, 235, 358, 360, 372  
 31:12 129, **133**, 134, 235, 250, 358,  
 360, 362  
 31:24 129, **133**, 134, 235, 250, 358,  
 360, 362  
 31:26 45, 129, 132, 236, 358, 363,  
 31:27 129  
 32:4 281, 295  
 32:41 281, 300  
 32:44-47 133  
 32:46 **133**, 134, 235, 250, 358, 360, 362  
 33:4 150, 358, 372, 379, 380  
 33:8 191  
 33:10 81, 281, 317, 324, 358, 361, 372  
 33:21 177, 281, 317, 324, 329  
 34:9 86  
  
**Joshua**  
 1:7 115, **139**, 150, 152, **159**, 160, 161,  
 358, 368, 375  
 1:8 144, 161, 358, 363  
 1:10 115  
 4:3 106  
 4:8 106  
 4:10 161  
 4:12 114  
 5:2-8 185  
 5:14 109, 110  
 6:10 115  
  
 6:15 **56**, 233, 281, 284, 301  
 7:11 84, 114  
 7:24 42  
 8:27 106  
 8:29 106  
 8:30 137  
 8:30-31 **137, 161**  
 8:30-35 137  
 8:31 136, 137, 161, 236, 263, 358, 363,  
 365  
 8:32 136, **147**, 161, 236, 358, 362, 365  
 8:34 161, 239, 250, 358, 362, 363  
 8:35 161  
 9:2 **161**  
 9:24 106  
 10:12 150  
 11:9 114, 150  
 11:12 106  
 11:15 106  
 11:20 114  
 11:23 114  
 20:6 **50**, 232, 281, 302  
 22:2 161  
 22:3 74, 162, 235, 332  
 22:5 74, **81**, 150, 151, 161, 235, 236,  
 242, 332, 344, 350, 358, 372  
 23:6 136, 161, 236, 358, 363, 365  
 23:16 84  
 24:15 39  
 24:24 **185**  
 24:25 **184**, 205, 206, 238, 249, 281,  
 298, 390, 397, 403  
 24:26 136, 161, 236, 358, 363, 364  
  
**Judges**  
 2:17 96, 116, 242, 332, 346, 350  
 2:20 84, 203  
 3:4 242, 332, 346, 350  
 4:5 232, 281, 302  
 5:9 176  
 5:9-10 177  
 5:11 224

5:15 175, 205, 390, 406, 409  
 5:16 175  
 11:9 150  
 11:31 39  
 11:39 205, 206, 208, 234, 235, 390,  
 394  
 11:39-40 **180**  
 13:12 **56**, 234, 281, 288, 296  
 14:5 44  
 16:17 75  
 18:2-3 **135**  
 18:7 56, 234, 235, 281, 289, 300  
 19:10 41  
 20:38 **108**

#### 1 Samuel (= LXX 1 Kingdoms)

1:18 183  
 2:11 40  
 2:12-13 **59**  
 2:13 59, 228, 281, 288, 292, 297  
 2:13-14 59  
 2:15 43  
 4:6 **135**  
 6:12 44  
 6:15 37  
 8:3 232, 281, 297  
 8:9 234, 281, 288, 297  
 8:11 234, 281, 288, 296  
 8:11-17 **57**  
 8:15-17 199  
 9:24 182  
 10:25 45, 55, 230, 281, 288, 298  
 13:13 74, 237, 332, 336, 338, 340  
 15:3 42  
 16:20 41  
 18:25 209  
 25:7 114  
 25:15 114  
 25:21 114  
 25:23 41  
 27:3 39  
 27:6 186

27:9 42  
 27:9-11 **58**  
 27:11 234, 281, 284, 294  
 28:22 182  
 30:22 187  
 30:24 **187**, 399  
 30:25 184, **187**, 205, 206, 238, 249,  
 281, 302, 390, 399, 402, 403

#### 2 Samuel (= LXX 2 Kingdoms)

1:1-11:1 25  
 4:3 186  
 6:21 114  
 7:19 127, 128, 358, 364, 369  
 8:15 61, 62, 64, 69, 186, 229, 281,  
 298  
 11:2 25  
 15:2 232, 281, 301  
 15:4 231, 281, 296  
 15:6 232, 233, 281, 301  
 16:1 41  
 17:28 37  
 19:43 209  
 19:7 41  
 20:22 75  
 22:23 75, 207, 282, 317, 318, 323, 329,  
 416, 424, 428  
 24:22 37

#### 1 Kings (= LXX 3 Kingdoms)

2:3 51, 82, 136, 137, 162, 197, 204,  
 207, 236, 242, 243, 247, 281,  
 318, 325, 332, 344, 350, 358,  
 365, 374, 416, 423, 428  
 2:11 25  
 2:12-21:43 25  
 2:36 88  
 2:42 88, 89  
 2:43 88, 237, 332, 340  
 3:3 202, **204**, 207, 234, 235, 416,  
 425, 429  
 3:4-14 142



17:19	202, 207, 234, 235, 242, 333, 346, 350, 416, 425, 426, 429	2:3	359, 371, 380
17:26	58, 234, 235, 281, 287, 298	3:14	281, 302
17:26-27	<b>58</b>	4:4	281, 287
17:27	58, 234, 235, 281, 287, 298	5:7	281, 304, 315, 316
17:33	58, 234, 281, 288, 300	5:14	390, 397
17:34	<b>58</b> , 74, 80, 149, 202, 204, 214, 235, 239, 242, 249, 250, 281, 284, 293, 301, 317, 326, 332, 333, 338, 358, 368, 375, 416, 423, 429	5:16	281, 302, 315
17:37	51, 52, 74, 80, 149, 150, 151, 178, 193, 195, 205, 206, 239, 240, 242, 247, 249, 250, 281, 321, 325, 332, 333, 338, 340, 358, 368, 372, 390, 407, 410	5:24	142, 359, 365, 373, 380
17:40	58, 234, 281, 284, 301	8:16	359, 373, 381
18:1-19:38	117	8:20	359, 376
18:6	83, 242, 333, 344, 348, 350	9:6	281, 303
18:36	<b>88</b> , 96, <b>117</b> , 119, 237, 332, 336, 339	10:1	176, 391, 406, 410, 412
19:34	207, 416	10:1-2	177
21:8	239, 250, 358, 361, 368, 375	10:2	281, 289, 298, 314, 316
22:8	45, 236, 358, 363	11:4	177
22:9	45	13:11	114
22:10	45	16:5	281, 315
22:11	236, 358, 363	22:16	176
23:2	45, 146	24:5	206, 359, 385, 387, 390, 397, 401, 402
23:3	82, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 247, 248, 333, 344, 350, 416, 423, 428	26:5	298
23:24	45, 236, 250, 358, 362	26:8	318, 319, 282
23:25	136, 239, 250, 361, 358, 361, 365, 375	26:9	282, 318, 323, 329
25:6	<b>50</b> , 233, 281, 297	28:6	281, 287, 305
28:8	146	28:17	281, 298, 313, 315
<b>Isaiah</b>		28:26	281, 304, 392
1:10	359, 365, 372, 380	29:13	115, 116, 118, 333, 334, 336
1:17	281, 298	30:18	281, 286
1:21	281, 286	30:8	176
1:27	281, 303	30:9	142, 159, 365, 372
		32:1	281, 305
		32:7	281, 315, 298, 315
		32:16	281, 297, 315
		33:5	281, 298
		33:15	225
		34:5	281, 304
		36-37	117
		36:21	88, 96, 109, 110, <b>117</b> , 118, 237, 332, 336
		37:26	105
		38:1	92, 114
		40:14	281, 286, 314
		40:27	281, 285, 296, 314

41:1	281, 305	5:22	206, 390, 397, 399, 402
41:2	150	5:24	207, 416, 424, 425
41:24	359	5:28	282, 289, 298, 314, 316
42:1	281, 298	6:19	359, 361, 376, 380
42:3	281, 298	6:24	403
42:4	281, 298, 359, 376, 381	7:5	282, 298
42:21	359, 372, 373	8:7	282, 289, 298, 314
42:24	361, 376, 380	8:8	142, 359, 365, 370, 381
44:16	43	9:12	150, 282, 359, 368, 373, 381
44:19	43, 44	9:23	282, 298
45:24	224	10:24	282, 303, 314
48:18	<b>118</b> , 333, 345, 352	10:3	207, 416, 425, 427
49:4	281, 285, 294, 315	11:8	84
49:16	176	12:1	282, 325
50:8	281, 285, 286	15:9	150
51:4	281, 285, 289, 313, 315, 359, 371, 381	16:11	151, 359, 373, 359, 361, 373
51:7	359, 361, 370, 381	16:12	403
53:8	281, 305	17:11	282, 303
54:17	281, 305	17:19	403
55:4	109	18:18	359, 371, 372, 380, 381
56:1	281, 298, 315	21:12	282, 298
58:2	152, 281, 282, 289, 298, 315, 320, 325	21:8	150
59:8	281, 294	22:3	282, 298
59:9	281, 297, 315	23:5	282, 298
59:11	281, 304, 314	22:13	282, 304
59:14	281, 297, 315	22:15	282, 298
59:15	281, 294	26:2	106
61:8	281, 298, 314, 315	26:4	359, 361, 368, 375
63:7	144	26:8	106
64:5	225	26:11	282, 289, 292, 294
		26:16	282, 289, 292, 294, 403
		27:4	106
		29-51	25
		29:23	106
		30:11	282, 304
		30:18	282, 285, 305
		31:33	359, 361, 373
		31:35	416, 425, 428
		31:36	205, 391, 403, 412
		32:7	281, 288, 292, 294
		32:8	281, 288, 289, 292, 294
		32:11	45, 332, 390, 405
<b>Jeremiah</b>			
1:1-28:64	25		
1:16	282, 318, 325		
2:8	359, 363		
4:2	282, 303		
4:12	282, 325		
5:1	282, 298, 313		
5:4	282, 289, 298		
5:5	282, 289, 298		

32:13	45	11:12	202, 282, 318, 320, 325, 328,
32:14	45		330, 391, 404, 412
32:23	358, 383, 386	11:20	207, 282, 318, 325, 330, 417,
32:35	45		424, 429
33:4	150	16:27	206, 391, 393, 397
33:15	282, 298	16:38	282, 320, 327
33:25	416, 425, 427	18:5	282, 299
34:22	107	18:8	282, 290, 299
35:5	150	18:9	207, 282, 318, 325, 330, 417, 424
35:14	92, 238, 328, 332, 336, 340	18:17	207, 282, 318, 325, 330, 417, 424
35:16	92, 237, 238, 328, 332, 336	18:19	75, 207, 282, 299, 417, 423,
35:17	<b>92</b> , 338, 340		424, 428
35:18	237, 238, 328, 332, 333, 336,	18:21	206, 282, 299, 417, 423, 424,
	341, 344, 345, 350		428
36:32	45	18:27	282, 299
37:21	107	20:11	207, 282, 318, 322, 325, 417,
39:5	282, 325		424, 428
44:10	150, 197, 204, 207, 242, 243,	20:13	207, 282, 318, 322, 325, 330,
	358, 416, 429		417, 424
44:23	197, 204, 207, 242, 243, 358,	20:16	207, 282, 318, 327, 330, 417,
	361, 374, 416, 429		424
46:28	282, 304	20:18	206, 282, 318, 325, 330, 391,
48:21	282, 296		406, 412
48:47	282, 289, 294	20:19	207, 282, 318, 325, 330, 417,
49:12	282, 285, 292, 294		424
51:9	282, 285, 296	20:21	207, 282, 318, 322, 325, 330,
51:64	25		417, 424
52:9	232, 233, 281, 324	20:24	207, 282, 318, 325, 330, 417,
52:34	108, 179		424, 428
		20:25	206, 282, 322, 325, 330, 391,
			403, 410
<b>Ezekiel</b>		21:32	282, 299
1:1-27:37	25	22:26	359, 362, 373, 382
4:1	176	22:29	282, 306
5:6	207, 282, 318, 325, 327, 330,	23:24	282, 299, 318, 327
	417, 424, 428	23:45	282, 290, 291, 299
5:7	320, 328	24:18	97, 114
5:8	207, 282, 318, 320, 325, 328,	28:1-39:29	25
	330, 417, 424	32:2	44
7:23	282, 290, 299, 316	33:14	282, 299
7:26	359, 372, 382	33:15	207, 417, 426
7:27	282, 318, 327	33:16	282, 299
8:10	176		

33:19 282, 299  
 34:16 282, 306  
 36:24-38 25, 205  
 36:27 282, 318, 325, 330, 391, 404,  
 412  
 37:24 318, 327, 330, 417, 424, 428  
 39:21 282, 285, 293, 299, 316  
 40:1 25  
 42:11 282, 318  
 43:11 75, 207, 359, 384, 386, 417, 423,  
 424, 428  
 43:12 126, 359, 365, 370  
 43:18 207, 417, 426, 427  
 44:5 75, 207, 359, 383, 384, 386, 423,  
 417, 423, 425, 430  
 44:24 207, 282, 309, 318, 327, 359,  
 384, 386, 417, 424, 428  
 45:9 282, 299  
 45:14 206, 391, 394, 395, 402  
 46:14 207, 417, 426, 430

**Hosea**

2:21 282, 305  
 4:6 359, 365, 373  
 5:1 282, 294  
 5:11 282, 299  
 6:5 282, 318, 323, 330  
 8:1 359, 361, 376, 382  
 8:12 359, 361, 363, 379  
 10:4 282, 397  
 12:7 282, 299, 315

**Joel**

4:16 **44**

**Amos**

2:4 142, 206, 359, 365, 373, 380,  
 391, 404, 410, 412  
 5:7 282, 298, 315  
 5:15 282, 298, 315  
 5:24 282, 296, 373  
 6:12 282, 298, 315

**Jonah**

2:1 109, 110  
 2:11 109, 110  
 4:6 109, 110  
 4:7 109, 110  
 4:8 109, 110

**Micah**

3:1 282, 299  
 3:8 282, 298  
 3:9 282, 298, 314  
 4:2 359, 371, 380  
 4:10 **44**  
 4:14 177  
 6:5 224  
 6:8 282, 298, 314  
 6:16 207, 416, 425, 428  
 7:9 282, 285, 298, 315  
 7:11 206, 340, 390, 396, 402

**Habakkuk**

1:4 282, 296, 315, 359, 371, 381  
 1:7 282, 285, 296  
 1:12 282, 305, 314  
 2:2 167

**Zephaniah**

2:1-3 177  
 2:2 391, 396, 401  
 2:3 282, 285, 298  
 3:4 359, 373, 381  
 3:5 282, 285, 298, 313  
 3:8 282, 285, 294  
 3:15 282, 318, 325

**Haggai**

2:11 359, 373

**Zechariah**

1:6 206, 391, 404, 407  
 7:9 282, 289, 298, 314, 315  
 7:12 151, 359, 373

8:16	282, 289, 298	37:30	281, 314
		37:31	359, 365, 370
<b>Malachi</b>		40:9	359, 361, 370, 381
2:1	121, 333, 334,	45:7	177
2:4	333, 340	48:12	282, 318, 327
2:6	359, 365, 371	50:16	206, 391, 404, 410, 412
2:7	359, 372, 380	72:1	282, 318, 329
2:8	359, 375, 380	72:2	281, 282, 302, 315, 318, 325, 329
2:9	359, 376, 380	74:4	<b>44</b>
2:14	74	76:10	281, 305, 313
2:17	282, 286	78:1	359, 361, 372, 380
3:5	282, 305	78:5	359, 373, 381
3:7	206, 391, 404	78:7	333, 345, 350, 354
3:22	196, 206, 282, 325, 329, 359, 365, 373, 379, 391, 410, 412	78:10	359, 361, 375, 380
		81:5	206, 281, 295, 314, 391, 394, 396, 402
<b>Psalms</b>		89:2	144
1:2	142, 359, 361, 365, 371, 375	89:15	281, 294
1:5	281, 303, 315	89:31	282, 318, 327, 329, 359, 361, 373, 381
2:7	206, 391, 397	89:32	207, 333, 345, 350, 354, 416, 424, 428
7:7	281, 298	89:50	144
9:5	281, 285, 298	94:12	359, 361, 376
9:7	298	94:15	281, 297
9:8	281, 304	94:20	206, 391, 398
9:17	281	97:2	281, 294
10:5	282, 318, 323	97:8	282, 318, 327
11:7	225	99:4	281, 298, 314, 315
17:2	281, 285, 296	99:7	206, 391, 395, 397, 401
17:7	144	101:1	281, 298
18:23	207, 282, 318, 323, 329, 416, 424, 428	103:6	206, 283, 391, 395, 397, 401
19:8	142, 359, 365, 370, 381	104:9	181
19:9	333, 336, 339, 343, 355	105:5	282, 320, 325
19:10	282, 319, 323, 324, 329	105:7	282, 318, 323, 324
25:6	144	105:10	206, 391, 399, 401
25:9	281, 302, 314	105:45	206, 359, 383, 385, 387, 391, 404, 410, 412
33:5	281, 298, 314	106:3	281, 298, 315
35:23	281, 285, 304, 315	106:29	97
36:7	282, 318, 323, 329	111:2	169
37:6	281, 285		
37:7	285, 298, 313		
37:28	281, 298		



111:7	283, 295	119:68	206, 392, 404, 411
112:1	334, 345, 354, 355	119:70	360, 362, 374
112:5	283, 312	119:71	206, 392, 404, 411
119:1	360, 378	119:72	360, 367, 370
119:5	206, 392, 404, 411, 412	119:73	334, 345, 351
119:6	334, 344, 345, 353	119:75	283, 319, 324
119:7	283, 320, 326	119:77	360, 362, 370
119:8	206, 392, 404, 411	119:80	206, 392, 404, 405
119:10	334, 345, 354	119:83	206, 392, 404, 411
119:12	206, 392, 404, 411	119:84	283, 299
119:13	75, 283, 317, 320, 326	119:85	360, 362, 371, 379
119:16	197, 207, 417, 424, 430	119:86	334, 345, 349
119:18	360, 362, 364, 379	119:91	283, 319, 328
119:19	334, 345, 351	119:92	360, 362, 370
119:20	283, 319	119:94	188
119:21	334, 345, 354	119:96	74, 334, 335, 340, 343
119:23	206, 392, 404: 411	119:97	360, 362, 374
119:26	206, 392, 404: 411	119:98	334, 345, 350
119:29	360, 362, 374, 382	119:102	283, 319, 328
119:30	283, 319, 326, 330	119:106	283, 320, 326
119:32	334, 345, 346	119:108	283, 319, 326
119:33	206, 392, 404: 405	119:109	360, 362, 374
119:34	360, 362, 374	119:112	206, 392, 404, 411
119:35	334, 345, 346	119:113	360, 362, 374
119:39	283, 319, 324	119:115	334, 347, 351
119:41	144	119:117	206, 392, 404, 411
119:43	283, 319, 329	119:118	206, 392, 404, 411
119:44	151, 360, 362, 374	119:120	283, 319, 328
119:45	188	119:121	283, 299
119:47	334, 345, 349, 353	119:124	206, 392, 404, 411
119:48	206, 334, 345, 349, 353, 355, 392, 404, 411, 413	119:126	360, 362, 374
119:51	360, 362, 379	119:127	334, 345, 351, 355
119:52	283, 319, 320, 326	119:131	334, 345, 354
119:53	360, 362, 374	119:132	283, 293, 312
119:54	206, 392, 404, 409	119:135	206, 392, 404, 411
119:55	151, 360, 362, 374	119:136	151, 360, 362, 374
119:60	334, 345, 351	119:137	283, 319, 324
119:61	360, 362, 374	119:142	360, 362, 370, 382
119:62	283, 320, 328	119:143	334, 345, 349
119:64	206, 392, 404, 411, 413	119:145	206, 392, 404, 411
119:66	316, 334, 345, 353, 355	119:149	283, 319, 328, 330
		119:150	360, 362, 379, 382

119:151	334, 344, 345, 349	27:2	283, 285, 286, 299
119:153	360, 362, 374	28:26	392, 397, 402
119:155	188, 206, 392, 404, 411	29:14	283, 285, 286, 295, 316
119:156	283, 319, 328, 330	31:13	283, 291, 299
119:160	<b>76</b> , 283, 284, 291, 395, 316	32:9	283, 299
119:163	360, 362, 374, 382	34:4	283, 299, 316
119:164	283, 320, 328	34:5	283, 285, 286, 299
119:165	360, 362, 374	34:6	283, 285, 286, 313
119:166	334, 345, 351, 355	34:12	283, 299
119:171	206, 392, 404, 411	34:17	283, 287, 300
119:172	334, 344, 345, 349	34:23	283, 312
119:174	360, 362, 370, 382	35:2	283, 295
119:175	283, 319, 324	36:6	283, 291, 299
119:176	334, 345, 351	36:17	283, 297
122:5	281, 286	37:23	283, 287
140:13	281, 289, 298, 314	38:8	44
143:2	283, 312	38:10	392, 393, 397
146:7	283, 299	38:33	197, 206, 417, 426, 428
147:19	206, 283, 319, 326, 330, 392, 405, 411, 412, 414	40:8	283, 285, 286, 300
147:20	283, 326	40:23	44
148:6	182, 206, 391, 397	42:9	105
149:9	281, 284, 298		
<b>Job</b>		<b>Proverbs</b>	
6:5	44	1:3	281, 298
8:3	283, 299, 316	1:8	359, 365, 373, 381
9:19	283, 313, 316	2:1	333, 345, 350, 354
9:32	283, 312	2:8	281, 286
13:18	283, 299	2:9	281, 298
13:28	176	3:1	116, 333, 345, 350, 355, 359, 361, 373, 381
14:3	283, 312	4:2	359, 361, 373, 380, 383
14:5	392, 405, 411	4:4	333, 345, 350, 354
14:13	392, 397	6:20	116, 336, 340, 343, 365, 373, 381
19:7	283, 295	6:23	333, 339, 343, 359, 370, 381
19:24	176	7:1	333, 345, 350, 354
22:4	283, 312	7:2	151, 333, 345, 350, 355, 359, 361, 373, 381
22:22	360, 374, 382	8:15-16	177
23:4	283, 299, 316	8:15	176
23:12	74, 115, 392, 393	8:20	281, 286, 315
23:14	392, 393, 397	8:29	182, 391, 393, 397, 402
26:10	392, 397	10:5	169

10:8 333, 350  
 12:2 315  
 12:5 281, 295, 315  
 13:13 333, 340, 343  
 13:14 359, 365, 370  
 13:23 281, 304  
 16:8 281, 304, 315  
 16:10 281, 303, 315  
 16:11 281, 286, 287  
 16:33 **76**, 281, 284, 285, 294, 314  
 17:23 50, 281, 286  
 18:5 50, 281, 303  
 19:16 333, 335  
 19:28 281, 298, 313  
 21:15 281, 298  
 21:3 281, 298, 314  
 21:7 281, 298  
 24:23 281, 303  
 28:4 151, 359, 373  
 28:5 281, 298  
 28:7 359, 373  
 28:9 359, 373  
 28:21 50  
 29:4 281, 303  
 29:18 151, 359, 373, 380  
 29:26 281, 289, 294  
 30:27 97  
 30:8 105, 178, 391, 393  
 31:15 182, 391, 397, 401  
 31:26 359, 365, 370, 380

**Ruth**

2:9 37  
 2:13 183  
 4:11 39

**Qohelet**

3:16 229, 283, 284, 287, 316  
 5:7 229, 283, 287  
 8:5 89, 223, 234, 237, 283, 299,  
 333, 336  
 8:6 223, 234, 283, 295

11:9 232, 233, 283, 310  
 12:13 82, 242, 334, 345, 351  
 12:14 232, 233, 283, 310

**Lamentations**

2:9 359, 380  
 3:22 144  
 3:35 282, 289, 298  
 3:59 282, 285, 298, 315

**Esther**

1:1 97  
 1:8 97  
 1:15 109, 110  
 1:18 170  
 1:19 109, 110  
 2:12 128  
 2:15 114, 128  
 2:23 109  
 3:12 114  
 3:13 109  
 3:14 109, **110**  
 3:2 109, 110  
 3:3 88, 89, 96, 116, 237, 333, 337,  
 341  
 3:4 86  
 3:6 111  
 4:5 114  
 4:10 114  
 6:1 45  
 8:8 97  
 8:11 97  
 8:13 110

**Daniel**

1:18 97  
 2:2 97  
 2:6 **167**  
 2:8 109  
 2:14 109  
 2:15 216  
 2:46 97



- 10:29 136, 239, 240, 250, 359, 367, 378
- 10:30 64, 69, 178, 194, 239, 240, 242, 243, 248, 250, 283, 319, 325, 333, 344, 347, 351, 359, 367, 377, 391, 404, 410
- 10:33 **95**, 244, 333, 351
- 10:35-37 **145**
- 10:35 137, 239, 240, 250, 359, 377
- 10:37 137, 239, 240, 250, 359, 377
- 11:23 88, 240, 241, 333, 337, 338
- 12:24 88, 90, 240, 241, 249, 333, 337
- 12:27 141
- 12:44 94, 152, 239, 359, 364
- 12:45 88, 91, 240, 241, 249, 333, 337
- 12:47 94
- 13:1 46
- 13:3 136, 151, 239, 240, 250, 359, 373
- 13:4-5 **93**
- 13:5 94, 228, 333, 337
- 13:10 94
- 13:14 144
- 13:15 41
- 1 Chronicles**
- 6:17 234, 235, 283, 285, 292, 311, 391, 399
- 6:35 64, 69
- 15:13 234, 235, 283, 310
- 15:25-16:3 143
- 16:12 283, 320, 326
- 16:14 283, 319, 324
- 16:17 391, 399
- 16:40 84, 136, 137, **142**, 149, 150, 239, 250, 359, 367, 369, 377
- 17:17 127
- 18:14 61, 62, 64, 69, 229, 283, 299
- 22:12 114, 142, 146, 150, 151, 239, 239, 250, 359, 367, 373
- 22:13 52, 63, 64, 69, 193, 194, 196, 205, 206, 240, 248, 283, 323, 326, 391, 408, 410, 413
- 23:31 234, 235, 283, 292, 310
- 24:19 243, 283, 285, 293, 310
- 28:7 63, 64, 69, 82, 242, 243, 248, 283, 319, 325, 333, 345, 351
- 28:8 75, 82, **84**, 188, 242, 333, 344, 347, 351
- 28:19 **170**, 351
- 29:19 82, 193, 205, 206, 242, 243, 248, 333, 345, 391, 404, 410
- 29:23 86
- 35:13 234
- 2 Chronicles**
- 4:7 233, 234, 283, 285, 311
- 4:20 233, 234, 283, 311
- 6:3 122
- 6:16 360, 362, 378
- 6:35 283, 285, 299
- 6:36 150
- 6:39 283, 285, 299
- 6:42 144
- 7:17 51, 52, 127, 206, 240, 248, 283, 319, 326, 391, 404, 410, 413
- 7:19 207, 242, 243, 248, 333, 345, 351, 417, 424
- 8:12-14 144
- 8:13 74, 89, 236, 333, 337, 343
- 8:14 88, 89, 240, 241, 283, 291, 311, 333, 337, 339
- 8:15 88, 89, 240, 241, 333, 337, 338, 341
- 9:8 61, 64, 69, 229, 283, 299
- 10:4 164
- 12:1 136, 142, 163, **163**, 239, 360, 367, 373
- 12:8 164
- 13:22 188
- 14:3 80, 150, 151, 239, 250, 333, 341, 360, 373
- 14:4 341
- 15:3 239, 360, 370
- 17:4 82, 242, 333, 345, 353, 424

17:9	46, 136, 142, 146, 239, 360, 364	33:8	51, 52, 178, 194, 205, 206, 239,
19:4-11	54		240, 248, 250, 283, 329, 360,
19:6	50, 232, 283, 287		361, 378, 391
19:8	243, 283, 291, 312	34:13	164
19:10	<b>163</b> , 206, 236, 239, 240, 248,	34:14	45, 136, 142, 146, 239, 360, 364,
	283, 319, 333, 336, 360, 377,		367
	391, 405, 414	34:15	45, 239, 360, 364
20:12	<b>46</b>	34:16	45
23:18	136, 137, <b>140</b> , 239, 360, 377	34:18	45
24:12	164	34:19	239, 250, 360, 363
24:13	179	34:30	45
24:20	75, 82, 333, 344, 347, 351, 424	34:31	82, 111, 178, 193, 205, 206, 242,
24:21	<b>89</b> , 249, 333, 337, 342		243, 248, 333, 341, 345, 351, 391,
24:27	188		404, 410, 424
25:4	46, 137, 239, 360, 377	35:1-18	89
29:15	88, 90, 111, 240, 241, 333, 337	35:2	<b>164</b> , 165
29:19	178	35:4	90
29:25	74, 88, 90, 111, 117, 237, 240,	35:10	88, 90, 164, 240, 241, 333, 337,
	241, 333, 337, 339, 342		342
29:35	164	35:12	46, 90
30:5	147	35:13	235, 283, 310
30:6	88, <b>91</b> , 96, 111, 117, 240, 241, 333,	35:15	88, 90, 164, 240, 241, 333, 337
	337, 342	35:16	88, 97, 164, 240, 241, 333, 337,
30:8	<b>91</b>		342
30:12	88, 96, 111, 117, 240, 241, 333,	35:25	129, <b>180</b> , 182, 205, 206, 208,
	337, 341		234, 235, 391, 395, 401
30:16	90, 136, 152, <b>163</b> , 233, 234, 239,	35:26	136, 137, 142, 239, 240, 250,
	249, 283, 285, 311, 360, 377		360, 367, 377
30:18	147	35:26-27	<b>144</b>
30:25	402	35:27	129
31:2	164	36:23	114
31:3	136, 137, 142, <b>143</b> , 146, 239, 250,		
	329, 360, 367, 377		
31:4	94, 136, 142, 146, 152, <b>164</b> , 165,		
	239, 250, 360, 367, 377		
31:5	109		
31:13	109		
31:16	164		
31:21	74, 80, <b>81</b> , 96, 111, 117, 164, 236,		
	239, 250, 329, 333, 335, 360,		
	364		
32:32	144		

### Deuterocanonical Writings

#### 1 Esdras

1:15	115
1:16	97, 115
1:49	109
2:21	97
2:23	97
4:57	97
5:50	97

- 5:68 109  
6:10 109  
6:18 97  
6:22 109  
6:23 109  
6:26 109  
6:27 97  
6:28 108  
6:31 109  
7:1 109  
8:7 207  
8:10 109  
8:19 109  
9:53 97
- Judith**  
2:13 109, 111  
2:15 97  
2:16 105  
4:8 105  
6:10 109, 111  
7:17 105  
10:9 97, 105  
12:1 97, 105  
12:6 97  
12:7 109, 111
- Tobit**  
3:6 97  
3:15 97  
8:7 97, 171  
8:18 97
- 1 Maccabees**  
1:13 207, 222  
1:14 207, 209, 212, 222  
1:41-42 **118**  
1:41-51 118  
1:41-63 213  
1:42 207, 212  
1:44 207, 212, **223**  
1:45 223
- 1:49 207, 222, 223  
1:50 **119**  
1:60 207  
2:18 207  
2:19 118  
2:21 207, 223  
2:23 207  
2:31 118, **119**  
2:40 207, **223**  
2:53 **120**  
2:68 207  
3:21 207, 212, 214  
3:29 207, 213, 214  
3:30 210  
4:35 **108**  
4:41 97  
5:49 97  
6:23 207  
6:59 207, **212**, 213  
8:7 225  
9:54 97  
10:14 207  
10:32 109  
10:37 109, 111  
10:39 210  
10:54 210  
10:60 210  
10:62 111  
10:81 97  
11:1 170  
11:2 **119**  
11:10 170  
11:23 97  
12:27 97  
12:43 97, 210  
15:5 111, 210  
15:41 105  
16:19 210
- 2 Maccabees**  
1:4 208, 216  
1:14 209

1:18 167  
 1:20 97, 167, 168  
 1:21 97  
 1:31 97  
 2:1 97  
 2:2 208, 216  
 2:4 97  
 2:9 167, 168  
 2:23 **107**  
 2:27 170  
 3:7 **119**  
 3:9 167, 168  
 3:13 118, 120  
 4:11 208, 212, 213  
 4:25 **120**  
 5:12 97  
 5:24 109, 111  
 6:1 171, **173**  
 6:21 109, 111  
 7:2 171, **173**  
 7:3 109, 111  
 7:4 109, 111  
 7:5 97  
 7:6 167  
 7:8 171  
 7:21 171  
 7:24 171  
 7:27 171  
 7:30 208, 215, **216**  
 7:37 171, **173**  
 9:4 105, 111  
 9:7 97  
 9:8 97  
 9:16 108  
 10:8 208, 215  
 10:26 167, 168  
 11:18 167  
 11:24 208, 212, **213**, 214  
 11:31 **171**  
 12:37 171  
 13:4 109, 111  
 13:12 97

14:13 119  
 14:16 109, 111  
 14:18 **64**  
 14:19 65  
 14:27 97  
 14:31 97  
 14:32 170  
 14:41 97  
 15:3 109, 111  
 15:4 97  
 15:5 109, 111  
 15:29 171  
 15:30 109, 111  
 15:38 108

### 3 Maccabees

1:3 171, 208, 212  
 3:1 109, 111  
 3:2 208  
 3:25 109, 111  
 4:1 208, 215  
 4:11 109, 111  
 4:13 109, 111  
 5:2 97  
 5:3 109, 111  
 5:4 109  
 5:16 97  
 5:19 109  
 5:37 109, 111  
 5:40 109, 111  
 6:30 97  
 6:32 171  
 7:8 109, 111  
 7:11 208, 216  
 7:20 97

### 4 Maccabees

1:13 170  
 4:23 **171**  
 5:16 **170**  
 5:33 171, **173**  
 5:36 212



7:15 212  
 8:2 97  
 8:6 97  
 8:7 171  
 8:12 97  
 9:1 171  
 9:2 **171**  
 9:11 97  
 9:24 171  
 9:29 171  
 10:17 97  
 15:10 212  
 18:5 171

#### Wisdom of Solomon

1:1 170  
 6:12 170  
 6:16 170  
 8:2 170  
 13:6 170  
 14:17 97  
 18:15 97  
 19:17 170  
 19:6 97

#### Sirach

Prolog 10 171  
 3:22 109, 110  
 6:37 74  
 10:19 74  
 15:15 74  
 31/34:27 179  
 35:18 74  
 35:23 74  
 37:12 74  
 45:5 74  
 44:20 74, 162

#### Psalms of Solomon

4:5 107  
 18:12 97

#### Baruch

1:1-3:8 25  
 2:11-35 224  
 2:12 222  
 2:17 222  
 2:19 222, **224**  
 3:9 26  
 4:13 222

#### Epistle of Jeremiah

1:61 97

#### Susanna

1:32 109  
 1:44 109

#### Bel and the Dragon

1:14 97

#### Dead Sea Scrolls

1QpHab 5:5 74  
 1QS 8:17 74  
 4Q196-199 26  
 4Q200 26  
 4QDc 1:6 74

#### Aramaic Targum

*Tg. Ps.-J.* Exod 15:25 192

#### New Testament

Epistle to the Romans 5:18 224

#### Rabbinic Literature

##### Mishnah

*Bekhor.* 1.7 96  
*Pes.* 3.7 96  
*Av.* 2.1 96  
*Yev.* 4.5 96  
*Yoma* 8.4 96

#### Babylonian Talmud

*B. Bat.* 14b 181

*Shab.* 87b 184, 192

*Sanh.* 56b 184, 192

### Midrash

Mek. *ad Exod* 15:25 184

Mekhilta *ad Exod* 18:20 117

### Ancient Greek Literature

#### Aeschylus

*Choephoroi* 93 153

*Supplices* 41 153

#### Aristotle

*Athenaion politeia* 7.1 154

*Ethica Nicomachea* 1094b16 153

#### Chrysippus

*Fragment* 323 (von Arnim) 155

#### Demosthenes

*In Aristogitonem* 1 16 153

#### Dinarchus

*In Aristogitonem* 1.8 170

1.10 170

1.55 170

#### Dio Chrysostom

*Orationes* 3.43 155

#### Diodorus Siculus

*Bibliotheca historica* 8.6.3 104

12.58.7 157

13.23.4 156

13.26.2 156

14.54.5 159

#### Diogenes Laertius

*Vitae philosophorum* 5.42–45 156

#### Herodotus

*Historiae* 3.147 166

3.38 153

3.82 172

4.180 172

7.136 156, 212

#### Hesiod

*Opera et dies* 388 153

276 153

#### Josephus

*Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.5.4 §251 223

#### Philo

*Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin* 2.16 98,  
166

*De Josepho* 29 155

#### Phylarchus

*Fragment* 32b (Jacoby) 157

#### Pindar

*Pythia* 2.86 153

#### Plato

*Leges* 1.164d 153

7.793b 154

10.916e 168

*Meno* 79d 170

#### Ps.-Plato

*Definitiones* 415b-d 209

#### Plutarch

*Antonius* 71.4.3 101

#### Ps.-Plutarch

*De liberis educandis* 7E 154

- Polybius**
- Historiae* 1.18.8 168  
 1.21.4 104  
 1.29.8 168  
 1.44.1 166  
 1.79.10 168  
 2.1.1 **168**  
 2.8.11 212  
 2.48.8 98  
 2.58.5 **155**  
 3.20.9 168  
 3.94.9 166  
 3.115.3 **155**  
 4.23.2 99  
 5.11.3 **156**  
 5.27.6 **66**  
 5.31.7 107  
 5.31.8 107  
 5.38.5 168  
 5.106.1 212  
 6.4.4–5 **158, 159**  
 6.16.3 **156**  
 6.29.12 211  
 7.2.2 **119**  
 8.16.3 99  
 9.3.9 107  
 11.6.9 99  
 12.16.7 **226**  
 15.12.8 172  
 15.31.10 99  
 18.32.13 107  
 18.46.5 **158**  
 23.10.10 **104**
- Sophocles**
- Antigone* 450–454 **154**
- Strabo**
- Geographica* II 3.5.47 **104**
- Thucydides**
- Historiae* 1.41.1 **218**
- 1.77.1 **66**  
 2.2.4 172  
 2.34.1 172  
 3.58.3 156  
 3.67.6 156  
 5.63.4 **158**  
 5.97.1 218  
 6.79.2 218  
 7.57.2 212
- Xenophon**
- Anabasis* 7.8.5 172  
*Hellenica* 5.2.35 **65**  
*Cyropaedia* 1.3.2 212  
 8.6.8 101  
*Memorabilia* 1.1.15 170  
 4.4.15 **158**  
 4.4.20 154
- De republica*
- Lacedaemoniorum* 7.1.2 212
- Documentary sources**
- C.Ord.Ptol.* 24 101  
 52 101  
 60 101  
 IG I<sup>3</sup> 214  
*P.Amh.* 2.33 **101**  
*P.Bad.* 4.47 103  
*P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59199 209  
 3.59368 219, **220**  
 5.59852 **100**
- P.Col.* 3.55 **102**  
 4.120 103
- P.Eleph.*  
*Wagner* 1 103  
*P.Enteux.* 12 103  
 25 213  
*P.Grenf.* 2.37 120  
*P.Gur.* 2 219  
*P.Hal.* 1 219  
*P.Lille* 1.3 102  
 29.1 219

<i>P.Mich.</i>	1.70	103	<i>P.Tebt.</i>	1.6	104
	3.182	226		1.24	212
	3.183	213	<i>PSI</i>	4.420	<b>100</b>
<i>P.Petr.</i>	3.21	<b>219</b>	<i>SB</i>	18.13256	103
	3.53	103	<i>UPZ</i>	1.106	99
<i>P.Rev. Laws</i>	43r	209			

# Topografie immateriali

*collana diretta da*

Marco Biffi e Isabella Gagliardi

1. *Geografie interiori: mappare l'interiorità nel cristianesimo, nell'ebraismo e nell'Islam medievali*, a cura di Marco Biffi, Isabella Gagliardi, pp. viii+232, 2020.
2. Romina Vergari, *Toward a Contrastive Semantics of the Biblical Lexicon. The nouns of Rules and Regulations in Biblical Hebrew Historical-narrative Language and their Greek equivalents in the Septuagint*, pp. 460, 2021.

Finito  
di stampare  
nel mese di marzo 2021  
da Tipografia Monteserra (Vicopisano - Pi)

\* \* \*

*Carte*

Fedrigoni Arena Natural Smooth, 100 g/m<sup>2</sup> (interno)  
Fedrigoni Materica Terra Rossa, 250 g/m<sup>2</sup> (copertina)

ELEMENTAL  
CHLORINE  
FREE  
GUARANTEED



HEAVY METAL  
ABSSENCE  
CE 94/62

*Font*

Alegreya ht e Alegreya Sans ht  
(Juan Pablo del Peral, Huerta Tipográfica)





**T**he linguistic data presented in this work stem from a corpus-based distributional analysis of the nouns relating to the biblical notions of rules and regulations (*mišpāt*, *mišwâ*, *tôrâ*, *hōq*, and *ḥuqqâ*) drawn from within the historical-narrative language of standard and late Biblical Hebrew.

The aim of the research has been to investigate the meaning of these words within a lexicological model suitable to represent their semantic flexibility and variability, which is also reflected in their paradigmatic relations within the Hebrew lexicon.

The scope of the investigation has been then interlinguistically extended to the equivalent expressions in the ancient biblical Greek versions. To assess the degree of idiomaticity of the translators' lexical choices and their possible interpretative implications, a further corpus of Greek historical-narrative texts broadly coeval with the biblical translations has been taken as a term of comparison; such a corpus has been created so as to include on the one hand writings transmitted within the Septuagint textual tradition and therefore exemplary of Graecophone Hellenistic Jewish culture, on the other hand texts whose origin and content are independent from this *milieu*.

**Romina Vergari** is currently lecturer of Hebrew Language at the University of Florence. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Perugia and has been postdoctoral researcher at the Universities of Haifa and Strasbourg. She has been visiting fellow at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. She is member of the editorial staff of the Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint (Tübingen).

ISBN 978-88-6032-724-6



9 788860 327246

euro 40,00  
www.sefeditrice.it